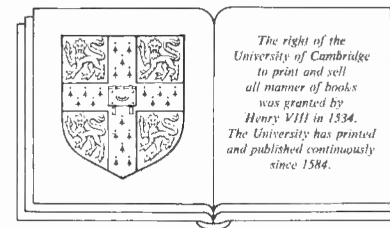
MUSIC AT THE ARAGONESE COURT OF NAPLES

Allan W. Atlas



Cambridge University Press

Cambridge
London New York New Rochelle
Melbourne Sydney

museo internazionale
e biblioteca della musica
di bologna

works only two can be safely assigned to Naples, the hymns *Hostis Herodis impie* and *Christe Redemptor omnium, Ex Patre Patris*, both of which are unique to the Neapolitan manuscript Montecassino 871 and are the only hymn settings by Gaffurius that use chants of the Roman, rather than of the Ambrosian, rite.[123]

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

Guillelmus Guarnerius. One of the more shadowy figures of the late fifteenth century, Guarnerius – singer, teacher,[124] and, according to Gaffurius, composer – was at Naples from mid-1476 at the earliest to the spring of 1479 at the latest.[125] Although Melaguli records that Guarnerius engaged in conversations concerning music theory with Tinctoris, 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 Cornago'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–improvisators – among them Benedetto Gareth and Aurelio Brandolini – none came to enjoy such widespread fame as did Serafino de' Ciminelli dall'Aquila.[127] 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.[128] There the twelve-year-old boy studied music with 'Guglielmo fiammengo . . . musico famosissimo' (who is generally identified as Guillelmus Guarnerius), learning to

[123] See Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, 31–32.

[124] 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.

[125] 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.

[126] In the *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum* (Bologna A 69, fol. 20v); see Miller, 'Early Gaffuriana', pp. 378–79.

[127] On Serafino's importance as a poet for the early frottola, see Rubsamen, *Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca. 1500)*, pp. 12–19; Giazotto, 'Onde musicali nella corrente poetica di Serafino dall'Aquila', pp. 3ff. On his association with Josquin, see Helmuth Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*, II, 32ff; Lowinsky, 'Ascanio Sforza's Life', pp. 51ff.

[128] The main source of biographical information on Serafino is the contemporary account by Vincenzo Collo ('il Calmeta'). The biography, which is entitled *Vita del facondo 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 Grayson, *Vincenzo Calmeta: Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, pp. xxx, 60–63; Menghini, *Le rime di Serafino de' Ciminelli dall'Aquila*, pp. 1–15. A thorough biography appears in Bauer-Formiconi, *Die Strambotti des Serafino dall'Aquila*, pp. 11ff.

sing and play the lute. Although his studies with Guarnerius could not have lasted very long – the Flemish musician was back at the papal chapel by the Spring of 1479 at the latest (see note 125) – Calmeta tells us that he made such remarkable progress that 'a ciascuno altro musico italiano nel componere canti tolse la palma'. 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 Elizabeth 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.

Obviously, the inclusion of Serafino in the present survey of composers and theorists presupposes that Serafino was indeed a composer, and not merely a poet–improvisator. Quite aside from the difficulty of drawing a line between improviser on the one hand and composer on the other, that Serafino may have composed in the traditional sense of the term is suggested not only by his studies with Guarnerius, but also by a letter recently discovered by Lowinsky. The letter, from a Frater Christophorus to an official in the Sforza chancery, is dated 4 November 1490 and begins: 'Si Seraphino poeta havera ancora facto cosa nova usaro omne diligentia per haverla notata et le parole . . .'[133] Though Serafino may have lacked the compositional skills necessary to have written the polyphonic *Credo* attributed to a Seraphinus in the manuscript Perugia 431 (No. 4 in our edition), he probably could have composed the entire polyphonic fabric that sets his strambotto *Sufferir so disposto*, the poem – and presumably the music – by which he is represented in our edition (No. 14).[134]

Florentius de Faxolis and Josquin des Prez (?). In 1480, as a result of some poorly conceived political machinations, Ascanio Sforza was sent into exile from Milan.

[129] Bauer-Formiconi, *op. cit.*, p. 13, gives the date as 1489; for the correction, see Lowinsky, 'Ascanio Sforza's Life', p. 51.

[130] It seems unlikely, however, that this was Serafino's first meeting with Gareth's work. The Spanish poet had arrived at the court of Naples in 1467 or 1468, and there can be little doubt that Serafino came to know his poetry during his stay at Naples in 1478–1480. Even a literal reading of Calmeta – that is, that it was at Milan that Serafino first came to know Gareth's strambotti in particular – does not seem likely.

[131] As Lowinsky, 'Ascanio Sforza's Life', pp. 51–52, points out, Josquin scholarship has long erred in placing Serafino in Ascanio's retinue in 1491–1493.

[132] See Bauer-Formiconi, *Die Strambotti des Serafino dall'Aquila*, p. 21.

[133] Lowinsky, 'Ascanio Sforza's Life', pp. 52–53.

[134] On Serafino's musical accomplishments, see *ibid.*, p. 53.

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.[135] There is proof of Florentius's presence at Naples, for the 'Prooemium' of his *Liber musices*, written expressly for Ascanio, contains the following statement: 'ac fueram cum Neapoli Romaeque tecum una essemus'.[136] 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 Tinctoris is conspicuously absent – there is an obscure 'Abbas populeti sive Magister Blasius'. Who is this abbot? In the marginal notes made at the beginning of the manuscript by the eighteenth-century bibliophile Carlo Trivulzi,[137] 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.[138] 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 speculation 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.'[139] 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 its possible relevance for Josquin became apparent. There is in the Neapolitan manuscript Bologna Q 16 an unicum whose text incipit reads *Je ne demano de vos* (No. 17 in our edition). What is interesting is that this is the only piece in the manuscript for which the scribe entered an ascription: 'J.P.' Until now, the only composers with matching initials whose possible claims to the piece have been considered are Jehan Pullois and Johannes Prioris, but a stylistic analysis of the work shows that authorship by Pullois is well-nigh impossible, while ascription to Prioris is unlikely on the basis of the pattern in which all his other secular works were disseminated.[140] Thus it is

[135] *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 47–48, 51.

[136] The most thorough study of the treatise is Seay, 'The "Liber Musices" of Florentius de Faxolis' (the quotation appears on pp. 74 and 77); see also Lowinsky, 'Ascanio Sforza's Life', pp. 47–50, where Seay's dating of the treatise is revised and the work dated from between 1484 and 1492.

[137] After whom the Biblioteca Trivulziana at Milan is named; the manuscript is now housed at the library under the signature 2146.

[138] See Seay, 'The "Liber Musices"', p. 80 and n. 15. Since 1519 the monastery has been the Ospedale di Santa Maria del Popolo degli Incurabili.

[139] 'Ascanio Sforza's Life', p. 51.

