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The Angevin Struggle for the Kingdom of Naples (c. 1378–1411) and The Politics of Repertoire in Mod A: New Hypotheses

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Musicological scholarship in the last twenty years has dramatically altered our understanding of the role of the north-western European so-called international repertoire in Italian musical culture c. 1390 – c. 1420. In an elegant summary of this scholarship, Agostino Ziino (2008) argues that before c. 1400 the Francophone international repertoire, including its style and compositional processes, had already permeated not only northern Italian centres like Pavia and Padua but also southern centres like Rome and indeed Naples. Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas (1994, 1998, 2004) have shown that the papal chapel and curia in Rome were home to many northern musicians and may have served as a channel through which much of the northern international repertoire passed into Italy. In the 1390s the young northern composer Johannes Ciconia was already in Rome, and he and his colleague, Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo, were developing a major new style of composition comparable to the international style of pictorial art in the hands of Giovanni da Modena and Gentile da Fabriano. The technical rigour of northern composition shaped the musical style of this generation of composers, while maintaining elements of a native Italian composition. Carla Vivarelli (2007, 2009) also emphasises the role of Naples as a centre of musical cultivation during the fourteenth century. At least two of the major Italian masters of the elaborate musical style cultivated around 1400, known today as the *Ars subtilior*, seem to have originated in the Campania region, namely Antonello and Philipotto da Caserta. One of the salient points that Ziino makes is that the pattern of recently discovered Italian musical fragments indicates that the northern European or French style of composition was just as widely known and practised in central and upper southern Italy as in the north (Ziino 2008: 20–1). Northern Italian centres, like Pavia and Padua, need no longer be privileged in musicological discussions of French-style music from around the year 1400. Rome, Naples and other centres in central Italy also played roles in the dissemination and cultivation of a repertoire of international French- and Latin-texted compositions.

Yet the agency of specific personalities and their circumstances cannot be overlooked when it comes to an important witness of Franco-Italian musical culture from this period: Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS. a.M.5.24 (hereafter Mod A)¹. The following account attempts to frame part of Mod A in terms of some of the political forces that



might have shaped its repertoire. The popes of the schismatic church (1378–1417) remain central to this narrative, although several other figures involved in the ecclesiastical and secular politics of this period will assume a new significance in this account of the creation of part of Mod A.

Background to Mod A

Mod A consists of two distinct major layers. Its first and fifth gatherings (fols. av+1r–10v and 41r–50v+2r) represent one layer (Mod A_{Iv}); the second to fourth gatherings (fols. 11r–40r) another (Mod A_{II-IV}) ([Memelsdorff 2001](#); [Stone 2005: 49–60](#) and [108–9](#)). Since both layers are distinct from one another in their codicological and paleographic features, decoration and repertoire, it seems only appropriate to examine each independently before reconsidering Mod A as a whole. The task of revisiting previous scholarship on this manuscript is a formidable one, and this is the second part of a two-part study of Mod A_{II-IV}. The first part has appeared as Stoessel ([2014](#)).

Mod A_{II-IV} contains 48 French-texted songs from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. It also holds seven Latin songs, three Latin motets, two settings of the Gloria, a Credo, a polyphonic Latin Christmas hymn (*Puer natus in Bethlehem*), Johannes Ciconia's Latin puzzle canon, and just seven Italian songs shared between Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo (three songs), Bartolino da Padova (three songs) and Francesco da Firenze a.k.a. Landini (one song). Five songs by the French composer Guillaume de Machaut represent some of the oldest compositions in Mod A ([Stone 2011: 170–89](#)): *De petit peu* (fol. 26r) and *Se vous n'estes* (fol. 34r) are first found in Machaut C (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, frç. 1586), which may date from as early as 1349 ([Earp 1995: 73–97](#)). Despite the fact that no fewer than 18 French-texted songs are ascribed to composers whose names suggest an Italian origin, the repertoire of Mod A_{II-IV} is heavily weighted towards a Francophone and, to some extent, Latinate culture. This is partly not surprising considering the currency of French as a courtly language in Italy ([Fallows 1989](#)) and the importance of Latin as a *lingua franca*, but it does not fully explain the concentration of songs in these languages.

On fol. 16r, the scribe responsible for copying Mod A_{Iv} palimpsested one of three motets found in Mod A_{II-IV}, *Gratiosus fervidus/Magnanimus opere*, replacing it with Matteo da Perugia's *Pres du soloil* (editions: [Günther 1965: 153](#); [Greene 1982: 65](#) respectively). The same motet appears on fol. 50v of Mod A, in a set of fragments forming the flyleaves of MS. 1475 in the Biblioteca Universitaria in Padua, and in a fragment recently discovered in the Queen's University Special Collections in Belfast². Michael Scott Cuthbert ([2010: 17–19](#)) suggests that this motet was part of the international repertoire that circulated in Italy no later than the last decade of the fourteenth century. The duplication of the motet, *Gratiosus fervidus/Magnanimus opere*, the intervention of the scribe of Mod A_{Iv} repeatedly in Mod A_{II-IV}, and their independence of repertoire and preparation are just some of the pieces of evidence that suggest both layers were unrelated projects that the scribe of Mod A_{Iv} subsequently brought together.

Reinhard Strohm ([1989](#)) was one of the first scholars to propose that the music of Mod A in the so-called *Ars subtilior* style might be associated with the Visconti of Milan and Pavia. There is a solid body of evidence to indicate that French culture had a place in the courts of Bernabò (1323–1385), Giangaleazzo (1351–1402) and even Filippo Maria Visconti (1392–1442). Ties with the royal Valois family of France were especially strong for the first Duke of Milan, Giangaleazzo, whose first wife was Isabelle of Valois (1348–1372) and whose daughter Valentina (1368–1408) married the ill-fated Louis of Orléans (1372–1407). Reconstructing the culture of the Visconti court is made difficult by the dispersal of much of its holdings at the end of the fifteenth century. Although there can be no doubt that some of Giovannino de' Grassi's greatest illuminations were commissioned by Giangaleazzo (see, for example, the Book of Hours now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence ([Meiss and Kirsch 1972](#))) and that some important northern Italian collections of French poetry date from around the time of Giangaleazzo and his sons ([Vitale-Brovarone 1980](#); [Stone 2005: 81](#)), tracing the precise nature of the musical culture of the Visconti court has proven more difficult, though scholars like F. Alberto Gallo ([1995: 47–67](#)) and Oliver Huck ([2005: 293–302](#); [2007](#)) have made significant contributions. Certainly there are some oblique textual references to the Visconti or Visconti politics (two are discussed below) in a handful of songs, but it is difficult to go beyond the assumption that these songs were written *at* the courts of Milan and Pavia, rather than simply *for* a Visconti lord.

Previous scholars credited Matteo da Perugia, a composer hypothetically connected to the Visconti, with a central role in Mod A's creation. Matteo's compositions dominate Mod A_{Iv} and the scribe of Mod A_{II-IV} copied a further six of his songs. Matteo was *maestro di cappella* at



Milan Cathedral 1403–1407 and again in 1414–1415. In 1406 and 1407, he served Pétros Fílargos of Candia (c.1339–1410). Fílargos was made Archbishop of Milan on the eve of Giangaleazzo's death in 1402, took the purple in 1405 and was elected Pope Alexander V at the Council of Pisa in 1409. Nino Pirrotta and, more recently, Anne Stone argued that, during the seven years 1407–1414, Matteo served first Fílargos until the pope's death in early May 1410 and then Alexander's successor, John XXIII (Baldassarre Cossa), until the eve of the Council of Constance ([Pirrotta 1944–1945: 150](#); [Stone 2005: 67–9](#)). Benjamin Brand ([2003](#)) also contends that Alexander V commissioned Matteo to compose the motet, *Ave sancta mundi salus/Agnus dei*, for one of the last sessions of the Council of Pisa. But this composition appears in the first gathering (fols. av-1r) and is thus not relevant to the present discussion.

Given the presence of Matteo's compositions in Mod A_{II-IV}, the persistent hypothesis of this composer's Bologna period remains attractive even in light of new discoveries about this layer. Yet no documentary evidence for Matteo's presence in the chapel of Alexander V or John XXIII has surfaced to date. Pay lists from Alexander V's brief pontificate have disappeared, if indeed they ever existed. Lists of chaplains in the service of John XXIII in 1412 and 1413 do not mention Matteo, although two from the first half of 1413 name Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo ([Nádas 1986, 1987: 178–9](#); [Di Bacco and Nádas 1998](#)). Lucia Marchi ([2001](#)) points out that these two pay lists date from the time that John XXIII was in Rome. By June 1413, John had fled the eternal city for the safer environs of Florence. It seems that he left without his composer-singer, although those in John's entourage may have brought with them word of Zacharias's reputation and his musical compositions to the city on the Arno. It is no coincidence that the famous Squarcialupi Codex (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pal. 87) that Luciano Bellosi ([1992](#)) dated to c. 1410–1415 refers to Zacharias as 'Singer of our Lord the Pope' ('Magister Çacharias Chantor Domini nostri Pape') ([Marchi 2004](#)). Perhaps Matteo da Perugia was attached to John or his curia, but the crumb trail of Matteo's career disappears between 1407 and 1414 – and also after 1417 – and remains a matter of speculation.

