

# Arms, A Saint and *Inperial sedendo fra più stelle:* The Illuminator of Mod A

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Some 600 years ago a north Italian illuminator sat decorating the parchment leaves of a collection of mainly French-texted polyphonic songs.<sup>1</sup> His task was to provide a decorated initial for each song, motet, or piece of sacred music using gold leaf with red, green, blue, and rose-pink paints. He responded to certain texts by adorning their margins with small, often entertaining images of people or animals that art historians call drolleries. In the margin of Jacob de Senleches's *En ce gracieux temps*, in which the poet recalls the nightingale's song interrupted by the raucous call of the cuckoo, our illuminator painted two birds.<sup>2</sup> For another song, in which the poet pledges to serve

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<sup>1</sup> The most recent inventory and study of Mod A is found in Anne Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24: Commentary* (Lucca: Lim Editrice, 2005). Mod A appears in facsimile as *Il codice α.M.5.24 (ModA)*, *Ars Nova—Nuova Serie I/a (Facsimile)* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2003). A medium resolution online facsimile can be viewed at <http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it/info/img/i-mo-beu-alfa.m.5.24.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the drab brown Common Nightingale (*Luscinia megarhynchos*), the illuminator drew what appears to be the European Goldfinch (*Carduelis carduelis*). His Common Cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*) bears the characteristic spotted plumage and long tail, but its beak and feet resemble those of a parrot.

“Love” and honor his beloved, he painted a little cupid. Elsewhere, the connections between song texts and our illuminator’s figures are more symbolic. For Egidius’s *Franchois sunt nobles* he painted his only historiated initial showing Jubal or Tubalcain listening intently to the sounds that a pair of proportionally weighted hammers produced when struck on an anvil. Although it might relate to the song’s call for the French nation to rule through its noble character, I believe he intended this well-known allegory for the biblical invention of music to appear at the very start of the manuscript as it was originally conceived.<sup>3</sup> Below the initial at the beginning of Egardus’s Gloria, he also painted a haloed saint in Franciscan habit carrying lilies to represent Saint Anthony of Padua. He paid special attention to *Imperial sedendo fra più stelle*. In the margin of this ceremonial madrigal he painted the gold-winged Saracen crest employed by the Carrara lords of Padua. When it came to the initial “I” for this song, he was more cryptic, painting in it a group of seven stars on a midnight-blue background.

The pages decorated by our illuminator are part of an early fifteenth-century manuscript held in the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria in Modena, shelf mark  $\alpha$ .M.5.24 (= Lat. 568), otherwise known as Mod A. Scholars have long proposed that this medium-sized manuscript contains at least two distinct layers of scribal activity, although there are lingering questions over whether a single scribe copied all the music at different times.<sup>4</sup> Indeed much of the premise for separating Mod A into different layers rests on different text hands: one spanning gatherings II–IV (fols. 11r–40v) that uses a round gothic script with occasional cancelleresca features (henceforth Mod A<sub>II–IV</sub>); another in gatherings I and V (fols. 1r–10v and 41r–50v respectively) and the inside faces of front and back flyleaves (fols. av and zr) that employs a cursive script hybridized with round gothic elements (henceforth Mod A<sub>I/V</sub>).<sup>5</sup> Since the music notation is similar between both layers, the main criteria for separating them are decoration, text hands, and repertoires. Since each layer presents itself as a distinct project, I shall refer to two scribes: Scribe II–IV, responsible for copying the music and text of Mod A<sub>II–IV</sub>, and Scribe I/V, responsible for the music and text of Mod A<sub>I/V</sub>. The work of our illuminator in

<sup>3</sup> On the use of Jubal-Tubalcain to represent harmonious government, see Björn R. Tammen, “A Feast of the Arts: Joanna of Castile in Brussels, 1496,” *Early Music History* 30 (2011): 229. Tammen also notes the increased use of Jubal as a biblical allegory for music in the Trecento (*ibid.*, 232).

<sup>4</sup> Each gathering is a quintern or quire of five bifolia. In manuscript studies, a bifolium (plural bifolia) is a sheet of parchment (in the case of Mod A) or paper folded down the middle to form two leaves.

<sup>5</sup> An excellent guide to gothic scripts can be found in Albert Derolez, *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

gatherings II and III (Mod A<sub>II-III</sub>) and its implications for our understanding of Mod A<sub>II-IV</sub> will be the focus of this article.<sup>6</sup>

In her recent study accompanying the color facsimile of Mod A, Anne Stone argues that current knowledge of the biographies and internal evidence from the works of composers named in Mod A<sub>II-IV</sub> “suggest that the unique Italian repertory was composed ca. 1400–1410 in Lombardy and in the ambitus of the Pisan Pope.”<sup>7</sup> By Italian repertory Stone refers to music by composers connected to the Visconti of Milan/Pavia and Pietro Filargo during his episcopate of Milan and his pontificate as Alexander V (1409–1410).<sup>8</sup> Stone questions whether Mod A<sub>II-IV</sub> was indeed copied for Filargo, suggesting that it “merely collects repertory that can be associated with him,” and leaving the provenance of the manuscript “in the realm of the speculative.”<sup>9</sup> Stone thus acknowledges the problematic nature of music manuscript studies that rely on repertory for determining a source’s origin.

A number of recent studies advise against assigning dates to music manuscripts based on the repertory they contain.<sup>10</sup> Certainly, a manuscript’s repertory is one factor in determining a source’s approximate context and chronology. In this article, I seek to further our knowledge of Mod A by looking at it as a visual, cultural artifact and analyzing our illuminator’s iconographical use of images.<sup>11</sup> This approach requires

<sup>6</sup> On Mod A<sub>I/V</sub> see Pedro Memelsdorff, “What’s in a Sign? The † and the Copying Process of a Medieval Manuscript: The Codex Modena, Biblioteca Estense, z.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568),” *Studi Musicali* 30 (2001): 255–79; Stone, *The Manuscript Modena*, 49–60 and 108–9. For a persuasive argument that connects Matheus de Perusio’s motet *Ave sancta mundi / Agnus dei* from Mod A<sub>I/V</sub> with Alexander V and the final sessions of the Council of Pisa, see Benjamin Brand, “*Viator ducens ad celestia*: Eucharistic Piety, Papal Politics, and an Early Fifteenth-Century Motet,” *Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 250–84.

<sup>7</sup> Stone, *The Manuscript Modena*, 83.

<sup>8</sup> On Filargo, see Nerio Malvezzi, “Alessandro V. Papa a Bologna,” *Atti e memorie della reale deputazione de storia patria per la provincia di Romagna*, Series 3, 9 (1891): 362–79, and 10 (1892): 39–55.

<sup>9</sup> Stone, *The Manuscript Modena*, 90.

<sup>10</sup> Sean Gallagher, “The Berlin Chansonnier and French Song in Florence, 1450–1490: A New Dating and Its Implications,” *Journal of Musicology* 24, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 340–41; Jane Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society: The History and Reception of the Loire Valley Chansonniers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 110.

<sup>11</sup> For a seminal introduction to iconographical and iconological approaches see Edwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955), 27–41; see also Michel Foucault’s analysis of Velázquez’s *Las meninas* in idem, *The Order of Things: The Archaeology of Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), 3–16. On the use of images in historical enquiry see W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993); Jean-Claude Schmitt, “Images and the Historian,” in *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology*, ed. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 19–44; and Jean Wirth and Isabelle Engammare, *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques (1250–1350)* (Genève: Droz, 2008), 11–41 especially.

a reading of the images in the context of late medieval representation, especially of heraldic and astrological symbols. Images frequently have special social, political, and religious connotations linked to a particular locale. To decipher these meanings and to reveal the cultural identity of the illuminator, I analyze evidence from art history, contemporary documents, literature, and musical settings.<sup>12</sup> I also offer a limited critical assessment of the transmission of works in Mod A singled out for special treatment by the illuminator and a discussion of the identity of the composer of *Inperial sedendo*.

Iconographical data show that the illuminator of Mod A possessed a high degree of insider knowledge about Paduan elite culture and politics and thus probably once lived in Padua. My review of the stylistic analysis of his work reveals his close affinity with the Master of 1411, an anonymous book painter active in Bologna in the first two decades of the fifteenth century. Our current knowledge of the activity of the Master of 1411 indicates that Mod A was decorated at the Olivetan (white Benedictine) abbey of San Michele in Bosco, Bologna. Based on the intersection of iconographical, art-historical, and documentary evidence, I suggest that our illuminator was Giacomo da Padova, one of the known illuminators active in San Michele in Bosco in the early fifteenth century.

#### *The Illuminator of Mod A<sub>II-III</sub>*

Early investigators linked the style of the illumination in Mod A<sub>II-III</sub> to the school of Nicolò di Giacomo di Nascimbene (*fl.* 1349–1403) in Bologna.<sup>13</sup> In 1994 Stone cast doubt on the geographical specificity of these conclusions, noting Bolognese elements in the work of one of Nicolò's

<sup>12</sup> On the dating of the almost contemporaneous Squarcialupi Codex see Luciano Bellosi, "The Squarcialupi Codex Master," in *Il codice Squarcialupi ms. medico palatino 87, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze: Studi raccolti*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Firenze and Lucca: LIM and Giunti Group, 1992), 145–57. Also see Manzari's recent analysis of preparatory drawings in Codex Chantilly, a manuscript whose repertory is closely related to that of Mod A; Francesca Manzari, "The International Context of Boniface IX's Court and the Marginal Drawings in the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Chantilly, Ms. 564)," *Ricerche* 22, nos. 1–2 (2010): 11–33.

<sup>13</sup> Pio Lodi, *Catalogo delle opere musicali: Teoriche e pratiche di autori vissuti sino ai primi decenni del secolo XIX, esistenti nelle Biblioteche e negli archivi pubblici e privati d'Italia: Città di Modena, Biblioteca Estense* (1923; reprint: Biblioteca Musica, ed. G. Vecchi, Forni Editore: Bologna, 1967), 522; Nino Pirrotta, "Il codice estense lat 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400," *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo* 4, no. 2 (1944/45): 151–52; Domenico Fava and Mario Salmi, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca estense di Modena* (Firenze: Electa editrice, 1950), 44–5; Ursula Günther, "Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense α.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568=Mod)," *Musica Disciplina* 24 (1970): 18–19. On Avanzi and Nicolò da Bologna, see *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani: Secoli ix–xvi*, ed. Milvia Bollati (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004), s.v. "Avanzi, o degli Avanzi, Jacopo di Pietro," "Nicolò di Giacomo di Nascimbene".

followers, the anonymously styled Novella Master, active in Padua.<sup>14</sup> The considerable progress in the past thirty years in identifying illuminators around the turn of the fifteenth century has necessitated a wholesale reevaluation of earlier scholarship.<sup>15</sup> In the most recent discussion of Mod A's decoration, Federica Toniolo argues that the illuminator's miniatures show affinities with the style of several master illuminators active in Bologna or the surrounding Emilia region, including the Master of 1411, the Master of the Brussels Initials, the Master of the Giordano Orsini Missal, and the Master of the *De civitate Dei*.<sup>16</sup> To assess the relationship of the work of Mod A's illuminator with other examples of book painting from the early fifteenth century, we have to consider the interrelation of various elements of book decoration: how the initials, miniatures, and other decorations, such as stylized acanthus leaves or drolleries, unite to form a whole. I am indebted to Toniolo's magisterial study, but I also bring my own readings of the evidence at hand in search of the cultural identity of our illuminator.

Today's art historians give various names to the anonymous artists who illustrated late medieval books. Massimo Medica, for example, names the artist who painted the frontispiece for a *matricola* for the Drapers Guild of Bologna in 1411 the Master of 1411 (fig. 1).<sup>17</sup> Toniolo noted stylistic parallels between the miniatures of Mod A<sub>II-III</sub> and the Master of 1411's frontispiece in the artist's drawing of faces and heavy shading of complexions.<sup>18</sup> To my eye, a similar angular dynamism and simplification of content pervade the figures in both sources. The folds of clothing are simplified to their essence, while not losing any sense that

<sup>14</sup> Anne Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy: Notation and Musical Style in the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca estense, alpha.M.5.24" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1994), 24–25. Stone refers to the findings of Carl Huter, "The Novella Master: A Paduan Illuminator around 1400," *Arte Veneta* 25 (1971): 9–27.

<sup>15</sup> See *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani: Secoli ix–xvi*, ed. Bollati.

<sup>16</sup> Federica Toniolo, "L'immagine di Tubalcain-Iubal e le iniziali a nastro del codice musicale estense," in *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24: Commentary*, 162–63. The Master of the Giordano Orsini Missal should not be confused with the Master of Beffi, the principal miniaturist in the manuscript Chieti, Tesoro della Cattedrale di San Giustino, messale Orsini. For the most recent comprehensive account of the Napoleone Orsini Missal, see Francesca Manzari, *Il messale Orsini per la Chiesa di San Francesco a Guardigliore: Un libro liturgico tra pittura e miniatura dell'Italia centro-meridionale* (Pescara: Edizioni ZIP, 2007). For a sample of online images of the Napoleone Orsini Missal, see <http://foto.inabruzzo.it/provincia%20Chieti/Chieti/Chieti-messali/index.html>.

<sup>17</sup> Massimo Medica, "Per una storia della miniatura a Bologna tra Tre e Quattrocento: Appunti e considerazioni," in *Il tramonto del medioevo a Bologna: Il cantiere di San Petronio*, ed. Rosalba D'Amico and Renzo Grandi (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1987), 211–14; Medica, "27. Matricola della Società dei Drappieri, 1411," in *Haec sunt statuta: Le corporazioni medievali nelle miniature bolognese*, ed. Massimo Medica (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1999), 156–57; Massimo Medica, "Maestro del 1411," in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani: Secoli ix–xvi*, ed. Bollati, 476–78.

<sup>18</sup> Toniolo, "L'immagine di Tubalcain-Iubal," 164.

