the development of musical forms and styles. Starting with the monophonic songs of the trouvères, Machaut himself created the accompanied solo song. In so doing, he developed the compositional techniques and the arrangement of vocal and instrumental parts that remained in use for more than a century. Beyond their revelation of this creative process, Machaut's songs illustrate the transformation of simple music for dancing into highly elaborated art forms. It is especially significant to note that the coexistence of all stages of this transformation rules out undeviating progress from the simplest to the most complex secular songs. Machaut apparently moved with ease from the dense four-part polyphony of the double ballade (No. 34) to the dancelike tune of the monophonic Ballade 37. Moreover, we cannot assume that the virelais belong to an earlier period than the ballades and rondeaux or than the motets, for that matter. Indeed, it is an important measure of Machaut's greatness that he could range at will between the extremes of intellectual constructivism and folklike simplicity. No other medieval composer left proof of such versatility. No other wrote with equal success in all the forms and styles of his time. Not until the beginning of the Renaissance do we find composers of comparable universality. Even then, few could match and fewer still surpass Machaut's towering achievements.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Italian Ars Nova

Italian secular polyphony suddenly appeared and flourished in the fourteenth century with no apparent antecedents. It is sometimes argued, therefore, that the term *Ars Nova* should not be applied to music that seems to have developed independently of the musical forms and the notational system that characterize the French Ars Nova. Italian music, it is true, does not form part of the new art described by Philippe de Vitry and Johannes de Muris. Moreover, it was not new in the sense of being contrasted with an older musical practice that could be called an *ars antiqua*. For this very reason, however, it was a far more radical innovation than any of the new developments in France and fully deserves to be called an *Ars Nova*.

Attempts to find the ancestry of this new polyphony in the conductus or in melismatic organum seem strained and generally lacking in credibility. A more plausible hypothesis sees the beginnings of Italian polyphony in an indigenous art of solo song with an improvised instrumental accompaniment.[1] This art has left no earlier monuments, but its existence is well documented. As we have seen in Chapter XI, the Albigensian Crusade (1209–29) drove many troubadours and jongleurs to find refuge at courts in Spain and Sicily or with members of an emerging aristocracy in northern Italy. Even before this time, moreover, the poetry of southern France had been known in Italy and emulated by Italian poets who continued to write in Provençal throughout most of the thirteenth century. Only with the coming of Dante (1265–1321) and his less well known contemporaries did Italian begin to be accepted as a proper language for lyric verse in the *dolce stil nuovo* (sweet new style). Strongly influenced by the forms and spirit of troubadour poetry, this new style was cultivated by a host of fourteenth-century poets of whom Petrarch (1304–74) is deservedly the most famous. Through the works of these poets, then, as well as through many literary references to music, we can trace a continuing tradition of monophonic song that

1. K. von Fischer, "On the Technique, Origin, and Evolution of Italian Trecento Music," MQ, 47 (1961), pp. 41–57.

Detail from *The Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin* by Fra Angelico (1387–1455) showing the angel musicians (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston).

overlapped with the sudden blossoming of Italian secular polyphony, a blossoming that coincides with what literary and cultural historians generally regard as the beginning of the Italian Renaissance.

Rather than concern itself with conjectural antecedents, the present chapter shall deal with the actual music of the *trecento* (literally, the "three hundreds"), the Italian way of designating the fourteenth century. Instead of a collection of music, however, the earliest surviving document that deals with Italian polyphony is a treatise by Marchettus of Padua with the fanciful title *Pomerium artis musicae mensuratae* (Orchard-Garden of the Art of Measured Music). Although monophonic songs were being written in measured notation in the fourteenth century, the phrase *measured music* in the title of a treatise ordinarily implied a concern with polyphony. Moreover, the *Pomerium* was a promised sequel to Marchettus's first treatise, the *Lucidarium in arte musicae planae,* an "Explanation" of the art of plain or unmeasured music (plainchant). The dating of these two treatises has been the subject of much discussion, but it is now established that the *Lucidarium* was completed in the years 1317–18 and the *Pomerium* shortly thereafter, probably by 1319 and certainly no later than 1326.[2] The exaggerated concern over this dat-

2.   N. Pirrotta, "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars Nova," MD, 9 (1955), p. 60 ff.

ing arose in large part from an effort to prove that the Italian system of measured notation described by Marchettus was independent of the French system and could not have been influenced by the French Ars Nova treatises. In reality, the *Pomerium* itself provides sufficient and more reliable evidence for judging the truth of these assertions. Marchettus cites Franco of Cologne on a number of occasions, and his comparisons of Italian and French procedures—sometimes with a stated preference for the latter—show that he was by no means ignorant of contemporary French principles of notation. Whether those principles had yet been formulated by Philippe de Vitry and Johannes de Muris is of little importance. Despite some areas of similarity between the two systems, Italian notation quite obviously was based on different principles and followed different procedures than the French. Moreover, the Italian system introduced mensural combinations unknown in French notation. Because these notational differences gave Italian polyphony a new and distinctive rhythmic style, it is important to discuss the principles of Italian notation before considering Italian composers and their music.

THE ITALIAN NOTATIONAL SYSTEM

Although no historical connection can be proved, Italian notation appears to have branched off from the procedures characteristic of Pierre de la Croix and the *Roman de Fauvel*. At any rate, the Italians continued to use the dot of division to set off groups of semibreves that equaled the value of a breve. In French notation, as we have seen, the different values of these semibreves were determined by rule until the treatises of Vitry and Muris established the principles of using semibreves and minims (◆ and ↓) in the four combinations of time and prolation. The dot of division then became unnecessary except in a few special instances, and French music was free to develop its flexible and highly complex rhythmic style. In Italian notation, on the other hand, dots of division remained an essential feature and functioned in almost the same way as modern barlines. They proved to be even more restrictive, however, for they severely limited, when they did not entirely eliminate, the possibility of tied notes or syncopation across the barline. It was undoubtedly such restraints that eventually led Italian composers to adopt the principles of French notation in a revolt against the tyranny of the barline some five hundred years in advance of the twentieth century. In the beginning, however, the Italian notational system took the breve as the unit of measure and then classified the mensurations in a series of three "divisions" according to the number of smaller notes within the breve (Example XVIII–1).

Example XVIII–1: *The Divisions of Italian Notation*
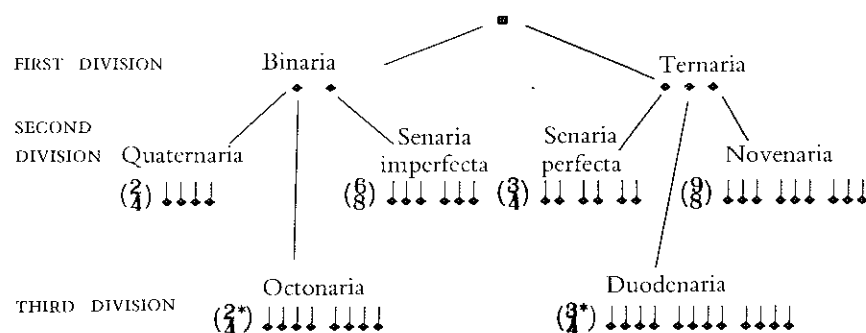
The similarities between Italian and French mensurations are obvious enough, but the differences call for some comment. The binary and ternary forms of the first division parallel the French concept of imperfect and perfect time but are rarely used alone. Normally they are further subdivided into one of the second or third divisions, indicated in the manuscripts by their initial letters: *q, si* or *i, sp* or *p, n, o,* and *d.* Although the four forms of the second division correspond with Vitry's four combinations of time and prolation, Italian composers used them much less often than the two forms of the third division, which have no counterpart in French notation. Octonaria and duodenaria are not merely subdivisions of quaternaria and senaria perfecta, which could have been obtained by the use of semiminims, nor are they simply combinations of two or three units of quaternaria. Instead, they are independent mensurations, best transcribed as $2\star/4$ and $3\star/4$, with the asterisks to distinguish them from the same meters in the second division.[3] Minims in the third division thus become sixteenth notes instead of eighths; breves still equal a full measure ($\downarrow$ or $\downarrow$.); and the semibreve serves for all values in between. A later development removed this ambiguity of the Italian system by introducing the French concept of mood in the notation of octonaria and duodenaria. Now the long becomes the unit of measure; breves equal quarter notes; semibreves, eighths. That this more precise notation did not change the musical effect is proved by a few instances in which the same piece is notated in the two different ways in different manuscripts.[4] Nevertheless, modern editors usually distinguish the new manner of notating octonaria and duodenaria by using the signature $2 \times 1\star/4$ and $3 \times 1\star/4$.

The need for distinguishing mensurations of the third division arises from their proportional relationship to mensurations of the second. In this latter division, as in French notation, minims have the same value in

3. Pirrotta introduced the system of signatures used here in MFCl (see Vol. 1, p. ii).
4. In MFCl, 1, No. 9, Pirrotta gives three versions of a madrigal in duodenaria, of which two are notated in the old style and one in the new. See also Nos. 3, 12, and 14.

all four mensurations. They also maintain a constant value within the third division, but now they move at a faster pace in a slower tempo. One measure of octonaria, for example, equals a measure and a half of quaternaria, and four minims occupy the place of three. To put it another way, the quarter note of $2\star/4$ and $3\star/4$ equals the dotted quarter of 6/8 and 9/8. Numerous Italian pieces confirm this relationship by introducing measures of octonaria or duodenaria in one part against measures of senaria imperfecta or novenaria in the other.[5] Distinctive time signatures for the third division thus indicate the proportional relationship that should also apply when all voices change from one mensuration to another, as they frequently do in Italian music.