Even the case of Matteo's *Pres du soloil* is fraught. Anne Stone tentatively dates this ballade to the mid 1420s ([Stone 2005: 104–6](#)), arguing that its imagery of a falcon menacing nearby birds 'is strongly reminiscent' of an emblem that the third Duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti, adopted around the commencement of a war with Florence in the mid 1420s. Stone rightly shows some reserve in reaching this conclusion. Falcons in Trecento poetry are not uncommon, especially in erotic poetry in which the falcon's snatching away or piercing prey with its talons formed part of the discourse belonging to the hyper-masculinised allegory of the 'love hunt' that features in the courtly lyric tradition ([Gualtieri 2005](#)).

The composer, Antonello da Caserta, also features in Mod A_{II-IV}. His eight French-texted compositions there represent pinnacles of the Ars subtilior style in the hands of Italian masters. Surviving sources suggest Antonello lived a double life, transmitting his settings of French texts separately from his Italian settings. Memelsdorff ([1992](#)) links the style of Antonello's Italian-texted works with his French ones, but this approach requires caution: musical styles can be easily emulated. His French texts follow the conventions of unrequited love and an unobtainable woman, who is the object of the poet's affection or praise. Although most of his Italian texts are slanted towards *il dolce stile nuovo*, two stand out for the heraldic imagery. John Nádas and Agostino Ziino tie Antonello's *Del glorioso titolo d'esto duce* (edition: [Marrocco 1977: 60](#)) to the raising of Giangaleazzo Visconti to the Duchy of Milan in 1395, and his *Più chiar che 'l sole* to the marriage of Lucia Visconti to Frederick of Thuringia (see [Nádas and Ziino 1990: 38–9](#); see also [Stone 2005: 79](#); edition: [Memelsdorff 1992: 16–21](#)). Yet none of Antonello's Italian-texted songs appear in Mod A. All survive on leaves from a disassembled early fifteenth-century manuscript mostly now shelved as MS. 184 in the Archivio di Stato, Lucca, known as the Lucca Codex ([Nádas and Ziino 1990](#))³. On the basis of Matteo da Perugia apparently supplying a new contratenor for Antonello's *Più chiar che 'l sole*, Strohm ([1989: 66](#)) conjectures that the composers knew one another, although Memelsdorff ([1992](#)) questions this hypothesis.

The documentary evidence for Antonello's presence in Pavia and in the circle of Fílargos is slim. An archival document from Pavia mentions a 'frater Antoniello de Caserta' in 1402, possibly in relation to the *studium generale* or archbishop's court there ([Stone 2005: 79](#)). Stone notes a discrepancy between Mod A and the document from Pavia: ascriptions in Mod A never refer to Antonello as 'frater'. Yet the scribe of Mod A_{II-IV} often takes great pains to include the ecclesiastical titles of composers. The Lucca Codex refers to Antonello as 'Antonellus Marot de Caserta'. In the fragments in Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta manoscritti, busta 75, no. 26, reg. 52, the same scribe who copied Mod A_{IV} ascribed *Più chiar che 'l sole* (which includes the second contratenor ascribed to Matteo da Perugia) to 'A. Marotus de Caserta Abbas'⁴. The same composition is ascribed to 'Anthonellus' in the Lucca Codex, indicating that the ascription in Parma must read 'Antonellus Marotus de Caserta Abbas'. That Antonello was an abbot (*abbas*) when the Parma fragments were copied



lends support to identifying the composer with the ‘Antoniello’ from Pavia, if we accept that ‘frater’ was a universal title for a monk of any medieval religious order, including Benedictines and those monastic houses that kept an abbot (which excludes most mendicant orders). A second discrepancy exists in Mod A, the scribe of which made no reference to Antonello’s surname, Marot or Maroth. Are both Antonelli the same composer?

A re-reading of the intersection of two pieces of evidence may shed a different light on Antonello’s biography. The Parma bifolio containing Antonello’s *Più chiar che ‘l sole* was recovered from the bindings of a register dated 1463 from the priory and church of San Bartolomeo in Piacenza, apparently later transferred to the Hieronymite (Benedictine before 1495) abbey of San Savino in Piacenza.⁵ The abbey was dissolved in 1579 (Porter 1912: 360). In 1398, Giangaleazzo Visconti suppressed the university in Pavia (it was restored in 1412) and reformed the University of Piacenza with the view to making it the ‘Visconti’ university (Rashdall 1895: 35). If the 1402 reference to ‘frater Antoniello de Caserta’ relates to the *studium generale* or university, then it must refer to the University of Piacenza. Yet Antonello cannot be identified among the 72 doctors and masters teaching in Piacenza between 1398 and 1402 (Ripalta and Ripalta 1731, coll. 939–41). Surviving foliations (233 and 242) indicate that the Parma fragment once formed part of an enormous music manuscript that paralleled Mod A in terms of its preference for a Francophone repertoire of songs. Of the seven compositions transmitted in the Parma fragment, two use Italian texts and the remainder French texts. Parma includes a contratenor by Matteo da Perugia for Nicholas Grenon’s *Je ne requier de ma dame*, a ballade whose other voices are found in Mod A fols. 45v–46r. Could Antonello have been teaching at the university in Piacenza around this time or is it simply that San Bartolomeo in Piacenza obtained a music manuscript as binding material from another location, possibly even Pavia?

Clearly, further archival research is needed to discover at what monastery Antonello was an abbot and what this might tell us about his career. Until new archival evidence emerges, the answer to how Antonello’s compositions found their way into Mod A will remain speculative. Certainly, if Matteo was in Bologna, this might partly explain the pattern of transmission of Antonello’s works. Piacenza is on the route that Matteo would have travelled on a journey from Pavia to Bologna. Conversely, if Antonello is the composer of both French- and Italian-texted works, perhaps his reputation and connections with other monastics represented in Mod A were sufficient to warrant the inclusion of his French-texted works. The premise that other agents played a role in this manuscript’s compilation will be explored in the remainder of this article.

In sum, although some of the repertoire of Mod A_{II-IV} might have sprung from the circle of Filargos, it contains no concrete textual references to this prelate. Furthermore, the biographies of the composers represented in Mod A_{II-IV} – the interested reader is invited to consult Stone (2005: 60–97) for further details – are insufficient to tie down this manuscript to a particular place and date. A clearer picture of its origin materialises when we look to the illumination of Mod A_{II-IV}.

Elsewhere, I have reviewed the findings of Federica Toniolo’s essay on the illuminations in Mod A (Toniolo 2005). Strong additional evidence exists to link the decoration of Mod A_{II-III} to the Master of 1411, an anonymous illuminator active in Bologna from 1404 to 1411 (Stoessel 2014: 4–15). Massimo Medica (2004) identified the Master of 1411’s work in a psalter decorated at the Olivetan abbey of San Michele in Bosco on the outskirts of medieval Bologna. The illuminator of Mod A and the Master of 1411 both possessed knowledge of Paduan culture, especially of the heraldic devices and symbols of the Carrara family who ruled Padua until 1405 (Stoessel 2014: 15–23). From this, I have proposed that the Master of 1411 might have been Giacomo da Padova, the illuminator documented at the same Olivetan abbey 1407–1409 and still active in Bologna in 1413, although Giordana Mariani Canova (2004: 558) recently suggested that Giacomo was one of the illuminators working in the Paduan style alongside the Master of 1411. The sojourn of John XXIII and his entourage of cardinals at San Michele in Bosco in early September 1410 (Sorbelli 1900: 536) may represent the moment when Mod A_{II-III} was decorated. Gathering IV must have been completed at another time, but before John XXIII, his curia and Louis II of Anjou left Bologna for Rome in March 1411 (see Appendix). These conclusions substantiate an earlier hypothesis for Mod A’s origin in Bologna first put forward by Nino Pirrotta (1944–1945, 151–2; see also Sartori 1956: 20) and endorsed by Ursula Günther (1970: 44–5).