[140] This has been shown rather convincingly in an unpublished seminar paper by Mr. E. Terry Ford, a doctoral candidate at the City University of New York. With respect to Prioris, Mr. Ford's

time to throw still another name into the ring: Josquin des Prez (the initials perhaps standing for Jodocus Pratensis). 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)[141] 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.[142]

Alexander Agricola. As I have shown in detail elsewhere,[143] 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 Niccolò 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

conclusion finds a second in Wexler, 'Prioris, Johannes', *The New Grove*, XV, 276, where, however, it is noted that Prioris is supposed to have composed a now lost – or at least unidentifiable – *Missa Je ne demande*, something that might ordinarily strengthen his claim to the piece. Fuller, 'Additional Notes on the 15th-Century Chansonnier Bologna Q 16', p. 81, n. 2, claims that Pullois and Prioris are 'likely candidates'. Another composer who can certainly be ruled out on chronological–stylistic grounds is the 'J.P.' whose initials appear above two virelais in the manuscript Oxford 213; Cattin, 'Johannes de Quadris', *The New Grove*, IX, 667, interprets the initials as '? Johannes Presbyter'. The latter 'J.P.' has also been interpreted as a reference to Johannes de Quadris himself (Cattin, without taking a firm stance in the *New Grove* work list, did omit the two works from his edition of the composer).

[141] See Chap. VI, p. 121.

[142] One other possibility is that the letters 'JP' are not initials, but rather an abbreviation of sorts of a single name. In that event, perhaps the ascription refers to Johannes 'Japart', who, on the basis of the style of the piece, is a more likely candidate to have written it than is Josquin.

[143] 'Alexander Agricola and Ferrante I of Naples', where excerpts of the letters cited are given in the original Italian and in English translation. The five letters from Naples are printed in their entirety in Trinchera, *Codice aragonese o sia lettere regie, ordinamenti ed altri atti governati de' sovrani aragonesi in Napoli*, II, Nos. 137, 315, 430, 541, 567.

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 'M[agister] 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 insofar 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 altre 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.'[43] After Gaiety 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*.[44] 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'.[45]

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 Provisioni marittime . . .

Musichi

Joan Orosco	lxxij
Hyeronimo de Manzo	lxxij
Petro d'Alano	cc
Antonio de Lagona	cxx
Altobello	xxxij
Fra Joan Musico	[blank]
Madamma Anna	cl
Galderi de Madamma Anna	xxxiiij
Fra Pietro d'Evoli	xxij
Bartolomeo de Pistoja governava la camera de la Musica al Castello de Capuana	lxxij
Joan della Musica governava la camera della Musica al Castello novo	xxxvj

Ministeri et Trombetti
[blank]

Trombetti
[blank][46]

[43] See Mauro, *Iacobo Sannazaro: Opere volgare*, p. 282; Croce, *I teatri di Napoli, secolo XV–XVIII*, pp. 13–14. Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, I, 35–37, attempts to identify Gaiety's song with the barzelletta *Viva el Gran Rey Don Fernando* (that is, Ferdinand the Catholic), which was included in a drama written by Carlo Verardi and performed at Rome in honor of the same event. See, however, the comments of Wolfgang Osthoff, *Theatergesang und darstellende Musik*, I, 15ff. The barzelletta is conveniently edited in Einstein, *op. cit.*, I, 36–37, and Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus*, p. 248.

[44] Mauro, *Iacobo Sannazaro: Opere volgare*, p. 285; Croce, *I teatri di Napoli*, p. 14.

[45] Mauro, *op. cit.*, p. 294; Croce, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–16; Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, I, 38.

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 poetica*,[47] 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'.[48] 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 musicos'.[49] 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 can 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 may be identified with the 'Madama Anna Inglese' who is recorded at Naples as 'musica del S.R.' first in 1471 and then again in 1476, in 1480, and during an unspecified year later in the 1480s.[50] And though

[46] Naples, Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Filippini, MS S.M. XXVIII.4.22 part 5, fols. 150ᵛ–151ʳ. The document from which the roster is drawn bears the title 'Copia d'un libretto dove si notano gli offitii, et servituri della casa delli Serenissimi Re di Napoli con le provisioni che se li deva'; it was copied early in the nineteenth century by Agostino Gervasio, who in turn drew upon a seventeenth-century manuscript that had passed through the libraries of a number of distinguished Neapolitan families – the Petrone, the Prince of Cimitile, and the Duke of Cassano – before it ended up in London, where Gervasio bought it. I am extremely grateful to Keith Larson, who discovered the document in the Library of the Filippini and was kind enough to communicate its contents and history to me in a letter of 15 April 1983. According to Galiano, 'Nuove fonti per la storia musicale napoletana', n. 43, the roster is also preserved in Naples, Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, MS XXI.C.22, where it precedes the 'Diarii di Silvestro Guarino d'Aversa'. I have not been able to consult this manuscript, and my own references to Guarino's diary are to the edition by Pelliccia (see Chap. II above, n. 163).

[47] See Chap. II above, p. 53 and n. 172.

[48] Again, I draw on the translation in Perkins and Garey, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, I, 30.

[49] 'In addition to numerous persons in his service whom he called "chamber musicians" from the comfort and solace of voices and strings given in private . . .'; see *ibid.*, I, 30 and 34.

[50] Galiano, 'Nuove fonti per la storia musicale napoletana', p. 5; Van der Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, IV, 131; Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, p. 69, n. 3; Pèrcopo, *Barzellette napoletane*, p. 11.

per year,[69] while an Antonio da Venezia had joined the court by February 1456.[70] Finally, Aniello Palumbo is recorded as a 'suonatore di arpa' in 1486.[71]

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, one 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 'tabulatura 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 Rogeriis, his ambassador to Venice:

> Noi havimo reciputo uno maze de corde de liuto: le quale non hanno valuto niente: et in dì passati ne mandastevo un altro mazo multo peio: del quale ve ne mandamo due nerfule che non servono ad niente: et perchè sonno grosse, et negre, che ve le mandamo ad fine le vedate: et cognosciate che non valeno niente: et ve ne mandamo un altra nerfula per mostra, secundo la quale vorriamo ne facessevo cercare, et celi mandassevo, che si non fossero bone, non le vorriamo.[75]

Yet regardless of who the court lutenists might have been, it is doubtful that any of them enjoyed the reputation of a non-resident player of the lute, one who was but a short-term visitor to the court: Pietrobono de Burzellis of Ferrara. Pietrobono, who was also a singer, visited Naples in 1473 as part of the Ferrarese delegation that came to Naples with Sigismondo d'Este in order to escort the Princess Eleonora back to Ferrara as the bride of Ercole d'Este.[76] And that Pietrobono's playing made a powerful impression upon the court is attested by a letter of 16 April 1476 from Diomede Carafa to Ercole: 'La M. de lo S. Re averia multo piacere la S.V. li lassase per questa state Pierbono vostro sonatore de liuto.'[77] Obviously, Ferrante wished to borrow Pietrobono for a few months during the coming summer. However, given the underhanded way in which the potentates 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.

[69] *Ibid.*, V, 7.

[70] Minieri Riccio, 'Alcuni fatti di Alfonso I', p. 445.

[71] Gaetano Filangieri, *Documenti*, V, 243.

[72] ASN, TAF, Vol. IV, fol. 2r. Also recorded on that same day is the trumpeter Jordi Avinyo.