Although these tempo relationships may have been somewhat unstable in the formative stages of Italian polyphony and its notation, Marchettus's comparison of the Italian and French manners of interpreting a series of undifferentiated semibreves makes it clear that the tempo equivalence of duodenaria with novenaria and octonaria with senaria imperfecta formed part of the oldest Italian practice. The description in the *Pomerium* is so precise that a composite example showing the differences between the two manners can easily be compiled (Example XVIII–2).[6] The rules that govern the two notational systems need not concern us here, but the contrast of rhythmic style that results from the Italian interpretation is readily apparent. Marchettus himself was aware of this contrast and of its national origins. He proposed that when the French interpretation was desired the letter *g* (for *gallica*) should be used as a sign "because we had this division of imperfect time from the French." Clearly the Italians—or Marchettus—could have adopted the French manner had they so desired.[7] Instead, they showed a decided preference for the mensurations of the third division—octonaria and duodenaria—which gave their music a rhythmic style peculiarly its own.

Example XVIII–2: *French and Italian "Manners" of Reading Groups of Semibreves (After Marchettus)*

5. E.g., the first piece cited in fn. 4 above. See Ch. XIX, p. 482 and Example XIX–5.
6. For part of the *Pomerium* in English with the examples from which Example XVIII–2 is compiled, see Strunk, SR, pp. 168–69.
7. Pirrotta, MFCI, 2, Nos. 23 and 28, are two pieces from **Rs** with the indication *s.g.* (*senaria gallica*). No. 29 alternates between *s.y.* (*senaria ytalica*) and *g.* For a facsimile of No. 28, see Apel, NPM, p. 383.

THE ROSSI CODEX AND MUSIC IN NORTHERN ITALY

The earliest extant collection of Italian secular polyphony is the Vatican manuscript Rossi 215 (*Rs*), now a fragment containing twenty-nine pieces, of which a few are incomplete. The recent discovery of four additional folios of the Rossi Codex raises this total to thirty-seven pieces. All are anonymous, but concordances in later manuscripts establish the authorship of two pieces by "Piero" and two by Giovanni da Firenze, composers whom we shall shortly meet again.[8] Despite the general anonymity of its contents, the Rossi Codex clearly originated in northern Italy and is believed to preserve the repertory of a musical circle connected with Alberto della Scala in the years between 1330 and 1340–45. Alberto was a member of the Scaliger family, the elder son of the famous Can Grande della Scala, Prince of Verona, and patron of Dante. Even more than his father, Alberto was a patron and lover of art, literature, and music. "Frail and very impatient of labor and discomfort,"[9] he preferred to live in Padua—which the Scaligeri also ruled until 1337—and to leave the burden of government in Verona to his younger brother Mastino. Numerous aspects of the songs in the Rossi Codex seem to confirm its connection with Alberto and the city of Padua. The language of the texts betrays the influence of the local dialect, and the poetic forms correspond with descriptions given by Antonio da Tempo, a poet and native Paduan who dedicated a treatise on vernacular poetry to Alberto della Scala in 1332. Two poems mention Iguane or Euguane, nymphs who were supposed to live in hills near Padua still known as the Euganean Hills (*Colli Euganei*). One poem may even be related to the Scaligeri themselves. It speaks of a brother (Mastino?) who leaves the beautiful castle of Peschiera—built on the south shore of Lake Garda by Can Grande in 1328—to seek his elder (Alberto?).[10] The musical notation of the Rossi Codex, finally, is closer to that described by Marchettus of Padua than in any other source of Italian polyphony. This must be due in part to the age of *Rs,* but it adds one more bit of evidence to support the suggestion that Padua and the court of Alberto della Scala played a primary role in the early development and diffusion of Italian polyphony.

Although its origins remain obscure, the Rossi Codex sets the stage

8.   A transcription of *Rs* (without the eight newly found madrigals) is available in Pirrotta, MFCI, 2, Nos. 9–33. The two pieces by Piero are Nos. 2 and 8 in the same volume. Those of Giovanni da Firenze are Nos. 8 and 9 in Vol. 1. For a list of the other pieces, see W. T. Marrocco, "The newly-discovered Ostiglia Pages of the Vatican Rossi Codex 215. . . ," AcM, 39 (1967), pp. 84–91.

9.   From an eighteenth-century history of Verona quoted in Pirrotta, "Marchettus," p. 67.

10.   Pirrotta, MFCI, 2, No. 12. For more historical details, see Pirrotta's Forewords to Vols. 1 and 2, and pp. 67–68 of the article cited in fn. 2 above.

for the flowering of secular polyphony that was soon to take place in northern Italy, particularly at the courts of the Visconti in Milan and the Scaligeri in Verona. Of the thirty-seven pieces that have been preserved, one is a rare example of an Italian rondeau (*rondello*). The rest of the repertory presents for the first time the three forms of secular song in the Italian Ars Nova. Twenty-nine madrigals and two cacce are polyphonic, while five ballate are monophonic songs. Both the relative importance of these forms and their musical styles changed considerably in the course of the fourteenth century, but we may describe them here because the Rossi Codex marks the beginning of their recorded history.

THE MADRIGAL

As far as we know, the first form of Italian secular poetry to receive polyphonic settings was the madrigal. The derivation of this name has been the subject of much discussion and disagreement since the earliest references to the form. Writing in 1313, Francesco da Barberino used the spelling *matricale,* apparently with the implication that the poetry was in the vernacular or mother tongue. Antonio da Tempo in 1332 derived the name *mandriale* from *mandria* ("herd" or "sheep-fold") to designate a rustic kind of pastoral poem. This etymology, no less famous than arbitrary, cannot be accepted, but it does indicate the pastoral character of many early madrigal poems. Other and later madrigals cover a wide range of subject matter, from the amorous to the moralizing and satiric. Moreover, the poetic form appears to be a wholly Italian invention. It seems probable, therefore, that the name does derive from *matricale* and that *madrigale* and other variant spellings all refer to the same thing—one of the earliest forms of a distinctively Italian poetry.

POETIC AND MUSICAL FORMS OF THE MADRIGAL

At the beginning of the madrigal's history, its poetic form was perhaps even more variable than the spelling of its name. The basic form consisted of a varying number of three-line stanzas, or *terzetti,* followed by a *ritornello* of one or two lines. The number of ritornelli might also vary, however, as might their placement. A few texts have no ritornello; others have one after each terzetto; still others have two at the end. Some early pieces even have texts in other poetic forms but are usually classified as madrigals because of their musical form and style. In all of these forms, including true madrigals, further variety results from different combinations of rhyme schemes and line lengths. With regard to the latter, it should be noted, Italian poets showed such a strong prefer-

A page from the Squarcialupi Codex containing the madrigal *Ita se n'era star nel paradiso* and a portrait of its composer, Vincentino de Arimino (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana).

ence for eleven-syllable lines that modern scholars indicate them by capital letters in analyzing poetic forms. Lower-case letters then identify shorter, "broken" lines, usually of seven syllables. This use of capitals in analyses of Italian poetry must not be confused with their quite different use to indicate poetic and musical refrains.

The standardized form that gradually emerged as the fourteenth century progressed consisted of two or three terzetti followed by a single two-line ritornello. Only eleven-syllable lines were used throughout the poem, and the rhyme scheme too became almost invariable: ABB CDD EE or ABB CDD EFF GG. Settings of madrigal texts reflect this poetic form by providing two separate sections of music, one that is repeated for each terzetto and another for the ritornello, which often contrasts with the first section by being in a different mensuration.

The resulting musical form of a complete madrigal may thus be expressed in letters as *aab* or *aaab*. This simplified representation of the standardized madrigal should neither lead us to forget the existence of variant forms nor be taken as an indication that the madrigal is similar, or in any way related, to the French ballade and chanson forms. To do the latter is to ignore the entirely different poetic forms of ballade and madrigal as well as the equally different structure and function of the musical sections in the two national forms. For the ballade, it will be remembered, the overall form of a single stanza is a_0a_cbC. If the music for each line of the stanza is represented by a letter, the form of a typical seven-line stanza becomes *ababcdE*. In the madrigal, on the other hand, each

line of the stanza (terzetto) normally receives its own setting, often a unit complete in itself with a strong concluding cadence followed by rests or dividing barlines. The first section, therefore, consists of three subsections in an *abc* pattern. The two-line ritornello may be treated in different ways. In some madrigals both lines are sung to the same music; in others, each line has its own setting. If, then, we indicate the music for each line of a complete madrigal, we get the following patterns:

Terzetti	Ritornello
abc abc (abc)	*dd* or *de*

Comparison of these patterns with that of the ballade, which must be tripled to indicate the complete form, makes it obvious that the madrigal is no more indebted to the French secular song for its musical than for its poetic form.

Given the indigenous nature of the madrigal as a poetic and musical form, it is no surprise to find that its musical style was equally independent of foreign influence. The most obvious characteristic of that style is a two-part polyphony in which both voices sing the text. A further characteristic is the alternation of extended melismas with shorter passages that are nearly or wholly syllabic. These obvious aspects of the madrigal have led to the assumption that it derived from the conductus. The improbability of this ancestry has already been suggested at the beginning of the present chapter. It is difficult to believe that the long-neglected conductus could have been twice "revived" in such different styles as the rondeaux of Adam de la Hale and the madrigals of the Rossi Codex. The stylistic contrast between madrigals and the few, nearly contemporary Italian settings of hymns, sequences, and processional songs in conductus style is equally striking, as the excerpts in Example XVIII–3 show. The first excerpt, dating from around 1300, has been claimed as "concrete evidence" of a connection between the conductus and the madrigal.[11] That the second excerpt from an early madrigal differs radically in style is indisputable.

In addition to the obvious contrasts of meter and melodic character, Example XVIII–3 illustrates more subtle differences that distinguish the madrigal from the conductus.[12] In the normal conductus, the voices cover the same general range, move largely in contrary motion, and hence must frequently cross. As a result of the note-against-note or neume-against-neume counterpoint, moreover, the rhythmic patterns of the voices in a conductus are similar, when not identical. To all of

11. NOHM, 3, p. 42. Ex. 19 is a longer excerpt from this "concrete evidence." A comparison of this piece and the corroborating Ex. 20 (p. 44) with the later Ex. 22 (p. 55), which is presented as a "typical" madrigal, will reveal the radical differences between the two styles.