The remainder of this article will examine what forces, especially political ones, might have shaped the contents of Mod A_{II-IV}. One of the possible factors in Mod A’s compilation that most musicologists have largely overlooked is the presence of Louis II of Anjou and his court in Pisa and Bologna during the crucial years 1409–1411. Ursula Günther (1970: 46) was the only scholar to propose a link between



Mod A and Louis II of Anjou in her important study of Mod A, although her remarks pertained to the transmission of Nicholas Grenon's *Je ne requier de ma dame* in Mod A's gathering V (fols. 45v–46r). I propose that the contents of Mod A_{II–IV} in part witness the presence of Louis II of Anjou in Pisa and Bologna between 1409 and 1411. In particular, I connect two little-discussed songs to Anjou's physical presence in the same environment in which Mod A_{II–IV} was compiled. In adopting such an approach, I have borne in mind well-known caveats such as those of Strohm ([1981: especially 320](#)) concerning music and politics in the early fifteenth century. Situating Mod A_{II–IV} on art-historic grounds in Bologna 1410–1411 affords me the opportunity to consider anew the political context in which its repertoire might have thrived.

Louis II of Anjou

To explain the forces that drew the house of Valois-Anjou into the affairs of the Great Schism of the Western Church would take us beyond the scope of the present article, but the following brief overview suffices to familiarise the reader with the key events that preceded the return of Louis II of Anjou to Italy in mid-1409. The Great Schism commenced in 1378 after a party of cardinals fled Rome, declared the previous election of Pope Urban VI invalid, and elected Robert of Geneva in his place. The 'Babylonian captivity of the papacy' (a phrase based upon Francesco Petrarca's frequent comparison of Avignon to biblical Babylon) for the previous seventy years in Avignon provided the perfect situation for Robert. After taking the name of Clement VII, he returned with his cardinals to the new papal palace on the Rhône River.

If the Schism was not already political, it became so when the royal houses and republics of Europe declared their allegiance for one pope or another. The socio-political reality was reflected, albeit with partisan bias, in several texts set to music during the first years of the Schism. Matheus de Sancto Johanne's *Inclite flos, orti Gebennensis*, for example, refers to the French and Spanish obedience to Pope Clement VII at the beginning of the Schism ([Stoessel 2009: 194–7](#)). The house of Valois-Anjou itself had been drawn into the affairs of the Great Schism in 1380 when Clement VII persuaded the childless Queen Johanna of Naples to adopt Louis of Anjou (1339–1384) as her heir. As the younger brother of the recently deceased Charles V of France and regent of France during the first two years of Charles VI's minority, Louis seized the opportunity for obtaining his own crown. Assisted by Clement VII and financed by the lord of Milan, Bernabò Visconti (1323–1385), Louis marched into Italy intent on taking Naples, the seat of the Kingdom. Another ballade, Philipotto da Caserta's *Par le grant senz d'Adriane*, champions Louis's cause and claim to Naples ([Stoessel 2009: 192–4](#)). But Louis of Anjou's campaign faltered in southern Italy. Starved, demoralised and hemmed in on the Adriatic coast by his counterclaimant Charles Durazzo (1345–1386), Louis succumbed to a fever in 1384. Louis's title passed to his son Louis II, who as a boy of seven did not physically assert his claim for another six years, although remarkably he retook Naples in 1390.

In his maturity, Louis II of Anjou was one of the most important political figures in the decades either side of 1400, offering cool-headed guidance to the feuding houses of France but siding eventually with Orléans against Burgundy when civil war threatened to engulf the Kingdom of France ([Coville 1941: 25–35](#)). He had inherited sizeable swathes of France, including the duchies of Anjou and Provence, and the disputed Kingdom of Sicily. After 1399, Louis presided over the Royal Council and was one of the regents responsible for ruling France during the long bouts of insanity experienced by his cousin, King Charles VI.

In early 1409, fortune smiled once again upon Louis II of Anjou when the cardinals planning the Council of Pisa sought his protection and assistance in the election of a conciliar pope in return for recognising his claim over Naples. The promise of 1,000 lances by Florence and further support from Siena was more than sufficient to prompt Louis to put his affairs in order and leave for Italy. Shortly after his arrival in Pisa in 1409, newly elected Pope Alexander V re-invested Anjou with the title of the Kingdom of Sicily and Protector of the Church. It was not the first time that a pope had endorsed Louis's claim: in 1385 Clement VII and then Clement's successor, Benedict XIII, in 1402 had invested him with the same title ([Valois 1896–1902, Vol. 4: 120](#); [Kitts 1908: 387–8](#)). If Noel Valois's analysis is correct, the practicalities that emerged after Louis II arrived in Pisa, however, caused him to pour most of his energy into the conquest of Rome rather than Naples ([Valois 1896–1902, Vol. 4: 122](#)).

Apart from the winter of 1409–1410, when he returned to France to shore up his finances and family relations, Anjou remained in Italy from July 1409 to the beginning of August 1411 (see [Appendix](#)) ([Sorbelli 1900: 133–7](#); [Guasti 1867: 205](#); [Valois 1896–1902: 120–41](#)). He spent



much of this time in the company of Pope Alexander V, the cardinal-legate Baldassare Cossa (c. 1370–1418) or the powerful Bolognini family of Bologna. Cossa would become John XXIII (not to be confused with the twentieth-century sanctified pope of the same name) following Alexander's death in May 1410. With Cossa and General Paolo Orsini, Louis recovered Rome by the beginning of October 1409. After a disastrous start to his second campaign in 1410, Anjou failed to capitalise on his convincing defeat of counterclaimant Ladislaus of Naples in the Battle of Roccasecca in the following summer of 1411. Possibly the tales of his father's miserable death 27 years earlier played upon Anjou's mind, but his inaction only served to advantage his rival's cause. With his coffers now empty and army exhausted, Louis had little choice but to pack up and sail back to Marseilles, never to set foot on Italian soil again.

Part of the difficulty in assessing the artistic and musical legacy of the first two Valois-Anjou dukes is the itinerant or transient nature of their courts for which most documentation has disappeared if it ever existed. Although evidence is scant, Louis senior seems to have appreciated art and music. It appears he had to sell his collection of precious metalwork in 1382 to fund his campaign in Italy, but the enormous Apocalypse tapestries that he commissioned are still in Angers, as evidence of his appreciation of art. Between 1378 and 1382, Louis employed the composer Matheus de Sancto Johanne, whom Philippa of Hainaut, Queen of Edward III of England, Robert of Geneva and perhaps Enguerrand de Coucy had previously kept ([Wathey 1989](#); [Clark 2000](#); [Nádas 2003](#)). Just like his silverware, it seems as though Louis needed to let Matheus go before setting out for Italy, since the composer is found in the pay lists of Clement VII's papal chapel up to 1386 ([Tomasello 1983: 252–3](#)).

Like his father, Louis II of Anjou seems to have appreciated the refined polyphony of the day. The composer, Johannes de Bosco, received a papal grant as a musician to Louis II in 1393, although Ursula Günther determined that this title must date back to 1390. By 1394, it seems Johannes is back in the papal chapel in Avignon, and, after 1404, in the Sainte-Chapelle of Jean de Berry ([Günther 1994](#); [Higgins 1990](#)). Connections between Avignon, Milan and Louis II also seem to have given rise to at least two other significant compositions in the mid 1380s. Alice Clark ([2000: 57–9](#)) suggests that the anonymous motet, *L'ardure qu'endure/Tres dous espoir/Ego rogavi Deum/Contratenor*, was composed for the short-lived betrothal of Lucia, daughter of Bernabò Visconti, to Louis II in May 1384. Yolanda Plumley also connects Philipotto da Caserta's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*, which quotes Bernabò's motto and the 'Esperance' motto-tune of the Valois, with the same marriage alliance ([Plumley 1999](#)). The research of Giuliano di Bacco and John Nádas in the Vatican archives on documents referring to the chapels of Louis II of Anjou and Yolanda of Aragon promises to shed further light on Angevin musical patronage around the year 1400 ([Nádas 2003: 194](#)). In the following paragraphs, I shall argue that further compositions in Mod A might be associated with Louis II, either through direct reference to, or obvious political affinity with, the titular King of Sicily's ambitions and familial relations.

The Politics of Mod A_{II-IV}'s Repertoire

Although all music is political in the sense that it plays a role in shaping the identity of its creators, performers and listeners, no less than 15 songs in Mod A_{II-IV} reference contemporary politics of church and state. Three songs name Pope Clement VII and another three seem to originate in the chapel of an unnamed pope (see [Table 1](#)). This group includes four examples of rare Latin texted ballades ([Stoessel 2002: Vol. 1: 118–27](#); [Stone 2005: 69–78](#)). As stated, Clement VII was responsible for engineering the Valois-Angevin claim to the Kingdom of Naples in 1380. Furthermore, Matheus de Sancto Johanne's *Inclite flos, orti gebennensis* refers obliquely to Louis I of Anjou's Italian campaign.