FIGURE 1. Master of 1411, frontispiece from Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, ms. 641, fol. 1r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna

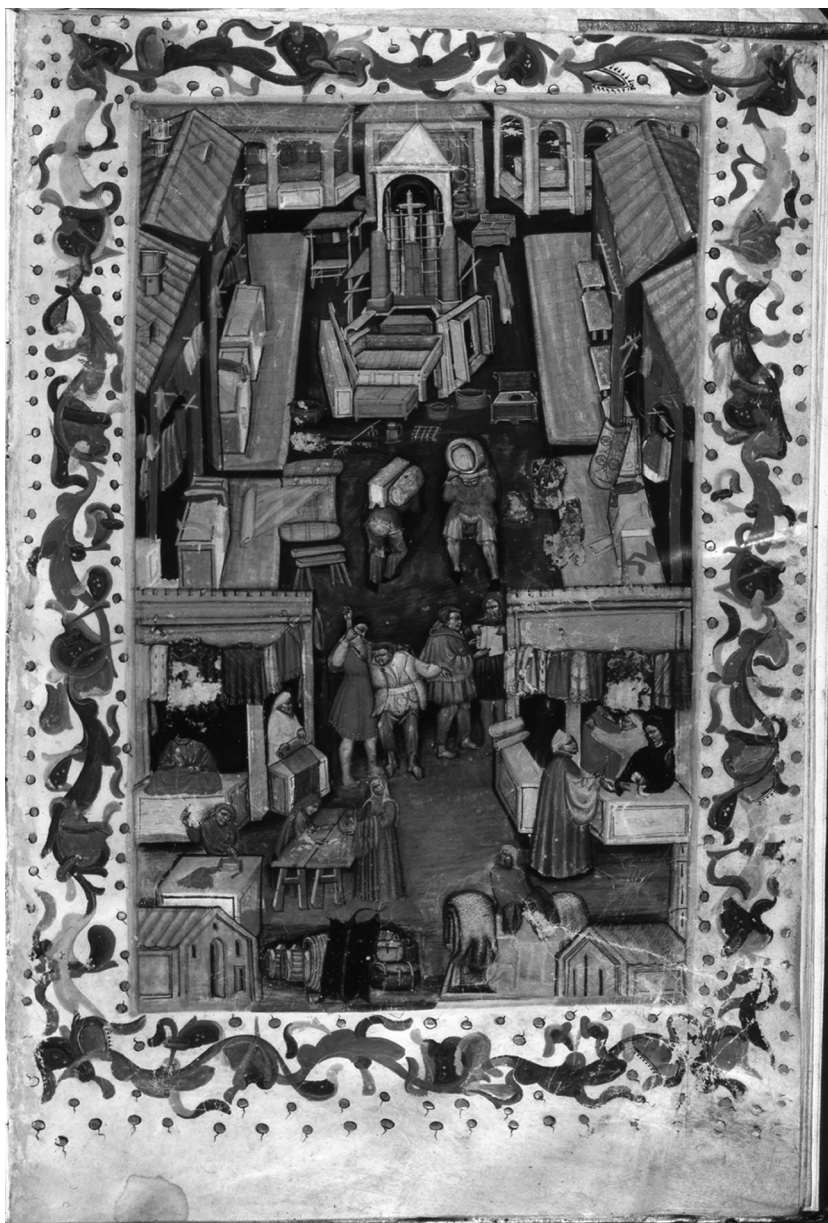


FIGURE 2a–b. Figures from Mod A of (a) Saint Anthony, fol. 21v (*left*) and (b) little cupid, fol. 30v (*right*). Reproduced by kind permission of the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena. Imaging by DIAMM

(a)



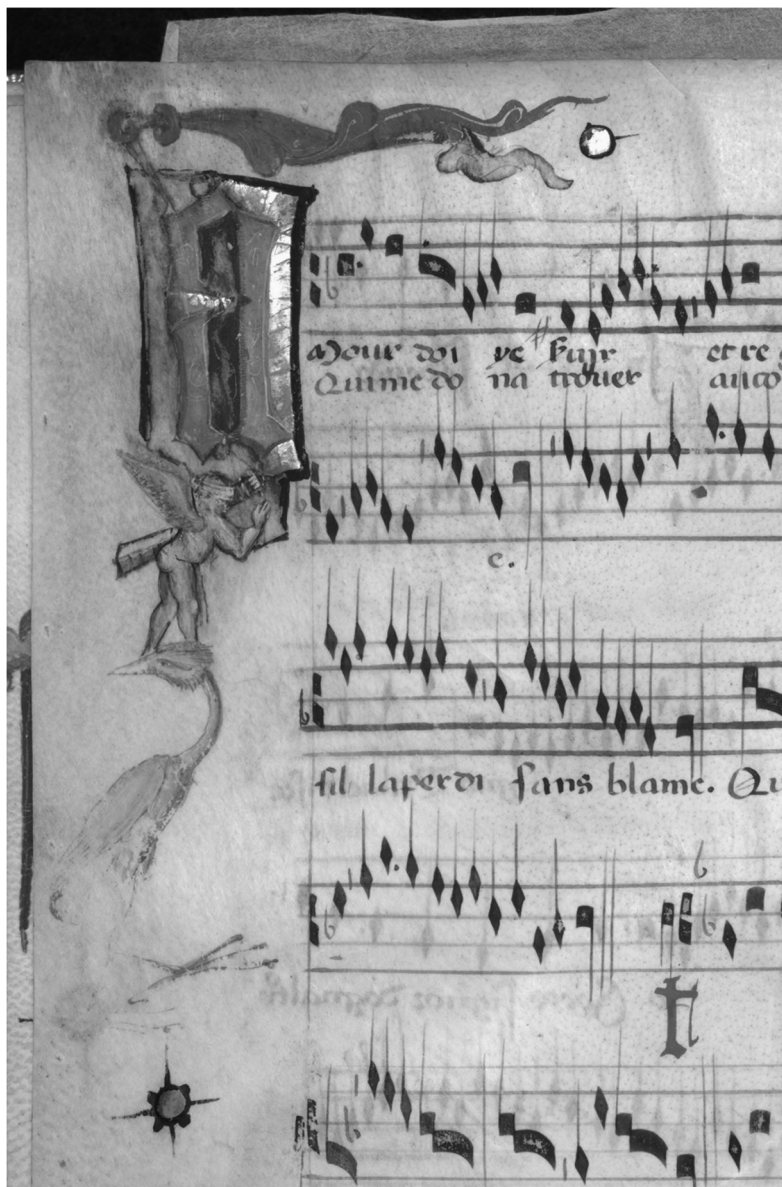
limbs move beneath them. Saint Anthony and the little cupid in Mod A have the same ashen skin tones (a slightly greyish complexion) as the figures in the *Matricola* frontispiece. Shared stylistic features suggest that the same artist, or an artist directly influenced by the Master of 1411, is behind both (fig. 2).

Although Toniolo and others insist on the pervasive influence of the Master of the Brussels Initials on Bolognese book painting, the absence of his soft and luminous skin tones, blended color gradients, and the modesty of Mod A's decoration rules out his participation in Mod A.<sup>19</sup> Unlike

<sup>19</sup> Toniolo, "L'immagine di Tubalcain-Iubal," 162; Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1969), 1: 229–41; Robert G. Calkins, *Illuminated Books in the Middle*

FIGURE 2a-b. (Continued)

(b)





our illuminator's late gothic style, the approach of Master of the Giordano Orsini Missal to human form looks toward the International Gothic, exhibiting, for example, an attention to capturing folds of cloth and the use of stylized gestures in representing human figures.<sup>20</sup> Although in miniatures by the Master of the *De civitate Dei* the figures are similarly ashen, his decorative foliage demonstrates a greater subtlety of shading and relief-like effects than that of the illuminator of Mod A.<sup>21</sup> Clearly, we have to look at the illuminator of Mod A in the context of other sources from around the turn of the fifteenth century.

A distinctive feature of Mod A<sub>II-III</sub> is its painted gothic "ribbon" initials, a type occasionally found in manuscripts from Lombardy, the Veneto, and the Emilia.<sup>22</sup> Of the three manuscripts that Toniolo singles out for their ribbon initials' stylistic vicinity to those in Mod A,<sup>23</sup> a manuscript that I shall call Estense Psalter A most closely resembles the overall decorative program of the illuminator of Mod A.<sup>24</sup> Of the several artists discernible in this Olivetan psalter from the abbey of San Michele

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*Ages* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983), 253–83; and Robert G. Calkins, "An Italian in Paris: The Master of the Brussels Initials and His Participation in the French Book Industry," *Gesta* 20, no. 1 (1981): 223–32.

<sup>20</sup> This approach is specifically manifest in the contemporaneous works of Giovanni da Modena in Bologna. See *Haec sunt statuta*, ed. Medica, 192–93.

<sup>21</sup> On the Master of the *De civitate Dei* see Giordana Mariani Canova, Piero Meldini, and Simonetta Nicolini, *I codici miniati della Gambalunghiana di Rimini* (Milan: Federico Motta, 1988), 115–22.

<sup>22</sup> The other three gatherings of Mod A are decorated with smaller plain initials. The red and blue small gothic initials of gathering IV differ from the round "Lombard" initials in gatherings I and V. Small gothic ink initials like those in gathering IV appear for lower voice labels in gatherings II and III. Some round initials occur in Mod A<sub>II-IV</sub>, some added by the rubricator of Mod A<sub>I/V</sub>. Evidence for two or three phases of rubrication in Mod A<sub>II-IV</sub> is discussed in Stone, *The Manuscript Modena*, 29–38.

<sup>23</sup> Toniolo, "L'immagine di Tubalcain-Iubal," 161–64. Toniolo also singles out the *Divine Comedy* with commentary by Jacopo della Lana, copied at the end of the fourteenth century in Padua or Ferrara (Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, cod. 67) and the Estense *Divine Comedy*, copied in 1380–90 for the Superbi family in the Emilia region (Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms.  $\alpha$ .R.4.8 = Ital. 474). On the former see Paola Mario, "67. Dante Alighieri, *Commedia* con il *Commento* di Jacopo della Lana; Padova Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, ms. 67," in *La miniatura a Padova dal medioevo al settecento*, ed. Giordana Mariani Canova, Giovanna Baldissin Molli, and Federica Toniolo (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1999), 186. For a facsimile of the Estense Dante see *Dante estense, cod.  $\alpha$ .R.4.8, Biblioteca estense di Modena*, ed. Ernesto Milano (Pavone Canavese: Priuli and Verlucca, 1995). An online facsimile is also available at <http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it/info/img/mss/i-mo-beu-alfa.r.4.8.html>. A famous example of gothic ribbon initials occurs in Giovannino de' Grassi's pattern book, copied in Milan, ca. 1390 (Bergamo, Civica Biblioteca "Angelo Mai," ms. VII. 14); facsimile: *Taccuino de disegni di Giovannino de Grassi* (Modena: Il Bulino, 1998). See also Giovannino's contributions in the Visconti Hours, examples of which can be found in Millard Meiss and Edith W. Kirsch, *The Visconti Hours: National Library, Florence* (New York: George Braziller, 1972).

<sup>24</sup> Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms.  $\alpha$ .Q.1.2 = Lat. 1015. Toniolo states that this source's initials are very close to that of Mod A (see fols. 45r, 118v); Toniolo, "L'immagine di Tubalcain-Iubal," 164.

in Bosco, Bologna,<sup>25</sup> art historians have identified two illuminators working in a so-called Paduan style: one also responsible for illuminating most of a *Psalterium secundum ritum fratrum Montis Oliveti* (Psalter according the rite of the Olivetans) that I shall call Estense Psalter B;<sup>26</sup> and another whose work also survives in a Paduan Antiphonal and another psalter in the Estense Library.<sup>27</sup> But the Master of 1411 is also present in Estense Psalter A. Most recently Massimo Medica has demonstrated plausible stylistic parallels between the *Matricola* frontispiece and various figures in the initials of Estense Psalter A.<sup>28</sup>

Further comparison of the work of our illuminator and the Master of 1411 reveals, for example, that robes in both the miniature of Saint Anthony in Mod A (fol. 21v) and that of John the Baptist in Estense Psalter A (fol. 107v) are gathered at the waist with shading of simplified folds of cloth.<sup>29</sup> The frequent alternation of the work of the Master of 1411 and the second “Paduan” illuminator of Estense Psalter A indicates their close collaboration.<sup>30</sup> Although art historians separate these two illuminators into a Bolognese school descended from the Nicolò di Giacomo di Nascimbene and a Paduan school respectively, stylistic similarities make it difficult to distinguish their work.

There is one final twist concerning our illuminator and Estense Psalters A and B.<sup>31</sup> Giordana Mariani Canova hypothesized more than twenty years ago that the Olivetan monk Giacomo da Padova illuminated one of the psalters at the monastery of San Michele in Bosco on the outskirts of medieval Bologna. She pointed to an eighteenth-century register from that monastery indicating that Giacomo was paid to illuminate a “psalterio della Riviera” between 1407 and 1409 (table 1).<sup>32</sup> This

<sup>25</sup> Fava and Salmi, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca estense*, 53–57. Several illuminated initials feature Olivetan monks in their distinctive white robes (see fols. 58r, 104v and 105v).

<sup>26</sup> Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms.  $\alpha$ .R.1.1 = Lat. 1017.

<sup>27</sup> Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. E 22 and Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms.  $\alpha$ .R.1.5 = Lat. 1020; see Massimo Medica, “Miniatura e committenza: Il caso delle corporazione,” in *Haec Sunt Statuta*, ed. Medica, 73–76; Federica Toniolo, “Maestri della Bibbia Istoriated padovana,” in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani: Secoli ix–xvi*, ed. Bollati, 424–27. Fava and Salmi identify no fewer than five illuminators in Estense Psalter A; see Fava and Salmi, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca estense*, 56–57. Fava and Salmi’s fourth illuminator corresponds to the Master of 1411. The same authors connect a fifth illuminator with Veneto circles (*con l’ambiente Veneto*).

<sup>28</sup> Medica, “Miniatura e committenza,” 76.

<sup>29</sup> The Saint John the Baptist initial is reproduced in *ibid.*, 74.

<sup>30</sup> Fava and Salmi, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca estense*, 56–57; and Medica, “Miniatura e committenza,” 73–76.

<sup>31</sup> These psalters were among the 348 manuscripts that Tommaso Obizzi del Cataio willed to the Este family following his death in 1803, although the collection did not arrive in the Estense Ducal Library until 1817; see Anna Rosa Venturi, “La raccolta libraria di Tommaso Obizzi, corollario delle sue collezioni eclettiche,” in *Gli Estensi e il Cataio: Aspetti del collezionismo tra sette e ottocento*, ed. Elena Corradini (Modena; Milan: Università degli Studi di Modena e Reggio Emilia; F. Motti, 2007), 101–15.

TABLE 1.