12. See the article cited in fn. 1 above.

Example XVIII–3: *An Early Madrigal Contrasted with Its Supposed
Link to the Conductus*

a. BONAIUTUS DE CASENTINO, FROM VATICAN MS. LAT. 2854 (c. 1300)

Haec me - de - la cor - po - ra - lis Fru - ctum det spi-

ri - tu - a - lis A - mo - ris et gau - di - i.

b. *Quando i oselli canta* (**Rs** 5)

Quan - do i o - sel - li can - ta,

Quan - do i o - sel - li can - ta,

Le pa - stu - re - le va - no a

Le pa - stu - re - le va - no a

la cam - pa - gna,

la cam - pa - gna,

a. May this treatment of the body yield the fruit of spiritual love and joy.
b. When the birds sing, shepherdesses go into the open country.

these aspects of conductus style, the early madrigal offers exact opposites. Its two voices may overlap in range, but they are clearly distinguished as upper and lower parts that rarely cross or remain crossed for more than a few notes. Parallel motion in unisons, fifths, or octaves is common and may occur in note-against-note counterpoint or disguised by ornamental figures. Such figures are particularly characteristic of the

upper voice and make it generally more elaborate and melismatic than the lower, which tends to move more slowly, in longer note values. In many instances, repeated notes in the lower voice suggest that sustained notes have been broken up to accommodate the addition of a text. Another distinguishing feature of the madrigal is its decided preference for cadential progressions in which the tenor rises to the final and the harmonic interval of a third contracts to a unison. In the most common cadences of contemporary French polyphony—and of the older conductus—the tenor descends to the final. Intervals of a third therefore expand to fifths, and fifths or sixths expand to octaves. The divergent form of Italian cadences is but one more indication that the traditional process of adding voices to a tenor foundation did not provide a starting point for Italian polyphony. Only the hypothesis that the madrigal developed from secular monophony with an improvised accompaniment satisfactorily accounts for all of its idiomatic features. Conversion of the improvised instrumental part into a composed vocal melody scarcely disguised that part's function as an accompaniment to the more florid upper voice. The texture became a bit more homogeneous, perhaps, but the idiomatic features persisted. Indeed, they never disappeared entirely from this most typical form of Italian polyphony in the fourteenth century.

THE CACCIA

The second form of Italian secular polyphony to appear in the Rossi Codex is the caccia. Questions as to the origin of the form are even more complex and difficult to answer than for the madrigal. *Caccia*, of course, is merely the Italian equivalent of *chace*, and both terms designate canonic technique. Nevertheless, structural differences between the French and Italian forms seem to deny any direct relationship between the two. The chace, it will be remembered, is normally a three-part vocal canon. The typical caccia is also in three-part polyphony, but only the two upper parts form a vocal canon with words. The third and lowest part is a tenor in free counterpoint—that is, noncanonic—and usually without text. We may thus describe the polyphonic texture of a caccia as a two-voice canon supported by a presumably instrumental tenor. This texture occurs in nineteen of the twenty-six canonic pieces in the Italian repertory.[13] In addition to the differing structure of the polyphony, a formal aspect of the caccia distinguishes it from the chace and relates it to the madrigal. With only five exceptions, Italian cacce subdivide in two separate sections, of which the second is a ritornello. The first and longer section is always canonic, with the second voice fol-

13. As with the madrigal, variant musical and textual forms of the caccia will be discussed in a supplemental essay.

lowing the first at a rather long time interval. The treatment of the ritornelli is more various. Slightly more than half are also canonic, but because of their brevity the time interval between the first and second voices is generally shorter than in the first sections. In most of the noncanonic ritornelli, the two upper voices begin together with the tenor, but a few make a pretense of being canonic by beginning with imitative entries, which may even include the tenor. The result is not a true canon, however, because each voice lapses into free counterpoint to accompany the next entry of the opening phrase.[14]

CACCIA TEXTS

In both subject matter and form, the texts of cacce show even greater variety than does the musical treatment of the ritornello. Fifteen of the twenty-six texts are descriptive, with dialogue and exclamations that provide an opportunity for programmatic effects in the musical setting. Italian poets and composers were no slower than the French in connecting the musical technique of the caccia with the hunt, but only seven pieces actually depict hunting scenes. The other eight concern themselves with such varied subjects as fishing and boating expeditions, a fire, market scenes, and walks in the country. All of these descriptive texts are cast in long stanzas with no fixed poetic form except that they usually begin and end with couplets of eleven-syllable lines. Lines of this length may also occur at irregular intervals among shorter lines of dialogue and the cries of the participating actors. In setting these texts, composers sometimes continued the canon without interruption through the final couplet, but more often that couplet forms the text of the separate ritornello. Some cacce have two or even more stanzas that require repetition of the first section before the ritornello, and a few have two stanzas with a ritornello after each. Performance of the complete text in these pieces results in *aab* or *abab* forms that reinforce the suggestion of a relationship between the caccia and the madrigal.

This relationship becomes even more obvious in cacce with texts in the poetic form of the madrigal. Pieces of this sort are often called *canonic madrigals* to distinguish them from the "true" caccia that uses dialogue and exclamatory cries for dramatic representation. With respect to both subject matter and poetic form, however, the distinction between the two groups tends to become blurred. One of the early cacce, *Con dolce brama* (With sweet longing), depicts a sailing expedition, yet its

14. See, for example, W. T. Marrocco, *Fourteenth-Century Italian Cacce*, Nos. 14 and 15. The ritornello of the latter is published in NOHM, 3, p. 59 (Ex. 24), where it is erroneously described as a triple canon. It may be compared with a true three-voice canon in the ritornello of Landini's *De, dimmi tu* (Alas, tell me), Marrocco, *Cacce*, No. 10, and Schrade, PM, 4, p. 216.

The caccia *Or qua conpagni* attributed to Piero, from the Rossi Codex (Rome, Vatican Library).

text is cast as a madrigal with five terzetti and no ritornello.[15] On the other hand, texts that tell of a hunt without attempting a realistic portrayal occur in two of the so-called canonic madrigals, *Per larghi prati* (Through open fields) and *Nel bosco senza foglie* (In the leafless wood).[16] The composer of both these cacce was Giovanni da Firenze, a member of the first generation of known Italian composers. His contemporary and compatriot Gherardello da Firenze, it is curious to note, set a number of similar hunting texts as normal (that is, noncanonic) madrigals.[17] Gherardello also composed one of the best-known, because most widely reprinted, of all the hunting cacce, *Tosto che l'alba* (As soon as dawn).[18] A third member of this first generation, Jacopo da Bologna, provided yet another illustration of the close connection between the madrigal and the caccia by writing an example of each form with the same text, *Oselleto selvazo* (Little wild bird). The poem itself is a madrigal that has no connection with hunting. Instead, it heaps scorn on the multitude of unskilled composers who set themselves up as the equals of Philippe (de Vitry) and Marchettus (of Padua).[19] To this already considerable variety of textual form and subject matter we may add one caccia, *Dal traditor* (From the traitor), that is a setting of a ballata and another, *Quan ye voy* (When I see), that is a French chanson![20] From the foregoing discussion it appears impossible to claim that the depiction of

15. Marrocco, *Cacce*, No. 6, and Pirrotta, MFCI, 2, No. 7.

16. Marrocco, *Cacce*, Nos. 20 and 15, and Pirrotta, MFCI, 1, Nos. 19 and 20.

17. See, for example, Pirrotta, MFCI, 1, Nos. 24, 25, 27, and 29.

18. HAM, No. 52; Marrocco, *Cacce*, No. 25; Pirrotta, MFCI, 1, No. 33.

19. For a reading of the text that proposes a third *maestro*, Fioran or Floran, see Pirrotta, MFCI, 4, p. ii. The same volume contains the two pieces (Nos. 17 and 31). See also Marrocco, *The Music of Jacopo da Bologna*, pp. 78 and 111; and PM, 6, Nos. 18 and 20a & b.

20. Marrocco, *Cacce*, Nos. 8 and 22; Pirrotta, MFCI, 5, No. 6, and 2, No. 44.

hunting scenes gave the caccia its name. Instead, as with the French chace, the name designated a musical technique—the canon—that might be and was used to set poems of widely differing form and content. We may therefore identify all canonic pieces in the Italian repertory as cacce with the same justification that Machaut had for identifying the canonic stanzas of a lai as chaces.

THE BALLATA

The third form of fourteenth-century Italian secular song, the ballata, also makes its first appearance with music in the Rossi Codex, but as a monophonic rather than a polyphonic composition. The Italian ballata is not to be confused with the French ballade, although both began as dance songs. By the middle of the fourteenth-century, however, the French ballade had become an elaborate polyphonic song with only its name to suggest its humble origin. The ballata, which still retained its close connection with the dance, was the contemporary and counterpart in both form and function of the French chanson balladée or virelai. An opening *ripresa* (refrain) was followed by a stanza that began with two *piedi* (feet), each of which was sung to the same new music. The stanza then concluded with a *volta* (turning) that used the music of the refrain with new words. Theoretically, the ripresa returned after each stanza of a ballata, but these repetitions may have been omitted in performance. In this case, the theoretical form of the ballata with several stanzas—*A bba A bba A bba A*—would have become *A bba bba bba A* in practice. In the latter part of the fourteenth century, however, the great majority of ballate have only one stanza and a refrain in the form *AbbaA*.

