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Rethinking the chronology of the Italian *Ars nova*

The musical period conventionally referred to as the Italian *Ars nova* is normally characterized by the advent of the Trecento mensural notation and a predominantly polyphonic repertoire designed to enhance its application. However, the scarcity of documentation and the survival of sources only up to 1410–1415¹ have led scholars to view it — according to Nino Pirrotta's evocative metaphor — as

an island appearing on the horizon after a long voyage through centuries of silence and obscurity. The sudden and brilliant rise of this island delights us, but as we near it and are able to make out the configuration of its shore line, we see that after it there is another expanse of silence and obscurity separating it from the larger and more solid continent, the music of the Italian Renaissance.²

The ongoing exploration of this shadowy area, further supported by significant discoveries, has nevertheless allowed us to shed new light on the tradition and performance of this repertoire, enabling us to demonstrate that the Italian *Ars nova* actually had a much longer-lasting persistence and a

1. This is the time frame generally associated with the compilation of what is certainly the most iconic *Ars nova* collection, the Florentine *Codex Squarcialupi*, often regarded as already 'retrospective'. See in this regard, among others, AGOSTINO ZIINO, «*Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo*»: alcune date e molte ipotesi, «*Rivista italiana di musicologia*», XIV, 1979, pp. 311–348: 334; JAMES HAAR, *The Trecento*, in ID., *Essays on Italian music and poetry in the Renaissance, 1350–1600*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1986, pp. 1–21: 9; JOHN NÁDAS, *Song collections in late-medieval Florence*, in *Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale. Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia (Bologna, 27 agosto-10 settembre 1987)*, a c. di Angelo Pompilio – Donatella Restani – Lorenzo Bianconi – F. Alberto Gallo, Torino, EDT, 1991, I, pp. 126–137: 135 (*Discussion*); MARIA CARACI VELA, *La filologia musicale. Istituzioni, storia, strumenti critici*, vol. 1, Lucca, LIM, 2005, p. 80.

2. NINO PIRROTTA, *Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars nova*, «*Musica disciplina*», IX, 1955, pp. 57–71: 57.

more fluid course than previously supposed. In the following articles, we will present two emblematic cases: one focusing on the vitality of Trecento music, especially through to the oral knowledge of its religious *contrafacta*, at least until the end of the fifteenth century; the other showing the clear preponderance of the *Ars nova* repertoire in a 1486 Sienese *capitolo ternario*, constructed with quotations of musical incipits.

Lucia Marchi and Francesco Zimei

SOURCE SIGLA: *Antico* = *Canzoni, sonetti, strambotti et frottole*, Libro Quarto, Roma, Andrea Antico e Nicolò de Iudicibus, 1517; *Atri* = Archivio Capitolare, Sala Innocenzo IV, Cartella A, Ms. fragm. no. 5; *Ber* = Berlin, Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78.C.28 (Margherita Castellani's songbook); *Bg37* = Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica "Angelo Mai", Ms. Σ.IV.37; *Bg589* = Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica "Angelo Mai", Ms. 589; *Bon1485* = *Laude facte e composte da più persone spirituali*, Firenze, Bonaccorsi, 1485; *Br5* = Brescia, Biblioteca Querinana, Ms. C.VI.5; *Bu* = Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 2216; *Cas* = Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 2151; *Ch* = Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château, Ms. 564; *Chig266* = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Chigi L.VII.266; *Cord* = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Rothschild 2973; *Esc* = Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, Ms. IV.a.24; *Faenza* = Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 117; *Fp* = Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Panciatichi 26; *Gall* = *Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari, di Lorenzo de' Medici, di Francesco d'Albizzo, di Castellano Castellani e di altri comprese nelle quattro più antiche raccolte* [a cura di Gustavo Camillo Galletti], Firenze, Molini e Cecchi, 1863; *Gr224* = Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Ms. Kript. Lat. 224; *Grey* = Cape Town, National Library of South Africa, Grey Collection, Ms. 3.b.12.; *Ivrea* = Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. 115; *Lo* = London, British Library, Ms. Add. 29987; *Lu* = Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Ms. 184 + Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Ms. 3065; *Magl30* = Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magliabechiano VII, 30; *Magl130* = Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magliabechiano XXXVIII, 130; *MC871* = Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Ms. 871; *PadA* = Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 684; *PadC* = Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 658; *Panc* = Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Panciatichi 27; *Pix* = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 15123 (*Pixérécourt Chansonniér*); *Pit* = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fonds it. 568; *Prague9* = Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Ms. XI.E.9; *Q15* = Bologna, Museo internazionale e Biblioteca della musica, Ms. Q.15; *Q18* =

Bologna, Museo internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, ms. Q.18; **Reina** = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. n.a.f. 6771; **Ricc2224** = Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2224; **Ricc2871** = Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2871; **Rsmt** = Roma, Archivio storico del Vicariato di Roma, *Capitolo di S. Maria in Trastevere*, Armad. I. Cell. A., no. 3, ord. IV; **Sev** = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. n.a.f. 4379 (Seville Chansonnier); **SG** = Rimini, Archivio di Stato, Ms. San Gaudenzo, III (binding fragments); **SL** = Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Ms. 2211; **Sq** = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Palatino 87; **Str** = Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 222 C. 22; **To** = Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Ms. T.III.2; **Tod93** = Todi, Biblioteca Comunale Lorenzo Leoni, Ms. 93; **Tr87** = Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Ms. 87; **Tr90** = Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Ms. 90; **Tr92** = Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Ms. 92; **Triv535** = Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Ms. 535; **Urb1411** = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Urb. Lat. 1411; **Ven** = Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Cl. it. IX.145 (=7554).