Payments to Giacomo da Padova (Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, Raccolta Malvezzi de' Medici, vol. 51: Notizie antiche spettanti al monasterio di S. Michele in Bosco)

Date	Payment Note
1 April 1407	A di 1 Aprile 1407 per miniare il Salterio della Riviera Lire 1 e 13 soldi (fol. 3v)
9 April 1407	A di 9 aprile 1407 a Giacomo miniatore parte di suo salario Lire 14 (fol. 3v)
25 August 1409	Adi 25 agosto 1409 a d. Giacomo da Padoa per il frati di Padova per Salterio Lire 33.15 (fol. 4r)
1404 (1407?)	1404. Sicome altro m. Giacomo miniava un libro corale che lo chiamavano Salterio (fol. 38r)

and an additional payment by Paduan monks strongly suggest that this psalter was destined for the Olivetan monastery of Santa Maria della Riviera near Padua.<sup>33</sup>

Another reference to Giacomo da Padova may occur in a letter that Jacopo Viviani wrote in Bologna on 7 April 1413 to the *signore* of Lucca, Paolo Guigni. In it he recommends a “Don Iacomo, miniatore perfecto,” a well-known and hard-working illuminator, who was even painting a breviary for the pope.<sup>34</sup> Significantly, the pope in question must have been the schismatic pope John XXIII, who resided in Bologna 1403–1411 and again in 1413. Viviani does not use the toponym “da Padova” or situate this illuminator at a particular workshop or abbey. Medica suggests that Viviani refers not to Giacomo da Padova but to the

<sup>32</sup> Giordana Mariani Canova, “La miniatura a Padova nella prima metà del Quattrocento,” in *La miniatura italiana tra gotico e rinascimento: atti del II Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana, Cortona 24–26 settembre 1982*, ed. Emanuela Sesti (Firenze: Olschki, 1985), 379; and Guido Zucchini, “San Michele in Bosco di Bologna,” *L'Archiginnasio. Bollettino della biblioteca comunale di Bologna* 38 (1943): 60.

<sup>33</sup> The amounts paid on 1 April 1407 and 25 August 1409 indicate that we are dealing with just one psalter: the first and smaller is a down-payment (perhaps for materials), the second and considerably larger is a payment to Giacomo for the completed manuscript.

<sup>34</sup> *Carteggio di Paolo Guigni*, ed. Luigi Fumi and Eugenio Lazzareschi, *Memorie e documenti della storia di Lucca*, 16, 1; *Regesti del R. Archivio di Stato in Lucca*, 3, 1 (Lucca: Giusti, 1925), 329 (no. 891), available online [http://www.archiviodistatoinlucca.it/fileadmin/template/allegati/biblioteca/fumi\\_lazzareschi.pdf](http://www.archiviodistatoinlucca.it/fileadmin/template/allegati/biblioteca/fumi_lazzareschi.pdf). On 29 October Viviani again recommends “Dompno Iacomo miniatore” to Guigni and indicates the monk was prepared to take up the lord’s employment offer (il quale . . . volentieri delibera vivere et morire sotto l’ombra della V[ostra] S[ignoria] et pertanto ve llo racomando per amore di Dio); *Carteggio di Paolo Guigni*, ed. Fumi and Lazzareschi, 372 (no. 1051).

renowned Master of the Brussels Initials,<sup>35</sup> which is implausible based on recent research.<sup>36</sup> Mariani Canova argues that Giacomo da Padova might be one of the illuminators painting in the so-called Paduan style in either Estense Psalter A or B.<sup>37</sup>

Curiously the Master of 1411 demonstrates an excellent knowledge of the heraldry of the Carrara, the family that had ruled Padua up to 1405. On the far right in his *Matricola* frontispiece (fig. 1), two shields lean against a nearby column: the one in front bears the classic form of the Carrara arms, the red oxcart; the one behind it bears Medici arms.<sup>38</sup> The Carrara arms are accurately drawn and immediately recognizable. The Master of 1411's accurate depiction and prominent placement of the Carrara arms suggest that he had recalled the insignia of power adorning the banners and buildings of Padua prior to January 1406, when the house of Carrara fell and the citizens of Padua became the subjects of Venice. Documentary evidence shows that the new Venetian authorities had all insignia of Carrara power removed from Padua's civic buildings and strictly prohibited any display of the symbols of the former lords of Padua in Venice's territories.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Massimo Medica, "Nuove tracce per l'attività padovana del Maestro delle Iniziali di Bruxelles," in *La miniatura a Padova*, ed. Mariani Canova, Baldissin Molli, and Toniolo, 471–79.

<sup>36</sup> Massimo Medica, "Un nome per il 'Maestro delle Iniziali di Bruxelles': Giovanni di fra' Silvestro," *Arte a Bologna: Bollettino dei Musei Civici d'Arte Antica* 7–8 (2010–2011): 11–22. For the suggestion that an illuminator from the Veneto or Emilia who signed his work "fr. jacobus fecit" in an antiphonary might be Giacomo da Padova, see Francesca Pasut, "Alcune novità su Nicolò di Giacomo, Stefano degli Azzi e altri miniatori bolognesi della fine del Trecento," *Arte Cristiana* 92, fascicle 824 (Sep-Oct 2004): 328–329n26. See also Pia Palladino, *Treasures of a Lost Art: Italian Manuscript Painting of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New Haven and London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 32.

<sup>37</sup> Mariani Canova, "La miniatura a Padova nella prima metà del Quattrocento," 379; idem, "La miniatura del Trecento presso le comunità olivetane dell'area padana: I corali della collezione Obizzi al Cataio," in *Il monachesimo italiano nel secolo della grande crisi, Atti del V Convegno di Studi Storici sull'Italia Benedettina, Abbazia di Monte Oliveto Maggiore (Siena), 2–5 settembre 1998*, ed. Giorgio Picasso and Mauro Tagliabue (Cesena: Centro Storico Benedettino, 2004), 557–58.

<sup>38</sup> Medica suggests that the image of discarded arms might recall the failed Carrara and Florentine defense of Bologna in 1402 at the Battle of Casalecchio (Medica, "Per una storia della miniatura a Bologna," 214).

<sup>39</sup> See Venice, Archivio di Stato, Consiglio di Dieci, Deliberazioni miste, Registro 8, fol. 126v (13 March 1406); Giovanni Cittadella, *Storia della dominazione carrarese in Padova*, 2 vols. (Padua: Tipi del Seminario, 1842), 2:438; Benjamin G. Kohl, "Government and Society in Renaissance Padua," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 2 (1972): 215. The Venetian Senate repeated similar prohibitions against displaying the Carrara arms and crests in Padua, Verona, and Vicenza on 28 March 1409; see Venice, Archivio di Stato, Senato, Deliberazioni miste, Registro 48, fol. 65r; Suzanne Clercx cites the rubric for this manuscript: Venice, Archivio di Stato, Senato, Deliberazioni miste, Rubrica 3 (1389–1413), fol. 157r (158r) in *Johannes Ciconia: Un musicien liégeois et son temps (vers 1335–1411)*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Palais des Academies, 1960), 1:46n2. Venetian government documents can be consulted online at <http://www.archiviodistatovenezia.it>. Further documentation from 1409 indicates that the authorities at Padua cathedral employed an artist to paint over the

The earliest evidence for the Master of 1411's activity in Bologna comes from a leaf inserted into a book that belonged to the Smiths' Guild in Bologna in 1404.<sup>40</sup> The presence of the arms of Pope Boniface IX, Baldassare Cossa (later John XXIII), and the commune of Bologna confirm the date in the edict found below the Master of 1411's illumination: Cossa, as papal legate, had effectively brought Bologna under his rule by November 1403 and Boniface was dead by October 1404. By 1404, Francesco Il Novello da Carrara had plunged Padua headlong into a devastating and unwinnable war against Venice. We cannot know for sure, but for a promising illuminator from an Olivetan house in Padua (perhaps Santa Maria della Riviera in nearby Polverara) a move to a sister house and its famed scriptorium at Bologna around this time may have offered an escape from the war-torn Padua. That two prominent guilds of Bologna—the Smiths in 1404 and the Drapers in 1411—called upon the Master of 1411 suggests that he had a considerable reputation.<sup>41</sup>

The Master of 1411's indebtedness to the Bologna school of illumination does not rule out his Paduan origin. The permeation of the late Gothic Bolognese style of illumination throughout northern Italy is well known. Several Paduan books are decorated in the Bolognese style.<sup>42</sup> The Master of 1411's knowledge of Carrara heraldry and his apparent association with San Michele in Bosco may suggest that he was Giacomo da Padova, although the art-historical analysis of the Estense Psalter A shows that in the early fifteenth century more than one Paduan illuminator worked at San Michele in Bosco.<sup>43</sup>

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Carrara arms; Howard Saalman, "Carrara Burials in the Baptistery of Padua," *The Art Bulletin* 69, no. 3 (Sep. 1987): 382n32, citing Angelo Meneghesso, *Il battistero di Padova e l'arte di Giusto de' Menabuoi* (Padua: Tipografica Antoniana, 1934), 71, who in turn cites Padua, Archivio Capitolare, Canipa, 2 (1409), fol. 22r–v. The sarcophaguses of Francesco Il Vecchio and his consort, Fina Buzzacarrini were not destroyed by the victors but removed by the new patrons of the Baptistery of Padua Cathedral (Saalman, "Carrara Burials in the Baptistery of Padua," 376–94). The tomb of Jacopo da Carrara in San Agostino, the Church of the Eremitani, in Padua remains intact.

<sup>40</sup> Rome, Biblioteca del Senato della Repubblica, Statuti mss 41, *Libro delle Sentenze, delle Condanne, degli Introiti et delle Spese della Società dei Fabbri, 1374–1532*, fol. 1r; see Silvia Battistini, "25. Libro delle Sentenze, delle Condanne, degli Introiti e delle Spese della Società dei Fabbri, 1374–1532," in *Haec sunt statuta*, ed. Medica, 150–51.

<sup>41</sup> Medica, "Miniatura e committenza," 71.

<sup>42</sup> Medica notes the "bolognezante" elements in the decoration of Carronelli's *De carru carrariensis* owned by the Carrara family in Padua (Medica, "Nuove tracce per l'attività padovana del Maestro delle Iniziali di Bruxelles," 472). Another well-known example is the Novella Master, an illuminator influenced by Nicolò da Giacomo da Bologna, active in Padua around 1400 (Huter, "The Novella Master," 9–27).

<sup>43</sup> Medica had proposed that the Master of 1411 was the Bolognese illuminator Giovanni di fra' Silvestro, also active in Siena, in Medica, "Maestro del 1411," 477. The same author subsequently proved that Giovanni di fra' Silvestro was instead the Master of the Brussels Initials, in Medica, "Un nome per il 'Maestro delle Iniziali di Bruxelles'," 11–22.

Yet, due to the relative paucity of stylistic evidence in Mod A, an art-historical approach alone cannot confirm that its illuminator was the Master of 1411. Mod A contains only four painted figures, making comparison with other manuscripts problematic. Despite the abundance of ribbon initials, our illuminator decorates his initials sparingly with stylized foliage or drolleries, again rendering comparison with the more luxurious examples difficult.<sup>44</sup> Nonetheless, the similarity between the figural style of the illuminator of Mod A and the Master of 1411's frontispiece and miniatures in Estense Psalter A, between the ribbon initials in Mod A and Estense Psalter A, and between the late medieval Bolognese style of illumination and Mod A<sub>II-III</sub>'s decorative style seem to point to a common origin. Consequently, San Michele in Bosco in Bologna emerges as a highly plausible context for Mod A's decoration.

If Mod A<sub>II-III</sub> was indeed decorated at San Michele in Bosco, one piece of historical evidence may suggest a date. At the beginning of September 1410, John XXIII, who had succeeded the council-elected Alexander V in May, and five cardinals sojourned for two weeks at San Michele in Bosco prior to moving to other lodgings in Bologna.<sup>45</sup> If we accept that Mod A<sub>II-IV</sub> was in some way associated with John XXIII or one of his cardinals, this stay would have provided an opportunity for a singer in the retinue of the pope or one of his cardinals to seek out our well-known illuminator.<sup>46</sup> Two weeks would have been just enough time to decorate two gatherings but possibly no more.<sup>47</sup> The lack of illumination in the fourth gathering leaves open the possibility that some further works were added

<sup>44</sup> Jonathan Alexander cautions that "perhaps some of the divisions commonly made on grounds of quality . . . might be interpreted rather as differences caused by more or less haste, more or less care, or more or less money available from the patron to pay for materials and time." J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 127–29. Scale is also an issue: historiated initials in Estense Psalter A are 7 to 8 centimeters tall. In Mod the largest initial on fol. 11r is only 3 centimeters tall.

<sup>45</sup> *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*, ed. Albano Sorbelli, vol. iii, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, xviii, pt 1* (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1900), 536.

<sup>46</sup> Mod A has been long connected to Alexander V and John XXIII; see Pirrotta, "Il codice estense lat 568," 149–50; Günther, "Das Manuskript Modena," 45; Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400–1505* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 19–26; Stone, *The Manuscript Modena*, 69. Most recently Daniele Guernelli has reasserted Mod A's origin in Bologna; see Daniele Guernelli, "Sulla Via Emilia: Appunti sulla decorazione libraria targotica tra Bologna e Parma," *Rivista di Storia Della Miniatura* 13 (2009): 108–19.

<sup>47</sup> If we consider that Estense Psalter A contains 68 large initials and accept that it was the "salterio della Riviera" commissioned in 1407, the 877 days between the commission of the manuscript's illumination and the final payment presumably upon its completion suggests it took on average not more (and most likely less) than 13 days to complete a large initial. These calculations do not take into account any smaller initials or the two large border decorations in this psalter. Since Mod A's initials and decorations are more modest in their size and decoration, it is feasible that the illumination of one historiated and several smaller initials could have been hastily completed in just two weeks.

in the following six months, but not later than the end of March 1411 when the papal curia departed Bologna for Rome.<sup>48</sup>

That several songs copied onto spare staves at the bottom of pages in Mod A<sub>II-III</sub> lack painted initials shows that the illuminated gatherings passed back into the hands of Scribe II-IV. As best we can tell, Scribe II-IV had copied most compositions into Mod A<sub>II-III</sub> prior to handing it over to our illuminator. The illuminator generally avoids staves and music copied by Scribe II-IV, but occasionally he paints over part of a clef (fols. 12r, 30r), a staff (fol. 18r), an ascription (fol. 28v, 8th staff), a ligature (fol. 11r), or even an accidental sign (fol. 19v). Several songs entered into the bottom two or three staves of a page use small gothic ink initials in place of illuminated initials. Their music notation also contains subtle differences of ink quality and pen size compared to the compositions already entered above.<sup>49</sup> Both pieces of evidence suggest that Scribe II-IV added these compositions after our illuminator had finished his work in a subsequent copying phase. This also suggests that Scribe II-IV was responsible for these gothic ink initials.<sup>50</sup> Due to the professional quality of the unique filigree that adorns the contratenor's gothic "C" on fol. 11r, I suspect that our illuminator chose to paint ribbon initials because Scribe II-IV had already added gothic ink initials to some lower voices of compositions beforehand.