A second group of songs in Mod A seem to reference the Valois and their alliance with the Visconti (see [Table 2](#)). Notwithstanding that the Visconti and Valois of France entered into several marriage alliances, Philipotto's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*, which refers to Bernabò Visconti's motto 'Souffrir m'estuet', and the Bourbon-Valois motto, 'Esperance', must reference the failed Anjou-Visconti marriage alliance of 1384 ([Thibault 1970: 131–60](#)). Bernabò announced the betrothal of his daughter Lucia to the young Louis II in a letter to Ludovico Gonzaga dated 20 July 1382 ([Osio 1864: Vol. 1: 228–9](#); [Valois 1896–1902: Vol 2: 33](#)). Despite exchanges of vows by proxies, the marriage was not consummated because of Bernabò's death in 1385. Romano ([1893: 585–611](#)) argues that the prospect of this powerful marriage alliance with Anjou precipitated Bernabò's fateful downfall at the hands of his nephew, although it would seem that relations

Table 1: Songs referencing a pope or the papacy in Mod A_{II-IV}

Item in Mod A	Selected Edition	References
16. Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo, <i>Sumite karissimi</i> (ballade?)	Apel (1972: 216)	Addresses prelates (<i>patres ... fratres</i>) and bids their favour; puzzle text yields 'recommandatione' (Pirrotta 1944–1945).
26. Matheus de Sancto Johanne, <i>Inclite flos, orti Gebennensis</i> (Latin ballade)	Apel (1972: 200)	Praises Robert of Geneva, Pope Clement VII (1378–1394); Biblical references. Composed 1382 (Plumley 1999 ; Stoessel 2002).
60. Philipotto da Caserta, <i>Par les bons Gedeons et Sanson delivre</i> (ballade)	Apel (1970: 154)	Celebrates pontificate of Clement VII (1378–1394) and condemns schism.
69. Master Egidius, <i>Courtois et sages et a tous doit plaisir</i> (ballade)	Apel (1970: 41)	In honour of Clement VII (1378–1394); acrostic 'Clemens' in text.
72. Frater Corradus de Pistoia, <i>Veri almi pastoris musicale collegium</i> (ballade)	Apel (1972: 221)	Celebrates a musical 'college' of the 'true shepherd', i.e. pope.
74. Bartolomeo da Bologna, <i>Arte psalentes anexa dulcori</i> (ballade)	Apel (1972: 190)	Celebrates a papal musical 'college'.

Table 2. Songs concerning Valois (Anjou)-Visconti relations 1382–1384 in Mod A_{II-IV}

Item in Mod A	Selected Edition	References
35. Philipotto da Caserta, <i>En attendant souffrir m'estuet</i> (ballade)	Apel (1970: 56)	Part of <i>En attendant</i> 'complex', quotes the motto of Bernabò Visconti (1323–1385); quotes <i>Esperance qui en mon cuer</i> ; Alliance and betrothal of Louis II of Anjou to Bernabò's daughter Lucia, May 1384? (Plumley 1999).
49. Johannes Ciconia, <i>Sus une fontayne</i> (virelai)	Bent and Hallmark (1985: 170)	Quotes three songs of Philipotto da Caserta, including <i>En attendant souffrir</i> . Political intent unclear, possibly emulation of older composer (Günther 1972 ; Stone 2001 ; Stoessel 2009).
79. Jacob de Senleches, <i>En attendant Esperance conforte</i> (ballade)	Apel (1970: 167)	Part of <i>En attendant</i> 'complex' of 1382–1384. Uses Bourbon motto 'Esperance', quotes <i>Esperance qui en mon cuer</i> (Plumley 1999).
81. Galiot, <i>En attendant d'avoir la douce vie</i> (rondeau)	Apel (1970: 60)	Part of <i>En attendant</i> 'complex' of 1382–1384 (Plumley 1999).

between the two Visconti had begun to deteriorate some seven years earlier ([Bueno de Mesquita 1941: 22–32](#)). A virelai by Johannes Ciconia quotes portions of three songs by Philipotto da Caserta, including his *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*. But it would seem that Ciconia was too young to have participated in the original citation game of the *En attendant* 'complex' ([Stoessel 2009: 200–1](#); see also [Plumley 1999: 334–58](#)).

Finally, a third, less cohesive group of songs in Mod A references further political figures (see [Table 3](#)). Here I shall outline an argument for connecting three songs in this third group with the Angevin struggle for Naples. Louis II of Anjou's effective alliance with Alexander V in 1409 had been prefaced by several months spent securing Florence's and Siena's support ([Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 118–20](#)). *En un vergier, clos par mesure*, an anonymous ballade unique to Mod A (fol. 18v), might refer to these negotiations. In one of the few



Example 1. Text and translation of *En un vergier* (Mod A, fol. 18v)

En un vergier clos par mesure	In a garden enclosed by temperance,
Say une <u>flour de lis</u> moult gente.	I know of a lily most fair.
Li vergier est fort de closure	The garden has a strong enclosure
Et <u>la flour nasqui de bone gente</u> .	And the flower was born of good race.
<u>Au plus noble estoit en parente</u> ,	It was of the most noble in parentage,
Et <u>riche d'avoir</u> et d'amys.	And is rich in possessions and friends.
Dites moi, selonc vostre entente,	Tell me, according to your understanding,
Qui cuellera la <u>flour de lis</u> ?	Who will pluck the lily?

Example 2. Text and translation of Philipotto da Caserta's *Par le grant senz d'Adriane*

Par le grant senz d'Adriane le sage	By the good sense of Ariadne the wise
Fu Theseüs gardes de periller	Theseus was protected from peril
Quant a son tour li convient le voyage	When it came time to travel
En la maison Dedalus essayer.	to try Daedalus' labyrinth.
Puis la trahi et la vost essillier:	Then he betrayed her and wished to exile her:
Fortrait li a un iouel de grant pris	He seized for himself a jewel of great worth
Qu'avoir ne puet sanz O couvert de <u>lis</u> .	That none can have but O covered by the lily.
Adriane est si noble de linage	Ariadne is of such noble lineage
Et si puissant c'on la puet reconter.	And so powerful that one can recount it.
Le iouel ot de son propre heritage	The jewel was her true inheritance
Que Theseüs s'efforsa d'usurper	that Theseus used force to usurp
Et pour l'avoir, le tienent en grant dangier.	and to have it, placing it in great danger.
Se secours n'a, se iouel est peris	If there is no help, the jewel is lost
Qu'avoir ne puet sanz O couvert de <u>lis</u> .	That none can have but O covered by the lily.
Mais le <u>lis est de si tres haut parage</u> ,	But the lily is of such high extraction,
<u>Bel a veoir</u> , plaisant a mainer,	Handsome to behold, pleasant in bearing,
<u>Riche on pouvoir</u> de si parfait courage	Rich in power, of such perfect courage
Qu'a la dame puet sa vertu envier.	That he can offer his virtue to the lady.
Roulant ne Hector ne li faut souhaidier	Neither Roland nor Hector need she want
Pour secourir le iouel de grant pris	to protect the jewel of great worth
Qu'avoir ne puet sanz O couvert de <u>lis</u> .	That none can have but O covered by the lily.

discussions of this song in the musicological literature, Elizabeth Eva Leach (2009: 195–219) connects it with the poetic tradition of Machaut and the anonymous ballade, *En un vergier ou avoit mainte flour*. The latter occurs in the manuscript Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS. J.II.9, a source that Karl Kügler (2012) recently argued was copied for the Avogadro family of Brescia as late as the third decade of the fifteenth century. Yet *En un vergier, clos par mesure* possesses an additional piece of imagery that is lacking in earlier and later songs with similar texts: a reference to the fleur-de-lis. Anne Stone (Stone 2005: 100–1) suggests that the 'lily' of *En un vergier* might be a heraldic reference French royalty (see Example 1). This suggestion deserves further consideration.

Although the heraldic fleur-de-lis could refer to any prince of France, *En un vergier*'s text closely parallels Philipotto da Caserta's *Par le grant senz d'Adriane*, which asserts Louis I of Anjou's titular right over the Kingdom of Naples (see Example 2). In the refrain of *Par le grant senz d'Adriane*, the phrase 'O couvert de lis' ('O covered by the lily') is part of a naming game that reveals the duke's medieval name, 'Lois' (Wilkins 1964: 86; Stoessel 2009: 192–4). Could this wordplay have passed from father to son, so that 'flour de lis' referred also to Louis II of Anjou? If so, the refrain of this ballade might read at one level 'who will pluck the lily' and, on another, 'who will curry the favour of Louis II' in the sense of courting his political and military support. The phrase 'selonc vostre entente' at the end of the *oultrepassé* invites this double meaning.