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Rethinking the chronology of the Italian *Ars nova*:
II – The long life of the Trecento repertory
in late fifteenth-century Siena

1. How long did the Trecento repertory survive?

The manuscript Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château, 564 (*Ch*) is one of the main sources of late Trecento and early Quattrocento repertory, the so-called *Ars nova* and *Ars subtilior*. The codex was probably copied around 1410: on its front page, a note testifies that in 1461 it was donated by Francesco d'Altobianco degli Alberti to the (three) daughters of Tommaso Spinelli, aged 9 to 14 years old. The Alberti and the Spinelli were prominent Florentine banking families, well connected among themselves and to the cultural life of the city; Francesco d'Altobianco was a banker and poet, closely related to the more famous humanist Leon Battista Alberti.¹

The gift of a musical manuscript to young aristocratic girls is not surprising, since we have proof of high-quality music-making by noblewomen in



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1. *Codex Chantilly. Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564. Introduction*, ed. Yolanda Plumley – Anne Stone, Turnhout, Brepols, 2008, pp. 39, 89–94. On the dating of *Ch* see MARGARET BENT, *The absent first gathering of the Chantilly manuscript*, «Plainsong and Medieval Music», xxvi 2017, pp. 19–36. On Francesco d'Altobianco degli Alberti see LAURO MARTINES, *Strong words. Writing and social strain in the Italian Renaissance*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 137–165.

the second half of the fifteenth century. In 1460 Bianca de' Medici, daughter of Piero di Cosimo, entertained the papal entourage of Pius II by playing pieces by Gilles Binchois and John Bedingham, i.e. a complex, but contemporary repertory.² What is puzzling about the gift of *Ch* is, instead, the relatively old age of the manuscript, about 50 years, and thus the archaic nature of its polyphonic content. In the Quattrocento, another prominent book containing music from the previous century, the codex Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pal. 87 (*Sq*) was entrusted not to amateur musicians, but to the professional organist Antonio Squarcialupi (1416–1480).

If *Sq* has been preserved intact until today, most likely because of its artistic value, other collections containing the Trecento repertory were destroyed, but not until the later fifteenth- or the early sixteenth-century. The fragments Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T. III. 2 (*To*) were still in use in the 1470s, when they were filled with new pieces; and the palimpsest *SL* was not erased and reused as an account book until 1504.³

In his article in this same issue, Francesco Zimei points to the use of Trecento music well into the next century in the form of *contrafacta*. Several *lauda* are based on *Ars nova* songs by composers such as Francesco Landini, Nicolò del Preposto, Andrea dei Servi or Johannes Ciconia.⁴ *Contrafactio* favored perpetuation, albeit through transformation; having served as a *lauda* model, Antonio Zaccara da Teramo's ballata *Be' llo sa Dio* was copied in a modified form in *Cord* around 1470.⁵

These few examples of durability suggest a relatively long life of the Trecento repertory, or at least some of it. But how representative are they? Do they really testify to a common knowledge and active use of Trecento music into the next century? And by whom? For how long? And in which form?

2. WILLIAM PRIZER, *Games of Venus: secular vocal music in the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento*, «Journal of Musicology», ix/1, 1991, pp. 3–56: 3–6.

3. *Il codice T.III.2. Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. Studio introduttivo ed edizione in facsimile*, ed. Agostino Ziino, Lucca, LIM, 1994 (*Ars nova*, 3); *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest. Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Ms. 2211*, ed. Andreas Janke – John Nádas, Lucca, LIM, 2016 (*Ars Nova*, Nuova Serie, 4).

4. On the *cantasi come* tradition see BLAKE WILSON, *Singing poetry in Renaissance Florence. The cantasi come tradition (1375–1550)*, Florence, Olschki, 2009.

5. ANDREAS JANKE – FRANCESCO ZIMEI, *The Atri fragment revisited II: from the manuscript's context to the tradition of the ballata Be' llo sa Dio*, in *Liturgical books and music manuscripts with polyphonic setting of the Mass in medieval Europe*, ed. Oliver Huck – Andreas Janke, Hildesheim, Olms, 2020, pp. 135–156 (*Musica Mensurabilis*, 9).

2. A new source

A new source in the Kenneth Spencer Research Library in Lawrence (Kansas, US) provides important evidence of the vitality of the *Ars nova* well into the second half of the Quattrocento. Ms. 90 of the Spencer Library is dated 8 September 1486 and contains a *lauda* in the form of *capitolo ternario* (i.e. a *terza rima*, like Dante's *Commedia*) written in Siena by Simone d'Angelo dei Bocci. It narrates the seven joys of the Virgin Mary and it is dedicated to Madonna Perna de Gurgeri (Ugurgieri), a member of the Siena aristocracy.

Al honoranda madonna Perna de gurgieri da Sena: Frate Simone d'angelo dell'ordine di sancto Domenico humile in sacra theologia maestro [...] Anno domini 1486 die 8 septembris

To the very honorable Madonna Perna de Gurgieri da Siena: Frater Simone d'Angelo of the Order of St. Dominic, humble master of theology [...] 8 September 1486

Ex. 1: Lawrence (ks), Kenneth Spencer Research Library, Ms. 90, f. 1r.
Dedication and dating of the manuscript

Simone d'Angelo (1438–1510) was a Dominican theologian, who studied in Padua and taught at the *Studium* in Siena.⁶ Frank D'Accone described Siena's public patronage of the arts, aimed to enhance civic pride.⁷ The city was an important center of *lauda* production; and Simone's monastery, San Domenico in Camporegio, had seen the foundation of the first documented

6. GIANFRANCO FIORAVANTI, *Formazione e carriera di un domenicano nel '400: l'autobiografia di Simone Bocci da Siena (1438–1509)*, in *Studio e Studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo*, atti del convegno (Assisi, 11–13 ottobre 2001), Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2002, pp. 339–364.

7. FRANK D'ACCONE, *The civic Muse: Music and musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1997.

confraternity dedicated to this musical practice in 1267, *Santa Maria delle Laude*.⁸

The long poem is divided in several sections describing the seven joys of the Virgin: Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Resurrection, Ascension of Christ, Pentecost and, finally, her Assumption into heaven. Holy women such as Catherine of Siena, Maria Veneziana, Agnese da Montepulciano, Margaret of Città di Castello, Margaret of Antioch, Vanna d'Orvieto and Margaret of Hungary all appear to the dedicatee Madonna Perna and take turns in narrating the events. The focus on the Virgin and the presence of the other holy women make the *capitolo* very fitting for the spirituality of a female dedicatee. In a broad perspective, the poem follows the tradition of the *VII Gaudia Beatae Mariae Virginis*, also known in vernacular versions, for example the Catalan *goigs*.⁹ At a more local level, the focus on the Virgin embodies a civic allegiance, since she is the patron saint of the city of Siena.