In the following I provide an iconographical analysis that may confirm that the Master of 1411 was the illuminator of Mod A. As the belated use of Carrara arms in the *Matricola* frontispiece and the decoration of the song *Inperial sedendo* on f. 30r show, the Master of 1411 and the illuminator of Mod A knew Paduan culture as well as a former resident of Padua.

### *Contextualizing Inperial sedendo*

The illuminator added to *Inperial sedendo* a uniquely decorated initial and a marginal crest (Mod A, fols. 29v-30r; see fig. 3). This madrigal is one of only seven Italian-texted songs found in Mod A<sub>II-IV</sub>.

<sup>48</sup> *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*, ed. Sorbelli, 537. John XXIII was in Rome by 12 April 1411; see Noël Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1896-1902), 4:138.

<sup>49</sup> Those pieces entered at the bottom of pages with a slightly narrower pen or different ink and accompanied by gothic ink initials include Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo's *Sol me traſiçe 'l cor* (fol. 13v), the anonymous *A qui fortune* (fols. 19v-20r), Johannes Ciconia's *Quod jactatur* and the anonymous *Tres doulz regart* (fol. 30v). Jacob de Senleches's *Fuions de ci* (fol. 14v) is also among the late entries into Mod A<sub>II-IV</sub>, but it lacks initials. *Hors suis je bien* (fols. 12v-13r) is also added at the bottom of a page and uses gothic ink initials, but the size of its notes and ink is no different from the rest of the page. Also see Stone, *The Manuscript Modena*, 37.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 29, assumes Scribe II-IV wrote the small gothic ink initials.

Inperial sedendo fra piu stelle Dal ciel disces' un carro d'onor digno	Imperial, sitting among many stars, An oxcart descended from heaven, worthy of honor,
Socto signor d'ogn'altro ma benigno	beneath a lord kinder than any other.
Le rote sue guidavan quattro dompne Iustitia e temperança con forteçça [Et am prudentia con cotanta alteçça]*	Four ladies were steering its wheels: Justice, Temperance, Fortitude and also Prudence in such exalted company.
Nel meç' un sarayn con l'ale d'oro Tene 'l fabricator de so thexoro.	In the middle a Saracen with gold wings protected the maker of his treasure. <sup>51</sup>

\*this line is missing in Mod A, supplied  
from the Lucca manuscript  
(table 2 below)

16

The first *terzina* describes a lord (his station is represented by a helm in heraldry) upon an oxcart (*un carro*), the wheels of which, according to the second *terzina*, are guided by the personifications of the four cardinal virtues.<sup>52</sup> The gold-winged Saracen in the *ritornello* (lines 7–8) belongs to a Carrara crest, employed by three lords of Padua: Ubertino da Carrara (†1345); Francesco Il Vecchio da Carrara (1325–93); and Francesco Il Novello da Carrara (1358–1406).<sup>53</sup> The coat of arms depicted in the text thus consists of a Saracen crest covering a helmet over the emblem of an oxcart.

The red oxcart was the armorial emblem of the Carrara, the family whom the commune of Padua entrusted with the task of leading and protecting the city after 1318.<sup>54</sup> Following murderous mid-century dynastic struggles, Francesco Il Vecchio da Carrara ruled Padua during a period

<sup>51</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

<sup>52</sup> I have not attempted to standardize the spellings of the original text in any way, including adding diacritics. Apostrophes are used to indicate elisions.

<sup>53</sup> On the word “sarayn” see note 78 below. According to Sarah M. Carleton, the last line of *Imperial* refers to Francesco Il Novello da Carrara retaining the glory of his father’s house. Sarah M. Carleton [Latta], “Heraldry in the Trecento Madrigal” (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2009), 203.

<sup>54</sup> A Carrara coat of arms consists of a distinctive crest, mantle, helm and usually the Carrara red oxcart arms on a silver/white shield. On heraldic concepts, see D’A. J. D. Boulton, “Insignia of Power: The Use of Heraldic and Paraheraldic Devices by Italian Princes, c. 1350–c. 1500,” in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250–1500*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 104–106; and Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d’héraldique*, 5th ed. (Paris: Picard, 2008). More generally see Ottfried Neubecker, *Heraldry: Sources, Symbols and Meaning* (London: Tiger Books International, 1997). On the Carrara see Benjamin G. Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara, 1318–1405* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 240–69 especially.



FIGURE 3. *Imperial sedendo*, Mod A, fol. 30r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena. Imaging by DIAMM

Dietahus de padua fecit.

In petri al sedendo

scapulae le Dal

ciel d'isac sun carro donoz dim guo Dalactofice

sun carro donoz dim guo. Solo to Solo signoz dognalet

ma benn

Nel

mecun fara yn coy la le do ro

Te nel fabri ca toz del so thevo

Le roiz sue guidavan quaceto dompne.  
In hinc temperanca con fortazzi!

ro.

yn co la le do ro C nel fabri carez del so thevo ro.

of great prosperity, fostering the pictorial, literary, and musical arts in a display of the family's power and wealth.<sup>55</sup> Backed by Venice, Giangaleazzo Visconti brought the rule of Il Vecchio to an abrupt end in 1388. Il Vecchio abdicated in favor of his son Francesco II Novello da Carrara, who, unable to face the Visconti–Venetian threat, escaped into exile. After less than two years Il Novello seized back Padua from the Visconti. The next fifteen years (1390–1405) were seldom peaceful, and finally Venice annexed Padua, ousting the Carrara. No wonder that for Il Novello the study of arms took precedence over the study of letters.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, he and members of his family continued to devote considerable resources to the arts during this last period of Carrara rule in Padua.

The textual allegory in *Imperial sedendo* for the house of Carrara is used elsewhere in literature associated with the family. In 1376 Francesco Caronelli completed his allegorical treatise on the Carrara arms, *De carru carrariensis* (*Concerning the Arms/Oxcart of the Carraresi*). In his dedication Caronelli refers to both Francesco II Vecchio and Francesco II Novello. A *magister regens* at the friary (*conventus*) of Saint Anthony of Padua, Caronelli's treatise represents a Franciscan's scholastic contribution to the discourse on moral philosophy surrounding the Carrara court, which towards the end of the century took on more humanistic overtones.<sup>57</sup> His treatise survives in two copies, one in Paris and another still in Padua in the Biblioteca Antoniana.<sup>58</sup> The earliest, Latin manuscript 6468 in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, has all the characteristics of a presentation manuscript. Several pages decked out with coats of arms featuring the gold-winged Saracen crest leave little doubt that it was a Carrara manuscript removed to Pavia during the Visconti occupation of Padua 1388–90.<sup>59</sup> One large illumination decorating the Paris manuscript

<sup>55</sup> On Carrara patronage of the pictorial arts, see for example Margaret Plant, "Patronage in the Circle of the Carrara Family: Padua, 1337–1405," in *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. F. W. Kent, Patricia Simons, and J. C. Eade (Canberra and Oxford: Humanities Research Centre–Clarendon Press, 1987), 177–99; Diana Norman, "'Splendid Models and Examples from the Past': Carrara Patronage of Art," in *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280–1400*, vol. 1, ed. Diana Norman (New Haven and London: Yale University in association with The Open University, 1995), 154–75.

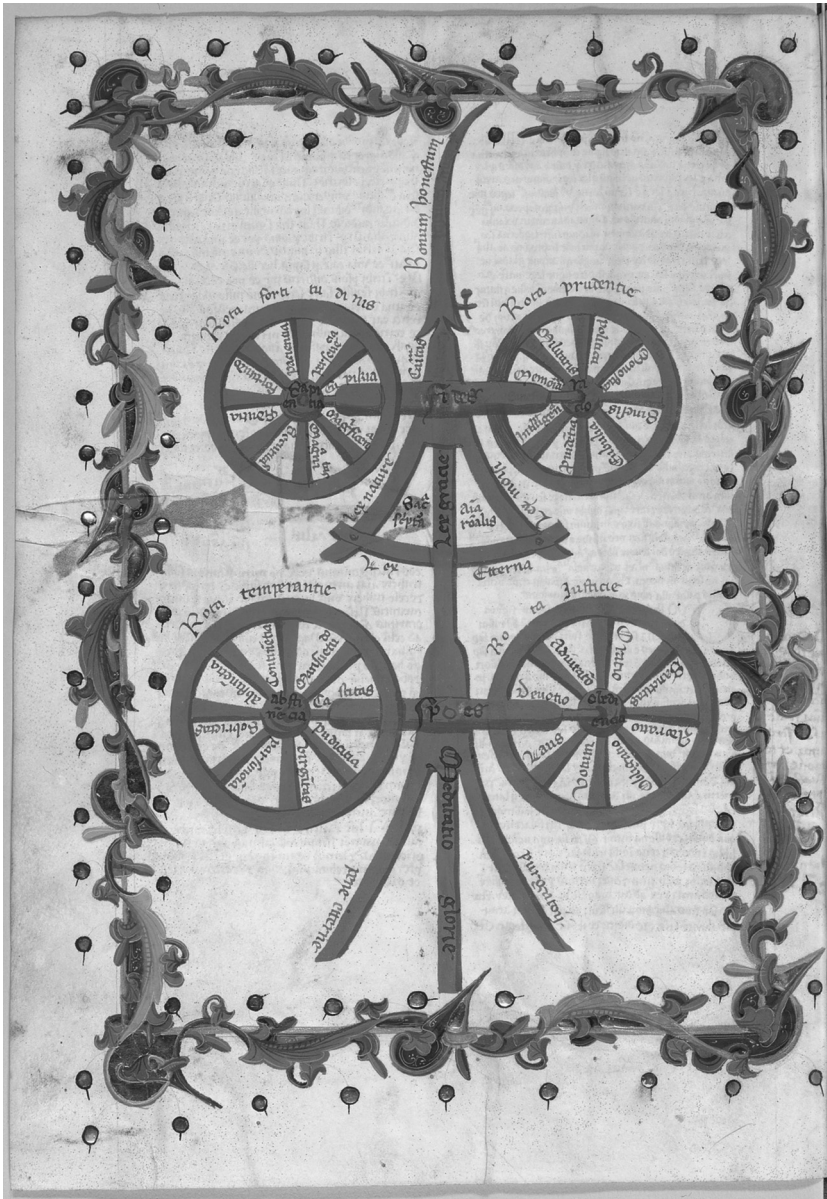
<sup>56</sup> Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna, *Dragmalogia de eligibili vite genere*, ed. Helen Lanneau Eaker and Benjamin G. Kohl (Lewisburg: Associated University Presses, 1980), 60–63.

<sup>57</sup> Jason Stoessel, "Music and Moral Philosophy in Early Fifteenth-Century Padua," in *Identity and Locality in Early European Music 1028–1740*, ed. Jason Stoessel (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 107–15.

<sup>58</sup> Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, ms. XX 437. Based upon the colophon on fol. 85r, Griffante dates this copy to 1427; Caterina Griffante, *Il trattato de Carru carrariensi di Francesco de Caronellis* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1983), 55n145. Griffante provides an edition of the prologue and *sommium* of Caronelli's treatise. The treatise proper, the *Carrus ethologicus*, remains unedited.

<sup>59</sup> Élisabeth Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan, au XVe siècle* (Paris: Service des Publications du CNRS, 1955), 216. The manuscripts confiscated from

FIGURE 4. The Carrara Arms in the Paris *De carru carrariensis*, fol. 9v. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France



associates the theological and cardinal virtues with the Carrara arms (fig. 4). Each wheel (*rota*) of the red oxcart is associated with one of the four cardinal virtues, fortitude (*fortitudinis*), prudence (*prudentie*), temperance (*temperancie*) and justice (*iusticie*), thus providing a visual analogue to the textual allegory of *Imperial sedendo*. The theological virtues also appear: hope (*spes*) on the rear axel, faith (*fides*) on the front axel, and—fittingly for the virtue that rules all other virtues—charity (*charitas*) in the driver's seat.<sup>60</sup>

In Mod A *Imperial sedendo* bears the inscription “dactalus de Padua fecit” (Datalo of Padua made [this]). Of a Datalo da Padova we know no biographical details, although his toponym indicates his association with Padua. While some scholars believed that this ascription arose when the scribe miscopied the name Bartolino,<sup>61</sup> others have cautioned against such an assumption, claiming that the music of *Imperial* does not reflect Bartolino's style.<sup>62</sup> On the one hand the antiphonal effect in measures 75–78 (exx. 1a-b), and the sequence in the upper voice at measures 105–108 more closely resembles Johannes Ciconia's style (exx. 2a-b).<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, the false imitation in measures 51–54 and 68–71 points to a more conservative Trecento style, although we can also find similar techniques in Ciconia's songs (exx. 1a and c).

If *Imperial sedendo* was composed in late 1401, as Pierluigi Petrobelli proposed, then it might indeed mark the influence of the newly arrived Johannes Ciconia on its composer.<sup>64</sup> Conversely, Sarah Carleton Latta's recent re-dating of *Imperial* to between 1376 and 1378 suggests that the

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the Visconti–Sforza library at Pavia after Louis XII's victory over Milan in 1499 were taken to the French royal library at Blois and eventually to Paris; see Vittorio Lazzarini, “Libri di Francesco Novello da Carrara,” in *Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica* (Padua: Antenore, 1969), 274; Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza*, 9.

<sup>60</sup> I am most grateful to the staff of the Manuscripts occidentaux, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, for permitting me to consult this manuscript, July 2008.

<sup>61</sup> Pirrotta, “Il codice estense lat 568,” 112n3; Günther, “Das Manuskript Modena,” 25n20; Giulio Cattin, “Formazione e attività delle cappelle polifoniche nelle cattedrali. La musica nelle città,” in *Storia della cultura Veneta*, ed. G. Arnaldi and M. Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1980), 271.

<sup>62</sup> See Leah Stuttard's argument as reported in David Fallows, “Ciconia's Last Songs and their Milieu,” in *Johannes Ciconia, Musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 120; Stone, *The Manuscript Modena*, 60n61.