[73] On the instrumentalists who accompanied Alfonso on his early Italian expeditions, see Anglés, 'La Música en la Corte Real de Aragón y de Nápoles', pp. 971ff.

[74] On the manuscripts Pesaro 1144 and Bologna 596 H.H.2⁴, see Chap. VI below, pp. 123–24.

[75] Trinchera, *Codice aragonese*, II, 258. The word 'nerfula' is a strange one, and was perhaps coined by Pontano, who signed the letter. In any event, its derivation from the Latin root 'nerv-', meaning string or wire, and the diminutive '-ula' seems evident. The use of 'f' for 'v' could reflect local pronunciation.

[76] See Lockwood, 'Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition at Ferrara', p. 117; Barblan, 'Vita musicale alla corte sforzesca', p. 801, n. 1.

[77] The letter is printed in its entirety in Moores, 'New Light on Diomede Carafa and his "Perfect Loyalty" to Ferrante of Aragon', pp. 18–19.

Pietrobono was not the only musician in the Ferrarese delegation that visited Naples in 1473. The entourage included Pietrobono's 'tenorista', seven trombetti, two pifferi, two tromboni, an organist, and, according to the 'Lista de la cometiva che va a Napuli per la Ill.ma Madona Duchessa de Ferrara', three 'sonadurij de viola': Andrea, Zampolo, and Rainaldo, all three of whom hailed from Parma.[78] To a certain extent, then, the Ferrarese visitors constituted nothing less than a musical goodwill mission of sorts, like 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 Pontano 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,[79] 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 1438) 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 ministres de boca de casa del senyor rey'[80] makes it clear that he had in the past performed a true musical function (which has heretofore been disputed).[81] He cannot, however, be credited either with the chanson *Se Dedalus* 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 Tailhandier, the former by either Pierre or Leonardus Tailhandier, who is variously described as Antoni's brother or son.[82]

The designation of Mossen Borra as master of the 'ministres de boca' raises the question of just what kind of minstrels he had been in charge of at Barcelona. Baldelló interprets the term as a reference to an instrumentalist, a wind-player,

[78] Lockwood, 'Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition at Ferrara', p. 117, n. 7; Barblan, 'Vita musicale alla corte sforzesca', p. 805.

[79] Pontano, *De liberalite*, XVII; see the edition by Tateo, *Giovanni Pontano: I trattati delle virtù sociali*, pp. 31 and 185. On Tallender's service with Sigismund, see Schuler, 'Die Musik in Konstanz während des Konzils, 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] Baldelló, 'La Música en la Casa de los Reyes de Aragón', p. 42.

[81] See, for example, Günther, 'Tailhandier, Pierre', *The New Grove*, XVIII, 527.

[82] On the attribution of these pieces and on the somewhat muddled relationships among the three musicians, see Günther, 'Tailhandier', p. 527; Gómez Muntané, *La Música en la Casa Real Catalano-Aragonesa*, p. 102; Anglés, *Historia de la Musica en Navarra*, p. 300; Stäblein-Harder, *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France: Critical Text*, p. 62.

museo internazionale
e biblioteca della musica
di bologna

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 Vincenet. Tinctoris is represented by two compositions with Latin texts – *O virgo, miserere mei* (No. 1 in the edition) and *Virgo Dei throno digna* – both of which are addressed to Beatrice.[17] Vincenet'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-I-43/Paris 4379, and Bologna Q 16[18] – 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.[19] 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, 'Iohannes Tinctoris', p. 232, n. 35, where it is claimed that Tinctoris 'was in fact the musical scribe of the manuscript (though not of the literary 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 musician–scribes as Vincenet – who is especially well represented in the manuscript (see below) – or Dortenche should also be considered as candidates.

[17] On the allusion to Beatrice in *Virgo Dei throno digna*, see Perkins and Garey, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, I, 19, and II, 425; on *O virgo miserere mei*, see Chap. VII, pp. 148–49.

[18] Though it is possible that various sections of these sources date from the latter part of the 1470s or the beginning of the 1490s, I believe that we can safely assign all of Perugia 431 (except for the later-sixteenth-century additions and marginalia) and the greater parts of Montecassino 871 and Seville 5-I-43/Paris 4379 to the 1480s; on Bologna Q 16, see below.

[19] 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 Hymn and the Liturgy of Fifteenth-Century Italy', pp. 179–80; Giulio Cattin, 'Canti polifonici del repertorio benedettino', pp. 492ff, suggests that the manuscript may have been compiled at the Benedictine monastery of SS Severino 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 Gaffurius'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' 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 secular and sacred 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 Mass[21] – 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), Fra M. di Ortona, Aedvardus di Ortona, Petrus Caritatus, 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 'sicilian' 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 four 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]

[20] 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 close ties with Montecassino 871 that I suggested (in the article cited) that Perugia 431 may have been compiled at a Benedictine house, singling out the monastery of SS Severino e Sossio because of its proximity to the court and the favors that it received from the royal family. Recently, however, Cattin has pointed out that the manuscript contains two pieces – a setting of the hymn *Decus morum dux minorum* and another of the *Benedicamus Domino* prosa *Qui nos fecit ex nichilo* – that have Franciscan associations, and that it might therefore have been written at a Franciscan institution. Cattin's conclusions appear in his paper 'Il repertorio polifonico sacro nelle fonti napoletane del Quattrocento' (I am grateful to Prof. Cattin for sharing his findings with me prior to their publication). For an edition of the pieces with Italian texts, see Michael Hernon, 'Perugia MS 431 (G 20): A Study of the Secular Italian Pieces'.

[21] The sacred repertory of the two manuscripts is now most fully discussed in Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, pp. 29–46, and Cattin, 'Il repertorio polifonico sacro'.

[22] On the question of whether the Damianus represented in Montecassino 871 may be identified with the wind-player of that name who is recorded at Naples in 1456, see Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, p. 34. As already noted in the preceding chapter (p. 107), Minieri Riccio, 'Alcuni fatti di Alfonso I', p. 444, lists him as 'Tommaso Damiano'; Anglés, 'La Música en la Corte Real de Aragón y de Nápoles', p. 1022, regards him as 'Tomás Damia', thus making him a Spaniard. In an earlier study, Anglés, *La Música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos*, I, 149, had cited him as 'Damiano Guterrit', thereby confusing him with another instrumentalist at the court, Gilet Guterrit. On the two composers from Ortona, see Atlas, 'On the Neapolitan Provenance of Perugia 431', pp. 54–55, and my forthcoming edition of an untitled Mass by Aedvardus (to be published by Antico Edition).