The last section of the *capitolo* describes the Assumption of the Virgin, Siena's most important religious and civic festival. It was celebrated with a procession, a great display of musicians – especially trumpeters and wind players – and what is still now the most distinctive of the city's festivities, the *Palio*.¹⁰ The *capitolo* captures and reproduces this sonic environment, describing dances, songs and a cacophony of instruments:

8. The confraternity included a schola dedicated to musical instruction. See MATTEO LEONARDI, *Storia della lauda*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2020, pp. 159–160. On *lauda* singing in Siena see D'ACCONE, *The civic Muse*, pp. 683–695; AGOSTINO ZIINO, «Lo 'ntellecto divino [...] a Sien' à dato 'l novel Agostino». *Il canto delle laude a Siena, 1260–1450: cosa sappiamo e cos'altro vorremmo sapere*, and ROBERTA MANETTI, *Una fonte musicale senese mancata: il laudario di Santa Maria della Scala (briciole di tradizione indiretta)*, in *Fonti musicali senesi. Storie, prassi e prospettive di ricerca*. Atti della giornata di studi (Siena, 17 ottobre 2016), ed. Giulia Giovani, Siena, Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 2018, pp. 7–48, 49–66.

9. GIAMPAOLO MELE, *De VII Gaudiis Beatae Mariae Virginis. Appunti storici, metrici, musicali*, «Critica del testo», XXIII/2 2020, pp. 117–138.

10. On the festivities and the use of music see D'ACCONE, *The civic Muse*, pp. 683–695.



Fig. 1: Matteo di Giovanni, *Assumption of the Virgin* (1474), for the monastery of Sant'Agostino in Asciano (Siena). London, National Gallery

Di dolçemele, arpe e di leuto immediate udi[i] e soni e canti e strombeççar con pifere et con fiuto nachare, cymbal, corni, tutti quanti balli tripudi fare e be[n] çoiiosi come d'agosto nel carro de' sancti [...]	Suddenly I heard sounds and songs made by dulcimer, harp and lute, the blaring of shawms, nakers, cymbals and the horns, and everyone dancing in a circle ¹¹ with great joy as in August on the float of the saints [...]
Cantano l'angelecti di suo gloria e del fiolo sancto et benedecto ch' è 'n cielo [...]	The angels sing her glory and the glory of her holy and blessed son who is in heaven [...]

Ex. 2: Lawrence (KS), Kenneth Spencer Research Library, Ms. 90, f. 57v

Besides the city's festivals, the other reference to the musicality of the Assumption is Jacopo da Varagine's *Legenda aurea*, in which choirs of angels surround Mary's ascent into heaven. The *capitolo* mentions indeed singing angels at vv. 10–11: *Cantano l'angelecti di suo gloria / e del fiolo sancto et benedecto* (*The angels sing her glory / and the glory of her holy and blessed son*).¹² The *Legenda* inspired countless visual representation through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, for example the decoration of Orsanmichele in Florence.¹³ Closer in time and place, Simone d'Angelo could have had in mind the Assumption painted by Matteo di Giovanni in 1474 for the monastery of Sant'Agostino in Asciano, a small town near Siena (Fig. 1).

3. The musicality of the *capitolo*

The *capitolo* is written in an extremely musical language, full of references to sound, dance, voices and singing techniques. Several sections are marked in the index as «ballo» («*Ballo* in quale Margherita da Castello dichiara [...]») / «*Dance* in which Margaret of Città di Castello declares [...]») or «dança» («*Dança* mena b. Margarita d'Ungheria [...]») / «The blessed Margaret of

11. On the meaning of *tripudio* as circular dance see *Grande Dizionario Battaglia della Lingua Italiana*, sv *tripudio*: <<https://www.gdli.it/JPG/GDLI21/00000379.jpg>> (accessed July 2024).

12. Lawrence (KS), Kenneth Spencer Research Library, Ms. 90, f. 57v.

13. BLAKE WILSON, *If monuments could sing: Image, song and civic devotion inside Orsanmichele*, in *Orsanmichele and the history and preservation of the civic monument*, ed. Carl Strehlke, Washington, National Gallery of the Arts, 2012, pp. 141–168.

Hungary leads a *dance* [...]»), a number of references which reinforces the close relationship between *lauda* singing and dance.¹⁴

Musical terminology is not only frequent, but extremely precise. When Margaret of Città di Castello starts her narration, her singing is expertly described as a soprano over a tenor sung by her namesake, Margaret of Antioch (Ex. 3).

Forte squillando in voce di testa
come che vera donna castellana
Margarita a cantare fu ben presta
dicendo: «vo' che tu a me soprana
antyocena hor tenghi 'l tenore [...]

Ringling out loudly with a head voice / as a true woman from Città di Castello / Margaret was quick to sing / saying: «I want you, Margaret of Antioch, to sing tenorista to me, who am a soprano [...]

Ex. 3: Lawrence (KS), Kenneth Spencer Research Library, Ms. 90, f. 34v

The musicality of the text points to its performative nature, which reflects the more general musical destination of *terza rima*, common since Dante's time.¹⁵ *Canterini* were performing *capitoli* to honor civic and religious festivals: our text could have been part of a celebration in honor of the Virgin as Siena's civic patron.

Simone d'Angelo had very refined musical knowledge, but we do not know anything about his performance skills, nor if it was he who sung the *capitolo* for Madonna Perna, or somebody else. *Terza rima* could have been sung on improvised *aere*, created by famous poet/performers or, on a more modest level, on simple formulas, such the one preserved in Petrucci's *Aer de' Capituli*, *Strambotti*, *Ode*, *Frottole* [...] from 1507: three simple phrases with several repeated notes (a kind of recitation chord) and a fourth one to accommodate the last verse. As a way of example, Appendix 2 shows the first tercet of the *capitolo* on two melodic formulas for *terza rima*: the already-mentioned *Aer de' Capituli* (Petrucci, 1507) and the formula in Serafino Razzi, *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* from 1563. Despite the late date

14. FRANCESCO ZIMEI, «Tucti vanno ad una danza per amor del Salvatore». *Riflessioni pratiche sul rapporto fra lauda e ballata*, «Studi musicali», n.s., 1/2, 2010, pp. 313–344.