Table 3. Songs referencing other political figures in Mod A_{II-IV}

Item in Mod A	Selected Edition	References
15. Master Egidius, <i>Franchois sunt nobles</i> (ballade)	Apel (1970: 43)	In praise of French (nobility), decrying unnamed events and calling for it to prove itself. Discussed here.
25. Jacob de Senleches, <i>Fuions de ci</i> (ballade)	Apel (1970: 170)	Laments death of Eleanor of Aragon, Queen of Castile (1358–1382); bids fellow singers to seek their fortune elsewhere. Discussed here.
31. Anonymous, <i>En un vergier</i> (ballade)	Josephson (1970: 56)	Refers to Valois <i>fleur-de-lis</i> , device of the house of France. Discussed here.
57. Dactalus de Padua, <i>Inperial sedendo</i> (madrigal)	Wilkins (1976: 4)	Refers to the Arms of the Carrara, lords of Padua 1318–1405, composed 1401? (Petrobelli 1968).
64. Anonymous?, <i>Ore Pandulfum</i> (ballade)	Apel (1972: 208)	Celebrates the return of Pandolfo III Malatesta da Fano (Rimini Branch) from Holy Lands in 1399 (Pirrota 1944–1945: 140 ; Günther 1970: 35–41).

There are numerous additional textual relationships between *En un vergier* and the third strophe of *Par le grant senz d'Adriane*, especially shared references to the lily's good looks, heritage, wealth and social standing, to suggest that both ballades are closely related allegories for the house of Valois-Anjou. Underlined text in [Examples 1](#) and [2](#) illustrate shared or closely related expressions in both ballades. Despite these parallels, each likely served a different purpose. *Par le grant senz d'Adriane* asserts Louis I's political rights and claim over the Kingdom of Naples. *En un vergier* is a song in praise of a socially desirable figure, including a veiled allusion to a possible alliance with its dedicatee. It is plausible to imagine Alexander V, John XXIII, or someone in their circle commissioning a composer to write this song for the newly arrived Louis II as an invitation to reaffirm his alliance with the conciliar popes.

Musically, *En un vergier* employs several techniques associated with the Ars subtilior. An edition of *En un vergier* (see [Example 3](#)) corrects all earlier published editions ([Apel 1971: 43](#); [Josephson 1970: 56](#); [Greene 1982: 131](#))⁶. Original note values are reduced by a quarter in normal and diminished sections; right-angle brackets enclose sections of coloration and square braces indicate ligatures in the original manuscript. Techniques used in *En un vergier* include frequent mensuration changes, proportional mensuration signs (C), extended red coloration (bb. 58–70), diminution (which is indicated by a canon) in two-thirds of the Cantus (bb. 36–70), and a lively Contratenor. Together these techniques are typical of the Ars subtilior style that Louis II, as a child of the late fourteenth century, might have appreciated.

Mod A transmits the unique copy of *En un vergier* anonymously. I agree with Stone that this song cannot be Antonello da Caserta's, especially given that I have never been able to read under ultraviolet light an erased 'A' at the top of fol. 18v as Stone ([2005: 39](#)) reportedly has. Despite some similarities with Antonello's *Dame de onour, en qui toute mon cuer maynt* (Mod A, fol. 40v), the musical style of *En un vergier* is sufficient for concluding that this song cannot be his.

Franchois sunt nobles (fol. 11r) by the Augustinian monk Master Egidius is one of the most neglected ballades in Mod A ([Example 4](#)). A censorious voice in the first strophe (lines 2–6) urges French nobility to mend its ways and prove itself through its deeds. Lines 2–6 may refer to the stirrings of civil strife between the two French royal factions, the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, following the murder of Louis of Orléans by Burgundian assassins in 1407. The references to nobles '[clinging together like ... beasts](#)' and their dereliction of social duty may reflect the ill repute of the unpopular Orléans, infamous for his affairs and for his intrigues against the royal family. Even if *Franchois sunt nobles* is an older song, a prominent and unique historiated initial at the beginning of Mod A's collection of predominantly French songs seems to signal its ongoing social significance. That Master Egidius was an Augustinian hermit also raises some interesting possibilities concerning the cultural networks in which his music circulated, especially in light of Renata Pieragostini's ([2013](#)) recent re-evaluation of the role of the Augustinians in the transmission of musical theory and indeed some of the repertoire of the Ars subtilior in Pavia and other centres like Naples in the late fourteenth century.



Example 3. Anonymous, *En un vergier* (ed. Stoessel)

I-MOe 5.24, f. 18v

MS:

Anonymous

S

1. En un vergier -
2. Li ver gier -

Ct

Contre teneur En un vergier

T

Teneur En un vergier clos par mesure

5

- gier est clos fort

9

par de

13

men - su - re
clo - su - re



Example 3, cont.

17
Say et u la - ne

21
flour flour de n'as - lis qui moult de bo - ne

25

30
1. gen - te. 2. gen - te;



Example 3, cont.

36
3. Au plus

8
Au plus noble.
Au plus noble estoit

40
no - ble es - toit en pa - ren -

MS: .

44
te, Et ri -

48
che d'a-voir et d'a - mys. Di - tes



Example 3, cont.

52

moi, se - lonc vos - tre en - ten - te,

58

4. Qui

Qui cuellera la flour

Qui cuellera la flour

62

[qui]cuel - le - ra la flour

67

de lis?



Example 4. Text and Translation of Master Egidius' *Franchois sunt nobles* (Mod A, fol. 11r)

Franchois sunt nobles, preus et vaylans, Courtois, loyaus, fermes, doulz et honestes. Conbien que cheux lax et lians Voit on a tenps comme des nobles bestes. Muer leurs condicions Et oblier les observacions Des noblesses de leur progeniee. Le tenps apert que c'est chose esprovee En leur pays et autres nacions.	French are noble, worthy, valiant, Courtly, loyal, steadfast, kind and honest. Though at times one sees them cowardly and Clinging together like noble beasts. Shrugging off their duties And forgetting to observe The nobility of their race. Now is the time put this thing to the test In their country and in other lands.
Franche franche fu de toutes grevans Costumes, loys, exactions, molestes. Et les segneurs, de franchise luisans Precedens tous en pris, honeur et festes; Et en conversations Humbles, prudens, en batailles lyons. Or est griement sour tout ce alteree: Le tenps apert que c'est chose esprovee En leur pays et autres nations.	France was free of all burdens, Taxes, laws, duties, and hardships; And the lords, shining with generosity, Surpassing all in worth, honour and feasts; And in conversation Humble and prudent; in battle, lions. Now this above all has been gravely changed: Now is the time put this thing to the test In their country and in other lands.

Again, this ballade's notation evidences extended techniques associated with the Ars subtilior ([Figure 1](#)). Mostly written in full black notes, the Cantus changes to full red notation in response to the phrases '*muer leurs condicions*' (literally 'to change their conditions', where '*condicion*' has the sense of social obligation) and '*le tenps apert*' (literally 'it appears time') in the fifth and eighth lines respectively. Red coloration seems a response to the word '*alterée*' in the sixteenth line, since coloration has effectively changed the mensuration at this point. Few figures present in Pisa or Bologna would have appreciated the rallying call of *Franchois sunt nobles* and its musical word-play more than the French prince, who had taken it upon himself to prove his nation's prowess on the fields of Italy: Louis II of Anjou.

There are sound reasons for concluding that this song was originally intended as the first in a collection of predominantly French-texted songs ([Stoessel 2014: 38–40](#)). The accompanying initial showing the biblical figure of Jubal-Tubalcain (see [Example 5](#)) is unique in its size and contents. Trecento artists repeatedly use Jubal-Tubalcain as an allegory for the musical art. An iconic example of this allegorical figure appears in the splendid frontispiece that opens the collection of Trecento song, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, it. 568². By beginning the collection of mainly French-texted songs in Mod A_{II-IV} with *Franchois sunt nobles*, the original compiler foregrounded French political interests. In the context of Bologna during the years 1410–1411, Louis II of Anjou personified these same interests through his support for the conciliar line popes and his ambition to recover the Kingdom of Naples.

There also exists a link between Jacob de Senleches' *Fuions de ci* in Mod A and Louis II of Anjou. This ballade recalls the post-parturient death in 1382 of Eleanor of Aragon, Queen of John of Castile and daughter of Peter IV of Aragon (1319–1387) and Eleanor of Sicily (1325–1375). In 1400, Louis II of Anjou wed the remarkable Yolande of Aragon (1381–1442), daughter of the celebrated royal patrons of music King John I of Aragon (1350–1396) and Violante of Bar (1365–1431) ([Gómez 1984, 1987](#)). Despite the widespread practice of royal intermarriage in late medieval Europe, could have the connection between *Fuions de ci* and the family of Anjou's duchess provided sufficient reason for its inclusion in Mod A? Anjou would have recognised this ballade's reference to his aunt-in-law, perhaps even mistaking it for a reference to Yolande's paternal grandmother, Eleanor of Sicily. A marriage alliance with Aragon takes on a compelling political significance when we consider that Aragon had annexed Sicily from the Capetian-Anjou Kingdom of Sicily in 1282. Despite retaining its old name, the Kingdom of Sicily referred only to the mainland holdings in southern Italy after this date. Perhaps Louis II dreamt of reuniting the central Mediterranean Kingdom? Indeed, the death of Martin I of Aragon in 1410 allowed Yolande to claim her father's kingdom for her son, Louis III of Anjou, though the Castilians soon thwarted the eight-year-old's claim.