[23] On the Neapolitan origins of the manuscript, see Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier*, I, 235–36, and idem, 'On the Neapolitan Provenance of

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 Tinctoris. 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 unica;[24] given the Aragonese court's long poetic tradition in this language and the settings of Castilian poems by Cornago and even the non-Spanish Vincenet, a local repertory must be suspected. Yet a third group of unique pieces, these having such epigrammatic titles as *La taurina*, *Per la goula*, and *La rocca de fermesa*, may also have local connotations that await discovery.[25] 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 are 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.[26] In addition to Cornago's *Moro, perche non da fede*,

Perugia 431', p. 46, n. 5; see also Fuller, 'Additional Notes on the 15th-Century Chansonnier Bologna Q 16', p. 86; Haberkamp, *Die weltliche Volkalmusik in Spanien um 1500*, p. 66; Jeppesen, *La frottola*, II, 11. The assertion by Anglés, 'El "Chansonnier français" de la Colombina de Sevilla', 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 Q 16', where, unfortunately, music and text incipits are given separately and concordances are omitted; for a list of the composers represented and a partial concordance, see Fuller, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–82, 101–3, and Jeppesen, *La frottola*, II, 110. For an edition of thirty-one pieces from the manuscript, see Benton, *Fifteenth Century Anonymous Chansons*.

[24] Fuller, 'Additional Notes on the 15th-Century Chansonnier Bologna Q 16', p. 85, n. 13. Urrede's popular *Nunca fue pena maior* is among the later additions to the manuscript.

[25] See Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[26] For a discussion and inventory of the source, see Plamenac, 'A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville'. A facsimile edition appears in idem, *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscripts Sevilla 5-I-43 and Paris N.A.Fr. 4379 (Pt.I)*. The manuscript is transcribed, though not entirely accurately (this is especially true of the poetic texts) in Moerk, '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 Schavran, 'The Manuscript Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Codice Aldini 362', pp. 53–58, who claims that part of the manuscript probably dates from the 1470s. Finally, Boorman, 'Limitations 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 skillful marshaling of the evidence, I cannot agree with his conclusions. What Boorman 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 Siciliani and the Reconstruction of a Neapolitan Fascicle-Manuscript'), and (2) 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 'Cancionero de canto d'organo . . . viejo y mutilado'; see Plamenac, 'A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina', pp. 504–5, and idem, 'Excerpta Colombiniana: Items of Musical Interest in Fernando Colon's "Regestrum"', II, 678.

Tinctoris's *Helas* and *Vostre regart* – which, however, probably date from before his Neapolitan period[27] – and Vincenet's popular *Fortune, par ta cruaulté* (see No. 17 in the edition), the Neapolitan repertory consists of a large number of Italian pieces, including a group of strambotti siciliani, some of which also appear in Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, and Bologna Q 16. And from among these works, two – *La morte che spavento de felice* (No. 13) and the forward-looking, villanella-like *Cavalcha Sinisbaldo tula la note* (No. 15) – are included in the edition.

In all, the four 'central' Neapolitan sources of the 1480s provide a detailed picture of the musical life of Aragonese Naples, at least as it flourished mainly during the reign of Ferrante I. The manuscripts transmit music by such major figures at Naples as Tinctoris and Cornago as well as compositions by minor, local composers who are otherwise unknown. The contents range from complete settings of the Ordinary of the Mass to the small-scale barzellette and strambotti that set the dialectal texts of the Neapolitan court poets. Finally, the sources continue to attest to the great popularity at Naples of the Franco–Netherlandish chanson of the Busnois–Ockeghem generation. And it is with good reason, then, that these are the manuscripts most often drawn upon in our edition.

The final polyphonic manuscript of Neapolitan origin is the small fragment housed at the Biblioteca Comunale of Foligno, which, however, can be dated only from the late 1470s or 1480s. That its origins are to be traced to Naples is evident not only from the very close relationship between its reading for *A, ladri, perche robbate le fatige* and that in Perugia 431, but also from its use of southern dialect, from its inclusion of a strambotto siciliano, and from the fact that it was in the possession of a Neapolitan in the sixteenth century.[28]

In addition to the above sources of polyphonic music, Aragonese Naples has, I believe, bequeathed to us our two earliest extant tablatures of Italian provenance

[27] See Chap. III, p. 76.

[28] 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 Rubsamen, '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 *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400–1550*, I, 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. 1^r–32^v, 78^r–81^v, and possibly 33^r–40^v. 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 robbate 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.2^4, a small three-leaf fragment that transmits intabulations of Vincenet's *Fortune, par ta cruaulté* – the piece is here entitled *Fortuna vincinecta*, as it is also only in Perugia 431 – and Juan de León's *Ay, que non se rremediarme*, 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 Vincenet'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

[29] Rubsamen, *op. cit.* For the objection to Rubsamen's date, see Heartz, 'Mary Magadalen, Lutenist'; see also Saviotti, 'Di 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 Intermedii*, p. 41.

[31] The watermark is reproduced in Rubsamen, 'The Earliest French Tablature', pp. 289–90. On its use in Neapolitan documents, see Barone, 'Le filigrane delle antiche cartiere nei documenti dell'Archivio di Stato in Napoli', pp. 83 and 94, No. 62.

[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.

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.

[33] Plamenac, 'Faenza, Codex 117', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, III (1954), cols 1709–10.

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.[3] At Naples the vogue is attested by (1) the quodlibet *O rosa bella–L'homme armé* in Tinctoris's *Proportionale musices*;[4] (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;[5] (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;[6] (4) the cycle of six *L'homme armé* Masses (by Caron?) in the manuscript Naples VI.E.40, which was seemingly a gift to Beatrice d'Aragona from the court of Burgundy[7] (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.[8]

The Mass in Bologna Q 16 is of special interest in that it is the only known *L'homme armé* Mass for three voices.[9] Indeed, at a time when the four-voice Mass had already established itself as the norm, composers at Naples continued to show a certain predilection for Masses *a 3*. This is evident not only from the present work, but also from Tinctoris's Mass for Ferrante; perhaps – if it was composed at Naples – the same composer's *Missa Sine nomine II*;[10] Cornago'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

[3] 'Aspects of the "L'homme armé" Tradition', p. 110.

[4] See Seay, *Johannis Tinctoris: Opera theoretica*, IIa, 51, and 'The *Proportionale musices* of Johannes Tinctoris', 70–71; Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi*, IV, 173.

[5] The unique source for the work is Rome 35, a manuscript compiled at Rome principally during the reign of Innocent VIII; on the date of the manuscript, see Lockwood, 'Aspects of the "L'homme armé" Tradition', p. 110; an edition appears in Melin, *Johanni Tinctoris: Opera omnia*, pp. 74–114.

[6] An edition and facsimile of the version *a 3* appear in Perkins and Garey, *The Mellon 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. xxxiii–iv).

[7] See Chap. VI, p. 116 and n. 5.

[8] The work is not included in the lists of *L'homme armé* Masses given either by Cohen, *The Six Anonymous L'homme armé Masses*, p. 72–74, or by Gombosi, *Jacob Obrecht: Eine stilkritische Studie*, pp. 47–48; nor is it among the Masses discussed by Lockwood, 'Aspects of the "L'homme armé" Tradition', pp. 97ff, or by Reese, *Music in the Renaissance, passim.*

[9] This was noted both by Feininger, in his edition of the Mass, *Documenta majora polyphoniae liturgicae sanctae ecclesiae romanae*: No. 1, and by Lowinsky, 'Laurence Feininger (1909–1976): Life, Work, Legacy', p. 343.