15. BLAKE WILSON, *Dante's forge: poetic modeling and musical borrowing in late Trecento Florence*, in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento*, VIII. *Beyond 50 years of Ars Nova studies at Certaldo, 1959–2009*. Atti del convegno (Certaldo, 12–14 giugno 2009), ed. Marco Gozzi – Agostino Ziino – Francesco Zimei, Lucca, LIM, 2014, pp. 25–55.

of Razzi's print, its model is significant because it is specifically destined for a *lauda*.

The formulas could have been sung polyphonically (Petrucci and Razzi are for four and three voices respectively) or as a monody with instrumental accompaniment: Bernardo Accolti (Unico Aretino) performed a *terza rima* in honor of the Virgin in 1512, at a banquet following the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council.¹⁶

4. Musical citations in the *capitolo*

In addition to the copious musical references, the last section of the *capitolo* quotes a series of actual songs, whose incipits are woven into the verses. With their presence, the musicality of the Assumption reaches its zenith, a sort of *crescendo* towards Mary's final glorification.

Late-medieval lyric and music abound with intertextual practices, as the studies of Yolanda Plumley have demonstrated; the uncovering of this practice sheds light on the geographical and temporal diffusion of the cited works.¹⁷ *Les xij balades de Pasques*, a set of French poems celebrating the Resurrection of Christ from the early fifteenth-century, include references to earlier thirteenth- and fourteenth-century songs, thus testifying to their survival.

Musical citations are frequent in Italian literature as well, from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, to Sercambi's *Novelle* and Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Il paradiso degli Alberti*. Besides the literary models, Simone d'Angelo could have been influenced by the practice of quoting chant by Dominican theologians such as Thomas Aquinas and Antoninus of Florence.¹⁸ But the closest predecessor to our *capitolo* is Simone Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*, written approximately in the first half of the fifteenth-century, whose importance

16. BLAKE WILSON, *Singing to the lyre in Renaissance Italy. Memory, performance, and oral Poetry*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2020, p. 297.

17. YOLANDA PLUMLEY, *The art of grafted song: Citation and allusion in the age of Machaut*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013, and ID., *The power of songs past: Evoking old courtly songs in fifteenth-century lyrics for Easter*, in *Polyphonic voices. Poetic and musical dialogues in the European Ars Nova*, ed. Anna Alberni – Antonio Calvia – Maria Sofia Lannutti, Firenze, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2021, pp. 87–123.

18. On Thomas Aquinas and chant see INNOCENT SMITH, *Medieval encounters with the Proper of the Mass, «Worship»*, LXXXV, 2021, pp. 267–277.

for music history has long been recognized.¹⁹ There, the narrating voice quotes musical titles in Italian, French and Latin through the technique of *quodlibet* or *incatenatura* (Ex. 4).

	IDENTIFICATIONS
Come quel che se chiama <i>Alba colomba</i> . Da puoi vi fece su <i>Doi angilette</i> , <i>Le aurate chiome</i> ancor vi mette, <i>L'arpa di melodia</i> vi fece insomma. Ben v'imprometto per ghiesa rimbomba, Quando <i>Li gran disir</i> , cum altre elette Suoni vi fece, che mai non ristette, Come quel che n'avìa piena la giomba. Fecive ancora <i>Maria Virgo Dei</i> Con <i>Pater almo</i> et puoi fe' <i>Sacrosanto</i> , [...]	Bartolino, <i>Alba colomba</i> Bartolino, <i>Du' ançoliti</i> Bartolino, <i>Le aurate chiome</i> Senleches, <i>La harpe de melodie</i> Matteo da Perugia, <i>Le grand desir</i> motet <i>Maria Virgo dei / Pater almo?</i> Bartolino, <i>La sacrosanta carità d'amore</i>

Ex. 4: Simone Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*, Sonnet 29

The same technique is at work in the *capitolo*. Ex. 5 presents the section of the text containing the musical citations (ff. 57v-58v) and its translation. The verse numbers do not reflect the actual length of the *capitolo*, but they have been inserted for practical reasons and only in the section under consideration here. The incipits which I have identified as such are marked by ***bold italics***; more information on the pieces and their sources are in Appendix 1.

Di dolçemele arpe e di leuto immediate udi[i] e soni e canti e strombeççar con pifere et con fiuto nachare, cymbal, corni, tutti quanti balli tripudi fare e be[n] çoiosi 5 come d'agosto nel carro de sancti. 'Rivando mirano oggi curiosi di molte parti in suo città victoria sforzarsi haver nel danzar studiosi. 10 <i>Cantano l'angelecti</i> di suo gloria e del fiolo sancto et benedecto ch'è 'n cielo: in Siena più che altrui s'istoria, <i>Qui sonitu melodie</i> d'essa concepto; chi <i>Virgo mater</i> chi <i>Salve regina</i> , qual biscantando fa questo sonecto: 15	Suddenly I heard sounds and songs made by dulcimer, harp and lute, the blaring of shawms, nakers, cymbals and the horns, and everyone dancing in a circle with great joy like in August on the float of the saints. Today, curious people arriving from many different places in her city (of Mary) are amazed and try to gain victory by engaging in the dances. 10 <i>The angels sing</i> her glory and the glory of her holy and blessed son who is in heaven: in Siena he is revered more than anybody else, he who was conceived by her at the sound of a melody; some sing <i>Virgo mater</i> , some <i>Salve regina</i> , some perform this sonnet in discant:
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19. JOHN NÁDAS, *A cautious reading of Simone Prodenzani's "Il Saporetto"*, «Recercare», x, 1998, pp. 23–38.