<sup>63</sup> Readings from Ciconia's songs adapted from *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, ed. Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 23 (Monaco: L'Oiseau-lyre, 1985), 119–20, 123–25 and 144–46. Other selected examples of antiphonal effects in Ciconia's works include *O felix templum* (mm. 113–23), *Per quella strada lactea* (mm. 29–32), and *Con lagrime bagnandome* (mm. 67–75); numerous sequences appear in *Una panthera* (mm. 14–16) as does false imitation (mm. 44–49). The transcription of *Imperial* from Mod A presented here is my own.

<sup>64</sup> Pierluigi Petrobelli, “Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova,” in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 94–100.

EXAMPLE 1. (a) *Imperial sedendo* (after Mod A), mm. 68–81, compared with selected portions from songs of Johannes Ciconia (b, c)

(a)

68

soc - to si - gnor d'o - gn'al - tro  
Et am pru - den - tia con co

soc - to si - gnor d'o - gn'al - tro ma be - nin  
Et am pru - den - tia con co - tanta al - teç

72

ma be - nin  
tanta al - teç

77

21

(b)

41

ma  
tan

(c)

66

I - - vi se strin - çe et i - vi

I - - - - vi se strin-çe et i - vi

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EXAMPLE 2. (a) *Imperial sedendo* (after Mod A), mm. 104–21, compared with (b) Johannes Ciconia's *O rosa bella*, mm. 57–62

(a)

104

sa - ra - yn con l'a - - le

sa - ra - yn con l'a - - le

109

d'o - - - - -

d'o - - - - -

114

- - - - - ro

- - - - - ro

119

Te - - - - -

Te - - - - -

Detailed description: This block contains the musical score for example (a), which is a comparison of two versions of a piece. It is divided into four systems. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (alto clef). The first system (measures 104-108) shows the vocal line with a melodic line and the lute line with a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system (measures 109-113) continues the vocal line with a melodic line and the lute line with a rhythmic accompaniment. The third system (measures 114-118) continues the vocal line with a melodic line and the lute line with a rhythmic accompaniment. The fourth system (measures 119-121) continues the vocal line with a melodic line and the lute line with a rhythmic accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'sa - ra - yn con l'a - - le', 'sa - ra - yn con l'a - - le', 'd'o - - - - -', 'd'o - - - - -', '- - - - - ro', '- - - - - ro', 'Te - - - - -', 'Te - - - - -'.

(b)

57

re Per ben ser-vi - re, per ben ser - vi - re per ben ser-vi - re e le - al - men te  
re, Cor del cor mi - o, cor del cor mi - o, cor del cor mi - o hon me las - sar pe -

re Per ben ser - vi - re per ben ser - vi - re per ben ser - vi - re e

Detailed description: This block contains the musical score for example (b), which is a comparison of two versions of a piece. It is divided into one system. The system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (alto clef). The vocal line has a melodic line with lyrics and the lute line has a rhythmic accompaniment. The lyrics are: 're Per ben ser-vi - re, per ben ser - vi - re per ben ser-vi - re e le - al - men te', 're, Cor del cor mi - o, cor del cor mi - o, cor del cor mi - o hon me las - sar pe -', 're Per ben ser - vi - re per ben ser - vi - re per ben ser - vi - re e'.

style of its older composer influenced Ciconia as seems to be the case in a handful of Ciconia's songs composed in a diverse range of styles before his arrival in Padua in 1401.<sup>65</sup> Petrobelli observed the textual correspondences between the madrigal and descriptions of Carrara festivities during the fall of 1401, although he mistakenly associated the text of *Imperial* with the trouping of the imperial colors at Trent and not the magnificent entry of the emperor into Padua in early November 1401, after which Francesco Il Novello da Carrara was reinvested as imperial captain.<sup>66</sup>

The other sources of *Imperial* seem to provide clear evidence for Bartolino's authorship (table 2). The Squarcialupi Codex, a Trecento song anthology compiled in Florence ca. 1410–1415, ascribes *Imperial sedendo* to the late Trecento composer "Magister Frater Bartolinus de Padua."<sup>67</sup> Four other sources transmit *Imperial* anonymously.<sup>68</sup> The song appears twice in Codex Reina's second gathering that collects anonymously transmitted songs ascribed elsewhere to Bartolino da Padova. Reina's apparent origin in the Veneto (perhaps Padua) in the first decade of the fifteenth century lends weight to the conclusion that *Imperial* is by Bartolino.<sup>69</sup> The copying of *Imperial* in the Lucca manuscript outside the section devoted to Bartolino's songs provides no answers to the authorship question.<sup>70</sup> Yet that two

<sup>65</sup> Carleton, "Heraldry in the Trecento Madrigal," 173–204. Carleton's hypothesis largely rests upon her argument that Fina Buzzacarrini (1325–1378), the consort of Francesco Il Vecchio da Carrara, was the patron of this heraldic madrigal. Yet Buzzacarrini was not solely responsible for all displays of Carrara insignia of power. See Plant, "Patronage in the Circle of the Carrara Family," 177–99.

<sup>66</sup> Galeazzo e Bartolomeo Gatari, *Cronica carrarese*, ed. Antonio Medin and Guido Tolomei, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new ed., 17, part 1 (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1909), 471.

<sup>67</sup> See the facsimile: *Il codice Squarcialupi ms. mediceo palatino 87*, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo, 2 vols. (Firenze: Libreria musicale italiana and Giunti-Barbera, 1992). On the dating and origin of the Squarcialupi Codex, see John Nádas, "The Squarcialupi Codex: An Edition of Trecento Songs," in *ibid.*, 20–86.

<sup>68</sup> On the dating and origin of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, it. 568, see Ursula Günther, "Die 'Anonymen' Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B. N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 23, no. 3 (1966): 73–92; *idem*, "Zur Datierung des Madrigals 'Godi Firenze' und der Handschrift Paris, B.N. fonds it. 568 (Pit)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 24, no. 2 (1967): 99–119; John Nádas, "The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript Tradition," in *In cantu et in sermone: A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno*, ed. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Firenze: Olschki-University of Western Australia Press, 1989), 204n3.

<sup>69</sup> It may be that the copying of this manuscript (that John Nádas and Agostino Ziino situate in Padua and then Florence) commenced prior to the composition of *Imperial*. On the dating and origin of Codex Reina, see Kurt von Fischer, "The Manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. frç. 6771 (Codex Reina=PR)," *Musica Disciplina* 11 (1957): 47; Nigel Wilkins, "The Codex Reina: A Revised Description (Paris Bibl. Nat., ms. n.a.fr. 6771)," *Musica Disciplina* 17 (1963): 64; John Nádas, "The Reina Codex Revisited," in *Essays in Paper Analysis*, ed. Stephen Spector (Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1987), 101–102.

<sup>70</sup> *The Lucca Codex: Codice Mancini: Lucca, Archivio de Stato, MS 184. Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta," MS 3065*, ed. John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, *Ars Nova* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1990), 48–49.

TABLE 2.  
Sources of *Inperial sedendo*

Source	Origin and Date	Ascription
Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale Manfredina, ms. 117, fols. 74v–77r ( <b>Faenza Codex</b> ) (ornamented intabulation)	Veneto, ca. 1420	None
Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pal. 87, fols. 109v–110r ( <b>Squarcialupi Codex</b> )	Florence, ca. 1415	<i>MAGISTER FRATER BARTOLINUS DE PADUA</i>
Lucca, Archivio di Stato, ms. 184, fols. XCv–XCIIr ( <b>Lucca manuscript</b> )	Padua and Florence, ca. 1408–1410	None [not in earlier Bartolino section]
Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24, fols. 29v–30r ( <b>Mod A</b> )	Bologna, ca. 1410	<i>dactalus de padua fecit</i>
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, it. 568, fols. 47v–48r ( <b>Pit</b> )	Florence (circle of Paolo di Firenze), ca. 1406–ca. 1409	None [late addition of works by other composers, including 3 other works by Bartolino]
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.f. 6771, fols. 13r (Tenor only), 22v–23r ( <b>Codex Reina</b> )	Veneto, ca. 1405	None [fol.13r begins a gathering devoted to Bartolino]

sources indicate Bartolino's authorship of *Inperial* tips the balance ever so slightly in favor of his authorship.

At least one early twentieth-century historian, Ezio Levi, took Mod A's ascription to Datalo at face value. He proposed that the composer of *Inperial* was Domenico Datalo, first herald to the *signoria* at Venice and organist at San Marco's from 1369 until his death in 1375.<sup>71</sup> Levi's identification is nonetheless too early for Petrobelli's and Carleton Latta's dating of *Inperial*. He also takes what must be a proper name for

<sup>71</sup> Ezio Levi, *Francesco di Vannozzo e la lirica nelle corti lombarde durante la seconda metà del secolo XIV* (Florence: Tipografia Galletti e Cocci, 1908), 315. Levi also mentions a certain *Datalo di nome Marco*, prior at the church of S. Cassiano, Venice, in 1420. A Bartolomeo Datalo is documented as a priest at the same church in 1426; see *Delle memorie venete antiche profane ed ecclesiastiche raccolte*, ed. Giambattista Galliccioli (Venice: Domenico Fracasso, 1795), 7:39. This date seems too late and does not mention the priest's connection to Padua, order or musical abilities. That either Datalo is a Carmelite is unlikely.



a patronymic, and does not explain the toponym “de padua” in Mod A. But he recognizes that “dactalus” latinizes a common north Italian name, Datalo or Datolo.<sup>72</sup> Scribe II–IV often goes to some lengths when ascribing songs to particular individuals. From his ascriptions we learn that Egidius and Corrado da Pistoia are Augustinian Hermits, Bartolomeo da Bologna a Benedictine monk. The ascription of *I bey senbianti coy busardi effecti* (fol. 21r) to “frater carmelitus” resonates with Bartolino’s portrait in the Squarcialupi Codex where he is painted wearing the habit of a Carmelite monk.<sup>73</sup> Rather than being sloppy in his ascriptions, Scribe II–IV displays a familiarity with his contemporaries, which suggests that “datalus” is not an error, but the proper name of the composer of *Inperial sedendo*.<sup>74</sup>

Finally, just how corrupt is Mod A’s transmission of *Inperial*?<sup>75</sup> Its text lacks a sixth line, although the unique use of a double *solidus* punctuation mark might indicate that Scribe II–IV recognized this deficiency. Yet this same text transmits north Italian linguistic elements, perhaps connecting it to Paduan exemplars. Apart from one error of rest (m. 68), its musical readings are excellent and scarcely corrupt.<sup>76</sup> Mod A differs from the Lucca manuscript in small details but lacks the many errors in Pit and the Squarcialupi Codex. A melisma in the upper voice of *Inperial* at measure 79 in Mod A differs from all other sources but is identical to measure 120 in all sources except Reina (exx. 1a and 2a).<sup>77</sup> Although Mod A Scribe II–IV might have modified the first melisma to conform with the second, Mod A’s readings could just as easily reflect the composer’s autograph. The possibility that Mod preserves features of a Paduan hyparchetype lends weight to its ascription to Dactalus. The fuller

<sup>72</sup> *Datalo* is also Venetian for *dattero*, the fruit of the date palm.

<sup>73</sup> On textual references in Bartolino’s works and the composer’s possible identification with Carmelite monks named Bartolomeo in Padua see Petrobelli, “Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova,” 85–112.

<sup>74</sup> Concerning informality in ascriptions see Reinhard Strohm, “Diplomatic Relationships between Chantilly and Cividale?,” in *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 234–35. Stone concludes that the anonymous transmission of Machaut’s works in Mod A suggests that his name held no special significance for the copyist and audience. Anne Stone, “Machaut Sighted in Modena,” in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, vol. 1: Text, Music and Image from Machaut to Ariosto, ed. Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano Di Bacco, and Stefano Jossa (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2011), 189.

<sup>75</sup> Nino Pirrotta stated that Bartolino’s songs in Mod A represented “a tradition so corrupted (*sciatta*) that the name of the composer is given in three different forms, one for each composition, and is in one case [i.e., *Inperial sedendo*] deformed into Dactalus; see Pirrotta, “Il codice estense lat 568,” 124.

<sup>76</sup> I do not consider the embellished instrumental version in the Faenza Codex here.

<sup>77</sup> Another unique, plausible reading in Mod A occurs in the upper voice at measure 91. Lucca, Pit, and the Squarcialupi Codex all share another reading, with a third, more elaborate reading found in Reina.

significance of *Imperial sedendo* rests, however, in how the illuminator of Mod A chose to decorate it using symbols of Paduan culture, despite the likelihood that this copy of *Imperial* was prepared outside Padua and after the fall of the Carrara.

*Mod A<sub>II-III</sub> illuminator's knowledge of Paduan culture*

The artwork of our expatriate Paduan illuminator demonstrates that he had considerable knowledge of his former city's culture and the court of the Carrara. He recognized the reference in *Imperial sedendo* to the crest of the Carrara lords, the gold-winged Saracen. This recognition is even more significant since it indicates that the illuminator could read northern Italian: Scribe II–IV wrote *sarayn* instead of *saracin*, as found in other sources. The first orthography occurs only in north Italian texts from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.<sup>78</sup> But it is through his art that our illuminator provides the best evidence for his Paduan identity.

By using correct colors on the face-on winged-Saracen crest, the illuminator demonstrated his knowledge of Carrara iconography. Such knowledge could not have been gained from a coin alone, as Petrobelli has previously suggested,<sup>79</sup> since colorless contemporary Carrara coins and tokens always show the Saracen in oblique profile.<sup>80</sup> The starry initial of *Imperial* also belongs to a complex symbolic nexus cultivated in Padua during the time of the Carrara.

The seven stars shown in the initial on fol. 30r represent a common Western constellation or asterism (a recognized group of stars that are

<sup>78</sup> An anonymous Venetian chronicler in Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. It. VII 2034, fol. 242r, states “i Sarayni cridava et chiamava Machometo”; see Marin Sanudo, *Le vite dei dogi*, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, new ed., 22, part 4, ed. Giovanni Monticolo (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1900), 1:185n2 (also see p. 186nn2 and 3 for other references to Saracens in the same manuscript). Georg L.K.A. Christ notes the arbitrary use of *negrin* and *sarain/saraina* when referring to black African slaves in Venetian merchant documents 1418–1432. Georg L. K. A. Christ, *Trading Conflicts: Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria*, The Medieval Mediterranean, 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 128–29. Florentine Matteo Palmieri uses *saraine* (“Saracen women”) in his *Vita civile*, ca. 1432; see Matteo Palmieri, *Vita civile*, ed. Gino Belloni (Florence: Sansoni, 1982), 19 (i.32). The oldest surviving copy of Marco Polo's *Il milione* in Genoese French (a French highly inflected with Italian spellings and Italian vocabulary) refers to the Saracen as “sarain”; see Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 1116, fol. 18r, available on <http://gallica.bnf.fr>. The Mod A transmission of *Imperial* contains other north Italian orthographies (*degno*, *thexoro* but *thesoro* in tenor).