[10] The work is so designated in Melin, *Johanni Tinctoris: Opera omnia*, p. 33; Tinctoris's *Missa super Nos amis* is also *a 3*; but as we have noted (Chap. III, p. 76) it was composed before his arrival in Naples.

Dei. Bologna Q 16 contains two sections of music for this movement: the first has the superimposed mensuration signs O/Φ, the text 'Angnus [*sic*] dei qui tollis miserere nobis' beneath the superius, and a final cadence on *G*, the 'tonic' of the Mass as a whole; the second section has the successive mensuration signs ¢ and ¢3: no more text than the incipit 'Angnus dei qui tollis', and a final cadence on the triad *d-a-f'*. In his edition, Feininger completed the tex of this latter section with the words 'dona nobis pacem', thus making it the final section of the movement and producing an A A' B form and a final cadence on the 'dominant' for the Mass as a whole. This solution is certainly incorrect. Rather, the text incipit of the second section should be completed with a second statement of 'miserere nobis' and then followed by a return to the first section, now sung with the words 'dona nobis pacem'. This brings about an A B A' structure for the Agnus Dei and a final cadence on *G*, which agrees with the closing cadences of the first four movements.[11]

A second problem concerns Feininger's approach to musica ficta, which is, as Lowinsky has noted, rather arbitrary.[12] And here it is not a matter of quibbling over this or that editorial accidental, but rather of Feininger's having altered the entire modal framework of the Mass. Although Bologna Q 16 transmits the piece without flats in any voice, Feininger has flatted almost every *B* – including those in the cantus firmus – thus changing the mode from mixolydian to transposed dorian. My own approach has been to walk a tightrope, as it were, between *B*-natural and *B*-flat, flatting the *B*s only where the 'rules' of musica ficta seem to demand them.

A third problem in Feininger's edition concerns the text underlay. Feininger followed Bologna Q 16 in placing text only beneath the superius in all movements except the Kyrie, where he adjusted the text to all three voices. Quite apart from not texting the same number of voices throughout the Mass, Feininger's general practice of texting only the upper voice goes against what now seems to be the consensus of scholarly opinion about the manner in which liturgical music was customarily performed in this period, that is, *a cappella*, with the possible accompaniment of the organ (however, see the discussion of Ycart's *Magnificat* below).[13] I have, therefore, placed text beneath each of the voices, though sometimes in a way that calls for comment. In both the Gloria and the Credo, the cantus-firmus tenor, which moves in long, sustained values with frequent ligatures and rests, does not have enough notes to accommodate the lengthy texts of those movements. At times, therefore, I have not only omitted sections of the text (deletions are indicated by means of ellipses),[14] but have even broken up individual words,

[11] The tempo markings in this and the other movements that juxtapose the mensuration signs O and ¢ are, of course, approximations.

[12] 'Laurence Feininger', pp. 343 and 365, n. 29.

[13] See, for example, D'Accone, 'The Performance of Sacred Music in Italy during Josquin's Time', pp. 614–18; Wright, 'Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions', pp. 199–202; idem, 'Performance Practices at the Cathedral of Cambrai, 1475–1550', pp. 322–23; Polk, 'Ensemble Performance in Dufay's Time', p. 66.

[14] In the Credo, the composer seems intentionally to have omitted the phrases 'Et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas' and from 'Et in Spiritum Sanctum' through 'Confiteor unum

assigning to a given note or ligated 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.[15] 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 conbatu*, which jokingly urges the musician Symon le Breton to do battle with the 'doubté Turcq'. 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.[16]

Very different from the *L'homme armé* Mass with respect to both structure and

baptisma in remissionem peccatorum'. On the problem of textual deletions in the Credo, see Hannas, 'Concerning Deletions in the Polyphonic Mass Credo'; Chew, 'The Early Cyclic Mass as an Expression of Royal and Papal Supremacy'; see also Bent and Bent, 'Dufay, Dunstable, Plummer – A New Source', pp. 413–14; Kenney, *Walter Frye and the Contenance Angloise*, pp. 52–53; and the communications by Jeremy Noble and W. K. Ford in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, VI (1953), 91–92, and VII (1954), 170–72, respectively.

[15] See Hannas, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–69; Chew, *op. cit.*, pp. 266–67.

[16] The association of the Mass with the Battle of Otranto also fits well with the date of the original layer of Bologna Q 16, which was copied in 1487. For speculation that the dedicatee of one or another of the *L'homme armé* Masses by northern composers might have been Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, see Lockwood, 'Aspects of the "L'homme armé" Tradition', p. 109, n. 34.

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 Baldesaris who is represented by a lauda in Petrucci's *Laude libro II* of 1508.[17] 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,[18] 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) Franciscus Seraphinus,[19] who, on the basis of his being represented by a motet in Giunta's *Fior de motetti e canzoni* of circa 1526 and having taken part in the well-known musical correspondence with Giovanni del Lago,[20] would have been too young to have been included in a manuscript compiled during the 1480s; indeed, Franciscus Seraphinus did not die before 1541.[21]

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.]	Confiteor unum baptisma . . .
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 Spritum 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 *alternatim* fashion: chant ('Credo in unum Deum') – A – chant – B – chant – C – chant – D – etc. This simple pattern of alternation is

[17] I have already offered this identification in 'On the Neapolitan Provenance of Perugia 431', pp. 64–65; his name is also suggested, though in connection with a *Magnificat* in Perugia 431, as one of two possibilities in Kirsch, *Die Quellen der mehrstimmigen Magnificat- und Te Deum-Vertonungen bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 557, n. 519. This identification is not accepted by Cattin, 'Il repertorio polifonico sacro nelle fonti napoletane del Quattrocento', on the ground that Petrucci's two lauda collections are far removed from the Neapolitan orbit; he prefers simply to group Seraphinus with a number of other unidentifiable composers who are represented in Perugia 431.

[18] Seraphinus is so identified in Hernon, 'Perugia MS 431 (G 20)', pp. 104–5.

[19] He is the other composer named by Kirsch, *Die Quellen der mehrstimmigen Magnificat- und Te Deum-Vertonungen*, p. 557, n. 519; he is also suggested as the possible composer by Jeppesen, *Italia musica sacra*, I, xiv.

[20] See Jeppesen, 'Eine musiktheoretische Korrespondence des früheren Cinquecento'; Harrán, 'The Theorist Giovanni del Lago: A New View of his Music and his Writings'.

[21] An entry in the *Giornale Strozzi* for 8 January 1473 (Vol. 27, fol. 8; see Galiano, 'Nuove fonti per la storia musicale napoletana', n. 57) mentions a 'frate Seraphinus', but without stating whether or not he was directly associated with the court or if he was a musician. Could he be our elusive composer? In any event, Leone, *Il Giornale del banco Strozzi di Napoli*, p. 564, n. 229, is certainly incorrect in identifying 'frate Seraphinus' as the poet Serafino dall'Aquila.