Figure 1. Egidius, *Franchois sunt nobles*. Mod A, fol. 11r.

Magister. Egidii ordis heitaz sci agustini :

Ean
Con
chois franchois sur nobles pis et baylans
bien Con bien quecheus lax et li aus
couteis loyais
noir on atemps

fermes douz et honestes
comme des ne bles bestes
Muer leurs condi cions et obli

er les ob serua cions des noblesses de leur progeine e Le temps apert que cest chose espro

ue e en leur pays
et autres nacions: **E**neur franchois franchois

Ontre teneur franchois sunt nobles:

franche franche fu de toutes grevans custumes. Loz exa nent molestes. Et les seigneurs
de franche lufans peccens tous enpris boncur a feltes. Et en cœuer s'ent humbles
prudens en batailles lions. Or est gient souz tour et altave. Le temps apert que cest
chose esprouee en leur pays et autres nations:



Two remaining songs in [Table 3](#) seem to occupy opposite political standpoints. *Inperial sedendo* refers to the arms of the Carraresi, the former lords of Padua that the Venetians had toppled in 1405. *Ore Pandulfum* names Pandolfo III Malatesta da Fano (1369–1427), the former professional soldier who had established his rule over Brescia following the death of Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1402. *Ore Pandulfum* appears to refer to the recent death of Pandolfo's first wife and his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1399. Relations between the Carraresi and Malatesta of Rimini were seldom affable. In 1388, Pandolfo made war on the Carrara on Venice's behalf. The situation became especially fraught after 1398, when the Malatesta ended a five- or six-year period in which it had distanced itself from the Visconti cause in northern Italy ([Jones 1974: 111–5](#)). Later as Visconti's man, Pandolfo led his troops in 1402 at the Battle of Cassalecchio and in 1404 at Verona against the last Lord of Padua, Francesco Novello ([Kohl 1998: 324–7](#)).

Yet in the post-Carrara period, Pandolfo was a strong supporter of the conciliar movement. As one of his earliest acts in support of the Pisan faction in early 1409, Pandolfo sent troops from Brescia to assist Cardinal Cossa and Niccolò III of Este to defend Ferrara from Ottobono Terzo, a condottiere who had formerly served Giangaleazzo Visconti ([Sorbelli 1900: 526–8](#)). Cossa had already left the court of Gregory XII by this time and was in Bologna. In February (the same month his troops arrived in Ferrara), Pandolfo travelled to Bologna to quell discord between his brother Carlo, Lord of Rimini, and the headstrong Cardinal Cossa ([Sorbelli 1900: 528](#)).

The presence of Niccolò III of Este (1384–1441), Marquis of Ferrara, in Bologna during the years 1410–1411 might explain why these two songs appear in Mod A. During his youth Niccolò was one of Carrara's staunchest supporters but in the year or two leading up to the fall of Padua's house, he concluded a secret alliance with Pandolfo. Niccolò had acted in a carefully calculated way to ensure the survival of his small marquisate in northern Italy without necessitating any decisive break with the Carraresi. Yet he could not sever his last connection with the Carraresi until 1416 when the plague carried off his first wife, Gigliola da Carrara (1379–1416), whom he had wed in Padua in 1394.

Niccolò was a firm and visible supporter of the Pisan council and its popes. His influence on the cultural environment of Pisa and Bologna might also be reasonably expected. His connection with the Carrara may have motivated the compilers of Mod A_{II-IV} to include *Inperial sedendo* as a musical souvenir of his magnificent past. Admittedly Pandolfo was also a supporter of the Pisan council, but Niccolò's alliance with the Lord of Brescia suffices to explain the inclusion of both *Inperial sedendo* and *Ore Pandulfum* in this manuscript. In this light, Pedro Memelsdorff's ([2009: 414](#)) recent suggestion that Matteo da Perugia added a second contratenor to *Ore Pandulfum* several years after it was first composed is an attractive one. The text's references to Pandolfo's pilgrimage to the Holy Lands might have been sufficient to warrant its revival in the papal court in Bologna.

Indeed the Marquis's influence on Mod A_{II-IV} might have been even greater than hitherto suspected. Due to an enduring myth that the Este family was descended from ancient French nobility, Niccolò was interested in most things French, including an alliance with France's royal family. As is well known from Lewis Lockwood's classic monograph ([Lockwood 1984: 38](#)), Niccolò even quartered his arms with those of the Valois in 1431. Last but not least, the organist at the cathedral of Ferrara between 1405 and 1427 ([Cavicchi 1975; 1976](#)), Bartolomeo da Bologna, was more than sufficiently skilled in the Ars subtilior style to accommodate Niccolò's interests. Bartolomeo composed two Latin songs in Mod A_{II-IV}, including a song that refers to an unnamed papal chapel (see [Table 1](#)).

Anjou and Este together provide a key to understanding Mod A_{II-IV}, not as an appendage to a particular pope but as a repertoire that, in part, represents the interests of some of the most important political figures associated with the pontificates of Alexander V and John XXIII between the years 1409 and 1411. Perhaps some of Mod A_{II-IV}'s repertoire was connected to public expressions of political identity at Pisa and Bologna, including papal and ducal entries, papal coronations, or the bestowal of the Order of the Golden Rose on Niccolò of Este and Anjou in 1410 ([Frati and Sorbelli 1902: 98](#); [Malvezzi 1892: 52](#); [Lockwood 1984: 20](#)) and 1411 ([Sorbelli 1900: 537](#)), respectively. A contemporary Bolognese chronicler describes the bestowal of the Golden Rose on Louis on the 30 February 1411 as a grand public event during which 'the Holy Father gave the [Golden] Rose to King Louis, with a grand triumph and cavalcade through Bologna' ('A dì 30 dicto el santo padre dè la rosa al re Alovixe, cum gram trionfo, et cavalcho per Bologna'). Crucially, after August 1411, when Anjou farewelled Italy for the last time, the repertoire of Mod A_{II-IV} would have been much less relevant to the rapidly evolving political environment in which John XXIII had embraced Louis's rival, Ladislaus of Naples, as the King of Sicily and protector of the church.



Further Consideration of the Siena Fragments

The rediscovered bifolio of music used as the cover of Vicariato di Gavorrano, Registro Ravi 3 (1568–1569), in the Fondo Vicariati of the Archivio di Stato, Siena, provides a significant piece of evidence for the transmission of an international repertoire in central Italy c. 1400 ([Meccaci and Ziino 2003](#)). The fragment contains seven compositions, unfortunately all fragmentary: *Gaude felix Yspania nove prolis*; *Sanctus itaque patriarcha Leuntius*; *C'est le doulz jour*; *Puer natus in Bethlehem*; *Katerina pia virgo purissima*; *Et in terra*; and *O regina sempre* [sic] *regna*. It transmits four unique anonymous compositions, including the French virelai, *C'est le doulz jour*. The motet, *Sanctus itaque patriarcha Leuntius*, is attributed to Antonio da Cividale in the manuscript Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, MS. Q15, fols. 272v–273r ([Bent 2008: vol. 1: 229](#)). The anonymous polyphonic hymn, *Puer natus in Bethlehem*, is also found in Mod A, fol. 19r, which, unlike Ravi 3, transmits all three parts ([Meccaci and Ziino 2003, 202–3](#)). An anonymous *Et in terra* (Gloria) also survives in two other sources ([Cuthbert and Nyikos 2010](#)), one of which is less likely to have originated in Italy. At the very least, the French virelai and the widely transmitted *Et in terra pax* witness an international repertoire.

The Siena concordance of *Puer natus in Bethlehem* is of no small consequence for our understanding of Mod A_{II–IV} and its repertoire. This hymn setting contains many features of the Ars subtilior including the regular use of 4:3 proportions and flourishes of small note values. The manner in which these are notated in each source offers possible insights into this work's transmission. The notation in Mod A is garnished with vogueish void red minims representing 4:3 proportions. Siena Ravi 3 instead employs right-flagged semiminims and reserves left-flagged semiminims for true half minims (see the facsimile of this source in [Meccaci and Ziino \(2003\)](#), between 212 and 213). Different manuscript accidentals in both transmissions, small rhythmic variants such as several semibreve-minim groups in Ravi 3 appearing as an altered minim pairs in Mod A, and a recasting of a rhythmic flourish at the end of the first section, using 4:3 semiminims in Ravi 3 and full red, flagless semiminims in Mod A, indicate that the notation was reworked in at least one extant copy. Given that the scribe of Mod A_{II–IV} repeatedly demonstrates a penchant for recasting notation ([Stone 2005, 43–6](#)), we might suspect that Ravi 3 represents the original notation of *Puer natus*. Beyond these features, both transmissions are remarkably similar in their text underlay, despite some minor textual variants. The evidence at hand indicates that both surviving copies are not directly related, but that another now lost source might have been their ancestor.