<sup>79</sup> Petrobelli, “Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova,” 97–98.

<sup>80</sup> Sixteenth-century commemorative medallions sometimes present the Carrara coat of arms in a face-on perspective. See figure 9 in Giovanni Gorini, “Le medaglie carraresi: genesi e fortuna,” in *Padova Carrarese: Atti del convegno, Padova, Reggio dei Carraresi, 11-12 Dicembre 2003*, ed. Oddone Longo (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2005), 347. For bringing my attention to the cultural and artistic significance of the Carrara medallions and coins, I am most grateful to Dr Inès Villela-Petit, Conservatrice du patrimoine, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

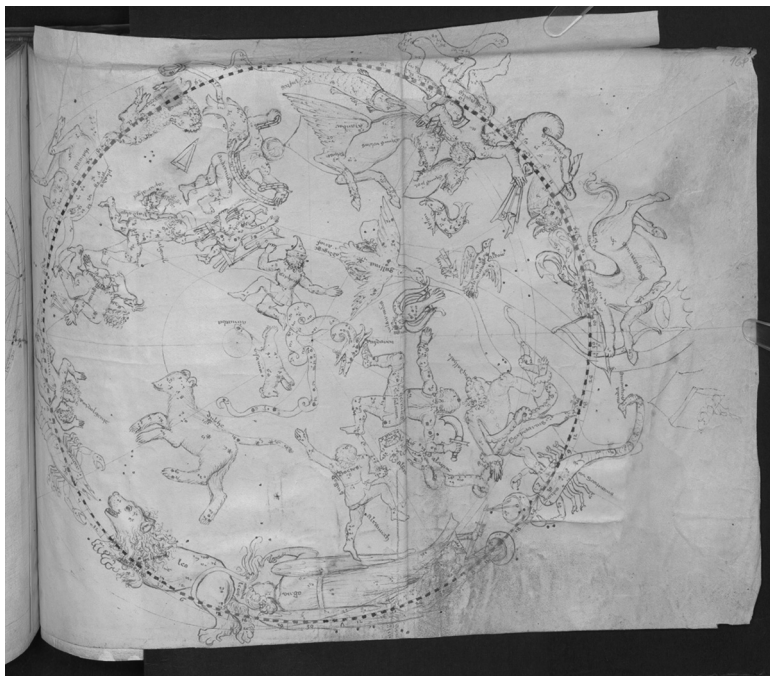
part of one or more constellations). Based on early fifteenth-century star maps and astrological cycles of zodiacal or parazodiacal constellations, the group of stars on fol. 30r can be connected to two closely related constellations: Ursa Minor (the Little Bear) and the asterism formed by the seven brightest stars of Ursa Major (the Great Bear).<sup>81</sup> Both these star groups were known in Latin antiquity as the *Plaustra* (the ox-carts). The Anglophone world knows them as the Little and Big Dipper or the Wains. Even today, Italians call them *Il carro piccolo* (the little ox-cart) and *Il carro grande* (the great ox-cart). In his *Liber introductorius* Michael Scot notes that the seven brightest stars of Ursa Major and the constellation of Ursa Minor are both named *Carrus*.<sup>82</sup> The earliest surviving illustrated copy of Scot's influential handbook on astrology was created in Padua ca. 1340, suggesting it was well known in there.<sup>83</sup> I have already noted that the word *carrus* is used in Carronelli's *De carru carrariensis* and elsewhere to refer to the Carrara arms. The lexicographical link between

<sup>81</sup> On the iconography of medieval astrological cycles, see Rembrandt Duits, "Celestial Transmissions. An Iconographical Classification of the Constellation Cycles in Manuscripts (8th–15th Centuries)," *Scriptorium* 59, no. 2 (2005): 147–202; Fritz Saxl, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters in römischen Bibliotheken* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters, 1915; reprint, Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1978); idem, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters II: Die Handschriften der National-Bibliothek in Wien* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters, 1927; reprint, Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1978); and Patrick McGurk, *Catalogue of Astrological and Mythological Illuminated Manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages IV: Astrological Manuscripts in Italian Libraries (Other than Rome)* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1966). Digitizations of many of these images can now be viewed online in *The Warburg Institute Iconographical Database*, [http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC\\_search/subcats.php?cat\\_1=9&cat\\_2=71](http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC_search/subcats.php?cat_1=9&cat_2=71) (Magic and Science – Astronomy and Astrology).

<sup>82</sup> Scot notes that the seven brightest stars of Ursa Major are called "heaven's oxcart" (*In capite habet . 7. [stellas] que carrum celi facere dicitur*). In Silke Ackermann, *Sternstunden am Kaiserhof. Michael Scotus und sein Buch von den Bildern und Zeichen des Himmels* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), 170–74. On the transmission of the *Liber introductorius* see Lynn Thorndike, "Manuscripts of Michael Scot's *Liber introductorius*," in *Didascaliae: Studies in Honour of Anselm M. Albareda*, ed. Sesto Prete (New York: Rosenthal, 1961), 427–47; Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt, *Der Liber Introductorius des Michael Scotus in der Abschrift Clm 10268 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Ein illustrierter astronomisch-astrologischer Codex aus Padua, 14. Jahrhundert* (München: Tuduv-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1983), 8–11. On Scot's references to music, see F. Alberto Gallo, "Astronomy and Music in the Middle Ages: The *Liber introductorius* by Michael Scot," *Musica Disciplina* 27 (1973): 5–9.

<sup>83</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10268, online at <http://daten.digitalcollections.de/~db/bsb00002270/images/>. The reference to Ursa Major/Minor occurs on fol. 80r. This Paduan source is dated ca. 1340; see Bauer-Eberhardt, *Der Liber Introductorius*, 96–100. Another fifteenth-century north Italian source of the *Liber* with possible connections to Padua is Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, ms. 48. The reference to Ursa Minor occurs on fol. 20r. See McGurk, *Catalogue of Astrological and Mythological Illuminated Manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages IV*, 7; *I manoscritti della biblioteca del Seminario vescovile di Padova*, ed. A. Donello, G.M. Florio, N. Giovè, L. Granata, G. Mariani Canova, P. Massalin, A. Mazzon, F. Toniolo, and S. Zamponi, *Biblioteche e Archivi 2. Manoscritti medievali del Veneto, 1* (Firenze: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 19; Graziella Federici Vescovini, "Pietro d'Abano e gli affreschi astrologici del Palazzo della Ragione di Padova," *Labyrinthos. Studi e ricerche sulle arti dal Medioevo al Barocco* 9 (1986): 65.

FIGURE 5. Reinhard of Salzburg's star map. Reproduced by permission of the Austrian National Library, Vienna



the Latin and Italian names of these star groups and the name of the Carrara arms alone recommends identifying the illuminator's stars as either constellation. As I show below, it is most likely that the illuminator painted a representation of Ursa Minor.

To compare the illuminator's arrangement of stars with other depictions of the Ursa Major and Ursa Minor, I selected Reinhard of Salzburg's map (Prague, 1434/5) (fig. 5), the ceiling painting on the cupola of the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence (1439) (fig. 6), and Albrecht Dürer's superb engraving printed at Nuremberg in 1515 (fig. 7).<sup>84</sup> Figures

<sup>84</sup> Reinhard's map survives in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 5415, fol. 168r. On its date, see Dana Bennett Durand, *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg Map Corpus of the Fifteenth Century: A Study in the Transition from Medieval to Modern Science* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1952), 116; and Patricia Fortini Brown, "Laetentur caeli: The Council of Florence and the Astronomical Fresco in the Old Sacristy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981): 178. Fortini Brown, following Aby Warburg and Gertrud Bing, dated the Old Sacristy ceiling of San Lorenzo to 6 July 1439; see Fortini Brown, "Laetentur caeli," 177–79. James Beck attributes the ceiling to Leon Battista Alberti in James Beck, "Leon Battista

FIGURE 6. Zodiac, Cupola ceiling of the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo, Florence. © Photo SCALA, Florence



FIGURE 7. Engraving of zodiacal map by Albrecht Dürer in *Imagines coeli Septentrionales cum duodecim imaginibus zodiaci* (Nüremberg, 1515). © Trustees of the British Museum



5–7 reveal different medieval conventions for representing constellations. In the azimuthal projections of the northern sky in Reinhard’s and Dürer’s map, the configuration of stars mirrors the earth-bound representation that appears on the ceiling of the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo.<sup>85</sup>

Alberti and the ‘Night Sky’ at San Lorenzo,” *Artibus et Historiae* 10, no. 19 (1989): 5–35. On early celestial maps see Elly Dekker, *Illustrating the Phaenomena: Celestial Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>85</sup> Strangely, the San Lorenzo map shows Ursa Minor with its feet toward Ursa Major. Both bears are more commonly shown back-to-back just as in Reinhard’s and Dürer’s maps.

FIGURE 8. Comparison of Mod A initial with fifteenth-century representations of Ursa Major

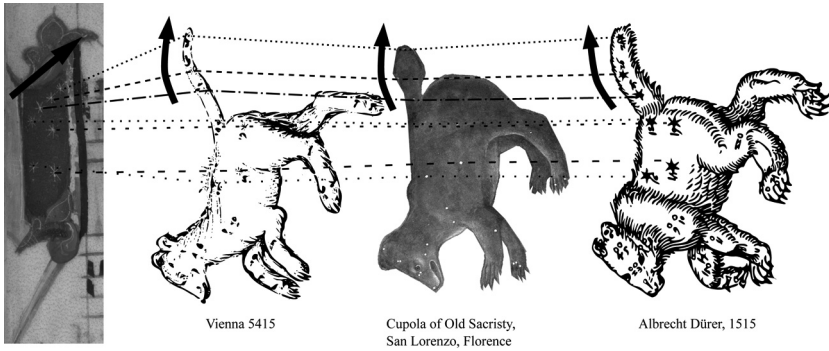


Figure 8 compares the seven brightest stars of Ursa Major in these star maps with the initial of *Inperial*. To facilitate comparison the San Lorenzo Ursa Major has been reversed and all star map constellations have been rotated to match the initial in Mod A. In Figure 8 different types of dotted lines connect equivalent stars across each representation.

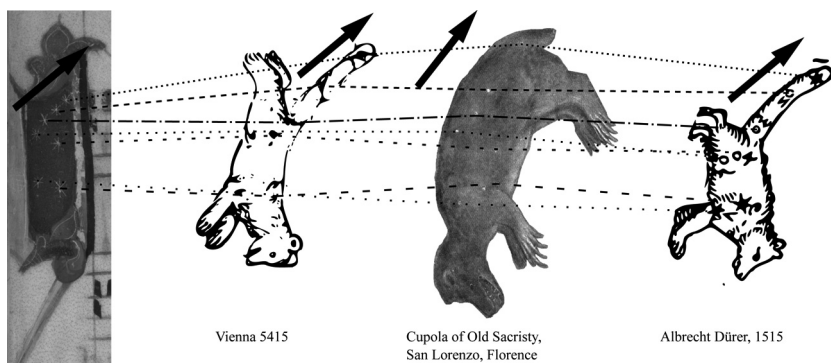
Although these star maps of Ursa Major resemble the Mod A group of stars, there is a glaring discrepancy. The tail of Ursa Major (or the handle of the Big Dipper) always has a kink in it. In the initial the three stars forming this part of the asterism are shown along a straight line.

Figure 9 offers the same type of comparison for representations of Ursa Minor. There is a greater similarity between these various representations. The identification of the group of stars in the initial of *Inperial sedendo* as Ursa Minor is strengthened when we consider contemporary astrological cycles from northern Italy. The conventions of iconographical representation in astrological cycles differ from the mathematical principles that inform fifteenth-century star maps like those discussed here. Take, for example, a charming representation of Ursa Minor from early fifteenth-century Venice (fig. 10).<sup>86</sup> The configuration of stars in this conventional image almost exactly mirrors our illuminator's group of stars. In fact, it seems that the artist who completed the star map at Florence's San Lorenzo may have had this conventional representation in mind in 1439 when he painted Ursa Minor with its feet towards Ursa Major.

The final piece in this puzzle comes from the text of Johannes Ciconia's *O felix templum*, which addresses the motet's dedicatee Stefano

<sup>86</sup> Facsimile: *Tablas de las constelaciones de Alfonso X el Sabio*. Valencia: Patrimonio Ediciones, 2006.

FIGURE 9. Comparison of Mod A initial with fifteenth-century representations of Ursa Minor



da Carrara, Bishop of Padua and natural offspring of Francesco Il Novello da Carrara, as *genitoris... plaustiger illustrissime* (most illustrious cart driver of your father).<sup>87</sup> Here *plaustiger* alludes to the classicized Latin name for the Carrara arms, *plaustrum*, and to the constellation of Ursa Minor. The motet's text states that Stefano is "sent from the heaven's highest pole" (*de summo missus cardine*), confirming that *plaustiger* alludes to Ursa Minor or *Il carro piccolo*: the first star of this constellation, the tip of Ursa Minor's tail, is the North Pole Star (*Polaris*).