With regard to the sectional divisions of both its text and music, the Italian ballata may be called a fixed form; but, as in the French virelai, the number of poetic lines in each section may vary from one ballata to another. A few poems have only one line for each section. More often, the ripresa and volta have three or four lines, while each piede has two or sometimes three. Rhyme schemes and line lengths are also variable, but the ballata normally makes one use of rhyme that is not characteristic of the virelai. In most cases, the rhymes of the volta link its first line to the preceding piedi and its last line to the ripresa. The following rhyme scheme of a ballata with two stanzas illustrates this typical procedure:

ABBA cd cd deea ABBA fg fg ghha ABBA[21]

That the linking continues through stanzas with different rhymes seems to indicate that the poets, at least, expected each volta to lead into a repetition of the ripresa.

21.   Pirrotta, MFCI, 5, No. 19. All lines have seven syllables. Capital letters in the scheme given here indicate the refrain.

In musical style, ballate differ from madrigals and cacce as much as they do in poetic and musical form. Not only do the two sections of the ballate tend to be nearly equal in length, but they lack the contrasts of mensuration that usually distinguish ritornelli in the other forms. Perhaps the most obvious difference, however, lies in the less elaborate melodic style of the ballata. Melismas are present in most ballate, but they are generally shorter, fewer in number, and much less florid than in the madrigal. This greater simplicity undoubtedly reflects both the origin of the ballata as a dance song and its continued fulfillment of that function in the fourteenth century. Whether or not the later polyphonic ballate were also sung and danced, they generally retained this simpler and more restrained melodic style.

The question of French influence on the origin of the ballata is difficult to resolve. Although the ballata and virelai have the same poetic and musical forms, the same holds true for some Italian laude and many Spanish cantigas. As we have seen, moreover, the virelai only came into its own as an independent musical form in the works of Machaut. Many of his monophonic virelais may well be contemporary with or even later than the ballate of the Rossi Codex. We shall probably be safe in assuming, therefore, that the ballata, like the madrigal and caccia, was not dependent on French models.

In the course of its development, the ballata takes on an importance never enjoyed by its French counterpart. Both in numbers and in musical interest, the virelai remained subordinate to the rondeau and especially to the grande ballade throughout the fourteenth century. The ballata, on the other hand, captured the attention of Italian composers to such an extent that it almost completely replaced the older forms of secular polyphony.[22] It is quite clear that the three forms of Italian secular song, though they may seem of equal interest to us, were decidedly unequal in importance to fourteenth-century composers.

LATER SOURCES OF ITALIAN POLYPHONY

Several decades separate the Rossi Codex—presumably copied before 1350—from the later sources of Italian polyphony. In addition to a number of fragmentary manuscripts, these sources include five or six large collections that, when taken together, contain almost the entire repertory of trecento music.[23] The dating of these collections has been a

22.   In a catalogue of the Italian repertory, Kurt von Fischer lists 423 ballate, 177 madrigals, and only 25 cacce. The last figure does not include the canonic ballata. See K. von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento* (Bern, 1956), pp. 18–73 and 82. Marrocco later discovered the eight additional madrigals from *Rs*; see fn 8 above.

23.   They are listed, with summary descriptions of their contents, in Fischer, *Studien*, pp. 83 and 88 ff.

matter of much discussion, but they appear to have been copied at various times between 1380 and 1420 or a little later. The latest and by far the largest manuscript is the famous Squarcialupi Codex, so named because it belonged to the Florentine organist Antonio Squarcialupi (1417–80). It seems doubtful that it was prepared for or by Squarcialupi himself. The arrangement and scope of the collection evidence an antiquarian's interest in assembling music of the past, and the lavish illumination suggests that a wealthy aristocrat's library was its intended destination. A number of factors account for the importance of the Squarcialupi Codex. Its versions of the music are not always the most accurate, but its 352 pieces include many that are found in no other source. A miniature of each composer heads the collection of his works, and the composers themselves are presented in nearly exact chronological order. As most of the composers had been long dead, the miniatures cannot be actual portraits, but they do offer bits of information, such as membership in religious orders. The chronological arrangement of the manuscript is much more significant and is supported by information gleaned from other musical as well as historical and literary sources. It thus becomes possible to establish the historical position of Italian composers with some degree of certainty and therefore to trace the growth and development of Italian secular polyphony from its beginnings around 1330 to its unexpected disappearance in the second and third decades of the fifteenth century.

THE FIRST GENERATION OF TRECENTO COMPOSERS

The first group of composers whose names are known to us includes Maestro Piero, Jacopo da Bologna, and Giovanni da Firenze, who is also called Giovanni da Cascia, after a town near Florence. Despite the diversity of their birthplaces, the music of these men connects them with the two most powerful ruling families of northern Italy, the Visconti in Milan and the Scaligeri in Verona and Padua. Piero and Giovanni are each represented by two pieces in the Rossi Codex and presumably were with Alberto della Scala in Padua before going to Verona. Jacopo set two texts that praise Luchino Visconti and give his name in acrostics. One is the madrigal *Lo lume vostro* (Your light), and the other, *Lux purpurata radiis* (Light with rosy rays), one of the rare examples of a Latin motet by an Italian trecento composer. Another madrigal by Jacopo, *O in Italia,* celebrates the birth of twins to Isabella and Luchino and gives the date as August 4, 1346. Luchino died, suspecting that Isabella had poisoned him, on January 24, 1349; apparently Jacopo then moved to Verona, where he remained at least until the death of Mastino della Scala in 1351. In Verona, all three men engaged in a musical contest that in-

volved settings of what amounts to a madrigal cycle. Several texts refer to a lady whose name, Anna, is hidden in the poetry but is revealed by repetitions of its two syllables in the musical settings. Later the affair turned sour, and the lady—no longer named—becomes a venomous serpent to the rejected lover. The cycle ends with a reply from the lady herself, for which Giovanni da Firenze supplied the musical setting.[24] This group of related madrigals is not the only connection that links the three composers. Giovanni and Piero set the same caccia text, *Con brachi assai* (With plenty of hounds), that speaks of hunting on the banks of the river Adda near Milan. In another pair of pieces, both Piero and Jacopo set a madrigal in praise of Margherita. Contemporary ladies of this name in Milan and Verona include a mistress of Luchino Visconti and an illegitimate daughter of Mastino della Scala.

After the deaths of Mastino and Alberto della Scala in 1351 and 1352 respectively, we find no further trace of Piero and Giovanni da Firenze. Jacopo da Bologna may have continued to be active somewhat longer. None of his works can be assigned a later date with any certainty, but the triple madrigal *Aquil' altera* (Proud eagle) suggests a possible connection with the coronation of Emperor Charles IV in Milan on January 6, 1355. By that time it appears that the importance of Milan and Verona as musical centers had begun to decline. Secular polyphony continued to be written and performed, but the earliest composers, Giovanni and Jacopo in particular, remained the most significant contributors to the music of the northern courts. In the second half of the fourteenth century, the center of activity shifted southward to Florence, which then took the lead in the further development of Italian secular song.

Before we turn to the Florentine composers, the music of our northern triumvirate calls for some comment. All three men concentrated on the typically Italian forms of the madrigal and caccia. Piero and Giovanni, indeed, composed only in these forms, and only in their cacce did they employ three-voice polyphony. All of their madrigals are for two voices that normally sing in simultaneous style. Of the three composers, Piero appears to have been the least prolific. He may have written more than two pieces in the Rossi Codex, but his name is attached to no more than four madrigals and four cacce in later sources. Two of the cacce are for two canonic voices without a tenor, while the other two have the normal free tenor below the canon. Further evidence of Piero's interest in canonic technique comes from his use of it in the ritornelli of two madrigals. Thus the works of Piero significantly represent the principal stages in the development of the caccia from the madrigal.[25] In the

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24. Pirrotta, MFCI, 1, No. 5. For other pieces in the cycle, see Vol. 1, Nos. 3, 11, and 14 (Giovanni); Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 4 (Piero); and Vol. 4, Nos. 12, 15, 18, 22, and 26 (Jacopo).
25. Pirrotta, MFCI, 2, p. i. Piero's works are Nos. 1–8 in this volume. Nos. 1 and 3 are madrigals with canonic ritornelli.

works of Giovanni, the separation of the two forms is complete. Musically, if not textually, his sixteen two-voice madrigals are quite distinct from his three cacce with two canonic voices above an instrumental tenor.[26] *Nel mezzo a sei paon* (In the midst of six peacocks) is typical of Giovanni's madrigals, which tend to be more fully developed, with more elaborate melodics and longer melismas, than those in the Rossi Codex.[27] It is in these works, as well as in the two-voice pieces of Jacopo, that the madrigal comes of age as an art form.

The compositions of Jacopo da Bologna are both more numerous and more varied in scope and style than those of Piero and Giovanni da Firenze. Whether this is the result of a more adventurous spirit, a longer life, or a greater knowledge of French music is difficult to say. Of Jacopo's 34 pieces known to us, 24 are two-voice madrigals and 3 are cacce. The remaining seven pieces include the Latin motet in honor of Luchino Visconti mentioned above, a lauda for two voices above a textless tenor, and five three-voice madrigals. In four of these madrigals, all voices sing the same text, but one has a different text for each voice. What prompted Jacopo to make these departures from the normal two-voice style of the madrigal remains unknown, but they were not to win wide acceptance among later composers. Only 18 of 185 madrigals that have been preserved are for three voices, and only Francesco Landini wrote another triple madrigal.

One aspect of Jacopo's style calls for special notice here. In most of his madrigals, as in those of Piero and Giovanni da Firenze, both voices sing the text simultaneously, despite the rhythmic and melodic contrasts between the upper and lower parts. In a few cases, however, the voices enter one after the other so that they sing part or all of a poetic line at different times. A somewhat tentative step in this direction may be seen in *Non al so amante* (Not to her lover), the only contemporary setting of a poem by Petrarch.[28] A more thorough and consistent application of the technique occurs in Jacopo's well-known madrigal *Fenice fu'* (I was a phoenix).[29] Here, only the first line of the ritornello is set entirely in simultaneous style. For each of the other four lines, the voices enter separately but return to simultaneous style near the middle of the line. Two of these entries give different melodies to each voice, but the second and fifth lines begin with melodic imitation, which continues in the second line until the beginning of the melisma (Example XVIII–4). The departure from simultaneous style and the use of imitation, perhaps reflecting the influence of the caccia, were innovations that later composers of madrigals would not ignore.