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,[56] one in New Haven 91,[57] nine in Montecassino 871 (plus one in Catalan),[58] two in Perugia 431,[59] and eight (possibly ten) in Bologna Q 16.[60] In addition, the manuscript Bologna 596 H.H.2[4] contains an intabulation of Juan de Leon's *Ay, que non se rremediarme*, one of the Spanish pieces transmitted in Bologna Q 16.[61]

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 *Yerra con poco saber* (No. 9), a canción by the Catalan poet Pere Torroella,[62] 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 I.[63] 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 canción. In order of popularity, the three most commonly used rhyme schemes – Torroella uses the first – were:[64]

[56] No. 91 in the inventory by Southern, 'El Escorial, Monastery Library, Ms. IV.a.24', p. 70, where Cornago's *Morte merçe gentil aquila* is listed incorrectly as a Spanish canción. Although the form of the poem is somewhat irregular, it is in Italian.

[57] No. 44; see Perkins and Garey, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, II, 368.

[58] Nos. 10, 16, 19, 27, 84, 102, 103, 104, and 111, and No. 127 in Catalan; see Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, p. 86, where No. 104 is omitted. The manuscript contained at least eight (and possibly nine) more Castilian texts that are now lost (*ibid.*, p. 86, n. 1).

[59] Nos. 40 and 54; see Atlas, 'On the Neapolitan Provenance of Perugia 431', pp. 86, 90; the text of No. 40, Robert Morton's *Pues serviçio*, must certainly be a contrafactum, the original poem having probably been a bergerette.

[60] Nos. 66, 70, 81, 87, 99, 116, 121, and 125 (the texts of Nos. 9 and 19 are too short to allow identification as Spanish or Italian); see Fuller, 'Additional Notes on the 15th-century Chansonnier Bologna Q 16', p. 85 and n. 13.

[61] For a fine general treatment of the Spanish repertory at the court, see Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, pp. 86–99, and Pope, 'La Musique espagnole à la cour de Naples', pp. 35ff.

[62] The poem is attributed to him in both the manuscript London 10431 and the *Cancionero general* of 1511; it is ascribed to Juan de Mena in Modena XI.B.10. The poem is accepted as Torroella's in Bach y Rita, *The Works of Pere Torroella*, p. 270. On London 10431, see Rennart, 'Der spanische Cancionero des British Museums'; on Modena XI.B.10, see Bertoni, 'Catalogo dei codici spagnuoli della Biblioteca Estense in Modena', p. 321.

[63] Mele, 'Qualche nuovo dato sulla vita di Mossèn Pere Torroella e suoi rapporti con Giovanni Pontano', pp. 83ff.

[64] See Navarro, *Repertorio de estrofas españolas*, p. 63.

	copla	
estribillo	mudanza	vuelta
a b a b a	*c d c d*	*a b a b a*
a b b a b	*c d c d*	*a b b a b*
a b a a b	*c d c d*	*a b a a b*

In addition, Torroella employs the often-found device of casting the octosyllabic lines of the estribillo in alternating 'agudo' and 'llano' verses, that is, alternating lines of seven separately pronounced syllables, with the last one receiving an accent (and thus counting as two), and lines of eight separate syllables. No less conventional is Cornago's musical setting: A B B A, with the estribillo and vuelta being sung to the outer sections, the two couplets of the mudanza to the two B sections, each of which has its own ending.

The various redactions of the piece raise a question with respect to the music–text relationship. The scribes of both Montecassino 871 and Escorial IV.a.24 placed what fragments of text they entered beneath the tenor voice (labeled the contratenor in Escorial IV.a.24),[65] which led Haberkamp and Pope and Kanazawa to text only that voice in their editions of the piece.[66] Indeed, Pope and Kanazawa claim to see almost what amounts to word-painting of a sort in the relationship between the poem and the melody of the tenor. Yet despite the evidence of the sources, I have placed the poem in the superius, certainly the more customary position in a performance in which only one part is sung.[67]

Another example of the canción is Vincenet's *La pena sin ser sabida* (No. 10 in the edition). The piece is notable for two reasons, for unless we are dealing with a contrafactum it shows that Spanish poetry was still being set well into Ferrante's reign and that the language held some appeal even for non-Spanish composers. As was the case in Torroella's poem, the anonymous poet wrote an estribillo of five lines ('quintilla')[68] with the rhyme scheme *a b a b a*. Where the two poems differ is in the vuelta, where the author of *La pena sin ser sabida* not only reproduces the rhyme scheme of the estribillo, but actually restates its final three lines, so that they have the effect of a refrain.[69] In fact, it is the lack of a true refrain in the canción – the estribillo is not repeated after the vuelta – that is one of the distinguishing features between the Spanish form on the one hand and its French and Italian equivalents – the bergerette and the ballata – on the other.[70]

The main musical problem in the piece occurs at the repeat sign that signals the first and second endings in the mudanza. Here the superius and contra altus each have a blackened breve superimposed above the normal void breve – *e*′ over *c*′ in

[65] 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.

[66] See the Critical Notes.

[67] It is the superius that is texted in the version in Trent 89, where, however, the piece appears with a Latin contrafactum, *Ex ore tuo*.

[68] The four-line type is called a 'redondilla'.

[69] On this feature of the canción, see Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, p. 91 and n. 25.

[70] For an instructive tabular comparison of the three types, see Perkins and Garey, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, II, 95.

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) Serafino 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.[93] Thus *Sufferir so disposto* should be added to the list of Serafino's *strambotti siciliani*, thus bringing the number of his poems in that form from five to six.[94]

Finally, we come to *Cavalcha Sinisbaldo 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,[95] 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;[96] (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. *Cavalcha Sinisbaldo* also differs from most of the strambotti in the Neapolitan sources with respect to its musical style. Instead of the usually lyrical superius above 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,[97] 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 eight polyphonic sources that I have assigned to Naples,[98] only three short pieces display associations with the ruling family: Tinctoris's two song-motets for Beatrice – *O Virgo, miserere mei* (No. 1 in the edition) and *Virgo Dei throno digna* – both of which appear (the first as an unicum) in New Haven 91, and the problematical *Viva, viva, rey Ferranddo* (No. 2), which reaches us in both Berlin 78.C.28 and Montecassino 871.[99]

[93] On this point, see Bauer-Formiconi, *Die strambotti des Serafino dall'Aquila*, p. 167; Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana*, p. 282.

[94] The other examples of Serafino's 'Sicilian' strambotti are listed in Bauer-Formiconi, *op. cit.*, p. 54, n. 76.

[95] Cardamone, 'Forme musicali e metriche della canzone villanesca e della villanella alla napolitana, p. 37.

[96] Cardamone, 'The Debut of the "*Canzone villanesca alla napolitana*"', p. 93.

[97] The tenor alone is transcribed in Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*, p. 120 (idem, *Music and Theatre*, p. 88).

[98] The number includes multiple redactions of the same piece. By manuscript, the figures break down as follows: 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.