The rhythmic language of the Ars subtilior also pervades *C'est le doulz jour* (see [Example 5](#)). Runs of minim-semiminim pairs (quaver-semiquavers in [Example 5](#)) resemble, for example, those in Johannes de Janua's *Une dame requis* (Mod A, fol. 12r), although Ravi 3 uses left-flagged semiminims whereas in *Une dame requis* semiminims are written as full red minims⁸.

Clearly a decent-sized book of early fifteenth-century polyphony was disassembled in Siena in the sixth decade of the sixteenth century: each recto of Siena Ravi 3 is numbered 67 and 70 respectively. Although there is insufficient evidence to conclude that the manuscript was originally copied in Siena, or perhaps deposited there soon after being copied, this fragment may witness a brief episode in Siena's history. In 1409, Siena joined Florence and Baldassare Cossa in the league against Ladislaus of Naples, the same league to which Louis II of Anjou was to lend his substantial support. Although Angevin connections with Siena date back to the thirteenth century, the Tuscan city represented an important staging point for Louis's campaign in central Italy. Louis is documented in Siena on no less than three occasions between 1409 and 1411 (see [Appendix](#)).

Ravi 3 is not the only source of early fifteenth-century polyphony discovered in Siena. Frammenti di musiche, no. 207 (olim 326 and 327) in the Archivio di Stato and three compositions at the end (fols 25v–27r) of a coeval collection of music theory treatises in the Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS. L.V. 36 also survive ([Ghisi 1946, 1947](#); [Gallo 1968: 74–5](#); [D'Accone 1997: 164–6](#); [Memelsdorff 2004](#)). Whether or not these pieces trace the Roman chapel as it travelled northwards from Rome in 1408 as proposed by Di Bacco and Nádas ([1994: 33–4 n64](#)), or the movement of John XXIII and Louis of Anjou to and from Rome, is a matter of contention. It seems feasible that Johannes Ciconia's motet, *O virum omnimoda veneratione dignum/O lux et decus tranensium/O beate Nicolae* in MS. L.V. 36 is his only extant motet from his Roman period ([Di Bacco and Nádas 1994: 31–2](#)). The Frammenti di musiche, no. 207, might witness Zacharias's compositional activity in Rome, although there are clues elsewhere that the composer may have spent time in Padua in 1410 ([Zimei 2011](#)). The presence of two anonymous French rondeaux in MS. L.V. 36 — one of which David Fallows ([1987: 229](#)) identifies as a double rondeau set to two equal voices — raises the possibility that this repertoire was cultivated around Louis II or, at the very least, adherents of French culture similar to those behind Mod A_{II–IV}. There is no need to leap to the conclusion that this genre would have been cultivated only in Lombardy ([Memelsdorff 2004: 187](#)).



Example 5. *C'est le doulz jour*, Ravi 3, fol. 67v

I-Sas Ravi 3, fol. 67v Anonymous

S
1. C'est le doulz iour en que

T
Tenor Cest le doulz jour

6
doit e - stri - ner A -

10
mis s'a - ma - ie de mon cuer par - tir

15
mes un - ques de li ne se doit par-

20
tir sans ioi - e d'a - mours vuet il



Example 5, cont.

25
es-pro - ver 2. He - las
Secunda pars, etc.

30
ne say que do - ner

34
li do - ie

38
quant tout le cuer ja -

42
dis li pre - sen - tai.



It seems a glaring oversight not to acknowledge, or at least consider, the role of the itinerant courts of figures like Baldassarre Cossa/John XXIII, his cardinals, and, above all, Louis II of Anjou in spreading and cultivating the international repertoire in Tuscany and the Emilia. Whether or not the traces of the international repertoire in Siena's fragments actually represent the cultural detritus of these courts — if we can put it that way — or local efforts to collect the same repertoire is difficult to determine. What is clear is that the movement and permeation of this repertoire into centres south of Lombardy and the Veneto is readily apparent, and was more than likely enhanced by the presence of one of France's princes, the acclaimed King of Sicily, Louis II of Anjou.

Conclusion

Granted that some scholars might question my emphasis on a politics of repertoire in Mod A_{II-IV}, this approach enhances our understanding of the contents of part of this manuscript, and encourages a reassessment of its origin and purpose. For instance, the inclusion of three songs referring to Clement VII in a manuscript that Anne Stone has proposed may have originated in the circle of the pro-Visconti prelate Pétrus Filargos seems questionable. The *En attendant* complex and the songs praising Clement VII not only refer to important episodes in the Angevin struggle for power in Italy, but *En un vergier*, *Franchois sunt nobles* and *Fuions de ci* provide musical constructions of Anjou's political identity and signal his physical presence in Italy from 1409 to 1411. Moreover, it seems a sounder proposition to attribute the inclusion of *En attendant souffrir m'estuet* to the influence of Anjou, whose family had benefited from an alliance with Bernabò Visconti in 1384, than to the presence of Pétrus Filargos. We ought not to forget that Filargos had been an advisor to Giangaleazzo Visconti, Bernabò's nephew who was rumoured to have poisoned his uncle whom he imprisoned after seizing power in Milan in 1385. Although Giangaleazzo's biographer ([Bueno de Mesquita 1941: 34](#)) has questioned this rumour that arose soon after Bernabò's death, it is hard to not think that listeners once associated with the Duke of Milan like Alexander V would not have shifted uneasily in their seats upon hearing *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*. Connecting this song to Louis II instead explains its inclusion in a manuscript compiled close to him during his time in Italy. That his marriage to Lucia Visconti never occurred is of no particular consequence.

The presence of *En un vergier* and *Franchois sunt nobles* in Mod A_{II-IV} provides the strongest evidence witnessing contemporary Valois-Anjou political interests. The first ballade's use of imagery closely associated with the house of Valois-Anjou raises the possibility that this was a text composed in honour of either Louis II or his father. This song's parallels with *Par le grant senz d'Adriane* alone support this conclusion. *Franchois sunt nobles* seems to take on a singular importance in Mod A, if one accepts that it was intended originally to begin a collection of mainly French-texted songs for Louis II. It is not beyond the bounds of reason to suggest that francophile Niccolò III of Este might have even commissioned an early form of Mod A as a gift for the Valois prince-king. But the calamitous events of 1411 likely took their toll on the original Mod A_{II-IV} project and the Duke of Anjou had left Italy once and for all before it could be completed. As such, Mod A_{II-IV} represents a partly complete portion of a larger original project, subsequently joined to two additional gatherings containing what might be the complete works of Matteo da Perugia, save for a few of his contratenors now scattered in fragmentary sources. Whether the musician who brought together both layers of Mod A was Matteo da Perugia himself, the composer, Bertrand Feragut, or another unrecognised figure is a question that will need to be revisited in a future study.

In the end, it cannot be denied that part of the repertoire of Mod A_{II-IV} witnesses a brief episode in the torrid politics of the Schism and marks the end of a politico-cultural program begun 30 years earlier in which the Angevin dukes played a central role. Perhaps the musician-scribe responsible for assembling Mod A_{II-IV} was connected with John XXIII or one of his cardinals in Bologna. With regard to whether Cossa would have appreciated the music of Mod A, we ought not let previous judgements of his character cloud our judgement. Cardinal-Archbishop Francesco Uguccione's remark, that Cossa's character was more suited to rule as a king or emperor than a pope, suggests that Cossa may have relished the medieval trappings of power, which included music and artworks. Cardinal Giordano Orsini, who commissioned famed illuminators to decorate a magnificent Gradual during the pope's residency in Bologna ([Medica 1987: 186](#)), exhibits the same sort of extravagant tastes. It may be that Mod A_{II-IV} captures some of the magnificence surrounding Cossa and his princes of the church, as they courted, entertained and honoured the kings, princes and lords of Europe.



