Heraldry in the Trecento Madrigal

by

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Graduate Department of Music
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Abstract

This study investigates a repertoire of eighteen madrigals whose texts refer to heraldry, all of which were composed in trecento Italy. The hereditary and personal arms cited in the song texts are those of the Visconti, Della Scala and Carrara families of northern Italy. Though these madrigals have been used in the past as a means for dating manuscripts and reconstructing composer biographies, they have never been studied as a discrete repertoire. This study applies musicological, heraldic and art historical approaches to the repertoire in order to investigate the heraldic madrigal as a manifestation of political authority in trecento Italy.

Part One offers background information necessary to the understanding of the heraldic madrigal repertoire. Chapter 1 presents a glossary of heraldic terminology, and an overview of the role of heraldry in late medieval life, art and literature, focusing on heraldry as a means of representing ideas of authority and identity in the late Middle Ages. Chapter 2 defines the heraldic madrigal and discusses the stylistic features unique to this repertoire. This chapter also considers the heraldic madrigal in the context of contemporary musical repertoires such as the Italian motet and the songs of the French ars subtilior. Chapter 3 presents a critical edition of heraldic madrigal texts with translations.

Part Two consists of case studies. Chapter 4 explores the link between Jacopo da Bologna's madrigal *Aquila altera* and the references to the Holy Trinity in the heraldry of its dedicatees, Giangaleazzo Visconti and Isabelle de Valois. Chapter 5 offers a re-evaluation of the poem *La fiera testa*, challenging the common opinion that the text is condemnatory. Chapter 6 considers non-musical models for the the madrigal texts *Inperiale sedendo* and *Per quella strada,* based on manuscripts owned by and dedicated to the Carrara family.

The Conclusion of this study touches briefly on the legacy of the heraldic madrigal, giving a summary of later Italian songs containing references to the heraldry of noble families, such as the Malatesta and Medici.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Appendices

List of Source Abbreviations

Music Sources

Q15	Bologna, Civico museo bibliografico musicale, Q15
Bux	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus.3725 (Buxheimer Orgelbuch)
Ch	Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 (Chantilly Codex)
Fa	Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale 117 (Faenza Codex)
Fc	Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio musicale "L. Cherubini", D 1175
FP	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26
Gro	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia (fragment)
Lo	London, British Library Additional 29987
Lu	Lucca, Archivio di Stato Ms 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta" Ms 3065 (Lucca or Mancini Codex)
Mod A	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, a.M.5.24
Ox 213	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici 213
Padua 1283	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 1283 (one of the manuscript fragments collected under the siglum **Pad D**)
Padua 1225	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 1225 (part of **Pad D**)
Padua 675	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 675 (part of **Pad D**)
Padua 1106	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 1106 (part of **Pad D**)
Pit	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568
PR	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 6771 (Codex Reina)
Siena 36	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degl'Intronati. L.V.36.
SL	Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo 2211
Sq	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi Codex)
Stresa 14	Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte MS 14
VR	Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossi 215 (Rossi Codex)

Non- Music Sources

BP 124 Padova, Biblioteca Civica, B.P. 124/XXII (*Liber cimeriorum dominorum de carraria*)

Lat. 757 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 757

Paris 6069 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 6069 (Petrarch, *De viris illustribus*)

Paris 6069F Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 6069F (Petrarch, *De viris illustribus*)

Parma 1081 Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081

Editions

CMM 8 Corpus musicus mensurabilis volume 8, *Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*

Grove *Grove Music Online*

PMFC Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century

Introduction

This study examines a relatively small repertoire of trecento madrigals whose texts refer to their patrons through the inclusion of textual references to the patron's heraldry. The repertoire of heraldic madrigals may be small in comparison to other song repertoires of the same period, but it contains important historical information. In fact, the songs of the heraldic madrigal repertoire have often served as the basis on which manuscripts are dated and composer biographies reconstructed. Allegorical readings of the heraldic madrigals *Una panthera* and *Del glorioso titlo*, for example, provide the primary evidence for the current dating of the song manuscript **Lu** to the 1390s, as well as its compilation within close proximity of the Visconti court in Pavia.[1] The supposed date of the heraldic madrigal *Inperiale sedendo* has been given as evidence placing the compilation of **Mod A** (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M.5.24) to after 1401.[2] Heraldic madrigal texts have also been used to date non-musical sources. For example, the poem *La fiera testa* has been used as evidence dating Giovanni Sercambi's *Novelliere* to c.1400.[3]

While these methods of dating manuscripts are both ingenious and necessary, they are not infallible. A case in point is the date suggested by Nino Pirrotta for **Lu**, which was also based on an allegorical reading of *Una panthera*. Pirrotta's date is some thirty years later than that of John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, and given the new evidence, Pirrotta's date can no longer be accepted.[4] Similarly, Anne Stone's dating of **Mod A** to after 1401 relies on Pierluigi Petrobelli's dating of *Inperiale sedendo*, which is based on the presence of a single word in a fourteenth-century chronicle, and is in need of revision.

To date, much information conveyed by the very existence of this genre has been either missed or dismissed. Accordingly, this study seeks to rectify this situation by examining the

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[1] John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, *The Lucca Codex* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1990), 42.

[2] Anne Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense* a.M.5.24 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), 63.

[3] Giovanni Sercambi, *Il Novelliere*, ed. Luciano Rossi (Rome: Salerno, 1974), xix.

[4] Nino Pirrotta, "Il Codice di Lucca III: il repertorio musicale," *Musica Disciplina* 5 (1951): 124.

elements of the armorial bearings mentioned in these madrigals in detail, with regard to heraldic charge and colour, and to external elements, such as crest and motto. The information gained from this type of analysis is very useful, and can often clarify issues over which musicologists continue to haggle. For example, the leopard chosen by Bernabò Visconti for his personal badge represents an unusual choice, since leopards were thought to be evil and unnatural in the Middle Ages. Keeping this in mind, the madrigal *La fiera testa*, which has always been thought to condemn the Visconti, can also be read as celebrating the aggressive rule of Bernabò.

Many questions remain to be both asked and answered with regard to the repertoire of heraldic madrigals. These include: Why did this genre become so popular? Why did it remain popular when the non-heraldic madrigal fell into decline? Why are so many of these songs for three voices? Why do so many have macaronic texts? Why are so many occasional? In the following study, I propose some answers to these questions, and argue that like all late-medieval heraldry, the heraldic madrigal repertoire is simply another medium for propaganda – it existed to prop up illegal rulers by demonstrating a history, and therefore a justification of tyrannical rule. Finally, the heraldic madrigal repertoire is one that we can associate with real medieval women, who can appear either as patrons or dedicatees of these madrigals. Since many heraldic madrigals are wedding songs, women are named or referred to heraldically in the song texts, demonstrating that while men may have held all the political power, women's families and heraldry could be celebrated at important political events such as weddings.

This study is divided into three parts. Part I contains the background information needed to understand the musical, textual and heraldic issues that pertain to the heraldic madrigal. Because heraldic madrigals often refer to arms or adopted heraldic elements in technical language, Chapter 1 provides a glossary of heraldic terminology. Paraheraldry, or non-hereditary arms, is also discussed here. In addition, Chapter 1 contains information relating to the larger social and political issues associated with heraldry in the Middle Ages, such as the use of heraldry to reinforce ideas of lineage and authority, and the use of heraldry to define or subvert ideas about individual identity. Chapter 2 offers an overview of the heraldic madrigal, beginning with a review of literature, and continuing with a summary of the trecento madrigal. This chapter then summarizes what is known about the composers of heraldic madrigals, and discusses the manuscript transmission of the repertoire. Next, the heraldic madrigal is examined from the point of view of its being traditional and innovative, both musically and textually. The chapter

concludes with an examination of heraldic songs in other repertoires of fourteenth-century song, notably the songs of the French ars subtilior and the trecento motet.

Part II presents a textual edition of the heraldic madrigal repertoire, along with a discussion of each heraldic madrigal text. Eighteen texts are included, with translations and critical commentary. While most of the madrigal texts presented here have already been identified as heraldic, I contend that Donato da Cascia's *D'or pomo incominciò* is also heraldic, and have included it in the edition.

Part III consists of three case studies. The first of these argues that Jacopo da Bologna's unusual three-voice madrigal *Aquila altera/Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio* was composed for the wedding of Giangaleazzo Visconti to Isabelle de Valois in 1360. Though this theory had been proposed by Geneviève Thibault in 1970, it was based on a flawed analysis of the heraldry in the text. Here, I demonstrate that the trinitarian associations of the song, taken with the trinitarian associations of the heraldry of both Giangaleazzo and Isabelle demonstrate that the madrigal was composed for their wedding.

The second case study examines the poetic text *La fiera testa*, set by both Niccolò del Proposto and Bartolino da Padova, and tries to determine to what extent the poem (or the madrigals that set it) are laudatory and condemnatory. Against most scholarship, I contend that this poem is not a general attack on the Visconti or against Giangaleazzo, but rather a celebration of Bernabò Visconti's aggressive style of rule. To support my case, I analyse the poetic language used to praise and condemn Bernabò, and conclude that the text of *La fiera testa* cannot be interpreted as condemnatory.

The third case study investigates possible models for two madrigals composed for the Carrara family of Padua. I propose that the text of *Inperiale sedendo* is based on that of a moralizing treatise written in 1376 for Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, and that references in the text of *Inperiale sedendo*, coupled with our knowledge of the patronage of Francesco's wife Fina, suggest that she may be the madrigal's patron. I also suggest an earlier date for the madrigal based on this information. Finally, I posit that similarities between the text of Johannes Ciconia's heraldic madrigal *Per quella strada* and a illustration of Petrarch's *Triumph of Fame* suggest that the picture, which was located inside the Carrara palace, may provided a model for

the madrigal. This impacts on our knowledge of Ciconia's biography, because we have always assumed that he did not have a close relationship with the Carrara family.

Chapter 1

The Heraldic Middle Ages

Heraldry is an icon of the European Middle Ages. In popular books, movies, and historical re-enactments, things medieval are always decorated with heraldry. Before entering a discussion of the main topic of this study, the heraldic madrigal, it is necessary to introduce the subject of heraldry, a topic often surrounded by confusion and debate, and a field which has evolved considerably over the past thirty years.[5] This chapter, therefore, touches on all the aspects of heraldry that are pertinent to the heraldic madrigal. First, I define heraldry, along with all the elements which make up an armorial bearing. Second, I discuss the differences between true heraldry and what Michel Pastoureau has termed *l'emblématique parahéraldique* (translated by D'A.J.D. Boulton as "paraheraldry"), with particular reference to the families studied in subsequent chapters.[6] Third, I explore issues raised by the proliferation of heraldic images in the later Middle Ages, such as concerns relating to political authority and personal identity, and discuss the ways in which these same concerns are mirrored in contemporary literature and music.