[99] 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. Tinctoris's *Missa a trium vocum* appears only in the manuscript Verona 755, 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: 'Beatissime virgini domini Beatrici de Aragonia'.[100] Although Perkins's contention that the motet was originally intended to serve as the opening composition in New Haven 91 remains hypothetical,[101] 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 'maiden' would have been inappropriate.[102]

The association between Beatrice and the motet extends beyond the inscription, for, as Jaap van Benthem has recently shown, Tinctoris '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 de 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.[103]

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.[104]

Less certain is the association between the anonymous *Viva, viva, rey Ferranddo* 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.[105] 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:

[100] Although no such similar inscription accompanies *Virgo Dei throno digna*, Perkins and Garey are convincing in viewing this work as a companion piece to *O Virgo* (*The Mellon Chansonnier*, I, 19; II, 425).

[101] *Ibid.*, I, 20.

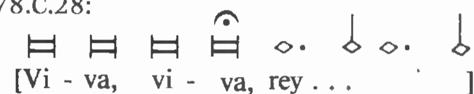
[102] I cannot, however, agree with the use to which Perkins puts the inscription as evidence – in conjunction with other pieces of evidence – for pre- and post-betrothal stages in the compilation of the manuscript (*The Mellon Chansonnier*, I, 32). My objections are noted in my review of the edition (see p. 120 above, n. 16), p. 138, n. 8.

[103] Van Benthem, 'Concerning Johannes Tinctoris and the Preparation of the Princess's Chansonnier'.

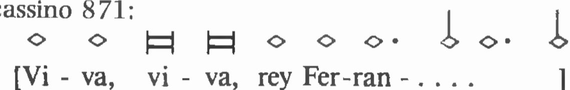
[104] *The Mellon Chansonnier*, I, 85; *Johanni Tinctoris: Opera omnia*, p. 123, where the word 'meorum' is read incorrectly as 'in corum'.

[105] Reidemeister, *Die Handschrift 78C28 des Berliner Kupferstichkabinetts*, pp. 28 and 104–5.

Berlin 78.C.28:



Montecassino 871:



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 last being the solution offered in the present edition.[106] 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 canción lack any allusions to a specific historical event – nor is it likely that any such clue appeared in the now-missing vuelta of the poem[107] – but after its initial reference to the king it turns away from Ferrante's exploits and dwells on the victory of love. It seems, then, that past proposals that the piece celebrates either Ferrante's coronation or his victory over Jean of Anjou and the pro-Angevin barons remain somewhat unconvincing.[108]

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

That the secular works of Vincenet 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 cruaulté*, which appears in at least thirteen polyphonic sources, among them all the

[106] Text-repetition, though far less extensive, is also employed in Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, p. 442–48; Haberkamp, *Die weltliche Vokalmusik in Spanien um 1500*, pp. 284–87, uses melismas, in many of which the syllables of individual words are separated by lengthy rests; Reidemeister, *op. cit*, No. 34, offers a transcription without text.

[107] Pope and Kanazawa, *op. cit.*, p. 91, speculate that there may never have been a vuelta and that it might have been replaced by the initial refrain.

[108] Reidemeister, *Die Handschrift 78C28 des Berliner Kupferstichkabinetts*, p. 28; Pope and Kanazawa, *op. cit.*, p. 642.

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, Vincenet'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 *Intabolatura de 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.2[4] (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 Vincenet'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 47ff), 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).[109] 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 *g* 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[4] it is otherwise known from its use in only three other sources: (1) Pesaro 1144, where it is found on fols. 39v–40v; (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'.[110]

[109] 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.

[110] *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 25.

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 octaves 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[111] – and a true *forme-fixe* setting that has merely been shorn of its text,[112] *Je ne demande de vous* (No. 17 in the edition; in Bologna Q 16, the unique source for the composition, the incipit reads *Je ne demano de vos*) clearly belongs to the former group, as demonstrated by (1) alternation between two- and three-part writing that seems quite divorced from references to words; (2) the rhythmic parallelism between the parts in the duo sections;[113] (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 *quatrain* or *cinquain* type of rondeau.[114]

[111] By Edwards, 'Songs Without Words by Josquin and his Contemporaries', p. 91.

[112] For the repertory of the late fifteenth century, the problem has recently been discussed at length by Edwards, *op. cit.*, and by Litterick, 'On Italian Instrumental Ensemble Music in the Late Fifteenth Century'; see also Litterick, 'Performing Franco-Netherlandish Secular Music of the Late 15th Century', pp. 482–83.

[113] 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.

[114] The piece is not related to either of two chansons by Busnois, *Je ne demande liaulté* or *Je ne demande autre a me degré*.

The chief question about the piece, however, centers upon the identity of its composer: 'J.P.' Could it be Josquin des Prez (Jodocus Pratensis, Jodocus a Prato)? Though a firm conclusion cannot be offered, I should – at the risk of repeating some points already noted in Chap. III[115] – 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,[116] 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.[117]

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).[118] The 'M. Gulielmus' 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 castiglya* – has been identified as the famous dancing-master Gulielmus Ebreo da Pesaro,[119] who may be the same as Giovanni Ambrosio da Pesaro.[120] To the literature that has already grown up about this arrangement[121] may be added two further observations, both of which concern

[115] See p. 84 and n. 140.

[116] In No. 126 in that manuscript, the place normally reserved for the text incipit bears the entry 'Dux Carlus'; whether this should be understood as a title or an attribution – to Charles the Bold – is not clear. The same piece reaches us with the incipit *Madame, helas* and an ascription to Josquin in the Bologna copy of the *Odhecaton* (removed in subsequent editions) and in the manuscript Zwickau 78, which no doubt took its attribution from Petrucci's print. (See Noble, 'Josquin Desprez; [work list]', *The New Grove*, IX, 736.)

[117] The redaction in Bologna Q 16 seems to contain at least a few scribal errors; these are recorded in the Critical Notes.

[118] For a list of *La Spagna* settings, see Gombosi, *Compositione di messer Vicenzo Capirola*, pp. lxii–lxiii.

[119] See Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, p 196.

[120] See Chap. V above, p. 103.

[121] See, among others, Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, pp. 196ff; Gombosi's review of Bukofzer in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IV (1955), 144–45; Heartz, 'Hoftanz and Basse Dance', pp. 18–19; Anthony Baines, *Brass Instruments*, p. 102. Both Gombosi and Heartz note that Gulielmus's setting is more properly classified as a saltarello than a basse danse, on the ground that the tenor moves in perfect breves (when the semibreves of