26. Giovanni's compositions are Nos. 2–20 in Pirrotta, MFCI, 1.
27. HAM, No. 50.
28. Ibid., No. 49.
29. Pirrotta, MFCI, 4, No. 5. For others in this volume that depart from simultaneous style, see Nos. 3, 6, 13, and 15 (Marrocco, *Jacopo,* pp. 36, 40, 45, 69, and 74).

Example XVIII–4: *Second Line of* Fenice fu',
by Jacopo da Bologna

And now I am transformed into a turtledove.

With the exception of Jacopo's one lauda, *Nel mio parlar di questa donn'eterna* (In my speaking of this eternal lady), no other texts in ballata form were given polyphonic settings by the first generation of composers in northern Italy.[30] It remained for Florentine composers in the latter half of the fourteenth century to make the ballata the predominant form of Italian secular polyphony. In other respects, however, the composers working in the North set Italian music on the path it was to follow throughout the trecento. Jacopo da Bologna in particular, with his experimental and somewhat eclectic style, pointed the way to future developments. In his works more than in any others, we find the first traces of that French influence by which native Italian music would be gradually changed and eventually overwhelmed.

THE FIRST GENERATION OF FLORENTINE COMPOSERS

We know almost nothing about the dates and lives of the early Florentine composers, but the oldest, Gherardello da Firenze, must have been about the same age as Jacopo da Bologna and Giovanni da Firenze. Unlike Giovanni, however, Gherardello was not a traveller and did not seek his fortune in the North. Instead, he remained "faithful to a circumscribed, localized tradition, hardly known outside Florence."[31] Gherardello died about 1362–64. Two of his slightly younger compatriots, Lorenzo Masini and Donato da Firenze (or da Cascia), appar-

30. The ballata *Io son un pellegrin* (I am a wanderer) is sometimes attributed to Giovanni da Firenze (as in HAM, No. 51), but it is anonymous in all manuscripts.
31. Pirrotta, MFCI, 1, p. ii.

The Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, built largely during the Trecento.

ently flourished in the years between 1350 and 1370. One manuscript that contains pieces by Lorenzo calls him a priest, and the Squarcialupi Codex pictures Donato as a Benedictine monk.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the Florentine tradition, indeed, is the number of ecclesiastical composers who made secular polyphony their almost exclusive concern. Most of the large collections of trecento music contain nothing but secular songs. Motets by Italian composers, as we have already noted, are extremely rare, and only a handful of Mass movements appear, almost as an afterthought, in a few manuscripts. Two of these movements, a Gloria and Agnus Dei, are by Gherardello. Lorenzo composed a Sanctus, and a setting of the Credo is now attributed to Bartolo da Firenze, an otherwise unknown composer who may have been the first Italian to compose a polyphonic Mass movement. A Gloria fragment and a Sanctus, both anonymous, complete the count of Italian Mass movements written before 1400. All of these pieces are for two voices, both of which sing the text. On a few occasions, the voices sing phrases of text at different times and may even alternate in singing successive phrases. For the most part, however, they sing together in what may be called a restrained madrigal style. Melismas are generally short and unobtrusive, although they become somewhat longer and more elaborate in the Sanctus of Lorenzo, which thus reflects, again in a restrained way, the melodic expansion that is characteristic of Lorenzo's madrigals.

In contrast to his limited output of sacred music, Gherardello wrote ten two-voice madrigals, five monophonic ballate, and one caccia, the well-known *Tosto che l'alba*.[32] Lorenzo's secular compositions are exactly equal to Gherardello's in number and kind, but one of his ten madrigals is for three voices. Donato wrote fourteen two-voice madrigals,

32. HAM, No. 52.

again only one caccia, and two pieces for two voices in ballata form. The text of the first is a true ballata, but Donato gave it a musical form of *AbbcA,* apparently because dialogue in the ripresa made its music unsuited for repetition with the text of the volta. For the second piece, the manuscripts give only the first words of the text in what appears to be garbled French for *Je porte amiablement* (I carry—or wear—lovingly). The musical form—two sections, of which the second is repeated with open and closed endings—makes it likely that the complete text was a virelai. So far as we know, Donato wrote no sacred music of any kind, even though he was a Benedictine.

Both Lorenzo and Donato wrote music particularly notable for its melodic expansiveness. Indeed, the two men "represent the peak of virtuoso singing in the Italian madrigal, and therefore in the Italian Ars nova as a whole."[33] Melismas become almost excessively long and ornate, especially in the upper part, which remains the more active of the two voices. In some pieces, both composers follow the lead of Jacopo da Bologna in adopting successive rather than simultaneous declamation of the text. The voices then achieve greater independence and come closer to being equal in importance. Imitation occurs frequently in these pieces and usually involves short motives and figures of one or two measures. More rarely, longer phrases imitated at a distance of several measures suggest the influence of the caccia. The same influence may account for occasional repetitions of words and phrases, which sometimes appear to reflect a descriptive or humorous intent. All of these devices are concentrated in Lorenzo's setting of *Dà, dà a chi avaregia* (Give, give to him who hoards; AMM No. 65), a madrigal by Nicolò Soldanieri. It should be noted that this is not the only occasion on which Lorenzo, Donato, and other composers chose texts from the madrigals and ballate of well-known Florentine or Tuscan poets such as Soldanieri, Sacchetti, Boccaccio, and Antonio degli Alberti. The great majority of texts remain anonymous, however. Possibly the composers themselves wrote some of these texts, although few achieved fame as poets or left separate literary works.

Of the Florentine composers, only Gherardello and Lorenzo continued the tradition of the monophonic ballata. The five such pieces that each man wrote are somewhat less florid than their madrigals, but melismas do occur, particularly on the first and penultimate syllables of poetic lines. When the intervening text is set syllabically—as it usually is—the stylistic influence of the madrigal becomes unmistakable. Also characteristically Italian are the mensurations most commonly used: duodenaria, or octonaria, or the senaria that Marchettus called *ytalica* (3/4). Lorenzo's setting of a ballata by Boccaccio, *Non so qual i' mi voglia* (I know not what I want), provides an excellent example of these purely

33. Pirrotta, 3, p. ii. This volume contains all the pieces of both Lorenzo and Donato.

Italian traits.[34] Though restrained, the melodic ornamentation of this ballata contrasts strikingly with the folklike simplicity of Machaut's monophonic virelais. Once again we must conclude that the formative stages of fourteenth-century Italian song show little or no trace of French influence. That influence does not make itself widely felt until well after the advent of the polyphonic ballata around 1365 in the works of the later Florentine composers.

SECOND-GENERATION ITALIAN COMPOSERS— FRANCESCO LANDINI

Nothing in the works of the older Italian composers presages the sudden popularity of the ballata in the last third of the fourteenth century. Certainly the few monophonic examples in no way suggest that the polyphonic ballata will almost totally eclipse the madrigal and caccia in the output of the second generation of Italian composers. Of those composers, Francesco Landini was the most celebrated in his own time and is the best known in ours. He was also the most prolific by far, having left a total of 154 polyphonic songs: 11 madrigals, 2 caccc, and 141 ballate, exactly one-third of the extant ballate with music. As will become evident, Landini's preference for the ballata was by no means peculiar to him. By the quality as well as by the quantity of his works, however, Landini led Italian music in a new direction and created its most imposing monument.

For a composer as renowned as Landini was, information about his early life is surprisingly scarce. The son of a painter, he was born in the lovely village of Fiesole on the hills overlooking Florence, but the usual placement of his birth in 1325 is unsupported by documentary evidence. Apparently a victim of smallpox, Landini went blind in childhood. The affliction may have been responsible for his turning to a career in music; in any case, he became a skilled performer on several instruments, including the *serena serenorum,* a string instrument of his own invention. It was as an organist, however, that he was best known. For his excellence as a performer—so says Villani, the contemporary chronicler of famous Florentines—Landini was crowned with laurel in Venice by no less a personage than Peter, King of Cyprus. Later embellishments of the story have proved to be historically unfounded and have raised unjustifiable doubts as to the truth of Villani's simple remark. Some such coronation could certainly have taken place in Venice during one of Peter's visits in 1362, 1365, and 1368. During this decade, at any rate, Landini is believed to have travelled in northern Italy and may have spent considerable time in Venice.

34. NOHM, 3, p. 38. All monophonic ballate, with the exception of a single example by Nicolò da Perugia, are available in Pirrotta, MFCI, 1–3.

The tombstone of Landini depicts the famous composer with a portative organ and two angel musicians above his head (Florence, The Church of San Lorenzo).

The first firmly established date in Landini's life comes from a letter of recommendation written in 1375 by Coluccio Salutati, chancellor of Florence. From this time on, it is reasonably certain that Landini remained in Florence and took an active part in the city's musical and cultural life. He died on September 2, 1397, and was buried in the church of San Lorenzo where he had served as organist. His tombstone depicts him with a portative organ, as does his portrait in the Squarcialupi Codex, where he is identified as "Magister Franciscus Cecus [blind] Horghanista de Florentia." Other manuscripts sometimes name him "Francesco degli Organi." This emphasis on Landini as a performer continues in literary reports concerning the effects of his organ playing on both feathered and human audiences. Even when his compositions are mentioned, it is the sweetness with which he played their beautiful harmonies that makes "hearts almost burst from their bosoms."[35] Now, of course, we can only know and honor Landini as a composer. Yet it is probably to his contemporary reputation as a performer that we owe the preservation of such a large amount of music.