The term "heraldry" is often used in a general and confused way to denote any or all elements of an armorial bearing. Arms, or tinctures and charges depicted on a shield, are what we generally think of as "heraldry", although in reality any system of colours that follows the basic rules of heraldry can be considered heraldry.[7] A good definition of medieval heraldry is provided by Adrian Ailes, who suggests that arms must be used systematically and must be

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[5] This is mainly due to the pioneering work of Michel Pastoureau, who has undertaken several statistical studies of medieval heraldry in order to understand heraldry as a social phenomenon, and has communicated his findings in a way that is accesssible to the general public.

[6] Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique* (Paris: Picard, 1979), 205; 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 Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250 – 1500*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame, 1990), 107.

[7] For instance, national flags and traffic signs follow these rules, and in a broad sense can be considered heraldry. For more on this topic, see Pastoureau, *Heraldry: An Introduction to a Noble Tradition*, trans. Francisca Garvie (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 92-95.

hereditary to be considered true heraldry.[8] Since, in the following study, I am going to refer to the elements of armorial bearings using heraldic language, what follows here is a glossary of heraldic terminology. When I use the term "heraldry," I am referring to the complete armorial bearing. Terms in *italics* are also defined in the glossary.

Glossary of Heraldic Terminology

Heraldry: armorial bearings (or arms) that are both stable (remain unchanged in essence, even when *quartered* or changed to indicate birth order) and hereditary. Armorial bearings, or arms, are made up of several elements, most notably a *shield*, which displays one or more *tinctures* and at least one *charge*.

Basic elements: shield, tinctures and charges

Shield: in traditional heraldry, arms are displayed on a shield.

Tinctures: all armorial bearings consist of tinctures. One of these always provides the background or *field* on the shield. There are six tinctures used in heraldry, and these are divided into two groups: colours and metals. In the first group are Gules (red), Sable (black), Azure (blue), Vert (green). In the second are the metals Or (gold) and Argent (silver), which are often represented as yellow and white, respectively. The most basic rule of *blazon* states that colour cannot be placed on top of colour, and that metal cannot be on metal. Pastoureau suggests that this rule may originate in the fact that banners decorated with contrasting colours are the most visible on the battlefield.[9]

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[8] Adrian Ailes, "Heraldry in Twelfth-Century England: The Evidence," in *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1990), 2.

[9] Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 48. While they are called "colours" and "metals," it is worth noting that in actual fact, metals are light colours (yellow or white), and colours are darker colours (black, red, blue, green).

Blazon: the description of armorial bearings using the technical language of heraldry.

Field: The base or background tincture of a shield. When blazoning an armorial bearing, this is always described first.

Charges: any element placed on the field is a charge (Figure 1.1). Typical charges include animals and *ordinaries*. Pastoureau notes that while anything *can* be a charge, in fact very few were used in the Middle Ages. For example, animals make up one third of all charges; on the other hand, plants, insects and everyday objects are rare as charges.[10]

Figure 1.1 This shield is charged with a cat, and would be blazoned as sable a cat rampant argent.

Ordinaries: geometrical figures and patterns used as charges. Though there are many of these, the most common are the bend (a diagonal stripe from top left to bottom right on a shield, see Figure 1.2) and the fess, a broad horizontal stripe.

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[10] *Ibid.*, 53 and 63. Pastoureau has undertaken several statistical studies that demonstrate the popularity of various charges in different parts of Europe in the Middle Ages. He has discovered that while the lion was popular in northern Europe, the eagle (often associated with imperial power) was more popular in the south. See Pastoureau, "Quel est le roi des animaux?" in *Figures et couleurs* (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1987), 159-173.
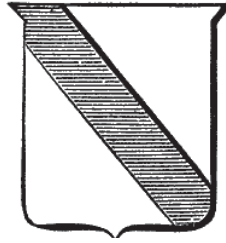
Figure 1.2 Shield with bend (argent a bend azure)[11]

Canting arms: Arms whose design reflects the name of the person bearing them. In an armorial bearing, it is usually charge or charges that relate to the person's name. For example, the charge on the arms of the Della Scala family is a ladder (*scala*), and that on the Carrara family arms is a chariot, or *carro*.

Quartering of arms: the division of a shield into sections, each displaying different arms (Figure 1.3). The divisions represent familial relationships, such as lineage and marriages, or changes in status. For example, the shield adopted by Giangaleazzo Visconti when he was made Duke of Milan (1395) by emperor Wenceslaus IV featured the Visconti arms quartered with the imperial eagle.
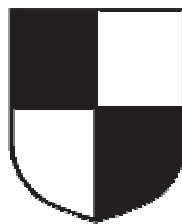
Figure 1.3 Quartered arms

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[11] Before the advent of colour printing, a standard system of hatching was used to designate colours and metals. Plain white stands for argent, and horizontal hatching signifies azure. For more on this, see Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 47.

Additional elements: helmet, crest, motto

Helmet: Sometimes, a helmet is depicted resting on top of the shield bearing the arms. As well as bearing the *crest*, the helmet can impart information about the bearer's social status. For example, only kings and queens are allowed to depict helmets facing the viewer. All others must be in profile, or three-quarter profile.

Crest: The crest consists of a decoration attached to the top of the helmet. These date back to antiquity where they were worn in battle. In the Middle Ages, however, the crest was worn mostly at tournaments (Figure 1.4).[12]

Figure 1.4 The crest of Francesco "il Vecchio" da Carrara (a Saracen with golden wings). Padua, Biblioteca Civica, B.P. 124/XXII, folio 20.

Motto: a word or short phrase, usually appearing on a scroll below the shield. It is more commonly associated with paraheraldry in the Middle Ages.

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[12] Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 69. He also notes that the crest was never depicted realistically, and often took on impossible proportions, or was multiplied, when placed on top of a shield. Figure 1.4 demonstrates this lack of proportion when depicting crests.

Paraheraldry

Paraheraldry can be most easily defined as the use of secondary arms by individuals, the primary arms being the individual's hereditary heraldry. While heraldry has survived the Middle Ages and is still used by governments, corporations and institutions, paraheraldry is a distinctly late-medieval phenomenon which articulates concerns specific to those who adopted paraheraldic "arms." Unlike true arms, paraheraldic elements are not usually displayed on a shield, and thus do not necessarily follow the rules of blazon. Unlike heraldry, paraheraldry was not meant to be hereditary, but was sometimes passed down within a family, or adopted by later members of a family.[13] Boulton describes two main types of paraheraldry: the badge and the device. The badge is a charge without field or motto,[14] and the device is a combination of both charge and motto, which can be presented on a field, or not.[15] As well as identifying these two elements of paraheraldry, Boulton distinguishes between "stable" and "ephemeral" paraheraldry: stable badges and devices include those that are corporate (in the Middle Ages, these were not necessarily true heraldry) or personal (carried by an individual over a long period of time); ephemeral badges and devices include those that are occasional or periodic; they were used for a short time only.[16]

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[13] For example, Filippo Maria Visconti displayed the paraheraldry of his grandfather Galeazzo II Visconti (the *divisa dell'acqua e del fuoco*, discussed further in Chapter 4 below) and the knot, a badge that seems to have been associated with weddings in the Visconti family. Also, most members of the della Scala family adopted a paraheraldic crest consisting of a mastiff with golden wings.

[14] While today mottoes are frequently displayed as part of an armorial bearing (on a scroll below the shield), in the Middle Ages they were considered paraheraldic. A motto is a short phrase, often associated with the bearer's personal history.

[15] Boulton, "Insignia of Power," 107. While Boulton does not discuss tincture in relation to paraheraldry, Collette Beaune states that like true heraldry, the paraheraldic device must involve tinctures, and that these are generally very stable. She notes that "Un changement total de couleurs est très rare chez un même personnage et annonce soit une cassure dans l'existence individuelle…soit une volonté politique." ("A complete change of colours is very rare for an individual and announces either a rupture in that individual's existence… or a change in political allegiance."). The example she gives is that of Charles d'Orléans (poet and grandson of Giangaleazzo Visconti) who changed the colours of his device after his imprisonment in England. Collette Beaune, "Costume et pouvoir en France à la fin du Moyen Âge: Les devises royales vers 1400," *Revue des sciences humaines* n.s. no. 183 (July-September 1981): 126.

[16] Boulton, "Insignia of Power," 108-9.

Several heraldic madrigals refer to the paraheraldry of individuals, rather than to their true heraldry. The paraheraldry celebrated in these madrigals can be either badge or device, stable or ephemeral. Examples of madrigal texts that refer to stable paraheraldry are *La fiera testa*, set by both Niccolò del Proposto and Bartolino da Padova, which describes the personal device of Bernabò Visconti, a leopard surrounded by flames with the motto *Soufrir m'estuet*. Similarly, Donato da Cascia's *Dal cielo scese* refers to the phoenix, the personal badge of Antonio Della Scala. The greatest number of works celebrating a personal paraheraldic device, however, was composed for Giangaleazzo Visconti, and refer in various ways – and with varying levels of precision – to his dove-in-sun badge, which he adopted in 1360 and used for the rest of his life.[17] Songs referring to this badge include Jacopo da Bologna's *Aquila altera/Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio*, Antonello da Caserta's *Del glorioso titolo*, Bartolino da Padova's *Alba colomba*, and most strikingly Johannes Ciconia's canon *Le ray au soleil*.[18] Madrigal texts celebrating ephemeral badges are much less common. The only known instance of a song text referring to an ephemeral badge is Bartolino da Padova's madrigal *Le aurate chiome*, which refers to the knot, a badge adopted by Giangaleazzo Visconti in association with his marriage to Caterina Visconti in 1380.[19]

The adoption of paraheraldic badges and devices, beginning in the fourteenth century, may be a reaction to the widespread adoption of arms by people who did not belong to the ruling classes. Within dynasties concerned with maintaining or expanding their positions of power, arms had to be passed down from ruler to ruler in order to have any meaning, but the exclusiveness of heraldry was a thing of the past. Susan Crane argues that while the distinction between heraldry and paraheraldry might suggest an opposition between lineage and individual identity, paraheraldry should instead be seen as an extension of heraldry, and one that could be

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[17] This device consisted of a white dove, set against a blue background and a radiant sun, and was sometimes accompanied by the motto *A bon droit*.

[18] It is also possible that the anonymous madrigal *Di vertù vidi*, and the ballate *Sol me trafige 'l cor* (Zachara) and *Più chiar che 'l sol* (Antonello da Caserta) refer to this device as well.