« <i>Sperança del mio core</i> », a te s'inchina, ghuida nel cielo e d'ogni ben radice, pregando te per la pietà divina. O gloriosa e somma imperatrice, Verçene Maria piena di gratia,		« <i>Hope of my heart</i> » and kneels in front of you, guide of heaven and root of every goodness, praying you to obtain divine mercy. O glorious and great empress, Virgin Mary full of grace,
de[h] fa' che Siena stie per te felice! O pretiosum manna, madr[e] a tia, or come se' d'ogni beltà dotata! O <i>quam glorifica</i> cantar non si satia quella schiera che tutta la brigata	20	please, make Siena happy! You are the mother of the precious manna (Christ), full of every beauty! That host of angels never tires of singing O <i>quam glorifica</i> , and they seem
par che 'nviti a far sua ariotta d'esta <i>zentil madonna</i> innamorata, ballata ivi todescha ine franciotta, cançone anglica, spagna, <i>Onques ne fu si</i> inter <i>Pris adyou</i> e 'na me' rotta, ²⁰	25	to invite everybody to perform the song of this <i>Gentil madonna</i> in love, a German <i>ballata</i> , a French one, an English song, a Spanish one, <i>Onques ne fu si</i> between <i>Pris adyou</i> and my(?) rotta,
<i>Talent m'es pris</i> de l'antiqui musi, <i>Orsus vos dorme</i> in proportion ch'a tre o 'n quaternario cantar sono usi, O <i>rosa bella</i> d'altra devotione, <i>Hora gridar ome posso bene eo</i> ,	30	<i>Talent m'es pris</i> of the old musicians, <i>Orsus vos dorme</i> in proportion, which they are used to sing in three (ternaria?) or quaternaria, O <i>rosa bella</i> for other devotion, <i>Hora gridar ome posso bene eo</i> ,
<i>Donna il partir</i> con l'altra cançone. <i>Si dolce non sonò con lyra Orpheo</i> ni si suave cantò Philomena quanto allor quelli che matre di deo qui fu accompagnando in patria amena	35	<i>Donna il partir</i> with the other song. <i>Orpheus never sung so sweetly with his lyre</i> , nor did Philomena, as those who accompanied the mother of God in a beautiful land,
ove li celi per maggior letitia a lle' s'aprir con luce più serena. Angeli feron festa a gran divitia et stupefacti l'un l'altro domanda «Chi è costei sì piena di delitia?»	40	where the heavens, for greater joy, opened up for her with more serene light. The angels celebrated such richness and, surprised, they asked each other: «Who is this one, full of delight?»

Ex. 5: Lawrence (KS), Kenneth Spencer Research Library, Ms. 90, ff. 57v-58v

The first four quotations in the text are sacred and/or liturgical. *Cantano gli angioletti / Cantano gli angiol [l]ieti* is a vernacular motet transmitted in *Lo*, one of the main sources of the Trecento repertory compiled in northern Italy in the early fifteenth-century. The next pieces are the Gloria *Qui sonitu melodie* and the Marian antiphon *Salve Regina* with its trope *Virgo Mater*.²¹ The reference could be to chant melodies, which cannot be precisely dated.

20. The verse is hard to interpret. The reading of the manuscript is the following: «interpris adyou enamerotta».

21. GIULIO CATTIN, *Virgo mater ecclesiae: un tropo della Salve regina nelle fonti monodiche e polifoniche dei sec. XIV-XV*, in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento IV*, ed. Agostino Ziino, Certaldo, Centro di Studi sull'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento, 1978, pp. 149–176; ID., *Testi tropati nei codici trentini*, in *I codici musicali trentini a cent'anni dalla loro riscoperta*. Atti del convegno (Trento, 6–7 settembre 1985), ed. Nino Pirrotta – Danilo Curti, Trento, Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 1986, pp. 130–137.

The Gloria *Qui sonitu melodie* is also known in polyphonic settings transmitted by sources from the early fifteenth-century such as *Lo* and *Q15* (Italy, 1420–35). Polyphonic *Salve Regina* are attested from the fourteenth-century onwards (see **Appendix 1**); a 4-voice *Salve Regina* / *Virgo Mater* by Hubertus de Salinis can be found in *Q 15*, while others are transmitted in the later *Tr87*, *Tr92* (1430–45) and *Tr90* (1460ca).

At v. 16, *Speranza del mio core* could be identified with: (1) *Dolce speranza del cor mio* in *MC871*, a codex copied in Naples in the late fifteenth-century; or (2) *O speranza del mio core*, a *lauda* by Francesco d'Albizo printed in *Laude facte e composte da più persone spirituali* (Florence, Bonaccorsi, 1485).²² Thus, the reference could be either to a courtly song or to a *lauda*, in a mix of liturgical and secular typical of the context.

The next citation is *O quam glorifica* on v. 26, a hymn for the Assumption of Mary preserved — in its polyphonic setting — in *Tr87* and *Tr90*.

Starting at v. 27, the liturgical quotations stop and give way to a series of secular songs: *Zentil madonna*, *Onques ne fu si*, *Orsus vos dormez*, *Talent m'es pris*, *O rosa bella*, *Hora gridar ome posso bene eo*, *Donna il partir* and *Sì dolce non sonò con lyra Orpheo*, together with the mention of generic *ballatas* and *canzoni* of different nationalities. *Zentil madonna* could refer to either: (1) an earlier *O zentil madonna mia* transmitted in *Bu*, which contains a repertory dating 1420–40; or (2) the much more popular *Gentil madonna de non me abandonare* by John Bedingham, which appears in the main chansonniers of the 1460/70s.

Onques ne fu si (v. 29) is a *viralai* in *Reina*, a Northern Italian source from the late fourteenth- or the early fifteenth-century. Its first line, *Onques ne fu si dure partie* most likely comes from an earlier trouvère song, doubtfully attributed to Thibaut de Champagne, and is paraphrased by Guillaume de Machaut in both his motet *Hé! Mors* / *Fine amours* / *Quare non sum mortuus* and in his *Livre du Voir dit*.²³ The citation(s) at v. 30 are hard to identify;

22. The print does not provide music for the *lauda*, but a secular model: «cantasi come *O regina del mio core*». Wilson identified the *cantasi come* as Leonardo Giustinian's *Regina del cor mio* (WILSON, *Singing poetry*). Lachlan Hughes suggests instead the anonymous *lauda O regina del mio core* in Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, ms C.256, ff. 173v–174r (mid fifteenth-century). See GLORIA ALLAI, *An unknown fragment of the cantare del padiglione found in codex c.256 of the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence*, «Medioevo romanzo», XVIII 1993, pp. 277–292.