ENDNOTES

1. The reader is invited to refer to a medium resolution digital facsimile of Mod A that can be downloaded from the Biblioteca Estense website at <<http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it/info/img/mus/i-mo-beu-alfa.m.5.24.html>> (14 MB file); readers can also refer to the published facsimile (2003).
2. Images of each leaf from these two last sources can be viewed on the website of the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM) at <<http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/AnnotationManager?imageKey=12377>> and at <<http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/AnnotationManager?imageKey=23977>>, respectively.
3. Images of the Lucca Codex can be viewed on DIAMM: <<http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/Descriptions?op=SOURCE&sourceKey=142>>; readers can also refer to the published facsimile (Nádas and Ziino 1990).
4. An image of this page can be viewed on DIAMM at <<http://www.diamm.ac.uk/jsp/AnnotationManager?imageKey=12431>>.
5. I thank Michael Scott Cuthbert for providing information on the Parma fragment, and details of the register from which it was removed, in a private communication, 19 May 2013.
6. My transcription of *En un vergier* includes a new reading of the passage of syncopation in the cantus (bb. 2–6). The dot after the last semibreve (crotchet in transcription) in b. 4 is omitted and this semibreve read as an imperfect semibreve. It is possible to read two quavers and a dotted crotchet in b. 4 but this introduces an unacceptable length of dissonance between the cantus a' and the lower voices. In b. 25 of the cantus, a very unusual *b-quadratum* sign, which differs in appearance to the diesis (sharp) signs regularly used by this scribe, seems to indicate an abrupt shift to the E-flat hexachord in response to a *recta* E-flat in the Tenor. This sign's careful placement makes it unlikely that it indicates a B-natural in the cadence in the following bar. This transcription also correctly reads the diminished notation after the *tempus imperfectum majoris* sign in the Cantus bb. 42–44, but omits the dot after the semibreve (long in original notation) in b. 43. It also corrects existing readings of Cantus bb. 66–68 (Josephson (1970) doubles the value of the last note in b. 66). Previous editions use an 8:1 reduction of diminished note values: this transcription consistently uses a 4:1 reduction. The canon, 'Canon ballate. Secundus et tertius punctus, cantantur cise per semi', accompanying the Cantus of *En un vergier*, indicates that the values in the second and third sections of the Cantus need to be halved. 'Cise' appears to be a late medieval morphology for 'caesae/cesae', 'cut'. The same expression and orthography (*cise per semi*) is found in the canon accompanying Guillaume Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera pura / Virgo post partum* in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS. a.X.1.11, f. 122r (Turner 2002: 178). The earlier canon of Egidius's *Portio nature / Ida capillorum in Ivrea*, Biblioteca Capitalora, MS. 115, fol. 6v, uses 'sese per semi' (Zazulia 2012: 98). This phonetic orthography might betray a Gallic pronunciation. Square braces above notes show original ligature groupings and square brackets indicate red notes in the original.
7. An image of this page can be viewed on the Gallica website of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France at <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84490281/f29.image.r>>.
8. This edition corrects the erroneous transcription of the Tenor bb. 10–20 (and the resultant counterpoint with the Cantus) in the only other published edition of this song (Meccaci and Ziino 2003: 218–9). It also contains additional suggestions for *musica ficta* (shown above staves).

APPENDIX

Timeline of the Travels of Louis II of Anjou in Italy, 1409–1411

Date	Louis II of Anjou	Pope
26 June 1409		Pétros Fílargos elected at Council of Pisa, taking the name Alexander V.
25 July 1409	Arrives in Pisa, swears allegiance to Alexander V (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 120).	
19 August 1409	Invested with title of Kingdom of Sicily by Alexander V in Pisa (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 120).	Alexander V invests Louis II of Anjou with title of King of Sicily.
7 September 1409	Departs Pisa to join Baldassare Cossa and Florentine troops in Siena. Moves through Tuscany and Umbria largely unopposed. (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 123).	
1 October 1409	With Baldassare Cossa when he takes Vatican, hears mass at St Peter's (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 124).	
10(?) October 1409	Moves to take Trivoli (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 124).	
25 October 1409		Alexander departs Pisa, arrives in Prato 30 Oct 1409 with 4 cardinals (Guasti 1867: 205).
1 November 1409	Returns to Prato where he finds Alexander V (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 124).	
4 January 1410		Alexander V leaves Prato (Guasti 1867: 205).
6 January 1410	Back in Paris to raise funds for second expedition (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 127).	
12 January 1410		Alexander V arrives in Bologna with 19 cardinals (Guasti 1867: 205); in territory since 7 January (Sorbelli 1900: 533).
10 February 1410	Arrives back in Angers (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 127).	
12 March 1410	Returns to Provence (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 127).	
22–23 April 1410	Leaves port of Marseille (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 129).	
3–4 May 1410		Alexander V dies (Sorbelli 1900: 535).
9 May 1410	Back on Italian soil (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 129).	
17 May 1410	Louis loses the part of his fleet off the coast of Pisa to Genovese and Neapolitan forces, five heavy galleys captured, one escaped.	Baldassare Cossa elected Pope in Bologna, takes name John XXIII [NB. Sorbelli (1900: 535) states John XXIII elected 14 May; Matteo Griffoni states 17 May] (Frati and Sorbelli 1902: 98).



3 June 1410	Arrived in Prato, stayed at the house of Francesco di Marco.	
6 June 1410	Returns to Bologna, warmly welcomed by John XXIII and his cardinals, stays in the house of Bartolomeo de Bolognini.	
23 June 1410	Left Bologna arriving in Prato three days later (Sorbelli 1900: 536 ; Guasti 1867: 205) [NB. Cardinals accompanied him out of Bologna].	
21 July 1410	Left Prato for Certosa, Siena and Montepulciano after receiving promised funds from Florentines and pope. The remainder of his fleet accompanied him down the coast (Guasti 1867: 205 ; Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 134 n3).	
31 August 1410		John XXIII at San Michele in Bosco (Bologna) with five cardinals (Sorbelli 1900: 536).
14 September 1410		John XXIII leaves San Michele in Bosco and arrives at Castel San Piero (Bologna) (Sorbelli 1900: 536).
20 September 1410	Arrived in Rome, lodged in the Vatican (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 135).	
14 November 1410		John XXIII arrives at the Castello di Galiera, Bologna (Sorbelli 1900: 536).
23 December 1410		John XXIII arrives at the palace, Bologna, with 23 cardinals (Sorbelli 1900: 536–7).
31 December 1410	Leaves Rome, fully aware of the futility of his situation with Florence breaking alliance.	
6 January 1411	Returns to Bologna and lodges at the papal palace (Sorbelli 1900: 536)	
7 January 1411	Arrives in Siena (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 136 n4); soon after this in Bologna where he spends the rest of winter.	
30 February 1411		John XXIII bestows the golden rose upon Louis II of Anjou with a grand triumph and procession through Bologna (Sorbelli 1900: 537).
30 March		John XXIII leaves Bologna on his way to Rome (Sorbelli 1900: 537).
12 April 1411	In Rome with John XXIII (possibly earlier given a papal letter dated 13 April written in Rome) (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 138).	John XXIII in Rome.
28 April 1411	Leaves Rome to confront Ladislaus of Naples (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 138).	
19 May 1411	Defeats Ladislaus at Roccasecca, but fails to capitalise on his victory by not pushing on to Naples (Valois 1896–1902: Vol. 4: 140–1).	



12 July 1411	Returns to Rome (Valois 1896–1902: 4: 141).	
3 August 1411	Departs Ripa Grande for Ostia and onwards to Provence (Valois 1896–1902: 4: 141).	
June 1413		John XXIII forced to flee from Rome to Florence after Ladislaus entered Rome 9 June and captured Castello di San Angelo, 14 June. (Ladislaus had previously recognised John as pope, June 1412) (Valois 1896–1902: 4).

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CREDITS

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ABSTRACT

The inner gatherings of the music manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS. α.M.5.24 (Mod A_{II-IV}) contain a tangle of politically-charged songs, mostly in French, referring to the tumultuous Great Schism of the Western Church (1378–1417) and the prowess of several princes of ascendant Italian states during the same period. Some scholars have connected the repertoire of Mod A_{II-IV} with Pétros Filargos, sometime Archbishop of Milan and then the short-lived conciliar pope Alexander V. Yet art-historical evidence now strongly suggests that Mod A_{II-IV} was completed during the pontificate of Alexander's successor, John XXIII, between September 1410 and March 1411 in Bologna. During the first two years of John's pontificate the influential and wealthy prince of France, Louis II of Anjou, prosecuted his claim for title of the Kingdom of Naples in Italy, simultaneously supporting John XXIII's military campaign to reclaim Rome. This article explores a new hypothesis that part of the repertoire of Mod A_{II-IV} — and possibly the manuscript's very structure — reflects the presence of the Angevin prince at the court of John XXIII in Bologna in the second half of 1410. It considers how other political threads running through this manuscript render it an unlikely candidate for a source connected with the pro-Visconti Alexander V.

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Keywords: politics, Ars subtilior, international repertoire, Great Schism, Louis II of Anjou

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