[19] This situation is echoed in the French ars subtilior repertoire, where references to paraheraldry are much more common than to true heraldry. The Visconti knot, however, seems to have been a "stable ephemeral" or "stable occasional" badge, because it can be associated with at least two Visconti weddings.

used for political advancement.[20] Historical evidence suggests that the practice of adopting paraheraldry originated within the English royal family during the Hundred Years War, and was quickly taken up by the French nobility (especially the *fleur-de-lys* princes)[21] and the northern Italian tyrants for whom the repertoire of heraldic madrigals was composed.[22] Ailes believes that the adoption of badges in France was also motivated by tensions between England and France during the Hundred Years War.[23]

While the distribution of gifts bearing true heraldry was rare, those bearing the paraheraldry of the giver proliferated, and the paraheraldry depicted on them tended to have political implications.[24] Paraheraldry, then, was bound up with political influence, and it is no coincidence that the adoption of paraheraldic badges and devices appears to be most prevalent in the families whose primary concern was keeping or expanding their political and territorial authority. Additionally, controlling the distribution of particular badges seems to have been a concern among the wealthy and politically important. Some badges were reserved for personal use, while others were displayed on gifts and liveries.[25] Hence John the Fearless gave out more than two hundred miniature carpenter's planes (this being part of his device), and Charles VI of France used broom on liveries but limited the distribution of his tiger badge.[26]

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[20] Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing and Identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 18-20.

[21] See Yolanda Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'? Ars subtilior and the Patronage of French Princes," *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 103-68; Boulton, "Insignia of Power," 114. In the case of the French *fleur-de-lys* princes, the adoption of paraheraldry might be associated with the fact that by the fourteenth century, all members of the royal family were required to bear the *fleur-de-lys*. For more on this, see Chapter 4 below.

[22] Boulton, "Insignia of Power," 118.

[23] Adrian Ailes, "Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda." In *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), 94.

[24] Crane, *The Performance of Self*, 18.

[25] Crane, *The Performance of Self*, 19.

[26] *Ibid.*

Heraldic Display and Authority

In the fourteenth century, legitimate rulers and tyrants alike used heraldry as one of the primary visual manifestations of their right to rule.[27] Since heraldry designates lineage, and a lineage of rulers demonstrates experience of rulership, the political authority of the present was rooted in that of the past. Heraldry was displayed in public spaces and as part of special events such as tournaments, or events of political importance such as weddings (or a combination of these). Heraldry was also displayed in more private settings: on clothing, as interior decoration, on personal items such as plate and jewellery, and in manuscripts.

Examples of heraldry in public places are numerous. In lands governed by the northern Italian tyrants, these include several carved stone shields bearing the Della Scala coat of arms that survive at the gates of castles they built.[28] The Della Scala tombs, outside the church of Santa Maria Antica in Verona, are heavily decorated with the family's heraldry and paraheraldry.[29] Beginning in the 1370s, each time a Lord of Milan died, an empty stone coffin bearing his heraldry was suspended from the Duomo ceiling in a prominent location.[30] The new Duomo of Milan, begun during the lordship of Giangaleazzo Visconti, features a stained glass window decorated with the radiant sun element of his dove-in-sun badge.[31] Visconti heraldry, including Bernabò Visconti's personal device, can also be seen on his equestrian statue, originally placed in the Milanese church of San Giovanni in Conca. In Padua, the heraldry of the ruling Carrara family is painted in the borders of Giusto de' Menabuoi's fresco cycle in the

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[27] The rulers of Milan, Verona and Padua had to be approved by their local governments in order to come to power, but this was mere formality, and according to the law rule did not have to be hereditary. For the Visconti, this situation changed in 1395 when Giangaleazzo Visconti was given the hereditary title Duke of Milan, thus making him a bona fide nobleman, and assuring that his family would continue to rule Milan.

[28] This is the case at Peschiera, Sirmione and Soave, to name a few.

[29] The ladder of the Scaligeri is on every equestrian tomb, as is the winged mastiff. The tombs are made more imposing by their height and appearance of weight (several large stone tombs are enclosed in a small space).

[30] Evelyn S. Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven, Ct: Yale University, 1995), 53. In 1412 a large portrait of Giangaleazzo was placed in the Duomo, which further associated him with the building's construction programme, and with Milanese authority in general.

[31] *Ibid.*

Duomo baptistery, and heraldic decoration abounds in the Basilica of Sant'Antonio and in the Oratory of St George.

Apart from the battlefield, where only those fighting would ever see heraldry, the most popular venue for heraldic display was the tournament. The tournament was a type of hastilude (martial game) involving two opposing teams.[32] It was was originally considered training for warfare, and more specifically for participants to practise charging with a lance in the couched position (held horizontally under the arm).[33] Tournaments were popular in England and France beginning in the twelfth century, but did not gain popularity in Italy until later.[34] Soon however, under the influence of romance literature, military games gave way to spectacle, culminating in the great hastiludes of the sixteenth century, which were so costly that they could only be attended by the very wealthy.[35]

From the beginning, heraldry was crucial to the sport, as were heralds, who were often the only ones who could identify participants.[36] Heraldry was everywhere. For example, a description of a fourteenth-century joust that took place in the Piazza San Marco in Venice recounts that the piazza was decorated with heraldic banners and shields, as well as paintings which may or may not have included heraldry.[37] According to the treatise made for René of Anjou in the mid-fifteenth century, tournaments were preceded by the presentation of arms, banners and crests.[38] In fourteenth-century England, tournaments were often held in towns, which encouraged processions from the knights' lodgings to the tournament grounds. In these

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[32] The term "hastilude" is derived from the Latin *hastiludia*, meaning "lance game." See Barker, *The Tournament in England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), 138.

[33] Barker, *The Tournament in England*, 19.

[34] Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), 77-78. The earliest record of an Italian tournament is that held at Siena in 1225.

[35] Rodney Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1975), 40.

[36] Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, 38. In his Arthurian romance *Le chevalier de la charette* (dating from 1164-72), Chrétien de Troyes provides the earliest description of a herald at work.

[37] Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 78.

[38] Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 27. See also Christian de Mérindol, *Les fêtes de chevalerie à la cour du roi René: Emblématique, art et histoire* (Paris: C.T.H.S, 1993).

processions, masked knights, along with their squires and ladies, all wore the same heraldic liveries for added visual effect.[39]

In the tournament itself, participants carried a heraldic shield but could also display heraldry on their armour and on the horse's coverings and tack.[40] Perhaps the most obvious piece of heraldic paraphernalia worn by the knight, apart from the shield, was the crest, an enormous, fragile construction that protruded from the top of the helmet. Since these were so unwieldy, they were probably only used in hastiludes.[41] The crest could either repeat the heraldry on the shield or be completely different. Crests were often hereditary, but not always.[42]

Because tournaments were so popular, and because they necessitated large gatherings of armed men, they are often associated with political intrigue. Juliet Barker describes instances in which military coups were planned and family feuds carried out at tournaments, which provided the perfect cover for such activities.[43] Because of this, beginning with Richard I, English tournaments were closely monitored by kings, and were either banned or patronized, depending on the king's personality and the political climate.[44] Edward I, however, seems to have been the first English king to use the tournament as a tool for propaganda, not only by condoning tournaments but by actively participating in them. This allowed him to schedule hastiludes at

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[39] Barker, *The Tournament in England*, 99. In 1390, Richard II and twenty knights all wore clothing, shields, armour and horse trappings bearing the king's white hart device.

[40] J. Cherry, "Heraldry as Decoration in the Thirteenth Century," in *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1989 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1991), 124. The horse's harness and caparison (the cloth or coat that covers the horse) were some of the first pieces of outerwear to be decorated with heraldry.

[41] Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 68.

[42] Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique*, 297. The Carrara family's book of family crests, the *Liber cimeriorum dominorum de carraria* (Padua, Biblioteca Civica B.P. 124/XXII) depicts each Carrara ruler with a different crest, except for Francesco il Vecchio and Francesco il Novello, whose crests both featured a winged Saracen.

[43] Barker, *The Tournament in England,* 45-69.

[44] *Ibid.* Participants in English tournaments were required to buy a license for each event from the king, who was thus able to keep a record of them. Tournaments were only allowed at specific sites, chosen by the king for their accessibility by main roads. Additionally, tournament sites were generally located on land owned by those close to the king.

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politically appropriate times, such as the Round Table that took place in conjunction with his successful campaign in Wales in 1284.[45]

Similarly, in northern Italy, tournaments and jousts were often associated with politically important events. For example, Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, Lord of Padua, held a tournament in 1374 to celebrate the overthrow of a plot by his half brothers to take control of the city.[46] The celebrations accompanying Giangaleazzo Visconti's investiture as Duke of Milan included a tournament which involved the participation of more than three hundred knights.[47] Hastiludes were common additions to wedding celebrations: jousts were part of the wedding festivities at the wedding of Bernabò Visconti to Regina Della Scala in 1350, and also at the wedding of Giangaleazzo Visconti to Isabelle de Valois ten years later.[48] Within the Carrara family, tournaments were standard at weddings: one was held in 1367 to celebrate the marriage of Gigliola, daughter of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara to Wenceslaus, Duke of Saxony, and another was held in 1375, when Francesco il Novello da Carrara married Taddea d'Este.[49] Bernabò Visconti seems to have been particularly fond of jousting; he liked the sport so much that he had several buildings built for this purpose.[50] Not surprisingly, songs whose texts refer to heraldry were composed for many of these same events, such as Jacopo da Bologna's madrigal *Aquila altera/Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio* for the wedding of Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1360,

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[45] *Ibid.*, 66. It is unclear whether the Round Table was a specific type of hastilude or a specific event that accompanied a tournament. As its name suggests, contemporary accounts of Round Tables indicate that food played an important role in these events. In any case, the political significance of holding a Round Table to celebrate an English king's victory in Wales could hardly have been overlooked, especially by the Welsh.

[46] Benjamin Kohl, *Padua Under the Carrara 1318-1405* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1998), 129. In this event, each team was represented by one of the Carrara colours (red and white).

[47] *Ibid.*, 311.

[48] Matteo Villani, *Cronaca* (Roma: Multigrafia Editrice, 1980), 9:319. Barker notes that in England, jousts were also popular at weddings, and were usually fought *à plaisance* (with blunted lances). See Barker, *The Tournament in England*, 146.

[49] Kohl, *Padua Under the Carrara*, 187 and 205.

[50] Graziano Alfredo Vergani, "'*Maladetta serpe*' o '*Valorosa vipera gentile*'? Note sulla signoria e la commitenza artistica di Bernabò Visconti," in *L'arca di Bernabò Visconti* (Milan: SilvanaEditoriale, 2001), 30. This information comes from the fifteenth-century Milanese historian Bernardino Corio.

and Bartolino da Padova's madrigal *Le aurate chiome* for Giangaleazzo's second wedding in 1380.