23. JACQUES BOOGAART, *Speculum mortis: form and signification in Machaut's motet Hé! Mors / Fine amours / Quare non sum mortuus (M3)*, in *Machaut's music: new interpretations*, ed. Elisabeth Eva Leach, Boydell, Woodbridge, 2003, pp. 13–30.

Je pry a Dieu qu'il en ait l'ame is the refrain of a poetic *ballade* by Charles d'Orleans: I did not find any other concordance in the musical repertory.²⁴

The *virelai* *Orsus vous dormez trop* and the *chasse* *Talent m'a pris* are fourteenth-century French pieces known south of the Alps, since they are transmitted in Italian sources from the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-centuries such as *Ivrea*, *Lo*, *Pit* and *Reina*.

O rosa bella (v. 36) is a widely transmitted song on a text by Leonardo Giustinian, mentioned also by Prodenzani in Sonnet 35; the *capitolo* might cite either the early version by Johannes Ciconia, or the later one — from around mid fifteenth-century — attributed to John Dunstable or John Bedingham.²⁵ *Hora cridar oimè posso ben io* (v. 35) cannot be dated long before 1450, since the author of the text, Leonardo Montagna, was born around 1425; indeed, it is copied in chansonniers from mid-century such as *Ber* and *Esc*.²⁶

Verse 37 quotes Francesco Landini's *Sì dolce non sonò con lyra Orpheo*. Since the madrigal most likely celebrates the French theorist Philippe de Vitry as still living, it must date from before 1361 (the death of Vitry); thus, it is possibly the earliest cited work in the *capitolo*.²⁷ Besides the antiquity of the piece, the quotation is unusual because it includes other significant words from the song in the following verses, a deeper intertextuality which suggests a familiarity with the piece in its entirety (Ex 6).

24. Database Jonas-IRHT/CNRS: <<http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/12342>> (consulted 27/12/2024). Another reading of the verse could be *Intepris adyou enamerotta*, where each of the three words represents a citation. In this case, possible references multiply.

25. David Fallows is inclined to attribute the piece to Bedingham. See DAVID FALLOWS, *Dunstable, Bedyngham and O rosa bella*, in *Songs and musicians in the fifteenth century*, London, Rutledge, 1996, pp. 287–305. On the fortune and the sources of the text see FABIO CARBONI – AGOSTINO ZIINO, *O rosa bella, tra canto, oralità e scrittura: una nuova fonte*, «Studi romanzi», n.s., V-VI, 2009–2010, pp. 287–320.

26. DAVID FALLOWS, *A catalogue of polyphonic songs (1415–1480)*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 522–523.

27. KURT VON FISCHER, *Philippe de Vitry in Italy and an homage of Landini to Philippe*, in *L'Ars nova del Trecento IV*, pp. 225–235, and PEDRO MEMELSDORFF, *La tibia di Apollo, i modelli di Jacopo e l'eloquenza landiniana*, in *Col dolce suon che da te piove. Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo*, ed. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani – Antonio Delfino, Firenze, Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999, pp. 241–257.

LANDINI	SIMONE D'ANGELO
Si dolce non sonò con lyra Orpheo quando a sé trasse fiere, uccelli e boschi d'Amor cantando, d'infante e di deo , come lo gallo mio di fuor da' boschi con nota tale, che già ma' udita non fu da Philomena in verdi boschi.	Si dolce non sonò con lyra Orpheo ni sì suave cantò Philomena quanto allor quelli che matre di deo [...]

Ex. 6: Text of *Si dolce non sonò* in Landini and in Simone d'Angelo

Because of its closeness to *Si dolce*, I propose to identify *Donna 'l partire* at v. 36 with another Landini composition, the ballata *Donna, 'l tuo partimento*.

5. The long life of the Trecento repertory

Ex. 7 lists the citations as a whole and groups them chronologically. The first column contains the pieces which belong to the Ars nova/Trecento repertory, transmitted in sources from the late fourteenth- and the early fifteenth-century. In the next column are the later pieces, dating from the mid to the late fifteenth-century. Because of the ambiguity in the identification, some incipits appear twice (*O zentil madonna mia*/*Gentil madonna* and *O rosa bella*). Others (for example *Salve regina* or *Virgo mater*) have multiple or difficult identifications, thus cannot be dated with certainty.

TRECENTO REPERTORY	MID FIFTEENTH-CENTURY REPERTORY	MULTIPLE/DIFFICULT IDENTIFICATIONS
Cantano gli angioletti Gloria qui sonitu melodie O zentil madonna mia Onques ne fu si dure partie Talent m'a pris Or sus vous dormez trop O rosa bella (Ciconia) Donna 'l tuo partimento Si dolce non sonò con lyra Orpheo	Sperança del mio core Gentil madonna (Bedingham) O rosa bella (Dunstable/Bedingham) Hora cridar oimè posso ben io	Virgo mater Salve Regina O quam glorifica Pris adyeu

Ex. 7: Pieces cited in chronological groups

With the addition of some well-known fifteenth-century songs, a great number of the pieces cited by Simone d'Angelo in his *capitolo* from 1486 are not contemporary, but a Trecento *corpus* in all its manifestations: Italian and French songs and liturgical pieces. If we consider the dating of *Sì dolce non sonò* (ante 1361), possibly the oldest composition in the *capitolo*, the repertory spans about 130 years. The antiquity of the cited pieces is not only implicit, but quite explicitly stated at v. 31, when the poet labels *Talent m'a pris* «de l'antiqui musi» («of the ancient musicians»). Prodenzani had made a similar judgment in his Sonnet 48, defining Jacopo da Bologna's *Non al suo amante* «che ben che sia antico è molto buono» («although old, it is very good»). Considering the conventional dating of *Il Saporetto* (1415?) and the activity of Jacopo da Bologna (around mid fourteenth-century), the age of *Non al suo amante* was about 65 years: our *capitolo* testifies to a life span twice as long.