Ciconia set two further texts that contain similar astrological allusions to Carrara heraldry. His motet *O Padua, sidus preclarum* refers to the constellation of Boötes, the oxcart driver, who supports Padua "the shining constellation."<sup>88</sup> Boötes lays adjacent to Ursa Major and Ursa Minor in the northern night sky and is closely associated with both constellations in classical star lore.<sup>89</sup> In another unmistakable allusion to the Carrara arms, Ciconia's *Per quella strada lactea* speaks of "un carro... coperto a drappi rossi di finora" (an oxcart covered in fine red drapes)

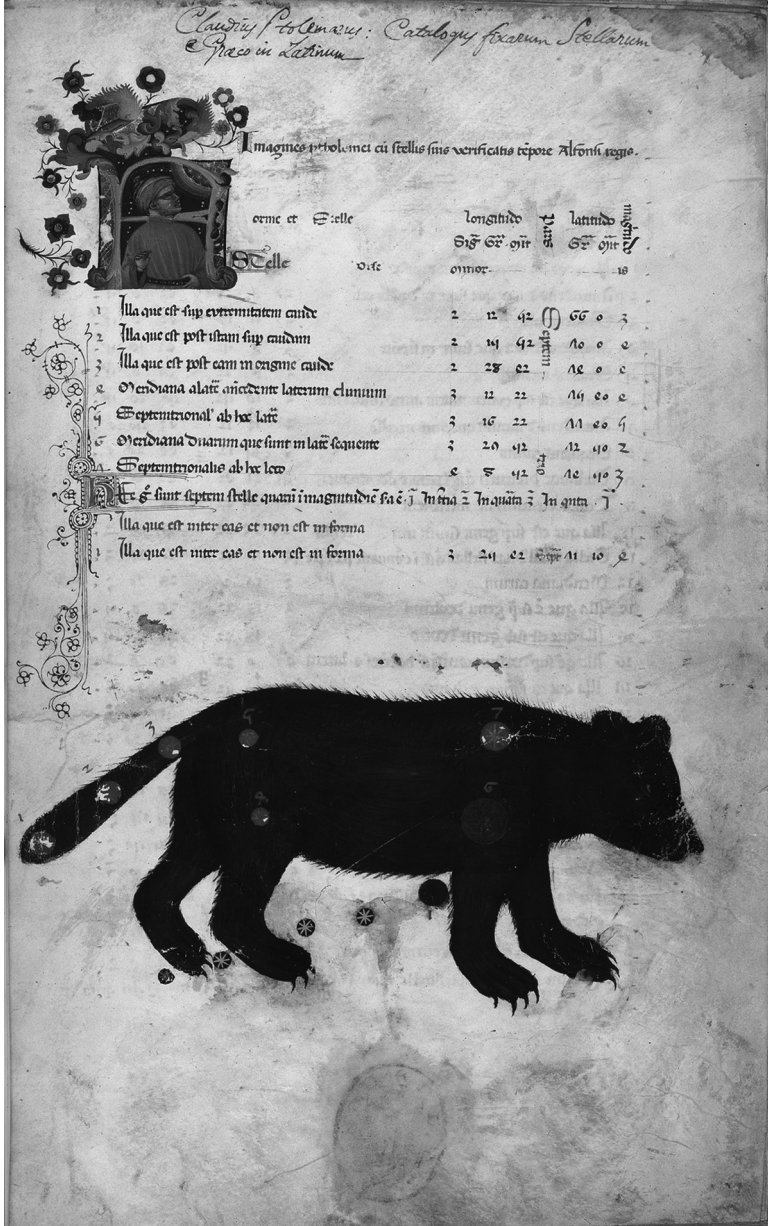
<sup>87</sup> On Ciconia's Latin texts, see Leofranc Holford-Strevens, "The Latin Poetry of Johannes Ciconia and 'Guilhermus'," in *Qui musicam in se habet: Essays in Honor of Alejandro Planchart*, ed. Stanley Boorman and Anna Zayaruznaya (Münster and Middleton: American Institute of Musicology, forthcoming). I warmly thank the author for sharing his typescript prior to its publication.

<sup>88</sup> Stoessel, "Music and Moral Philosophy in Early Fifteenth-Century Padua," 111–15. Although *sidus* can denote a star, it more often refers to a constellation.

<sup>89</sup> Classical authors, no doubt providing a model for medieval poets, associate *Plaustrum* or its alternative name *Sarracum* with Boötes. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.446–47; Juvenal, *Satires* 1.5.23; Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6.73–75 (where *temo* is a synecdoche for *plaustrum*). Also see André Le Boeuffe, *Les noms latins d'astres et de constellations* (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres", 1977), 82–89.



FIGURE 10. *Ursa Minor* from *Alfonsine Tables*. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 D 12, fol. 1r (Murano [Venice], late fourteenth century). Reproduced by permission of Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin–Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Photo by Jörg P. Anders



traveling along the Milky Way.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, that this same oxcart travels “from fair stars where serenity is fixed” may be yet another reference to the fixed North Pole Star in Ursa Minor, although it might simply refer to the medieval belief in the incorruptibility of celestial bodies.

It seems that there existed in Padua a culture of astrological allusions emanating from the Carrara court, known to poets, composers, painters, and illuminators celebrating the family’s hegemony.<sup>91</sup> This might explain why instead of painting the Carrara arms in the initial to *Imperial*, the illuminator employs *Il carro piccolo* as a subtle astrological conceit, no doubt suggested to him by the text “un carro d’onor degno . . . fra più stelle” and his prior experiences in Padua.<sup>92</sup> Whether this act of pictorial subterfuge marks the illuminator’s desire to conceal the full meaning of this song, or whether it marks his role in an elaborate courtly *entremet*, we may never know. Yet, in recognizing the force of a pervasive iconography that operates at a textual level and through this song’s *mise en page* in Mod A, we must concede that the illuminator’s contribution goes beyond a simple appreciation of the text of *Imperial sedendo*. Through his use of the heraldically inspired astrological symbols closely associated with the Carrara of Padua, the illuminator reveals his firsthand knowledge of the specific cultural context of *Imperial sedendo*.

This confirms that the group of stars in the initial of *Imperial* cannot represent the constellation of Auriga (the Charioteer) as Petrobelli proposed.<sup>93</sup> First, the complex constellation of Auriga in no way resembles

<sup>90</sup> Anne Hallmark associates *Per quella* with the investiture of Francesco II Novello as Imperial Captain in 1401; Anne Hallmark, “Protector, imo verus pater: Francesco Zabarella’s Patronage of Johannes Ciconia,” in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 165. For an alternate date of 1392 or 1398 see Silvia Lombardi, “Per quella strada lactea del cielo’: Un madrigale per le esequie nella Padova carrarese,” *Revista internazionale de musica sacra* 30, no. 2 (2009): 137–64. For yet another view on the dating of *Per quella*, see Carleton, “Heraldry in the Trecento Madrigal,” 204–14, especially 212.

<sup>91</sup> The artistic program of the zodiac cycle entwined with moral allegories in the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua, formulated by the famous Paduan professor Pietro d’Abano, illustrates a similar concern for the astrological representation of good governance of the commune; see Federici Vescovini, “Pietro d’Abano e gli affreschi astrologici,” 50–75. For the enduring influence of Pietro d’Abano’s Aristotelian teachings on Padua’s art, see Giordana Mariani Canova, “Pietro d’Abano e l’immagine astrologica e scientifica a Padova nel Trecento: da Giotto ai Carraresi,” *Medicina nei secoli. Arte e scienza* 20, no. 2 (2008): 465–507. A summary of subsequent scholarship on this topic can be found in Enrico Berti, “Astronomia e astrologia da Pietro d’Abano a Giovanni dell’Orologio,” in *Padova Carrarese*, ed. Longo, 175–84, especially 175–77. See also Eleonora M. Beck, *Giotto’s Harmony: Music and Art in Padua at the Crossroads of the Renaissance* (Florence: European Press Academic Publishing, 2005), 169–90.

<sup>92</sup> Compare this conclusion with Petrobelli’s: “the maker of the decoration has misinterpreted the allusion to the ‘carro d’onor degno,’ interpreting it as an allusion to the constellation rather than to the heraldic symbol”; Petrobelli, “Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova,” 97–98.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 97. *Auriga* is also called *Agitator* in the middle ages.

the group of stars in this initial. The common representations of this constellation feature a quadrilateral group of stars forming the shoulders and feet of the charioteer surmounted by a further star representing his head, and two or more stars out each side for arms. Reinhard of Salzburg numbers twelve stars in this constellation. Petrobelli might have based his assumption on Auriga's namesake Erichthonius, who was credited in Ancient Greek mythology with inventing the *quadriga*, the four-horse chariot. But the Italian *carro* and the Latin *carrus* or *plaustrum* does not mean chariot but oxcart. All three words can in turn signify a specific constellation, a heraldic symbol, and the ruling house of Padua.

Another decoration in Mod A might also signal the illuminator's Paduan origins. We can deduce that the figure below the initial of Egardus's Gloria (fol. 21v) is Saint Anthony of Padua (fig. 2a above). The haloed figure wears the Franciscan habit (bunched at the waist by a rope belt) and holds a stem of lilies in his right hand.<sup>94</sup> There were only seven canonized male Franciscan saints prior to Saint Bernardino of Siena, who was canonized 1450.<sup>95</sup> Three can be immediately ruled out since the monk in Mod A is depicted with neither the trappings of a bishop, a king, nor French royalty. The fourteenth-century north-European Tertiary Franciscans, Ivo of Kermartin and Elzéar of Sabran, also seem unlikely candidates. The art of north Italy lacks any evidence of their cult. The absence of stigmata, and the fact that Kaftal and Bisogni do not find any evidence for his association with lilies in north Italian art, seems to rule out the founder of the order, Saint Francis.<sup>96</sup> Only Saint Anthony of Padua is depicted with a stem of lilies, a symbol of his youthful purity.<sup>97</sup>

Could Egardus's Gloria have had a special association with Padua and its Franciscan saint? Arguing that Egardus was both the *succentor* "Magister Johannes Ecghaerd" appointed to Saint Donatian's in Bruges in 1370 and the papal letter writer "Eckhardus" in the papal curia in Rome in 1394, Reinhard Strohm suggested that Egardus sojourned in Padua on his way to join the papal chapel.<sup>98</sup> Even if Egardus never visited

<sup>94</sup> Pirrotta, recognized "una figura aureolata di monaco" (a haloed figure of a monk) on fol. 21v. Pirrotta, "Il codice estense lat 568," 108. On the plain halo or the round *nimbus* signifying saints in Western art, see Adophe N. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, trans. E.J. Milington, 2 vols. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1851), 1:66–76 and 89–92.

<sup>95</sup> Arthur Du Mostier, *Martyrologium Franciscanum* (Paris: E. Couterot, 1653).

<sup>96</sup> A representative example from late fourteenth-century Padua showing Saint Francis with stigmata can be found in the historiated initial in Caronelli's *De carru carrariensis* in Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, lat. 6468, fol. 10r.

<sup>97</sup> For further details on the iconography of Saint Anthony of Padua in north Italy, see George Kaftal and Fabio Bisogni, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy* (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), coll. 74–77.

<sup>98</sup> Reinhard Strohm, "Magister Egardus and Other Italo-Flemish Contacts," in *L'ars Nova del Trecento VI*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Dalla Vecchia (Certaldo: Edizioni Polis, 1992), 44 and 56.

TABLE 3.  
Sources of Egardus's Gloria (untroped)

Source	Ascription	Origin
Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, busta 2/2 (formerly flyleaves to ms. 1225), fol. 1v (incomplete)	none	Santa Giustina, Padua
Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 224 (olim Collocazione provvisoria 197), fol. 4r, & Hanover, New Hampshire, Dartmouth College Library. MS 002387 (olim Santa Barbara, Accademia Monteverdiana, s.s.), fol. verso (complete)	none	Roman chapel?
Udine, Archivio di Stato, frammento 22, fol. recto (incomplete)	none	Roman papal chapel at Cividale
Mod A, fol. 21v–22r (complete)	Egardus	Bologna
Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS. III. 8054, fol. 204v–205 (complete)	Opus egardi	Council of Constance?

Padua, patterns of transmission indicate that his Gloria was well known in the northeast corner of Italy (table 3). The Udine manuscript is part of a complex of northeastern Italian fragments, which include the flyleaves from MSS 63 and 98 in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Cividale de Friuli that several music historians have connected to the general council that Pope Gregory XII convened at Cividale in 1409.<sup>99</sup> The Paduan source of Egardus's Gloria belongs to a complex of musical fragments copied by Rolandus de Casali, a Benedictine monk documented between the years 1396 and 1448 at the Abbey of Santa Giustina in Padua.<sup>100</sup> The

<sup>99</sup> Gilberto Pressacco, "Un seconda Gloria cividalese di Rentius de Ponte Curvo," *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali* 4 (1988): 236; and Strohm, "Diplomatic Relationships between Chantilly and Cividale?" 235–36. Egardus's Gloria was identified in Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony beyond the Codex" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2006), 252–53.

<sup>100</sup> Musicological literature refers to this complex of music fragments as Pad D. For the sake of simplicity I include the smaller format Stresa, Biblioteca rosmiana, Collegio rosmi al Monte, ms 14 (olim Domodossola, Convento di Monte Calvario), in this complex. On Rolandus de Casali see Giulio Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del Quattrocento: Il copista Rolando da Casale. Nuovi frammenti musicali nell'Archivio di Stato," *Annales Musicologiques* 7 (1964–77): 17–41. On the so-called Paduan fragments see Francesco Facchin, "Una nuova fonte musicale trecentesca nell'Archivio di Stato di Padova," in *Contributi per la storia della musica sacra a Padova*, ed. Giulio Cattin and Antonio Lovato (Padova: Istituto per la storia ecclesiastica Padovana, 1993), 115–39; Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Groups and Projects among the Paduan Polyphonic Sources," in *I frammenti musicali*

polyphony that Rolandus copied includes the compositions of several composers associated with Padua, such as Johannes Ciconia, Jacobus Corbus da Padova, and Zaninus de Peraga da Padova.<sup>101</sup> Immediately after Egardus's Gloria Rolandus also copied a troped Gloria *Spiritus et alme*, which one of Rolandus's colleagues at Santa Giustina ascribes to "Engardus" in a second copy.<sup>102</sup>

Giulio Cattin states that Rolandus ceased copying polyphony (*cantus figuratus*) in 1409, the same year in which the reformist abbot Ludovico Barbo arrived at Santa Giustina.<sup>103</sup> It seems no longer the case that Ciconia's *Suscipe Trinitas*, which Rolandus also copied, was composed after this date. Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas proposed that Ciconia's Gloria *Suscipe, Trinitas* dates to 1390 or 1395 during Ciconia's "Roman" period.<sup>104</sup> Rolandus would have had access to Ciconia's older music after Ciconia had arrived in Padua in 1401. There are no textual references or datable compositions indicating that any of the music copied by Rolandus or his colleagues in Padua was composed after 1406.<sup>105</sup> This revised timeframe (1401–1406) for Rolandus's copying of polyphony encompasses the abbacy of Andrea da Carrara (1402–1405), when Santa Giustina effectively became an appanage of the Carrara court.<sup>106</sup> This suggests that Egardus's Gloria was already known in Padua when Gregory XII's chapel passed through on their way to the general council in Cividale del Friuli in 1409.

One further piece of circumstantial evidence shows that polyphonic music for the cult of Saint Anthony was already a concern in early fifteenth-century Padua.<sup>107</sup> Rolandus de Casali copied a unique polyphonic setting of Julian of Speyer's hymn for Saint Anthony of Padua,

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*padovani tra Santa Giustina e la diffusione della musica in Europa: Giornata di studio, Padova, Abbazia di S. Giustina-Biblioteca Universitaria 15 giugno 2006*, ed. Francesco Facchin and Pietro Gnan (Padua: Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova, 2011), 183–214.