Clothing is another medium on which heraldry, especially paraheraldry, was displayed. While we may not consider clothing to be a public medium, in the Middle Ages fine clothing was associated with luxury consumption and was closely regulated by the sumptuary laws. Fashion, therefore, really did make a public statement. Crane notes that the languages of fashion and heraldry coincide in many places, especially with reference to the furs ermine and vair, which have stylized depictions in heraldry, and to heraldic designs such as the bend and the fess, thus reinforcing the connection among fashion, heraldry and heraldic fashions.[51]

Depictions of the wealthy often show them dressed in heraldic or paraheraldic outfits. For example, several manuscripts made for French king Charles VI depict him in clothing decorated with his motto *Jamais*.[52] The well-documented wardrobe of Richard II featured heraldic and paraheraldic clothes as well: when he went on campaign in Scotland, he took with him several outfits embroidered with the royal arms for use on formal occasions, which would have underscored his authority as king of England.[53] In the Wilton Diptych, Richard is shown wearing a mantle decorated with his badge, a white hart, which has caused historians to date the diptych to the period around 1396, the date of Richard's marriage to Isabelle, daughter of Charles VI of France (whose own badge was the winged hart). It has also been noted that Richard is depicted wearing the livery collar of Charles VI (decorated with broom, the more widely-distributed badge of the French king).[54]

Giangaleazzo Visconti also seems to have enjoyed wearing paraheraldic clothes, particularly in politically important situations. A fresco at the Certosa of Pavia shows him

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[51] Crane, *The Performance of Self*, 109.

[52] These include *Les demandes faites par le roy Charles VI* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français 23279, folio 19) and an inventory of items belonging to Charles VI (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français 2705, folio 1). In *Les demandes*, the king's houppelande is decorated with the winged hart badge and the motto *Jamais*. For a detailed description of this picture, see Crane, *The Performance of Self*, 16.

[53] Kay Staniland, "Extravagance or Regal Necessity? The Clothing of Richard II," in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, ed. Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (London: Miller, 1997), 91.

[54] Ailes, "Heraldry in Medieval England," 95.

presenting a model of the Certosa while dressed in a robe decorated with radiant suns. He is also depicted kneeling before the Virgin, wearing a sun-shaped pendant in a miniature in an Hours-Missal commissioned for his second marriage in 1380.[55] On folio 380 of this same manuscript two women are depicted, one in a dress decorated with a turtledove pattern (presumably Isabelle, Giangaleazzo's first wife, whose badge was the turtledove) and the other in a dress decorated with a stylized knot pattern (probably Caterina, his second wife). This suggests that paraheraldic clothing was worn at the Pavian court, and that its use was not restricted to the lord of Milan.

Liveries, usually armbands or collars, were accessories decorated with the badge of an individual. Liveries were distributed in order to garner political support and are another manifestation of heraldry worn on one's person. By wearing a livery, an individual showed public support for a person's political stance, and if worn by enough people on a particular occasion, a livery could, as Ailes puts it, "present a dramatic expression of political force."[56]

Displays of heraldry and authority, then, were closely linked in the Middle Ages, especially in situations of extreme political importance, such as military campaigns and marriages. The following section of this chapter explores the issues of identity that arise from heraldic display, in particular its display for purposes of reinforcing authority and, in the arts, authorship.

Heraldry and Identity

Since the original function of heraldic banners was to identify groups and individuals on the battlefield, issues of identity were bound up with heraldic display right from its beginning. Once heraldry was no longer used exclusively in battle – and it did not take very long for heraldry to come off the battlefield and be absorbed into the general social consciousness – armorial bearings were adopted by people of all social positions, and began to appear in every conceivable

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[55] Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 757, folio 109v.

[56] Ailes, "Heraldry in Medieval England," 95.

medium, demonstrating that issues of identity and social standing were important aspects of everyday medieval life.

Issues of personal identity are perhaps most apparent in the adoption of paraheraldic badges and devices, though, as Crane has shown, flaunting one's personal identity need not be seen a reaction against one's ancestors. Paraheraldry was usually adopted as the result of a specific event in the bearer's life, and usually one that was political in nature, such as that of Charles d'Orléans. As well as being a reflection of an individual's personality through its mere existence, paraheraldry reflected an experience unique to its bearer. For example, Duke Louis of Bourbon adopted a belt with the motto *Espérance* after his imprisonment in England.[57] Similarly, John the Fearless adopted a carpenter's plane with the motto *Ik houd* (I hold firm) in response to the device of Louis d'Orléans: a knotty stick, accompanied by the motto *Je l'envie* (I challenge him).[58] The fact that the adoption of a particular paraheraldic badge or device was *meant* to stem from a significant event in the bearer's life is apparent in the stories invented to account for an individual's adoption of paraheraldry when the real-life event was not generally known, or could not be acknowledged for political reasons. For example, three completely different stories explain the experience which prompted Charles VI's adoption of a winged hart and the motto *Jamais*.[59] It does not seem to have mattered so much what the actual event was, only that there *was* a story behind it, and that this story described a life-changing experience. This may explain why occasional paraheraldry was so popular, and why it seems to have been used particularly for weddings and other rituals.[60]

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[57] Boulton, "Insignia of Power," 114. See also Yolanda Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta," in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 160-161.

[58] Crane, *The Performance of Self*, 10.

[59] Beaune, "Costume et pouvoir," 128-29. The events in all three stories are blatantly impossible, and are obviously meant to be read allegorically (for example, in one story, the hart, who is still alive at the time of its encounter with the king, is supposed to have been owned by Julius Caesar). In reality, it seems that the adoption of this device was politically motivated, since it coincided with the start of Charles's campaign in Flanders in 1382. It is also possible, that, as Plumley states, Charles VI "borrowed" this device from Louis of Bourbon, along with the *Espérance* motto. See Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*," 162.

[60] For more on rituals as social gatherings that mark important life changes, and also on the use of heraldry in ritual, see Crane, *The Performance of Self*, 21-29.

Aside from the adoption of paraheraldry, issues of identity, in particular the discrepancy between the actual self and the unknown or disguised self, are common in later medieval literature. This concern with truth and appearance seems to have been played out most frequently in descriptions of fictional tournaments, beginning with the romances of Chrétien de Troyes in the twelfth century. Crane notes that when the chivalric image of certain characters is the result of disguise, this disguise becomes crucial to an individual's search for personal recognition (an undertaking not generally sanctioned by court culture).[61] In other words, in order for an individual to achieve recognition for his deeds, he must not be seen to be himself. Thus, the identity of the unknown or disguised individual is created by those who judge him on the basis of his actions alone, and his actions are accepted for what they are precisely because he cannot be identified. The example Crane gives is that of Ipomadon, the protagonist of the eponymous Middle English romance, who enters a tournament three times, each time wearing a different heraldic disguise.[62]

Romances featuring characters in disguise or chivalric incognito quickly influenced real-life hastiludes. By the fourteenth century, audiences were accustomed to kings and men of high rank going incognito in the lists. The most famous historical example of a knight fighting incognito in tournaments is Edward III, who is known to have displayed the armorial bearings of others on several occasions in order to showcase his skill rather than his social status.[63] Even when participants of high status did not go incognito, there is evidence that some, such as the Black Prince and his entourage, saved the use of their armorial bearings for real warfare and had a separate paraheraldic shield design that they used only in tournaments.[64] The medieval

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[61] Crane, *The Performance of Self*, 125-27.

[62] *Ibid.*, 129. Barker notes that in various romances the characters Gawain, Arthur, Lancelot and Cliges are all described as bearing different arms on each day of a tournament. This was echoed in real life by Richard Beauchamp in 1414 when he "issued letters of challenge to the French under three separate *personae*, the Green Knight with the black quarter, the 'Chevalier Vert' and the 'Chivalier attendant'." Barker, *The Tournament in England*, 87.

[63] Barker, *The Tournament in England*, 86. Edward is documented as using many different arms, including those of his son Lionel and those of a "simple knight bachelor." In 1348 he used the arms of Sir Thomas Bradstone at Lichfield, and those of Sir Stephen Cosington at Canterbury. On these occasions the arms borrowed by the king, as well as matching outfits, were worn by a group of knights, suggesting that this was a sort of team uniform. To this day, the insignia of sports teams usually follow the rules of blazon. See Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 95.

[64] Dennys, *The Heraldic Imgination*, 41. In his will, the Black Prince describes his war shield as bearing the arms of England with his label (a small charge consisting of a stripe from which hang either three or five tags, used in

tournament, therefore, with its pretend war, idealization of chivalrous behaviour, and of course, heraldry, was the perfect setting in which to enact performaces of identity. Heraldry thus played a crucial role in the identification, misidentification or disguise of the individual.

Aside from descriptions of tournaments, other types of situation in medieval literature reveal concerns with identity. One of these is a recurring situation in romances that Donald Maddox has termed the "specular encounter," in which, at a crucial point in the plot, the protagonist encounters another character (often in a fantastic scenario) who reveals vital information concerning the identity of the protagonist.[65] Maddox argues that in many cases these encounters represent the mid-point of the story, so that what follows depends on, and must be interpreted in terms of, what occurred in the specular encounter.[66] Another literary manifestation of the medieval discrepancy between true and apparent identity is the genre that Laurence de Looze calls "pseudo-autobiography." Written by fourteenth-century poets such as Machaut, Froissart and Chaucer, this genre invites readers to read stories of the author's supposed "true" experiences.[67] These stories, however, either directly contradict their own truthfulness or negate their own sincerity in more subtle ways, often by implying a disjunction between author and narrator, who by definition ought to be the same person.[68] De Looze argues that this situation results in making the reader partly responsible for the creation of the story, and therefore of the author/narrator's identity.[69]

English heraldry to denote birth order), and his tournament shield as carrying his device: three ostrich feathers, each bearing a scroll with the motto *Ich diene* (I serve).

[65] Donald Maddox, *Fictions of Identity in Medieval France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-23.

[66] *Ibid.*, 15-16.

[67] De Looze includes Machaut's *Voir dit*, Froissart's *Prison amoureuse* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* as examples of pseudo-autobiography.

[68] Laurence de Looze, *Pseudo-Autobiography in the Fourteenth Century* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida, 1997), 30.

[69] *Ibid.*, 30-42.

The examples discussed above, whether fictional or historical, strengthen the idea that in the Middle Ages in particular, the only meaningful identity for an individual was formed externally, and that the only way to control one's identity was to "perform" another persona, either through disguise or by blurring the line between reality and fiction.[70] In the case of the pseudo-autobiography, the persona to be performed was one's own self, altered accordingly for posterity, while in chivalric romances and tournaments it was customary to turn to disguise or chivalric incognito, facilitated by the use of heraldry. Similarly, many of the specular encounters described by Maddox involve some sort of performance, often through a recounting of events up to that point, either by the protagonist or by other characters.[71] The individual therefore controls his identity through the playing out of another persona, whose actions in a specific context can only be construed in one way.