John Nádas rightly warned us against taking the quotation of musical incipits in literary sources too literally, more specifically in two ways: (1) their dependence on a written source, not from on living repertory; and (2) their use as a rhetorical device.²⁸ If knowledge of the repertory in written form is certainly a possibility, it is also true that no known source contains both the Trecento and the mid fifteenth-century repertory, which are normally transmitted separately and with different notation.

There is no doubt that the *accumulatio* of musical incipits during Mary's Assumption is a rhetorical device meant to evoke the sonic environment of Siena's celebration, as well as its visual representations. I argue, though, that the citations are significant *despite* their rhetorical function. Communication theory teaches us that a message is only effective if the sender and the receiver share a code. Thus, for the musical incipits to appropriately symbolize the musicality of the Assumption, they needed to be known by Simone d'Angelo, Madonna Perna and all the other listeners of the *capitolo*. The two main characters involved in this exchange are representatives of two different intellectual and social classes. Simone d'Angelo was a Dominican theologian, while Madonna Perna was probably a well-educated woman (in music as well): but neither of them was a professional musician. If an 'average' member of the Tuscan upper class could recognize the references to the cited pieces, it means that the Trecento repertory — or at least a part of it — was still known about a century later.

28. NÁDAS, *A cautious reading*.

How the repertory survived, and in which form, remains an open question. Although not actively copied long into the next century, Trecento music was still circulating in manuscripts such as *Ch*, *Sq* or *SL*, as well as in several sources containing its literary texts.²⁹ This does not mean that, over time, older pieces were preserved without changes. Madonna Perna could have known Landini in a different form (and performance practice) from the ‘original’ one. Zaccara da Teramo’s *Be’ llo sa Dio* mentioned above is an example of survival through transformation.

Another means of preservation is the *contrafactio* of melodies for *lauda* singing. Significant in this regard is the comment on the citation at v. 34 «O rosa bella d’altra devotione» («O rosa bella for other devotion»). The reference is to the use of the song as a model for at least two *lauda* to the Virgin (*O diva stella, o vergine Maria* and *O sacra stella, vergine humile e pia*). Simone d’Angelo’s *capitolo* includes secular songs to the greater glory of the Virgin, but at the same time reminds its audience of their alternative use for devotional purposes. Other quoted songs are models for *lauda*: *Zentil madonna* and *Hora gridar ome posso bene eo*, while *Sperança del mio core* could be a *lauda* itself (see Appendix 1). If the reuse of melodies with new *lauda* texts is a sign of the vitality of the pieces, this same reuse could be the cause of their inclusion in a devotional text such as our *capitolo*.

6. Conclusions: a question of methodology

The discovery of ms. 90 of the Spencer Library suggests a different methodological approach to measure the survival of a repertory. For the *Ars nova*, changes in compositional style and notational habits pointed to a demarcation around 1430, which has been interpreted by musicologists as a relatively quick obsolescence of older music.³⁰ It is only by considering other kinds of sources, literary and devotional, that we get a different perspective. Similarly to *Les xij balades de Pasques* or Prodenzani’s *Il Saporetto*, but over a much longer span of time, Simone d’Angelo’s *capitolo* testifies to the long life of the Trecento repertory into the next century. Far from having become obsolete and forgotten, a significant portion of this corpus was still alive

29. On the literary sources of the *Ars Nova* repertory see LAUREN MCGUIRE JENNINGS, *Senza vestimenta: The literary tradition of Trecento song*, Burlington, Ashgate, 2014.

30. This fracture was mostly based on Tinctoris’ famous statement of the beginning of a ‘new art’ in the 1430, which has been now re-evaluated. See ROB C. WEGMAN, *Johannes Tinctoris and the ‘new art’*, «Music & Letters», LXXXIV/2, 2003, pp. 171–188.

and well into the second half of the Quattrocento, enough to be cited in an intellectual exchange involving individuals of different gender, social and intellectual class.

In this perspective we should interpret the gift of *Ch* in 1461 to three young women of the Florentine aristocracy. Like Madonna Perna, the Spinelli girls could have appreciated a wide range of musical styles that included contemporary pieces together with much older ones, testifying to a historical awareness not yet recognized in musicological perspective for the late Middle Ages.

APPENDIX 1: INCIPITS AND IDENTIFICATIONS

INCIPIT	PROPOSED IDENTIFICATION	SOURCES ³¹	GENRE	LAUDA CON-TRAFACTUM
Cantano l'angelecti	Cantano gli angioletti / Can- tano gli angiol [l]ieti	Lo, 36v-38r	Vernacular motet	
Qui sonitu melodie	Gloria qui sonitu melodie	Polyphonic set- tings in: Gr224, 2v-3v; PadA; Ivrea, 36v-37r; Br5, II; and others	Trope of the Gloria	
Virgo mater	Virgo mater ecclesiae, in chant or polyphony	As trope of the Salve regina in Q15, 265v-266r (Hubertus de Salinis) Independent in Tr90, 350r-351r; Bg37, 93v-95r	Trope of the Salve regina	
Salve regina	Salve regina, in chant or polyphony	Polyphonic Salve regina from the fourteenth-cen- tury onwards in Rsmt and Bg589 With trope in Q15, 265v-266r (Hubertus de Salinis); Tr87, Tr90 and Tr92	Marian antiphon	

31. This is not a complete list of sources for each piece, but a way to give an idea of its transmission. For obvious reasons, preference has been given to Italian sources.