<sup>101</sup> On Jacobus Corbus and Zaninus de Peraga see Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy, c. 1400," in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 202–205.

<sup>102</sup> Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1475, flyleaf (fol. 43r).

<sup>103</sup> Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del Quattrocento," 29–30.

<sup>104</sup> Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 70–77. For the argument that Ciconia's Gloria was composed after the Council of Pisa in 1409, see *The Works of Ciconia*, ed. Bent and Hallmark, xi.

<sup>105</sup> Ciconia's *Con lagrime bagnandome* has been dated to 1406; see Hallmark, "Protector, imo verus pater," 164.

<sup>106</sup> Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del Quattrocento," 29; idem, "La musica a Padova nel Trecento," in *Padova Carrarese*, ed. Longo, 212.

<sup>107</sup> A chapel of singers was not established at Il Santo until 1480; see Antonio Satori, *Documenti per la storia della musica al Santo e nel Veneto* (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1977), 197. Note, however, that it seems that Dufay's Mass for Saint Anthony of Padua was sung for the

*O proles Yspanie*.<sup>108</sup> Though only a single upper voice and tenor survive, the anonymous setting exhibits many of the hallmarks of Ciconia's motet style cultivated in Padua.<sup>109</sup> Surely it was composed for the saint's cult in Padua. The transmission of Egardus's Gloria in northeast Italy and the illuminator's choice to decorate its Mod A version with a miniature of the saint indicates that Egardus's Gloria was used for the cult of Saint Anthony in Padua.

Finally there is the historiated initial "F" that accompanies Magister Egidius's *Franchois sunt nobles* (fol.11r). The initial contains a bearded figure, kneeling, bare-chested, clad loosely in a yellow robe, and holding a hammer in each hand. One hammer strikes an anvil in front of him; the other one is raised to his right ear. He cocks his head to right in an apparent act of concentrated listening. According to Toniolo and others this type of late medieval iconography represents Jubal, the Biblical inventor of music (Genesis 4:21–23).<sup>110</sup> Paul Beichner demonstrates that this imagery arose when the late twelfth-century author Peter Comester conflated the iconography of Biblical Jubal with that of his brother, the smithy Tubalcain, and Pythagoras, the Ancient Greek philosopher who was said to have discovered the proportional relationships between musical tones while listening to a blacksmith striking an anvil with proportionally weighted hammers.<sup>111</sup>

In pictorial allegories of the seven liberal arts, Trecento illuminators regularly portray Jubal–Tubalcain in front of another allegory, Lady Music, who is shown as a young finely dressed woman playing a portative organ or lute. Two notable examples of this double iconography originate from the workshop of Nicolò da Bologna.<sup>112</sup> The same allegory appears in the famous frontispiece (fol. 1r) of Pit, a collection of Trecento song

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dedication of Donatello's altar there in 1450; David Fallows, *Dufay*, rev. ed. (London: Dent, 1987), 191.

<sup>108</sup> Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1106, flyleaf (fol. 3v).

<sup>109</sup> See the edition in *The Works of Ciconia*, ed. Bent and Hallmark, 110 (no. 21). The editors include this work among Ciconia's *opera dubia*.

<sup>110</sup> Toniolo, "L'immagine di Tubalcain-Iubal," 157–60, especially 157n5 and 158n6.

<sup>111</sup> Paul E. Beichner, *The Medieval Representative of Music, Jubal or Tubalcain?* (University of Notre Dame: Notre Dame, IN, 1954), 10. Also see James W. McKinnon, "Jubal vel Pythagoras, quis sit inventor musicae?," *Musical Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (1978): 1–28.

<sup>112</sup> Several examples are discussed in Beichner, *Medieval Representative of Music*, 19–26. The examples by Nicolò da Bologna are found in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. D. 2 and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. B 42 inf. Beichner (5–6) See also Howard Mayer Brown, "St. Augustine, Lady Music, and the Gittern in Fourteenth-Century Italy," *Musica Disciplina* 38 (1984): 25–65; F. Alberto Gallo, *Music in the Castle: Troubadours, Books, and Orators in Italian Courts of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. Anna Herkoltz and Kathryn Krug (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 49–50.

contemporaneous with Mod A.<sup>113</sup> But Michael Long has recently shown that the biblical figure of Jubal–Tubalcain represented the art of music in its own right.<sup>114</sup> With only limited space before the indented first staff of fol. 11r in Mod A, the illuminator chose to paint an initial historiated with Jubal–Tubalcain to symbolize the musical craft behind the compositions on the following pages.<sup>115</sup>

It might be that like the frontispiece in Pit the historiated initial representing music on fol. 11r of Mod A was originally intended to begin a collection of predominantly French-texted songs. Of the 69 compositions in Mod A<sub>II–IV</sub>, 47 (68%) have French text and exhibit connections to the elite culture of the papal and Italian courts.<sup>116</sup> It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the copyist of Mod A<sub>II–IV</sub> began such a collection with *Franchois sunt nobles*, a song that appeals to the ideals of French royal identity. The music scribe and the illuminator provide strong circumstantial evidence that gathering II originally commenced a collection of mainly French-texted songs.

This hypothesis might be questioned on the basis of the existing foliation of Mod A. Because gatherings I and V contain no folio numbers and gatherings II to IV are foliated consecutively 11 to 40, it has been generally assumed that an earlier gathering foliated 1 to 10 had been lost.<sup>117</sup> Yet there is no conclusive evidence to indicate that gatherings II and III (and indeed IV) were foliated prior to illumination. On the contrary, a comparison of the paginator's numerals with the numerals that Scribe II–IV writes for musical proportions (see fols. 31v, 32v and 40v) suggests that they are different scribes. Secondly, several leaves in gatherings III and IV contain traces of consecutively ordered letters (a–e) used at an early stage to order their bifolia.<sup>118</sup> Though no trace of these letters can be found in gathering II, their survival in other gatherings points to an early stage of compilation when Mod A<sub>II–IV</sub> consisted of a collection of internally ordered, undoubtedly unstitched and unbound gatherings already filled

<sup>113</sup> See table 2 above. This frontispiece can be viewed online at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's Gallica website: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84490281/f29.image.r>, and in Brown, "St. Augustine, Lady Music, and the Gittern in Fourteenth-Century Italy," 61.

<sup>114</sup> Michael Long, "Singing through the Looking Glass: Child's Play and Learning in Medieval Italy," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 293. See also Richard J. Schrader, "The Inharmonious Choristers and Blacksmiths of MS Arundel 292," *Studies in Philology* 104, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 1–14, especially 12.

<sup>115</sup> The only other place the first staff is indented is on fol. 31r, at the beginning of gathering IV, but there we find only a large red initial.

<sup>116</sup> This statistic excludes the palimpsest on fol. 16r containing Matheus de Perusio's *Pres du soloil*. Stone tentatively connects *Pres du soloil* with a device that Filippo Maria Visconti adopted no earlier than 1426; Stone, *The Manuscript Modena*, 102–107.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

with musical notation. Indeed it would be unusual for a late medieval illuminator to work on anything but loose bifolia.<sup>119</sup> Finally, gatherings II–IV are externally non-contingent. No music begins on the verso of one gathering and ends of the recto of the following gathering, which makes it difficult to be certain about the intended sequence of gatherings.<sup>120</sup> This does not prove that Mod A<sub>II–IV</sub> lacked foliation prior to illumination. But the compositions copied across openings within a gathering and sequential leaf letters within gatherings prove that Mod A<sub>II–IV</sub> did not require foliation at this stage. As for additional evidence for completed gatherings lacking original foliation, we need look no further than Mod A<sub>I/V</sub>.<sup>121</sup>

Although I do not discount that the first gathering could have been lost, it is plausible that the non-contingent, internally ordered gatherings of Mod A<sub>II–IV</sub> were foliated after they were illuminated. For some reason, perhaps a change in circumstance or ownership, an illuminated gathering II was shifted back into its present position in Mod A and the lost first gathering placed at the beginning prior to being foliated.

The iconographical evidence might suggest that Mod A<sub>II–IV</sub> is a Paduan manuscript. Yet the illuminator of Mod A does not use the Carrara arms (the oxcart) explicitly, but alludes to them by an astrological reference. It could be that he was working in pre-1406 Padua where such allusions would have been understood, or in post-1406 Padua where Venice sought to suppress all traces of the Carrara rule in Padua and its environs. More likely it indicates that he worked in a political context hostile to the Carrara family. After all, the Carrara had failed to thwart the ambitions of Giangaleazzo Visconti at Bologna in 1402, allowing the city to fall for a short time into Visconti hands.

The patterns of transmission in Mod A<sub>II–IV</sub> suggest that this manuscript is one or two removes from hyparchetypes used by scribes in the Veneto, relying at times instead on exemplars that might have been transmitted northwards from Rome.<sup>122</sup> Even without a stemmatic analysis of the transmission of Mod A's works, my discussion of *Inperial sedendo*

<sup>119</sup> Robert G. Calkins, "Stages of Execution: Procedures of Illumination as Revealed in an Unfinished Book of Hours," *Gesta* 17, no. 1 (1978): 64; Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 47.

<sup>120</sup> Gatherings I and II are now contingent: Scribe I/V copied the end of the Contratenor of Matheus de Perusio's *Dame que j'aym sour toutes* onto the bottom of fol. 11r.

<sup>121</sup> Further examples of completed illuminated music manuscripts that lack original foliation can be found among the "complete works" manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut (see Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* [New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1995], 77–97) and illuminated French chansonniers from the second half of the fifteenth century (see Alden, *Song, Scribes, and Society*, 84–87 and 106).

<sup>122</sup> For a complete stemmatic analysis of the transmission of Mod A's works, see Jason Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe: The Context and Culture of Scribal and Notational Process in the Music of the *ars subtilior*" (Ph.D. diss., University of New England, 2002), 1: 78–79, 87, and especially 145–73.



gives some sense of the distance between Mod A and putative Paduan exemplars. Additionally, although Scribe II–IV displays some interest in the works of Johannes Ciconia, it appears that he could lay his hands only on two of Ciconia’s works, *Sus un’ fontayne* and *Quod jactatur*, both possibly from the last decade of the fourteenth century. Ciconia’s music containing explicit textual references to Paduan and, after 1406, Venetian institutions and public figures from the period 1401–1412 when the composer was *custos* and singer in Padua cathedral are absent from Mod A.<sup>123</sup> Perhaps access to Ciconia’s compositions was restricted while the composer was still living, but this seems not to be the case when we look at the frequency with which they appear in the Paduan fragments and the Lucca manuscript. In short, these additional considerations make it improbable that Mod A<sub>II–IV</sub> was created in pre- or post-1406 Padua.

### Conclusions

Several seemingly contradictory pieces of evidence have emerged in my preceding argument. Stylistic analysis of the illumination of Mod A<sub>II–III</sub> points to its decoration in early fifteenth-century Bologna at the abbey of San Michele in Bosco. Conversely, iconological analysis of *Imperial sedendo* and Egardus’s *Gloria* shows that the illuminator possessed an in-depth knowledge of Carrara and pre-1406 Paduan culture. The Master of 1411 is the key to synthesizing these findings. Stylistic analysis indicates that the illuminator of Mod A is either the Master of 1411 or one of the artists using a so-called Paduan style of illumination working alongside the Master of 1411 in Estense Psalter A at San Michele in Bosco. Significantly, the Master of 1411 and the illuminator of Mod A share a knowledge of Carrara heraldry, making it probable that the Master of 1411 was the illuminator of Mod A. Whether the Master of 1411 was also Giacomo da Padova documented at San Michele remains a matter of speculation, although he must be considered a likely candidate for the illuminator of Mod A on the basis of his Paduan origin and associations with the papal curia at Bologna.

Due to my decision to limit my enquiry for the most part to our illuminator’s activity in Mod A, questions remain about this manuscript’s repertory and structure. Given that Mod A<sub>II–IV</sub> is replete with French secular songs with little more than a handful each of Latin and Italian songs, this collection was clearly never intended for the office of the papal chapel, even if it contains a small number of polyphonic settings of the mass that may have been composed or sung for papal or curial

<sup>123</sup> Philippe Vendrix, “Johannes Ciconia, *cantus et musicus*,” in *Johannes Ciconia*, ed. Vendrix, 7–37. Also see Hallmark, “*Protector, imo verus pater*,” 153–68.

events. On the other hand, several songs that witness a tangled web of references to papal and Italian territorial politics extending over a 30-year period have proven notoriously difficult to situate collectively in a single context. Stone has argued that Mod A<sub>II-IV</sub> reflects the tastes of Pietro Filargo, but if we accept the date and context outlined here, this book was compiled after the demise of this prelate. Questions also remain over why songs like *Imperial sedendo*, which celebrates the lord of a recently extinguished northern Italian house, are present in this manuscript and under what circumstances Mod A<sub>II-IV</sub> was joined with Mod A<sub>I/V</sub>. These questions must be answered in future studies.

### ABSTRACT

Scholars have proposed Milan, Pisa and/or Bologna as possible locations for the copying of the inner gatherings (II–IV) of the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24 (Mod A) and have argued that some of the compositions might have originated in the circle of Archbishop of Milan Pietro Filargo. Yet evidence based on Mod A's repertory and the scant biographies of its composers is insufficient for determining the manuscript's origin. To solve this problem, I look at Mod A as a cultural artifact, attributing its illumination to the Master of 1411, an illuminator active in Bologna from 1404 to 1411, or to his assistant, both associated with the manuscript workshop of the Olivetan abbey of San Michele in Bosco, on the outskirts of medieval Bologna. The Master of 1411 might have been Giacomo da Padova, an illuminator documented there between 1407 and 1409. Iconographical analysis shows that the illuminator of Mod A possessed considerable knowledge of Paduan culture before the fall of the ruling Carrara family in 1405. This knowledge is apparent in his use of an astrological allusion to Carrara heraldry in his decoration of the song *Imperial sedendo*. His illumination of a Gloria by Egardus with the figure of Saint Anthony of Padua implies a familiarity with Padua's musical institutions. Mod A may have been illuminated when the papal entourage of John XXIII visited San Michele in Bosco in the fall of 1410, although further compositions were added after the illuminator had finished his work. This conclusion invites scholars to consider afresh the social context that might have fostered the compilation of the repertory in the inner gatherings of Mod A.

Keywords: San Michele in Bosco (Bologna), Master of 1411, Giacomo da Padova, Bartolino da Padova, ars subtilior