Two distinct but related concerns dealing with identity are evident in the realm of fourteenth-century secular song. The first is that of authorship, which is evident in the composer attributions in song manuscripts, in the practice of including the composer's name in a song text, and in the citation of other texts and songs. Anxieties related to authorship are perhaps most evident in manuscripts that have been entirely or partially compiled by the author of their contents, the most obvious examples being Machaut's influence in the preparation of the manuscripts containing his works, and Paolo Tenorista's presence in the preparation of **Pit**.[72]

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[70] This is what Crane describes as "the performance of self." In her book, *The Performance of Self*, she describes many occasions (both state-sanctioned and not) in which performances of identity are enacted. Examples include chivalric incognito, the practice of wearing devices and mottoes on clothing, and Joan of Arc's cross-dressing during the period when she was on trial. These days, the performance of self is mostly associated with celebrities, especially those whose fame is based on the performance of an outrageous or transgressive persona whose purpose is to make us question notions of social propriety. Incidentally, and contrary to medieval incognito, it is precisely the fame of the celebrity that makes the behaviour of his or her transgressive persona acceptable – ordinary people who perform other personae, and who use these personae to behave in socially unacceptable ways are considered unhinged and possibly dangerous.

[71] This occurs in numerous romances and is particularly important in what Maddox calls "fictions of lineage." The example he discusses is *La fille du comte de Pontieu*, in which the specular encounter features the reunion of a kidnapped woman with her family, who do not recognize her. The encounter itself consists of a retelling of events in the story from each character's point of view, beginning with the woman's kidnapping, at which these same family members were present. Through hearing about how each family member blames himself for her kidnapping, the specular encounter allows the woman to forgive herself for letting her relatives see her dishonoured, and ultimately leads to her reunion with her husband. See Maddox, *Fictions of Identity*, 166-200.

[72] Lawrence Earp, "Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of his Works," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 no. 3 (1989): 461-503; John Nádas, "The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript

The second concern evident in the secular song repertoire is that of "subjectship," or the identification of the patron in a song, which can be accomplished by naming the patron, either outright, or through the use of acrostics, *senhals*, and, of course, heraldry.

Elaborate games of quotation and allusion in the songs of French composers of this same period demonstrate concerns with authorship and authority.[73] In the most-studied example of this, what Yolanda Plumley has termed "the *En attendant* complex," each of the three songs with the incipit *En attendant* (one each by Senleches and Philipoctus da Caserta, and one anonymous song) quotes text from the anonymous rondeau *Espérance, qui en mon cuer s'embat*, which in turn quotes Machaut's *En amer la douce vie*.[74] Anagrams are another technique used by the composers of songs in both France and Italy to hide and reveal their names. The composer Trebor ("Robert" backwards), also known as Trebol, may also be the composer Borlet (another anagram). Within the Italian repertoire, Zachara's Latin ballade *Sumite, karissimi* features an anagram in which the first two letters of each line of poetry must be combined in order to form a phrase identifying the composer and his wishes.[75] This trick was popular in literature too. Following a common late-medieval theme, Christine de Pisan goes so far as to ask the reader to "recreate" her name, and thus her authorial identity, from various anagrams, such as *en escrit*

Tradition," in *In cantu et in sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th birthday*, ed. Franco Piperno and Fabrizio della Seta (Florence: Olschki, 1989), 41-64. Although there is no proof that Paolo was one of the compilers of **Pit**, one of the scribes had very good access to Paolo's songs as they were composed, suggesting that this scribe had direct contact with Paolo, and that consequently Paolo had some say in the compilation of **Pit**.

[73] For more on the quotation of text and music in songs of the ars subtilior, see articles by Yolanda Plumley, in particular "Citation and Allusion in the Late 'Ars nova': The Case of the 'Esperance' and 'En attendant' songs," *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 287-363.

[74] Yolanda Plumley, "Citation and Allusion in the Late 'Ars nova': the Case of the 'Esperance' and the 'En attendant' Songs," *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 295-96; Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 60.

[75] For more on this song, see Anne Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense*, a.M.5.24., 72-74.

(Crestine).[76] Less subtle, but perhaps more difficult to decipher aurally, is Johannes Ciconia's placement of his name in the last poetic stanza of five of his laudatory political motets.[77]

Concerns related to patronage are evident in the use of *senhals* and acrostics in the trecento song repertoire. Related to anagrams, but working on an aural or a combined visual/aural level, *senhals* sound out a person's name (usually that of the patron or his wife) at a significant point in a song text. Originating in the songs of the troubadours, this technique is also used in trecento madrigals.[78] It is worth noting that in the madrigal repertoire, the *senhal* is always placed in the first line of the ritornello (therefore after a sectional break, and usually in a different metre), making it particularly audible. This occurs in Jacopo da Bologna's *Lo lume vostro*, which contains the *senhal* of Luchino Visconti's wife Isabella (*È si bella*), in Bartolino da Padova's *Quel sole che nutrica*, containing the name Orsolina (*Hor sol in alto*), and the entire *perlaro* cycle by Magister Piero, Giovanni da Cascia and Jacopo da Bologna, in which the name Anna appears as a *senhal* in no fewer than six madrigals.

Acrostics can identify either composer or patron, but seem to have been used more often to name patrons. For example, three songs honouring Luchino Visconti, all dating from the 1340s, contain acrostics of his name. Jacopo da Bologna's madrigal *Lo lome vostro* contains the simple acrostic "Luchinus," while his motet *Lux purpurata* spells out *Luchinus Vicecomes*. A

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[76] Laurence de Looze, "Signing off in the Middle Ages: Medieval Textuality and Strategies of Authorial Self-Naming," in *Vox intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*, ed. A.N. Doane and Carol Braun Pasternack (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1991), 175.

[77] Anne Hallmark has pointed out that Ciconia's name does not appear in either of the motets he composed for his friend and benefactor Francesco Zabarella. She considers this a mark of respect for a friend, since it does not imply "formal distancing." I agree, but also believe that Ciconia's goal in the five signature motets was to make the authorship of these motets known to political figures with whom he would otherwise not be associated. See 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 Cummings (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 167.

[78] In troubadour poetry *senhals* (hidden names) tend to consist of one name that has been substituted for another, but in trecento madrigal poetry they are usually a person's real name, hidden within the words of the song at the ritornello. See "Senhal," in **Grove**, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/25411 (accessed July 22, 2009).

second motet, *Laudibus dignis* contains the acrostic LUCHINUS DUX QOQ AU.[79] Similarly, in the French heraldic repertoire, the anonymous ballade *Los, prijs, honeur*, composed for Louis of Anjou, contains the acrostic *Loys de France et de Valois*.[80]

       Heraldry, however, remained by far the most popular way to identify patrons in songs of the fourteenth century. Eighteen heraldic madrigals and several other Italian songs (one motet, one canon and at least three ballatas) describe or refer to a patron using heraldry or paraheraldry. In the French repertoire, twelve songs (ten ballades and two rondeaux) refer to heraldry also. The following chapter discusses some issues specific to the heraldic madrigal, such as particular musical and textual characteristics of the genre, and Chapter 3 discusses the repertory of heraldic madrigals song by song.

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[79] Alberto M. Pizzaia reads the "QOQ AU" as "QUOQUE AUGUSTUS," making the entire acrostic read "Luchino Duke (or leader) also Augustus." See Pizzaia, "Closer Correspondence between Works of Trecento Music and their Cultural and Political Environment," *Revista de Musicologìa* 16, no. 4 (1993): 46.

[80] Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'?" 117.

Chapter 2

The Heraldic Madrigal

This study focuses on one group within the repertoire of trecento song: the heraldic madrigal. This term seems to have been first used by Reinhard Strohm to describe a madrigal whose text refers to the heraldry of its patron.[81] I will clarify this definition, since it does not distinguish between true and adopted heraldry. For my purposes, the heraldic madrigal can be defined as a trecento madrigal whose text either describes or mentions the hereditary heraldry or adopted paraheraldry of its patron. Heraldry and paraheraldry may be evoked in the text in several ways: some madrigals feature a description of a coat of arms or a paraheraldic device, but most simply mention a charge or motto. There are eighteen heraldic madrigals, all written for members of the Visconti, Della Scala, and Carrara families of northern Italy.[82] Although other types of trecento song set texts that refer to heraldry, more madrigals contain heraldry than any other secular song genre.[83]

This chapter examines the repertoire of surviving heraldic madrigals as a group, discussing aspects of the music and texts that are unique or distinctive to this genre. First, I provide an overview of the trecento madrigal, in order to place the heraldic madrigal within the larger context of madrigal style, both musical and textual. This is followed by general information about the heraldic madrigal, including characteristics of the genre, composer biographies, a survey of the heraldic madrigal's circulation in trecento song collections, and a discussion of compositional tradition and innovation within the genre. I conclude with a

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[81] Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 60.

[82] The Visconti ruled Milan for the entire century; at first they shared power among family members, but eventually this system broke down and after 1385 Giangaleazzo Visconti ruled Milan alone. The Della Scala family ruled Verona from 1277 until 1387, when Giangaleazzo Visconti captured Verona. The Carrara family ruled Padua from 1318 until 1405. Padua was captured twice during this time: once by the Della Scala of Verona in the 1330s, and once by Giangleazzo Visconti from 1388 until 1390. In 1405, Venice took control of Padua.

[83] While there are roughly six songs of other genres with heraldic texts, there are at least eighteen heraldic madrigals.

summary of two related repertoires within the corpus of fourteenth-century secular song: the heraldic songs composed in the French ars subtilior style, and the trecento motet, with particular focus on the only surviving heraldic motet, Johannes Ciconia's *O felix templum*.

The Trecento Madrigal

The madrigal is a poetic genre that was popular in fourteenth-century Italy, and was often set to music in the early and mid-trecento. In its most common form, the madrigal poem consists of eight poetic lines, divided into two tercets (three-line stanzas) and a couplet called a ritornello. It is generally accepted that in performance the ritornello does not function like a refrain (that is, the ritornello is not repeated after each tercet), since the purpose of the ritornello is to sum up, comment on or question what has been presented in the rest of the poem, much like the final couplet of a Shakepearean sonnet. The poetic lines may be of seven syllables (heptasyllabic) or eleven syllables (hendecasyllabic), or a mixture of the two.

Figure 2.1 Jacopo da Bologna, *Nel bel giardino*

tercet 1 (hendecasyllabic)	Nel bel giardino che l'Atice cenge vive la biscia fera velenosa che già fu donna bella e amorosa,
tercet 2 (hendecasyllabic)	porgendo a me fedel ottima luce. Spezò la fede e tenne via diversa, sì che di donna in serpe fu conversa.
ritornello (mixture)	Com più mi dà di morso, né rimedo le trovo né soccorso.