Landini's fame and the size of his musical output are no doubt responsible for the modern tendency to regard him as the Italian counterpart of

35. Reese, MMA, p. 372.

Guillaume de Machaut. Such a view distorts the historical position and importance of both men, but to point out its falsity is not to deny either Landini's skill as a composer or the attractiveness of his music. Perhaps the most obvious difference between the two lies in the scope of their creative activities. Equally endowed as a poet and composer, Machaut cultivated almost every literary and musical form known in his time. In comparison, Landini's contributions appear surprisingly limited. He may have written a good many of the texts he set to music, but he wrote few other poems and certainly cannot be counted among the great poets of the fourteenth century. As far as we know, Landini composed no Mass movements or other liturgical music, although in 1379 he received payment "for five motets" from Andrea dei Servi (Andrea da Firenze). None of these motets has survived, if indeed they were composed by Landini himself. The only pieces that we know with certainty to be his belong to the standard forms of Italian secular polyphony, and even these three forms are most unequally represented.

THE MUSIC OF FRANCESCO LANDINI

Despite the abundance of Landini's music and the preservation of many pieces in several manuscripts, we have little to guide us in determining the chronology of its composition. Partly because of its sheer bulk, however, it provides the clearest and most complete picture of musical developments in Italy during the last decades of the fourteenth century. In examining those developments, our ignorance of chronology may prove beneficial. At least we have no reason to adopt the popular view of music history as a continuous and one-way progression. Changes do come, but gradually, and the new does not at once replace the old. Instead, a composer may alternate between divergent styles according to the musical form or type for which he deems each style appropriate. It is this situation that the music of Landini illustrates with particular clarity.

THE MADRIGALS

As might be expected, Landini's nine two-voice madrigals remain wholly Italian in style. Their texts are all in the standardized form of eleven-syllable lines arranged in two or three terzetti and a two-line ritornello. The musical forms—*aab* or *aaab*—are equally standardized. All settings are vocal duets, with melismas characteristically placed on the first and penultimate syllables of each poetic line. A few of these melismas extend for ten, fifteen, or even twenty measures, but as a rule they are both shorter and simpler than the florid expansions of Lorenzo and Donato. Although the upper voice is still the more elaborate, Lan-

dini evidently sought to make the two parts more nearly equal in rhythmic and melodic interest. Independent declamation of the text is common and often involves imitation or an exchange of motives between the parts. The same devices also relate the two voices in many melismatic passages. For the metrical organization of his madrigals, Landini relied almost entirely on octonaria and duodenaria. Six of the pieces use only these two mensurations, usually with octonaria in the first section and duodenaria in the ritornello. In two cases, however, this order is reversed. The other three madrigals begin in octonaria and have ritornelli in senaria perfecta (3/4). Thus Landini never failed to provide a metrical contrast between the first section and the ritornello. Within each section the mensuration remains unchanged, except in *Mostrommi amor* (Love showed me), where the first section begins with seven measures of 6/8 and then continues in octonaria.[36] As in most of Landini's music, the actual notation in the manuscripts is more often French than Italian, with octonaria and duodenaria expressed by means of imperfect and perfect mood. Nevertheless, the survival of these typically Italian mensurations is unmistakable.

The persistence of Italian characteristics—both melodic and rhythmic—cannot be taken as an indication that all the madrigals are early works. While it is probable that Landini began his career by writing in this form, several of the pieces display a technical mastery that can only have come with artistic maturity. Landini simply wrote in the style that tradition demanded for this oldest form of Italian secular polyphony.

No such tradition governed the composition of three-voice madrigals, which always remained exceptional in the output of trecento composers. Landini's two examples, by their differing structural procedures, make the exceptional nature of the three-voice madrigal even more explicit.[37] In *Sì dolce non sonò* (So sweetly did not sound), the nine lines of three terzetti are set continuously in the upper voices above an isorhythmic tenor with three statements of a color subdivided into three taleae (3C = 9T).[38] The setting of the two-line ritornello is again continuous in the upper voices, while the tenor has the same melody for each line, but with open and closed endings. Landini's other three-voice madrigal is tritextual, with a different terzetto and ritornello in each voice. In the texts of the two upper voices, Music herself weeps to see popular songs replace her sweet effects that once were prized by knights, barons, and great princes. Her only consolation is that she does not weep alone, for the other virtues too she sees deserted. The tenor text is a more general complaint that everyone wants to arrange notes

36. PM, 4, No. 146. Identification is by Schrade's continuous numbering of all Landini's works.

37. Ibid., Nos. 151 and 152.

38. HAM, No. 54.

and compose madrigals, cacce, and ballate. Landini seems here to echo the scorn of Jacopo da Bologna for "little masters" who set themselves up as the equals of Marchettus and Philippe de Vitry (see above, p. 445). Perhaps Landini's madrigal is itself a tribute to Jacopo, whose *Aquil'altera—Creatura—Ucel de Dio* is the only other tritextual madrigal.[39] It is clear, in any case, that Landini regarded the three-voice madrigal as an appropriate vehicle for experimentation with various musical techniques.

Much the same attitude is evident in *De, dimmi tu* (Alas, tell me; No. 153). The text is a normal madrigal with two terzetti and a two-line ritornello, but the musical form is an equally normal caccia. A continuous setting of the terzetti is followed by a ritornello in contrasting meter. What is unexpected is the novel structure of the canons, in which all three voices sing the text. The upper voice enters alone as though it were beginning a canon, but it proves to be a free contrapuntal part in the first section. It is the two lower voices that are canonic, and at the interval of a fifth rather than at the unison. The same relationship among the voices prevails in the ritornello, except that the upper part now begins a strict canon for all three voices. In contrast to this experimentation with canonic procedures, Landini's *Cosi pensoso* (Thus thoughtful; No. 154) is a normal caccia with a two-voice canon above a free instrumental tenor. Perhaps because the scene is of ladies fishing along the shore, the dialogue and descriptive elements in both words and music are somewhat restrained. Nevertheless, all the elements of the older descriptive caccia are present. The piece has an old-fashioned air that suggests it may have been an early work written to demonstrate the composer's skill in an already obsolete form.

THE BALLATE

French influence has sometimes been held responsible for the ballata's sudden popularity in the later fourteenth century and its overwhelming preponderance in the works of Landini and his contemporaries. Such a view is perhaps too extreme. As has been mentioned earlier, the ballata probably derived its poetic and musical form from sources other than the virelai. The latter, moreover, never became the most popular form of French secular polyphony. If French influence accounted for the near eclipse of the madrigal, we would expect Italian music to have developed a counterpart of the grande ballade. That it never did is related to one of the most puzzling aspects of the Italian Ars Nova. Almost without exception, composers ignored the more serious poems and more complex forms—canzoni and sonnetti—of even the greatest poets. In-

39.   Landini's ballata No. 112 also has a different text for each of its three voices.

stead, they first adopted the simpler form of the madrigal and then turned it into an elaborate and virtuosic art song. When the style of the madrigal palled, they chose another form that was still close to its popular origins—the ballata. Perhaps the preponderance of ballate in Landini's works may be taken as confirmation of Music's complaint in his tritextual madrigal that the sweet and perfect effects of music were being deserted for popular songs. The polyphonic ballata cannot have been truly popular, but it must have reached a wider audience than the older forms "prized by knights, barons, and great lords," who did not exist in republican Florence. At the villa of the wealthy Alberti family, Landini himself took part in the philosophical discussions and musical entertainments described by Giovanni da Prato in *Il Paradiso degli Alberti* (c. 1390). On one occasion two young girls danced and sang a ballata of Landini much to the delight of all, especially Francesco himself. In a similar way, the fictitious characters in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1353) ended each day's festivities with dancing and a song that was always a ballata. These and other bits of literary evidence as well as the composers' music suggest that, rather than French influence, the interests and tastes of Florentine society were responsible for the predominance of the ballata in the second half of the fourteenth century.

That both monophonic and polyphonic ballate began as purely Italian creations is strikingly confirmed by the music itself. Only later did the gradual introduction of foreign stylistic elements transform the ballata into a replica of French secular song. We can follow this process with particular ease in the 141 ballate of Landini, even though we have only the most general knowledge of their chronology. Any discussion of stylistic development in these ballate must deal separately with the pieces for two and three voices. Slight indications in manuscript sources suggest that the great majority of the 91 two-voice ballate belong to the earlier phases of Landini's career, while nearly all of the 50 pieces for three voices are among his latest and most mature works. Beyond the different number of voices, other contrasts of style distinguish the two groups and confirm this view of their chronology. Of the two-voice ballate, 82 are vocal duets, and only 9 are solo songs with instrumental tenors. By their very number, Landini's two-voice ballate in Italian style show that the sudden popularity of the form must have been independent of French influence. Before that influence effected perceptible changes, Landini and other composers had made the ballata an integral part of the Italian polyphonic tradition. The break with tradition that came in only nine of Landini's two-voice ballate will end with the predominance of French practices in his three-voice pieces.

All ballate for three voices, including Landini's, fall into one of three classes, according to the number of voices with text. The first class, which may be identified by the symbol 3^3, comprises ballate with text in all three voices. To this typically Italian procedure, a second class op-

poses the typically French arrangement of a cantus with text accompanied by instrumental tenor and contratenor parts (3^1). Between these two extremes stands the third class of ballate (3^2), in which both cantus and tenor sing the text and only the contratenor is instrumental. This hybrid class appears to be a wholly Italian invention. Whether it actually developed later than the other two classes as a compromise between them is uncertain. It did have a subsequent history, however. In some movements of the Barcelona Mass, as was noted in Chapter XVI, a vocal duet of the cantus and tenor is augmented by one or two instrumental parts. More common is the use of the 3^2 arrangement by fifteenth-century composers for settings of French secular songs. Thus, although the Italian hybrid never rivaled the French arrangement in popularity, it did become an accepted part of the international style that characterizes the music of the early Renaissance.