INCIPIT	PROPOSED IDENTIFICATION	SOURCES ³¹	GENRE	LAUDA CONTRAFACTUM
Sperança del mio core	1. Dolce speranza del cor mio 2. O speranza del mio core	1. MC871, 14v 2. Bon1485, 40v	1. Secular song 2. Lauda by Francesco d'Albizo. Rubric 'cantasi come: O regina del mio core'	Apostol del figliuol di Dio
O quam glorifica	O quam glorifica, in chant or polyphony	Motet: Tr87, 241v-242r; Tr92, 136r; and other later sources	Hymn (chant) for the Assumption of the Virgin / Motet	
Zentil madonna	1. Zentil madonna mia 2. John Bedingham, Gentil madonna de nome habandonare	1. Bu, 50v-51r 2. In several mid fifteenth-century chansonniers, for example Cord and Pix, 89v-90r		1. Humil madonna non mi abbandonare (Francesco d'Albizo)
Onques ne fu si	Onques ne fu si dure partie	Reina, 67v-68r; Str, 17v	Virelai	
Pris adyou	Charles d'Orleans, Je pry a Dieu qu'il en ait l'ame??	Sources at < http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/1234 >		
Talent m'es pris	Talent m'a pris de chanter	Ivrea, 52r; Prague9, 249v	Chasse, 3vv	
Orsus vos dorme	Or sus, vous dormez trop, ma dame	Lo, 76v-77r; Pit, 122v-124r; Reina, 78v-79r; Faenza, 48v-49r; Ivrea, 14v-15r; Lu, 30v; PadC; and others	Virelai	

INCIPIT	PROPOSED IDENTIFICATION	SOURCES ³¹	GENRE	LAUDA CONTRAFACTUM
O rosa bella	1. Johannes Ciconia, O rosa bella, text by Leonardo Giustinian 2. John Dunstable/ John Bedingham, O rosa bella	1. Sev, 46v-48r; Urb1411, 7v-9r 2. In several mid fifteenth-century chansonniers, for example Cord, 8v-10r and Esc, 35v-37r		O diva stella, o vergine Maria; O sacra stella, vergine humile e pia
Hora gridar ome posso ben eo	Hora cridar oimè posso ben io, text by Leonardo Montagna	Ber; Esc; To, second layer (1470s); and others		Alma regina celi madre d'Idio; Ave Maria del tuo figliolo sposa; Cantar vorrei Maria col cor giulio (Feo Belcari); Oggi è quel glorioso di giocondo
Donna il partir	Francesco Landini, Donna 'l tuo partimento?	Pit, 62v-63r; Fp, 5v-6r; Sq, 149v	Ballata	
Sì dolce non sonò con lyra Orphea	Francesco Landini, Sì dolce non sonò con lyra Orphea	Lo, 8v-9r; Pit, 12v-13r; Fp, 44v-45r; Sq, 123v-124r	Madrigale	

APPENDIX 2

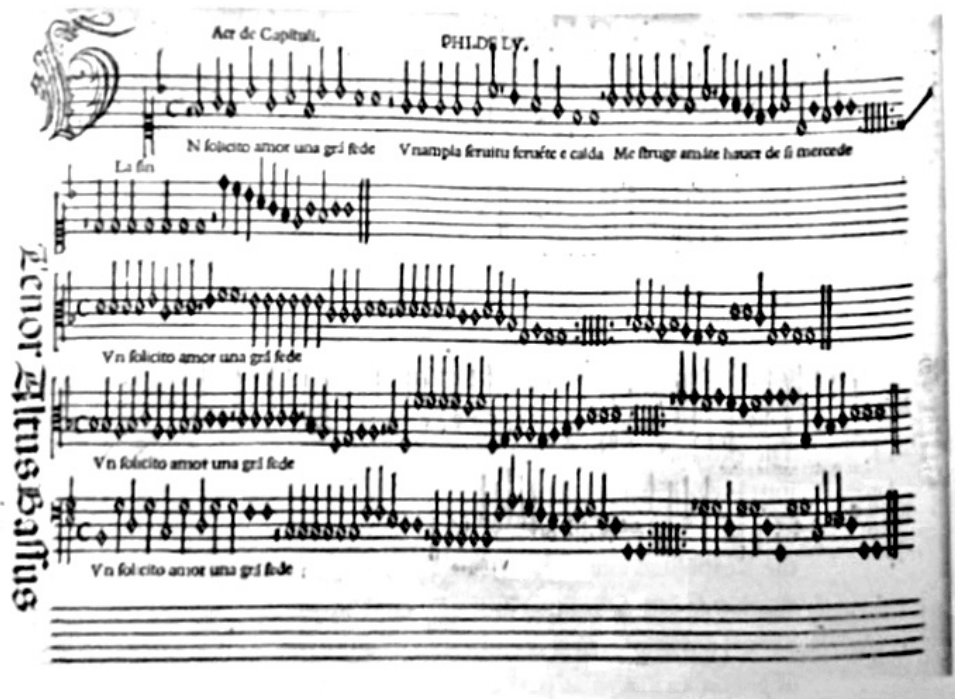


Fig. 2: Filippo de Lurano, *Aer de' capituli* from *Aer de' capituli, strambotti, ode, frottole, sonetti* (Venice, Petrucci, 1507). In the following transcription the music is fitted to the first tercet and the last line of Simone d'Angelo's text.

C Di dol - ce - me - le ar - pe_e di le - u - to

A

T

B

8 in - me - di - a - te_u - di[i] e so - ni_e can - ti

15 1. e strom-beç - çar con pi - fa - re et con fiu - to

25 2. «Chi è co-stei sì pie - na di de - li - tia?»

CANTO *A tre voci.*



Lodate fanciulletti in suon'e canto, Il buon Giesù che l'univers'honora, Lodat'il
nome suo tre volte santo, lodat'il nome suo tre volte santo.

ALTO



Lodate fanciulletti in suon'e canto, Il buon Giesù che l'univers'honora, lodate'l
nome suo tre volte santo, lodate'l nome suo tre volte santo.

BASSO



Lodate fanciulletti in suon'e canto Il buon Giesù che l'univers'honora, loda-
re'l nome suo tre volte santo, lodate'l nome suo tre volte santo.

Fig. 3: Serafino Razzi, *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* (Venice, 1563), formula for the *capitolo ternario*. In the following transcription the music is fitted to the first tercet and the last line of Simone d'Angelo's text.

A (sic)
 C (sic)
 B

Di dol - çe - me - le ar - pe_e di le - u -

9

-to in - me - dia - te u - di[i] e so - ni_e can -

18

1. -ti e strom-beç - çar con pi - fa - ri_et con fiu - to

27

2. «Chi è co - stei sì pie - na di de - li - tia?»