The earliest madrigals set to music appear in **VR**, and have been dated to between 1325 and 1370.[84] These earlier madrigals display many different approaches to the poetry, in the metre

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[84] Michael Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Tradition and Historical Circumstances," (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1981), 210-12; Nino Pirrotta, ed. *Il Codice Rossi 215/The Rossi Codex 215* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992), 58 and 111.

and rhyme scheme, in the absence or presence of a ritornello, and in the number of tercets used (two, three or four).[85] In his *Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis* (1332), Antonio da Tempo, a judge and poet from Padua, gives seven examples of madrigal forms, all of which he considered genuine, though the differences among them are quite striking: of the seven, only three have ritornelli and two of the examples contain more than two tercets. Each example has a different rhyme scheme, some of which are entirely unlike the rhyme schemes of madrigals set to music.[86] The earliest madrigal poetry set to music does not reflect the forms listed by da Tempo, so we can assume that madrigal poetry had become more or less standardized by the time musical madrigals were written down. Poetry that was set to music seems to have enjoyed a special status enjoyed in the mid and late trecento, as is demonstrated by the poetry of Franco Sacchetti (c. 1335 – c. 1400), who wrote in poetic forms that were frequently set to music.

The madrigal is only a partially understood genre. Unlike the other widely-transmitted secular genres, the caccia and ballata, we have no etymological clues that point to the madrigal's origins. Many theorists of the trecento, as well as modern musicologists, have tried to give a history of the madrigal and to unravel the mystery of the word "madrigal," in the hopes of clarifying the song's origins and offering some insight into the nature of the genre itself. The earliest example we have of a writer describing the madrigal is in Francesco da Barberino's *Glosse* (glosses) on his *Documenti d'amore*, dating from c.1313. In the *Glosse*, he lists eleven *modi inveniendi*, the eleventh of which, *volontarium*, he described as *rudium inordinatum concinium, ut matricale et simila*.[87] The twentieth-century literary historian Ettore Li Gotti interpreted da Barberino's *volontarium* to mean a short form not governed by rules.[88] Li Gotti also noted that da Barberino placed this form at the end of his list, perhaps because he felt it was

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[85] For a complete list of surviving madrigals and their rhyme schemes, see Guido Capovilla, "Morfologia e storia del madrigale 'antico'," *Metrica* 3 (1982): 235-243.

[86] Antonio da Tempo, *Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis*, ed. Richard Andrews (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1977), 70-77.

[87] Quoted in Ettore Li Gotti, *La poesia musicale italiana del secolo XIV* (Palermo: Palumbo, 1944), 39.

[88] Li Gotti, *La poesia musicale*, 38.

not significant compositionally.[89] In his *Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis* da Tempo gives a complete description of the different types of madrigal, and opens his discussion of the genre with an etyomolgy. He concludes that the word "madrigal" is derived from *mandria* (flock), which neatly explains both the origin of the word and the tendency of early madrigals to set pastoral texts. Unfortunately, though, this etymology is most likely incorrect.[90] More recently, Nino Pirrotta suggested that the madrigal is derived from the clausula, and is evidence of the cross-influence between sacred and secular genres in the trecento.[91]

As a musical genre, the trecento madrigal is a vocal form composed for two or three texted voices. Although the madrigal as a literary genre varies greatly, as a musical genre the madrigal seems fairly standard: both tercets are sung to the same melody, and are followed by a ritornello sung to different melodic material, often in a different metre. Stylistic traits of the musical madrigal include an upper voice (or voices) that is more florid over a slower-moving tenor, which moves in consonant intervals with the upper voice on strong beats. Madrigals, especially early ones, often feature stylistic elements related to improvisation: while the upper voice has frequent melismas, the text is sung in small homorhythmic sections,[92] and solo tenor passages join sections with different tonal centres. The tenor often continues to hold its initial note under the start of the melisma in the upper voice at the beginnings of phrases, giving the upper voice a secure note over which to improvise. Madrigals can also contain small sections of hocket.[93]

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[89] *Ibid*. Li Gotti expanded on the idea of 'materiale' in "Il madrigale nel Trecento," in *La metrica*, ed. Renzo Cremante and Mario Pazzaglia (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1972), 319-28.

[90] Antonio da Tempo, *Summa*, 70. *Et circa hoc notandum quod mandrialis est rithimus ille, qui vulgariter appellatur marigalis. Dicitur autem mandrialis a mandria pecudum et pastorum, quia modum illum rithimandi et cantandi habuimus ad ovium pastoribus.*

[91] Nino Pirrotta, "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian ars nova," *Musica disciplina* 9 (1955): 63-64.

[92] Brooks Toliver, "Improvisation in the Madrigals of the Rossi Codex," *Acta musicologica* 64 (1992): 174. Toliver speculates that these are the unimprovised or "fixed" parts of the song.

[93] In the heraldic repertoire, the madrigals *Posando sopra un'acqua* (Jacopo da Bologna), *La fiera testa* (both settings, by Niccolò del Proposto and Bartolino da Padova), *Le aurate chiome* (Bartolino da Padova), *Del glorioso titolo* (Antonello da Caserta) contain small areas of hocket. Ciconia's two heraldic madrigals, however, contain

The madrigal rose to prominence during the first half of the fourteenth century. At first it was considered to be of a lower register than the more sophisticated *canzoni* and *sonetti*, but later became the genre of choice for composers.[94] This is confirmed by the fact that the earliest named madrigal composers, Magister Piero, Giovanni da Cascia, and Jacopo da Bologna, seem to have composed almost exclusively within the madrigal genre.[95] With the importation of French culture and music in the 1370s, madrigal composition began to decline, and most of the surviving madrigals written in the late trecento are heraldic or occasional (or both). The importance of the madrigal as a compositional genre was not forgotten, though, as is demonstrated by the number of madrigals transmitted in late-trecento anthologies.[96] The standardization of madrigal poetry and rhyme schemes seems to have taken place in the 1360s with the appearance of madrigal collections by poets including Franco Sacchetti and Niccolò Soldanieri.

Evidence points to the development of the madrigal from an oral tradition. Kurt von Fischer has argued in favour of the oral theory, noting that the structure of the madrigal demonstrates its development from improvisation. He points out that the static nature of the lower voice, the infrequent part-crossing and the poor text underlay of the early madrigal strengthen this theory.[97] Marie-Louise Martinez, who examined divergent readings of three

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larger sections of hocket, particularly *Una panthera*, which features and extended section of hocket between the two lower voices in the ritornello.

[94] F. Alberto Gallo, "The Musical and Literary Tradition of Fourteenth-Century Poetry Set to Music," in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts: Vorträge des Gastsymposions in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 8. bis 12. September, 1980*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984): 59-60. Gallo notes that while the *canzoni* and *sonetti* survive in poetry collections, madrigal poetry was generally preserved only in music collections.

[95] Piero and Giovanni seem to have only written madrigals (at least, these are what survive). Aside from madrigals, Jacopo also wrote one motet, *Lux purpurata*, and another motet, *Laudibus dignis*, is sometimes attributed to him

[96] With the exception of **VR**, all of the anthologies of trecento music date from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

[97] Kurt von Fischer, "On the Technique, Origin and Evolution of Italian Trecento Music," *Musical Quarterly* 47 (1961): 41.

madrigals found in different manuscripts, arrived at the same conclusion.[98] Brooks Toliver approached the question of improvisatory origins for the madrigal by trying to assess the extent to which madrigals in **VR** (the earliest madrigal collection) exhibit elements of improvisation. He remarked that in most madrigals, pauses are coordinated in both voices, and sections centered on different tonal areas are often linked by a common pitch or an untexted interlude which guides the singers to the new tonal area. Toliver concluded that though there are elements of an improvised tradition present in these madrigals, these elements suggest "that the composer of a madrigal deliberately (and perhaps nostalgically) worked within a strictly-defined tradition; he evidently felt that the musical essence of a madrigal lay in these traits."[99]

While scholars have yet to agree on an etymology for "madrigal," the above-mentioned studies of the music itself have been fruitful, suggesting that the madrigal was at one point an improvised genre. This explains many things, including the structure and musical style of the trecento madrigal. Studies into the formal schemes of madrigal poetry, as well as the improvisatory style of the genre imply that it was not derived from the clausula, as Pirrotta suggested, but may explain why da Barberino had trouble defining the genre, except to say that it was short, and did not follow any strict rules.

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[98] Marie-Louise Martinez, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1963), 34- 41.

[99] Toliver, "Improvisation in the Madrigals of the Rossi Codex," 175. Toliver's musical examination of the madrigals in **VR** fits, at least chronologically, with an analysis of formal and metric schemes of the poetry. Althought the madrigal with three tercets is not mentioned by Da Tempo, almost half of the twenty-nine madrigals in **VR** contain three tercets, a form relatively common in the mid-century madrigal. More than half follow the standard metric scheme of the later fourteenth century, abb cdd ee (with slight variations). The other common metric scheme seen in the **VR** madrigals, aba cdc ee, is also a later scheme, which in **VR** is associated almost exclusively with the three-tercet madrigal. Most of the madrigals in **VR**, then, thought they betray some influence of an improvisatory musical style, follow a more-or-less standard form, making it plausible that they date from the mid-century and not earlier.

The Heraldic Madrigal

The heraldic madrigal, as defined above, is a purely textual phenomenon. So why has it become the focus of musicological research? Partly, I believe, because heraldic madrigals hold the answers to many questions asked by musicologists. Because heraldic madrigals are usually easier to date than their non-heraldic counterparts, they can give us rough dates for the production of manuscripts and the lives of the composers who wrote them. Datable madrigals can also provide evidence of stylistic trends in trecento music, making non-heraldic works easier to date. To sum up, heraldic madrigals have become a short-cut on which musicologists and codicologists have come to depend. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that this repertoire has suffered from so much inaccurate scholarship and guesswork. The following section provides a summary of secondary literature concerning heraldic madrigals, and then moves on to discuss the history, and musical and textual characteristics of the heraldic madrigal.

Though Giosuè Carducci had edited some of the heraldic madrigals in his *Musica e poesia nel mondo elegante italiano del secolo XIV* (1893),[100] there was little interest in the heraldic aspect of the madrigals until musicologists of the mid-twentieth century began to try to date occasional pieces and reconstruct the biographies of trecento composers. Li Gotti did not suggest any dates for heraldic madrigals or study them individually in his book *La poesia musicale del secolo XIV*, but he was the first to produce a thorough study of secular music of the trecento, including information on genres, composers and sources.[101]

Writing in the 1940s, Nino Pirrotta started the trend towards dating heraldic madrigals with his analysis of songs in the Lucca Codex.[102] He dated Bartolino da Padova's heraldic madrigals *La douce cere* and *La fiera testa* (both 1388-90) using heraldic references in their texts, and pointed out that the heraldry in the text of *Inperiale sedendo* matches that of the

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[100] Giosuè Carducci, *Musica e poesia nel mondo elegante italiano del secolo XIV* (Bologna: A.M.I.S., 1893).