In classifying Landini's three-voice ballate, problems arise because no fewer than 19 of the 50 pieces occur in different versions in different manuscripts. Seven of the 19 exist as two-voice ballate, which may have been the original form of at least two pieces.[40] These two must also be included with the twelve that have different distributions of text among three voices. Of these fourteen pieces, only one exists in all three versions, 3^3, 3^2, and 3^1. The alternate forms of all the others are either 3^3 and 3^2 or 3^1 and 3^2. This situation seems to confirm the origin of Class 3^2 as a hybrid offspring of the other two classes. To illustrate how this hybrid may have developed, we may note the different versions of *Questa fanciull'amor* (This girl, Love; AMM, No. 67). The arrangement of this ballata is 3^1 in a Florentine manuscript that, according to Schrade, contains the oldest collection of Landini's music and "represents the highest degree of authenticity."[41] Although he believed the 3^1 version to be the "original,"[42] Schrade chose to publish *Questa fanciull'* as it appears in two other manuscripts, including Squarcialupi, with the text added to the tenor part (3^2). In this version, which is also given in AMM, the only changes in the tenor to accommodate the text involve the separation of notes written in ligatures and the subdivision of longer values into repeated notes. Thus the tenor part may be either played or sung, but the 3^2 version at least suggests the way in which this modification of the typically French texture may have been invented, perhaps by Landini himself.

Although some doubts about the nineteen pieces that appear in different versions do remain, we may accept Schrade's edition as the basis for the following classification of Landini's three-voice ballate:

Class	Total	Number in no other form
3^3	11	6
3^2	12	7
3^1	27	18

That more than half of Landini's three-voice ballate have the French arrangement 3^1 is unexpected, but it is no surprise that the group includes his one setting of a French text—a virelai rather than a ballata. We can only conclude that Landini acted with deliberate intent when he illustrated the inherent contrasts between Italian and French styles in the different classes of his three-voice ballate.

Not all composers of Landini's generation shared his enthusiasm for the French style or even his interest in writing three-voice polyphony. What they did share in differing degrees was a distinct preference for the ballata over the madrigal. They continued to compose madrigals, even into the beginning of the fifteenth century, but they all chose the ballata for a majority of their works. Of these composers, four have a sufficient number of pieces to warrant individual consideration here. A brief survey of their contributions to the Italian repertory will complete the story of trecento music and provide a better basis for judging the importance and influence of their more prolific and more famous contemporary.

NICOLÒ DA PERUGIA

Nicolò da Perugia appears to be the oldest, or at least the most conservative, of the composers whose creative years overlap Landini's. Almost nothing is known about Nicolò beyond what can be deduced from his music, which consists of 16 madrigals, 4 cacce, and 21 ballate.[43] Except for one three-voice piece (3^3), all of the madrigals are for two voices in the traditional Italian style. Their only departure from normal procedures is the continuous setting of two terzetti in the first sections of four madrigals, a peculiarity that may have been suggested by the usual treatment of madrigal texts when they were set as cacce. Indeed, the text for one of Nicolò's cacce is a trilingual madrigal (see p. 463), with two terzetti in the first musical section. All of his cacce are traditional in having a two-voice canon above an instrumental tenor, and the other three have more normal caccia texts, although none depicts a hunt. The most descriptive is *Dappoi che'l sole* (After the sun hides its rays; AMM, No. 66), a vivid portrayal of a fire in the city at night. Although the actual fire is successfully put out, the surprise ending in the ritornello suggests that the fire of love burns on in the poet's heart.

Turning to Nicolò's ballate, we find that one is monophonic, seven-

40. PM, 4, Nos. 92 and 93.

41. PMC, 4, p. 7.

42. Ibid., p. 98.

43. See PM, 8, for Nicolò's complete works. See also S. K. Kelly, "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1974.)

teen are vocal duets, and only three have the text in the cantus alone
above an instrumental tenor. These and other aspects of his music lead
to the assumption that Nicolò began his activity as a composer shortly
before the appearance of the polyphonic ballata around 1365. Further as-
sumptions place him in Florence from about 1360 until 1375 and make
him a friend of Franco Sachetti. These assumptions are based on Ni-
colò's use of texts that the Florentine poet wrote during the period
1354–75. Sachetti himself cited twelve of his poems—six madrigals,
two cacce, and four ballate—that Nicolò set to music. Of the twelve,
four madrigals, one ballata, and the two cacce have survived. There can
be little doubt, therefore, that Nicolò participated in the cultural life of
Florence for a good many years and made his own contribution to the
development of the polyphonic ballata.

BARTOLINO DA PADOVA

The second contemporary of Landini to be considered here, Bartolino
da Padova, raises many of the same problems as Nicolò da Perugia. Lit-
erary sources and a few of the texts Bartolino set to music indicate that
he was active as a composer from about 1375 until 1400 or even as late as
1410. He is believed to have spent most of his life in Padua, although he
may have been in Florence for a time. Both his name and his music, at
least, were known in Florence around 1390 when Giovanni da Prato
wrote of singing madrigals made in Padua by this so famous musician.

Given the presumed period of Bartolino's activity, some aspects of
his 11 madrigals and 27 ballate make him seem almost more conservative
than Nicolò da Perugia.[44] Although the preponderance of ballate con-
firms Bartolino's place in the last third of the fourteenth century, they
show few traces of the French influence that so strongly affected the
contemporary ballate of Landini. Only one of the twenty-seven pieces
exists in no other form than as a vocal duet with instrumental contra-
tenor (3^2). Four others exist as vocal duets and in three-voice arrange-
ments, with two each in Classes 3^2 and 3^3. All the rest of the ballate (22)
are vocal duets. Not once did Bartolino adopt the typical French ar-
rangement of cantus with one or two instrumental parts. His madrigals,
as might be expected, are equally in the Italian tradition. Nine are vocal
duets, only two of which have alternate 3^2 arrangements that may be
their original form. The remaining two madrigals appear to have been
composed for three voices with the text in each voice. One of them,
however, is unusual for the diversity of forms in which it appears (3^3,
3^2, 3^1, and 2^2) and for its French text, *La douce cere d'un fier animal* (The

44. See PM, 9, for Bartolino's complete works.

gentle aspect of a wild animal). Curiously, the one manuscript with the
French arrangement of vocal and instrumental parts has the most Italian-
ized version of this text. Although corrupt in all sources, the poem ap-
parently refers to the Visconti family of Milan, as the trilingual madrigal
La fiera testa (The savage head) undoubtedly does. In this poem, Italian
and Latin lines alternate in the two terzetti, while the two-line ritornello
is French. Both Bartolino and Nicolò set *La fiera testa* to music, the
former as a two-voice madrigal, the latter as a caccia. It has been assumed
that Bartolino's madrigal dates from the brief occupation of Padua by
the Visconti in 1388–89. By the same reasoning, Nicolò would have
composed his caccia as late as 1400–02, when Gian Galeazzo Visconti
held dominion over Perugia. These dates seem incompatible with what
is known or assumed about Nicolò's activity in Florence before 1375
and even more with the general style of his music. In any case, deduc-
tions from the enigmatic text of *La fiera testa* illustrate the fragility of the
straws we grasp in attempting to reconstruct the lives of trecento com-
posers.

ANDREA DA FIRENZE

Much more is known about a third contemporary of Landini, Andrea da
Firenze, or Andrea dei Servi. In the Squarcialupi Codex, the main
source of Andrea's works, he is called "Magister Frater Andreas Horgh-
anista de Florentia." Another source gives the further information that
he was a brother in the Servite order (*Servi di Maria*) that had been
founded in Florence in 1233. Records show that Andrea entered the
order in 1375 and held a number of important administrative positions
before his death in 1415. With Landini as a consultant, Andrea super-
vised the building of a new organ for the Servites' Florentine house, and
he played the instrument when it was completed in 1379. Andrea's ex-
pense accounts include payments for entertaining Landini on periodic
visits to check the progress of construction and for the cost of wine dur-
ing three days Landini spent tuning the organ. This last entry also
records the payment "for five motets" that were presumably composed
by Landini himself. The joint efforts of the two men must have been
successful, because they were both consulted in 1387 about plans for a
new organ in the cathedral of Florence.

Given Andrea's professional relationships with Landini, it is not sur-
prising that the music of the two composers should be similar in many
respects. In his preference for the ballata, Andrea even outdid Landini.
As far as we know, he composed no madrigals at all, and his complete
works consist only of ballate, 18 for two voices and 12 for three. It is
possible, but by no means certain, that Andrea was the composer of one

French ballade, *Dame sans per* (Lady without peer).[45] Of Andrea's two-voice ballate, only two have an instrumental tenor. All the rest are vocal duets in the Italian tradition. As with Landini, it is in Andrea's three-voice ballate that French musical practices most frequently appear. Only three of the twelve have the text in all three voices, while three more have the text in two. Of the six that follow the French plan (Class 3[1]), four also have open and closed endings and are written in 6/8 meter.

Although Landini and Andrea both show the same effects of French influence, each man retained his own individuality. The stylistic distinctions between them seem to result in large part from different attitudes toward the problem of setting words to music. Landini often gives the impression that he regarded the text as little more than an excuse for writing expansive lyric melodies. He almost never repeats words and phrases for emphasis, so that the return of the music with a different text creates no problems. Melodic ornamentation in the upper voice is generally restrained, and melismatic extensions are neither excessively long nor highly virtuosic. Nevertheless, such extensions convert even his simplest ballate into art songs that show little trace of their origin in the dance. Rhythms are gentle and fluid, rather than vigorous; melodies move chiefly stepwise in graceful curves; consonant intervals and chords are linked in smooth harmonic progressions. With Landini, in short, Italian polyphony reached a peak of lyrical elegance and refinement. Not until two centuries later did it reach another such peak in the music of Palestrina.