Barcelona 1: 63n, 145
Berlin 78.C.28: 118–19, 143, 148, 149–50
Bologna A 69: 82n
Bologna Q 16: 84–85, 104, 120, 121–22, 123, 128–30, 140, 148n, 152–53
Bologna 596 H.H.2[4]: 108, 124, 140, 151, 152
Cancionero general: 140n
Capetown 3.b.12: 138
Chantilly 564: 109
Dijon 517: 76
Escorial IV.a.24: 118–19, 140, 141, 143, 144–46, 148n
Faenza 117: 79, 81n, 124, 133–35
Florence 3: 144n
Florence 27: 147n
Florence 121: 147n
Florence 176: 76
Florence 204: 10n
Florence 2356: 138
Florence 2723: 10n
Foligno (MS without signature): 123, 124, 148n
London 10431: 140n
Milan 1, 2, 3, 4: 127n
Milan 35 C sup: 144n
Milan S.P.II.5: 145n
Modena α.M.1.2: 127n
Modena α.M.1.13: 127n
Modena XI.B.10: 140n
Modena AS: 127n
Montecassino 871: 62, 79, 82, 107, 118n, 120–21, 123, 133, 136–39, 140, 141, 147–50 passim, 155
Munich 352b: 43n
Naples VI.E.40: 112, 116, 128
Naples XII.F.50: 77n
Naples XIV.D.20: 77n
Naples XXI.C.22: 105n
Naples CF.III.4: 63n
Naples SM.XXVIII.4.22: 105n
New Haven 91 (Mellon chansonnier): 62, 70, 71, 76, 111, 116, 118n, 119–20, 128, 130, 140, 148, 149, 151
Oxford 213: 153
Paris 476: 134n
Paris 676: 147n
Paris 1035: 10, 147
Paris 1069: 103n
Paris 15123 (Pixérécourt chansonnier): 79, 117
Paris 16664: 144n, 146
Parma 1158: 81n
Perugia 431: 59n, 60, 62, 80, 83, 104, 120–24 passim, 128, 131–33, 136–39, 140, 143, 147–48, 151, 153–54, 155
Pesaro 1144: 108, 124, 151
Petrucci 1506[1]: 79, 127n
Prague D.G.IV.47: 63n, 76n
Rome 14: 127n
Rome 35: 128n
Rome 51: 127n
Rome 5170: 192n
Rome B.80: 127n
Seville 5-I-43/Paris 4379: 76, 81n, 120, 122–23, 147, 148
Trent 88: 63n
Trent 89: 76
Valencia 835: 116
Venice 9 CCIV: 236
Verona 755: 72
Washington L 25 (Laborde chansonnier): 76
Zwickau 78: 153
Margaret of Bavaria, Marchesa of Mantua, 99n
Marino della Falcuni, 51, 94
Marot, Jordi, 94
Marra, Alexander de, 48, 49, 94
Marrotta, Giorgio, 46, 94
Marti, Guillaum, 23n
Marti, Pere, 32, 94
Martini, Johannes, 58, 155
Martino nigro, 100n
Matteo di Capua, 32, 94
Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, 4, 47, 71, 76, 149
Matto, Nichollo, 74
Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, 135
Mazzoni, Guido, 21–22
Medici, Giovanni de', *see* Leo X, Pope
Medici, Lorenzo de', ix, 4, 10, 37, 38, 40, 44, 53–54, 70, 107, 113, 117
Medici, Piero di Cosimo de', ix, 85
Melaguli, Pantaleone, 76, 77, 80, 82
Menaro, Menichello, 113
Meo, Giorgio, 100
Michele tedesco, 56, 110–11
Michelozzi, Niccolo, 85
Michiel, Marcantonio, 11
Milan, 2, 32, 40–41, 52, 58, 67, 68, 101n, 155
Mino da Fiesole, 17n
Miraballs, Jo. Franc., 48
Miro Benet, 32, 94
Molinet, Jean, 71
Montefeltro, Federigo, Duke of Urbino, 67
Mora, Pietro de, 23n
Morton, Robert, 58, 81n, 128, 130
Mossen Borra, *see* Tallender, Antoni
Muzi, Piero di Mariano, 144

Nacci, Francesco, 44
Nadal, Miguel, 24, 25, 26, 66, 94
Naples, Kingdom of, 64–65
  art and architecture, 11–22, 31, 33–34, 116
  bishoprics, 28
  currency, x
  education, 7, 54, 77, 83, 111–13
  literature and humanism, 6–11
  politics, 1–6, 51–52

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
  rosters, 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
  size, 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, 28n
  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, 101n
  Sant'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, 105–109, 152–53
  dance, 102–104, 153–54
  harpists, 107–108
  improvisation, 83, 102
  lutenists, 108
  minstrels, 109–10
  processions, 98–99
  song repertory, 39, 101, 102, 140–52
  theater, 104
  trumpeters, 98, 99–100
  women musicians, 105–106
Nardello de Composta, 35, 94
Navarro, Luis, 32, 94
Nicola de Rinaldo, 34, 94

Obrecht, Jacob, 49, 60, 67
Ockeghem, Johannes, 58, 155
Oller, Joan, 42
Orbo, Johannes, 43n
Order of the Golden Fleece, 73, 77
Oriola, Juan, 43n, 61n
Oriola, Pere, 24–29 passim, 33, 35, 60–62, 94, 126, 133, 139, 143, 155
Orosco, Joan, 104, 106
Orto, Marbrianus de, 58
Ospato, Baldassare, 46, 94
Otranto, Battle of, 4, 130
Palumbo, Aniello, 108
Pando, Tancredus de, 94
Panormita, *see* Beccadelli, Antonio
Pappacoda, Francisco, 73, 74
Pascale, 29, 94
Passero, Giuliano, 99n
Patin, Luisot, 46, 56, 94
Paumann, Conrad, 42n
Pere the Ceremonious, King of Aragon, 54
Pere Joan, 17n
Perez, Berthomeo, 31, 94
Perez, Jaime, 36, 94
Perez de Corella, Eximen, 67
Pericho spagnolo, 100
Perleoni, Giuliano, 10
Perot de Vertoya, 46, 47, 94
Perrinetto, 100
Petrarch, 10
Petruciis, Giannantonio de, 144
Petrus de Pineda, 48, 95
Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, 32, 77
Picchart, Bernardo, *see* Ycart
Piccolomini, Maria, of Aragon, Duchess of Amalfi, 21
Pietro da Gaeta, 107
Pietro da Milano, 17
Pietro d'Alemagna, 107–108
Pietrobono de Burzellis, 108–109
Pinia, Salvatore, 46, 95
Pisanello, 15, 17, 21
Pius II, Pope, 8
Poggioreale, music at, 20, 102
Poliziano, Agnolo, 10
Pont, Antoni, 32, 45, 95
Pontano, Giovanni, 7, 8, 10–11, 16, 49, 109
Ponzo, Antonio, 40–41, 44, 52, 95, 138
Porcello, Felippo, 95
Prats, Luis, 47, 48, 95
Prebostel, Perrinet, *see* Torsel, Perinetto
Prioris, Johannes, 84, 153
Pronostrau, Perrinet, *see* Torsel, Perinetto
Puig, Pere, 108
Pulci, Luigi, 10
Pullois, Jehan, 84, 153

Rabaça, Joanet, 32, 95
Rabicano, Cola, 115, 116
Rafaele genovese, 100
Raganello, 100
Raynero, 40–41, 52, 95, 131
Recellani, Angelo, 34, 95
Regades, Pere, 32, 95
Rembert, Nicolaus, 71, 74
René of Anjou, 1, 2, 12
Rigo de Borgogna, 101
Risis, Esremus de, 48, 49, 95
Robert of Anjou, the Wise, King of Sicily, 11
Roberto, Francesco, 35, 95
Rocha, Antonius, 48, 49, 95
Rodolfo, 26, 27n
Rogeriis, Carlo de, 108