[101] Li Gotti, *La poesia musicale del sec. XIV* (Palermo: Palumbo, 1944).

[102] Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca III," *Musica disciplina* 5 (1951): 115-42.

Carrara family.[103] He also suggested dates for Niccolò del Proposto's setting of *La fiera testa*, Antonello da Caserta's *Del glorioso titolo* (1415) and Ciconia's *Una panthera* (1420s). Pirrotta not only identified the heraldry in this last madrigal (that of the city of Lucca), but also used it to suggest that the manuscript originated in Lucca, thus hinting not only at biographical information, but also at information about trecento manuscript production.[104] Pirrotta seems to have interested musicologists in this type of research; his two publications were followed closely by Bianca Becherini's attempt to identify songs composed for the Visconti family on the basis of heraldic references in the texts. Becherini observed that two madrigals by Jacopo and one by Giovanni refer to a heraldic viper, possibly that of the Visconti family, and discussed heraldic elements in Jacopo da Bologna's *Fenice fu'*, whose text mentions a dove and possibly refer to Giangaleazzo's dove-in-sun device.[105] Five years later, Geneviève Thibault published a much more thorough look at song texts containing Visconti heraldry and paraheraldry. She not only presented a comprehensive list of Visconti charges (both heraldic and paraheraldic), but suggested occasions and dates for almost all of the songs containing Visconti heraldry, including Jacopo's *Aquila altera/Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio* (1360), Ciconia's *Le ray au soleil* (c. 1389), Jacopo's *Sotto l'imperio* (1354) and *Fenice fu'* (c. 1360), and Bartolino's *Le aurate chiome* (1380), as well as songs containing the motto of Bernabò Visconti (*La fiera testa,* set by both Bartolino da Padova and Niccolò del Proposto, Philipoctus da Caserta's *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* and Paolo Tenorista's *Sofrir m'estuet*).[106] To this day, Thibault's work is considered the principal source for heraldic songs of the trecento.

While Becherini and Thibault analysed songs containing Visconti charges and mottoes, Enrico Paganuzzi has identified a repertoire of heraldic madrigals composed in honour of the Della Scala family, the fourteenth-century rulers of Verona. Paganuzzi dated the madrigals containing references to the Milanese viper or *biscia* to 1350, and suggested the date of 1378 for

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[103] Pirrotta, *Ibid.*,121-22.

[104] *Ibid.*, 124 and 135.

[105] Bianca Becherini, "Le insegne viscontee e i testi poetici dell'ars nova," in *Liber amicorum Charles van den Borren*, ed. Albert Vanden Linden (Anvers: Lloyd Anversois, 1964), 17-24.

[106] Geneviève Thibault, "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti dans les oeuvres musicales du trecento," in *L'ars nova italiana del trecento* 3 (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'ars nova italiana del trecento, 1969), 131-60.

the heraldic madrigal *Dal cielo scese* by Donato da Cascia. Although he did not recognize the madrigal *D'or pomo incominciò* as heraldic, he did read the text as allegorical, and dated it to 1368.[107]

This musicological approach, which was perhaps considered to be more accurate than a stylistic analysis of the music, was soon applied to the works of composers for whom there is little or no documentary evidence. Nicole Goldine's investigation of Bartolino da Padova's song texts resulted in her sorting these into four categories (songs about nature, love songs, songs with moralizing texts and political songs). She then proposed dates for several songs in this last category for Bartolino's heraldic madrigals, notably *Inperiale sedendo* (1355-67), *Le aurate chiome* (1372), *La fiera testa* and *La douce cere* (both 1355-1405) and *Alba colomba* (1392).[108] Working along similar lines, Pierluigi Petrobelli proposed a provisional biography for Bartolino based on the composer's settings of two poems, one by Giovanni Dondi dell'Orologio (*La sacrosancta carità d'amore*), and the other by the Bolognese poet Matteo Griffoni (*Chi tempo ha*). He suggested dates and occasions for the madrigals *Quel sole che nutrica* (1383-89), *Inperiale sedendo* (1401) and *Alba colomba* (1388).[109] He also identified the heraldic crest described in *La douce cere* as that of the Papafava family, although he did not suggest a date for this madrigal.[110] Until recently, the in-depth analyses of Bartolino's song texts carried out by Goldine and Petrobelli are the only such studies in existence. Despite its apparent popularity in the trecento, Bartolino's music has since been woefully neglected in musicological circles; the only work on Bartolino's music since the pioneering work of Goldine and Petrobelli has been done by Elizabeth Diederichs, who compared text variants in two of Bartolino's songs, Tiziana

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[107] Enrico Paganuzzi, "La musica alla corte scaligera," in *Gli Scaligeri 1277- 1387*, ed. Gian Maria Varanini (Verona: Mondadori, 1988), 527-32.

[108] Nicole Goldine, "Fra Bartolino da Padova, musicien de cour," *Acta musicologica* 34 (1962): 142-55.

[109] Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova," in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 85-112.

[110] *Ibid.*, 101-105.

Sucato, who has studied Bartolino's use of single-pitch ligatures, and Evelyn Arnrich, who has examined the madrigal *La fiera testa*.[111]

Another composer for whom the heraldic-reference approach has proved fruitful is Johannes Ciconia, because there is no definitive biography for this composer. In their edition of his works, Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark provide tentative dates for several of Ciconia's songs, including the heraldic madrigal *Per quella strada* (1390s) and the ballata *Con lagreme bagnandome* (1393 or 1406), as well as most of the motets.[112] Like Pirrotta, John Nádas and Agostino Ziino analysed the heraldic song texts in the introduction to their edition of the Lucca Codex. Like Pirrotta, they used the heraldic reference to the city of Lucca in Ciconia's madrigal *Una panthera* to suggest a new date and provenance for the manuscript.[113]

Although published almost forty years ago, Giuseppe Corsi's *Poesie musicali del trecento* offers by far the most comprehensive list of heraldic identifications. In both the introduction and the critical commentary, Corsi summarized the work of others, and added his own suggestions for dates and occasions of heraldic songs. Corsi suggested several new dates for heraldic madrigals, based on historical evidence. He thought it likely that Bartolino da Padova had accompanied Francesco il Novello da Carrara to Florence between 1388 and 1390, and that the madrigals *Inperiale sedendo* and *La fiera testa* had both been composed there.[114] He also linked the composition of Bartolino's *Alba colomba* to Florence and suggested a date of 1403.[115] Additionally, Corsi was the first to identify the wedding of Antonio Della Scala and Samaritana

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[111] Elisabeth Diederichs, "Zwei Texte zu einer Ballata von Bartolino da Padova," in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* V, ed. Agostino Ziino (Palermo: Enchiridion, 1985), 113-22; Tiziana Sucato, "La tradizione notazionale delle opere di Bartolino da Padova e il codice Mancini," in *Problemi e metodi della filologia musicale*, ed. Stefano Campagnolo (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2000), 29-37; Evelyn Arnrich, "Offene Fragen zu *La fiera testa* von Bartolino da Padova." In *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik*, ed. Sandra Dieckmann, Oliver Huck, Signe Rotter-Broman and Alba Scotti (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2007), 273-79.

[112] Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia* (Paris: Editions Oiseau-lyre, 1985), x-xiii.

[113] Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 31-49.

[114] Giuseppe Corsi, *Poesie musicali del Trecento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970), xliv.

[115] *Ibid.*, xlvi.

da Polenta as the event for which Donato da Cascia's *Dal cielo scese* was composed.[116] Finally, he read Donato's *Sovran uccello* as a quasi-heraldic madrigal whose text mentions the imperial eagle, and proposed 1368 (the second visit of emperor Charles IV to Italy) as the date of its composition.[117]

Finally, we should note that the repertoire of heraldic madrigals may not necessarily be complete. Recent studies have led several musicologists (notably John Nádas, Giuliano di Bacco and Marco Gozzi) to search for fourteenth-century polyphony on the flyleaves of non-musical documents in various archives. In 1992 Marco Gozzi discovered a flyleaf containing fragments of four songs. One of these, *Di vertù vidi*, contains references to Giangaleazzo Visconti's dove-in-sun badge, and to the peregrine falcon badge adopted by his son Filippo Maria.[118] Finally, this study identifies the text of the madrigal *D'or pomo incominciò* as heraldic, though the heraldry remains as yet unindentified.

A Brief History of the Heraldic Madrigal

What are the origins of the heraldic madrigal? While we may never know this with any certainty, it is possible to locate the first heraldic madrigals within the framework of two contemporary movements. The first is the general fourteenth-century trend towards heraldic display in many different types of media including public and private artwork, manuscripts, clothing and interior décor. As we have seen, heraldry found its way into almost all visual and literary media, and so it is not surprising that it appears in poetry set to music as well. More specifically, the heraldic madrigal can be located within the contexts of the three northern Italian courts for whom these pieces were composed: those of the Della Scala, Visconti and Carrara families. Sadly, the only contemporary description of madrigal-composition at one such court is Filippo Villani's famous

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[116] *Ibid.*, xlviii.

[117] *Ibid.*

[118] Marco Gozzi, "Un nuovo frammento trentino di polifonia del primo quattrocento," *Studi musicali* 21 (1992): 237-51. Other types of song have recently been identified as heraldic.

account of the competition promoted by the Veronese tyrant Mastino II Della Scala, in which Giovanni da Cascia and Jacopo da Bologna composed madrigals:

> *Johannes de Cascia cum Mastini della Scala tiranni veronensis atria, questum gratia, frequentaret et cum magistro Jacopo bononiensis artis musice peritissimo de artis excellentia contenderet, tiranno eos minieribus irritante, mandralia plura sonosque multos et ballatas intonuit meire dulcedinis et artificiosissime melodie, in quibus quam magna et quanta doctrina fuerit in arte manifestavit.*[119]

> Giovanni da Cascia, while at the court of Mastino Della Scala, tyrant of Verona, seeking patronage, competed for artistic excellence with Jacopo da Bologna, master of music, and set many madrigals and ballatas to music with sweet and artful melodies, which were well and artistically composed.

Giovanni da Cascia and Jacopo da Bologna wrote several madrigals containing shared references, often thought to be the result of this competition.[120] It seems that the earliest heraldic madrigals are those of the *biscia* group, composed by Jacopo and Giovanni, and may have been the result of another competition at the court of Mastino Della Scala.[121] Based on the known chronology for Jacopo, and the style of the music, it is probable that the *biscia* group madrigals were composed for the wedding of Regina Della Scala to Bernabò Visconti in 1350. This tradition of heraldic madrigal composition was continued by Bernabò and his nephew Giangaleazzo, who ruled with Bernabò from 1375 until 1385, when he had Bernabò captured and became sole ruler of Milan. Heraldic madrigals for Giangaleazzo include *Alba colomba* and *Le*

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[119] Quoted in F. Alberto Gallo, *The Music of the Middle Ages II*, 128.