On some occasions, Andrea da Firenze showed that, when he chose, he could match the refined elegance of Landini's lyric style. More often, however, he preferred an energetic and even dramatic presentation of the text. This tendency is particularly evident in his use of textual repetition combined with special musical devices. A few excerpts from Andrea's ballate (Example XVIII–5) will illustrate the kinds of dramatic effects that are almost totally lacking in Landini's music. One of Andrea's frequent devices is the combination of repeated words and phrases with fragmentary motives in imitation or hocket-like passages (XVIII–5a and b). At times, as in the setting of *Pena non n'è maggiore* (There is no greater pain), the musical device alone lays special emphasis on a line of text, (XVIII–5c). For the most part, Andrea's melodies differ little from Landini's in their predominantly stepwise motion. In rare instances, however, Andrea introduces wide leaps that are all the more dramatic for being unusual and unexpected. The most spectacular of such leaps is the augmented octave that sets the word "maladetto" (accursed) in high relief (XVIII–5d). Indeed, the disjunct and wide-ranging melody for the entire second line of this ballata stands in sharpest contrast to the gentle lyricism of Landini and to the usual melodic style of Andrea himself.

45. Pirrotta, MFCI, 5, No. 50.

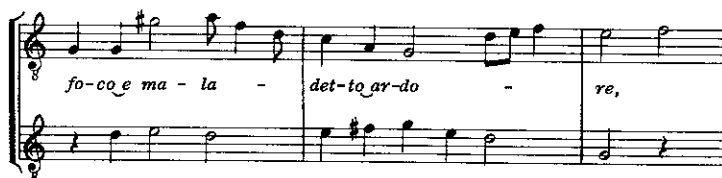Example XVIII–5: *Dramatic Effects in the Ballate of Andrea da Firenze*

a. NO. 5

b. NO.16

c. NO. 19

d. NO.17

a. Cruel Cosa (a pun on "thing" [*cosa*] and a lady's name)
b. Mercy, to cry mercy
c. There is no greater pain
d. Burning envy will die / In its great fire and accursed ardor.

The dramatic effects illustrated in Example XVIII–5, as well as many others in Andrea's ballate, were obviously designed to fit the texts with which they first appear. When the same passages return with other

words—as they all must in ballata form—they often become inappropriate or even nonsensical, especially where textual repetition is involved. Nevertheless, we may be thankful that these difficulties did not deter Andrea from his various experiments in relating textual and musical expression. His pieces thereby acquired greater diversity and individuality, if not always greater beauty, than is to be found in the more uniform and predictable style of Francesco Landini.

PAOLO TENORISTA
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Another major composer among Landini's contemporaries, and the last to be considered, is Paolo Tenorista, or "Magister Dominus Paulas Abbas de Florentia," as he is called in the Squarcialupi Codex. Curiously, the thirty-two pages prepared for Paolo's music contain only his portrait in the black cassock of a Benedictine, the full designation of his name and titles across the tops of all facing pages, and tantalizingly empty staves. That his music was evidently unavailable when the manuscript was compiled supports the view that Paolo spent the later years of his life outside of Florence, presumably in the household of Cardinal Acciaiuoli (d. 1409), who had been bishop of Florence from 1383 to 1387. In 1404, "Dominus Paulus de Florentia abbas . . ." witnessed the signing of a document written at the cardinal's house in Rome. The only other date that can be associated with Paolo's life comes from his madrigal *Godi, Firenze* (Rejoice, Florence), which celebrates the victory of Florence over Pisa in 1406. Information from musical and archival sources notwithstanding, Paolo's biography remains more than usually "problematic," and even his identity is open to question.[46] Despite these difficulties, Paolo emerges as an important composer of 11 madrigals, 23 ballate, and a setting of *Benedicamus Domino*.[47] Three additional ballate are probably by him, although they are anonymous in the manuscript sources.

Now that Paolo's music is available in a modern edition, he will undoubtedly be more widely recognized as one of the most interesting and unusual of the later Italian composers.[48] No one was more conservative and progressive at the same time. No one was more eclectic in borrow-

ing and combining musical practices past and present, Italian and French. And no one, therefore, achieved a richer and more various musical style.

The characteristic features of Paolo's artistic personality are as evident in the large aspects of his music as in the small details and are even reflected in the notation. It is a sure sign of his eclecticism that his works could provide examples of purely Italian notation, of the mixed notation that combined French principles with a multiplicity of Italian note shapes, and of the mannered notation that introduced new and often needlessly complex ways of expressing intricate rhythmic patterns.[49] This diversity of notational practice is no more than one would expect in the works of a composer who still treated the madrigal as the "flower of musical art," while at the same time he raised the popular ballata to a higher level of subtlety and sophistication. All but one of Paolo's eleven madrigals are vocal duets, seemingly in the traditional forms and styles. One unusual feature is the provision of open and closed endings for the ritornelli of six madrigals, in one of which the text does not require repetition of the music. The same madrigal also has open and closed endings for the first musical section. Such endings are extremely rare in the works of earlier composers, although they do occur in the ritornelli of one madrigal by Lorenzo da Firenze and one by Jacopo da Bologna.[50] It is only the frequency of their use by Paolo that is unprecedented. This departure from common practice in Paolo's madrigals is less significant than the rich variety of their rhythmic and melodic figuration. Because the musical style, particularly of the later madrigals, so clearly reflects contemporary trends at the turn of the century, it is strange that Paolo went beyond the vocal duet only in the three-voice *Godi, Firenze*. Perhaps the importance of the occasion being celebrated led him for once to abandon his conservative respect for the traditional arrangement of voices in the madrigal.

If conservative and progressive tendencies sometimes seem to conflict in Paolo's madrigals, the progressive tendencies clearly win the day in his ballate. The force of tradition was much weaker in the case of the ballata, of course; but Paolo is the first, indeed, the only major composer in whose works ballate for three voices far outnumber those for two. Of the twenty-six pieces by or attributed to Paolo, no more than six exist only as vocal duets. Ten have the French disposition of solo cantus with instrumental tenor and contratenor (3^1), and ten have the hybrid form of a vocal duet with instrumental contratenor (3^2). Three pieces in this last group also exist as vocal duets without a contratenor, but the three-voice versions probably represent their original form. That the three groups of Paolo's ballate reflect a chronological develop-

46.   For details, see N. Pirrotta, *Paolo Tenorista* (Palm Springs, 1961), pp. 20–26 ("A Problematic Biography"). In a later article, "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi-Kodex," *Quadrivium*, 9 (1968), pp. 5–24, K. von Fischer presents new evidence suggesting a close connection between Paolo and the compilation of the manuscript. He also documents Paolo's death in September, 1419.

47.   A facsimile of the *Benedicamus* is printed in Apel, NPM, p. 379. It is now published in PM, 12, p. 105. The music is anonymous, but the original index of *Pit* lists the piece with the familiar monogram.

48.   Marrocco, PM, 9. See Pirrotta, *Paolo*, for a perceptive discussion of the composer's artistic development. The latter publication also includes transcriptions of five ballate.

49.   Apel, NPM, Facsimiles 75, 80, 81, and the fragment on p. 394. The three kinds of notation are discussed and illustrated in Part III, Chapters VII–IX.

50.   Pirrotta, MFCI, 3, No. 2, and 4, No. 1.

ment to some extent is suggested by the way the manuscript source identifies the composer. Four of the vocal duets are assigned to "Don Paolo," while "P. A." is the composer of five pieces in Class 3^1 and eight pieces in Class 3^2. It would seem that Paolo began with the traditional form of the two-voice ballata but quickly acquiesced in the then-fashionable imitation of French style. More and more, however, he adopted the hybrid form as the most appropriate vehicle for combining his own brand of intensely expressive lyricism with the rhythmic subtleties and notational devices of the contemporary mannered style.

With Landini, Andrea da Firenze, and Paolo Tenorista, the dominance of Florence over Italian musical life seems to come to an end. Indeed, if Paolo did spend the latter part of his life away from his native city, Andrea may be the last important representative of the Florentine tradition. It is perhaps significant in this connection that Andrea's works conclude the music in the Squarcialupi Codex. After the folios devoted to him, a final section of twenty-one empty folios was prepared for the music of a "Magister Johannes Horghanista de Florentia." The allotment of so much space implies that the composer was both well known and prolific, but only two pieces in other manuscripts might possibly be his.[51] Presumably, he was the Giovanni degli Organi who succeeded Landini at San Lorenzo and later became organist at the Florence cathedral. Giovanni died in 1426, and the absence of his music from the last of the Florentine manuscripts seems to symbolize the city's decline as a center of musical creativity. In the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the cities of northern Italy—particularly Milan, Venice, and Padua—again came to the fore. During these years, however, composers more and more turned away from the traditional forms of Italian polyphony. Madrigals and cacce disappeared almost completely from their works, and even the ballata became increasingly scarce. In place of these forms, and in addition to adopting French musical styles, many Italian composers now chose French texts—ballades, rondeaux, and virelais—for most of their secular polyphony. They also wrote Mass movements and ceremonial motets in much greater numbers than before. These changed interests of the northern composers mark the end of the Italian Ars Nova and the beginning of a new age.

Striking as may be the changes that took place in Italian music at the beginning of the fifteenth century, they were less sudden than they at first appear. We find occasional examples of mixed French and Italian or wholly French texts from the time of the Rossi Codex to Paolo Tenorista's *Soffrir m'estuet* (I must suffer), a ballata that has French for the ripresa and volta, Italian for the two piedi. For the most part, however, trecento composers set Italian texts, even when they adopted the superficial aspects of the fashionable French style. Little in their music fore-

shadows the preference of later Italians for setting French texts or for composing motets and Mass movement. To observe the early stages of this development we must go back in time to the latter part of the fourteenth century and the contacts between French and Italian musicians at the papal court in Avignon. It was here, and later at the courts of schismatic popes and in other religious establishments in northern Italy, that the divergent musical traditions of the two countries met and began the process of blending into an international style. It will be the objective of the last two chapters to follow this process to the point at which it provides Renaissance composers with a richly varied but common musical language.

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51. See Pirrotta, MFCI, 5, p. iii, and Nos. 47 and 49.