[120] Li Gotti considered the shared references to be proof of the competition between Jacopo and Giovanni. He stated that "a competition between the two composers, centred on the court of the Scaligeri, is clearly demonstrated by the development of analogous motives, from an interweaving of allusions and *senhals*." See Li Gotti, *La poesia musicale*, 30. Jacopo, Giovanni and Piero (who is assumed to have been at the Della Scala court along with Jacopo and Giovanni) all composed madrigals whose texts mention a tree called a *perlaro* and whose ritornellos all contain the name Anna as a *senhal*. These are Piero, *A l'ombra d'un perlaro*; Giovanni, *Appress'un bel fiume chiaro* and *O perlaro gentil*; Jacopo, *O dolce appress'un bel perlaro fiume*. Jacopo also composed two madrigals about a woman who turns into a viper (*Nel bel giardino* and *Posando sopra un' acqua*) and Giovanni also composed one (*Donna già fu'*). Both Jacopo and Piero set the text *Sì come al canto della bella iguana* and both Giovanni and Piero set the caccia text *Con bracchi assai*.

[121] Robert Nosow, "The *Perlaro* Cycle Reconsidered" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Quebec City, November 1 – 4, 2007).

aurate chiome by Bartolino da Padova, *Del glorioso titolo* by Antonello da Caserta, *Una panthera* by Johannes Ciconia, and the anonymous *Di vertù vidi*. Additionally, two heraldic ballatas may have been commissioned by Giangaleazzo: *Più chiar che'l sol*, by Antonello da Caserta, may celebrate the wedding of Giangaleazzo's niece Lucia Visconti in 1390, and Zachara's *Sol me trafige 'l cor*, for which there is no known occasion.[122]

At the Della Scala court, heraldic madrigal-writing also became a tradition, although this tradition is more difficult to trace than that of the Visconti. Donato da Cascia's *Dal cielo scese* was composed for the wedding of Antonio Della Scala and Samaritana da Polenta in the 1370s, demonstrating that within the Della Scala family, the tradition of heraldic madrigal-composition lasted until the Scaligeri were overthrown. The anonymous madrigal *La nobil scala* may have been composed for Cansignorio Della Scala (ruled 1359 – 75).

Only two Carrara madrigals survive: Johannes Ciconia's *Per quella strada* and *Inperiale sedendo*, which may or may not be by Bartolino da Padova.[123] Bartolino's *La douce cere*, describing the arms of the Papafava family which were suppressed in the 1390s, may be either pro- or anti-Carrara.

Heraldic madrigals seem to have been composed principally to mark special occasions. These occasions include weddings (for example, the *biscia* madrigals, *Aquila altera*, *Dal cielo scese*, and *Le aurate chiome*), political events (*Del glorioso titolo*, *Una panthera*) and military conquests (*Alba colomba*, possibly others). The number of heraldic madrigals thought to have been written for weddings is so great that Enrico Paganuzzi suggested that the madrigal was in origin a satirical wedding song (though this does not explain why only heraldic madrigals seem to have been performed at weddings).[124] As we have seen, most of the scholarship has focused on trying to determine the occasions for which heraldic madrigals were composed, but has not

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[122] Similarly, two songs contain the motto of Bernabò Visconti, *Souffrir m'estuet* and *En attendant, souffir m'estuet*. It is unclear whether their reference to Bernabò's motto is intentional. These songs are discussed in Chapter 5.

[123] For more on this, see Chapter 6 below.

[124] Enrico Paganuzzi, "La musica alla corte scaligera," 527.

necessarily come up with any definitive dates or occasions that would help us build up an accurate picture of trecento patronage and composer biographies.

Why was the madrigal the genre chosen most often for heraldic display? Of several possible explanations, two stand out as probable, and both may have influenced the practice of including heraldic references in madrigals. The first has to do with the nature of madrigal poetry, which is narrative and pastoral. In early madrigal texts especially, the poetry describes landscapes and seems particularly concerned with the description of things seen.[125] This privileging of the visual in madrigals texts lends itself to the inclusion of heraldic references in madrigal poetry. The second possible explanation for the merging of madrigal poetry and heraldry has to do with the history of the madrigal genre. When the first heraldic madrigals were composed in the mid-fourteenth century, the madrigal was at the top of the style hierarchy of secular song genres, and explains why it was chosen for the competition described by Villani at the court of Mastino II Della Scala. It is likely that the *biscia* cycle, also by Jacopo and Giovanni, and containing the first heraldic madrigals was also commissioned by Mastino II (to celebrate the marriage of his daughter Regina to Bernabò Visconti in 1350).[126] The next heraldic madrigal that can be dated with some accuracy is another madrigal by Jacopo da Bologna, *Aquila altera*, celebrating the paraheraldry of Giangaleazzo Visconti. It is extremely probable that this madrigal was composed to celebrate Giangaleazzo's wedding to Isabelle de Valois in 1360. It is unclear whether the composition of heraldic madrigals for the Visconti is a result of Jacopo's influence, or the desire of Giangaleazzo's father Galeazzo II Visconti to be at the forefront of musical fashion.[127] It is likely that by the time the madrigal fell out of favour as a compositional genre, the genre of the heraldic madrigal had already become traditional, the natural genre for heraldic display.

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[125] For more on this, see Eleonora M. Beck, *Singing in the Garden: Music and Culture in the Tuscan Trecento* (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 1998), 18-21.

[126] The fact that the madrigals of the *biscia* cycle are by Jacopo and Giovanni (and not Piero) strengthens Nosow's hypothesis that by the time Jacopo and Giovanni were working at the della Scala court, Piero was no longer there.

[127] There is evidence that Galeazzo II (brother of Bernabò and father of Giangaleazzo) was concerned with keeping up with the French practice of adopting paraheraldic devices. This may have been a result of his connection with the court of Count Amadeus of Savoy, at which paraheraldry first appeared in Italy. It may be that he was anxious to keep up with musical fashions as well, and thus commissioned a heraldic madrigal for the wedding of his son Giangaleazzo to Isabelle, daughter of the French king Jean II (John the Good).

Although it is impossible to establish a definitive chronology for heraldic madrigal composition, Table 2.1 shows a hypothetical chronology, based in part on references in the texts of the madrigals, and in part on what we know about the biographies of some composers. For example, based on the heraldic references in the texts of the *biscia* madrigals, Donato da Cascia's *Dal cielo scese*, Bartolino da Padova's *Le aurate chiome*, Antonello da Caserta's *Del glorioso titolo* and Johannes Ciconia's *Una panthera*, these madrigals can be assigned a single date that is stylistically plausible. Sometimes there is insufficient evidence within the song text to assign a single date to the song. In these cases, I have given a range of dates, based on the presence in the song text of the heraldry of a particular tyrant. Ranges of dates are given for the anonymous madrigal *La nobil scala*, Niccolò del Proposto's *La fiera testa*, the madrigal *Inperiale sedendo*, Ciconia's *Per quella strada*, and the anonymous *Di vertù vidi*. Question marks indicate that I consider the currently accepted dates for these songs to be suspicious for some reason (such as a lack of convincing evidence, or contradictory evidence). They have, however, been entered into the Table according to these dates, simply because I have not been able to suggest more credible dates. Question marks are present in the Table after Donato's *D'or pomo incominciò*, Bartolino's *La fiera testa* and *La douce cere*.

Table 2.1 Hypothetical chronology of heraldic madrigal composition

Composer	Incipit	Date	Patron
Jacopo da Bologna	*Nel bel giardino*	1350	Mastino II Della Scala
Jacopo da Bologna	*Posando sopra un' acqua*	1350	Mastino II Della Scala
Jacopo da Bologna	*Sotto l'imperio*	1350	Mastino II Della Scala
Giovanni da Cascia	*Donna fu già*	1350	Mastino II Della Scala
Niccolò del Proposto	*La fiera testa*	1350 – 85	Bernabò Visconti
Anon.	*La nobil scala*	1359 – 75	Cansignorio Della Scala
Jacopo da Bologna	*Aquila altera*	1360	Galeazzo II Visconti
Donato da Cascia	*D'or pomo incominciò*	1368?	Cansignorio Della Scala?
Bartolino da Padova?	*Inperiale sedendo*	1376 – 88	Francesco I da Carrara
Donato da Cascia	*Dal cielo scese*	1378	Antonio Della Scala
Bartolino da Padova	*Le aurate chiome*	1380	Giangaleazzo Visconti
Bartolino da Padova	*Alba colomba*	1388?	Giangaleazzo Visconti
Bartolino da Padova	*La fiera testa*	1388 – 90?	Francesco II da Carrara?
Antonello da Caserta	*Del glorioso titolo*	1395	Giangaleazzo Visconti
Bartolino da Padova	*La douce cere*	1390s?	Francesco II da Carrara?
Johannes Ciconia	*Una panthera*	1399	Giangaleazzo Visconti
Johannes Ciconia	*Per quella strada*	1401 – 05	Francesco II da Carrara
Anon.	*Di vertù vidi*	1412 – 47	Filippo Maria Visconti

With the rise in popularity of French culture in Italy, madrigal composition began to decline, but heraldic madrigals continued to be composed at the northern courts. While there are some heraldic *ballate*, one heraldic motet and one heraldic canon, heraldry appears much more frequently in madrigals, even those composed in the later fourteenth century.[128] Since the madrigal was an older, purely Italian genre, it was an ideal vehicle for reinforcing ideas of lineage, the right to rule, and the continuation of dynasties in northern Italy, concerns that were also addressed through heraldic and paraheraldic display in these songs. This may also explain why in so many cases textual evidence points to heraldic madrigals being commissioned for weddings.

It is probable that the composition of French heraldic songs and their transmission in Italian manuscripts is one of the main reasons for the continuing popularity of the heraldic madrigal long after the decline of its non-heraldic counterpart. The popularity of heraldic songs within the Visconti family and their relatives in France (such as Valentina Visconti and Jean de Berry) accounts for the existence of many of these later heraldic songs, both Italian and French.[129] Although later in this chapter I discuss the heraldic songs of the French ars subtilior as a separate category (so as not to confuse French and Italian musical genres), it is perhaps fruitful to study their texts together, keeping in mind the close relationships between the Visconti family, the French royal family and other members of the French nobility with whom they had contact.

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[128] The heraldic ballatas are *Più chiar che'l sol* by Antonello da Caserta, *Sol me trafige 'l cor* by Zachara , and possibly *Sofrir m'estuet* by Paolo da Firenze. The heraldic motet is *O felix templum*, by Johannes Ciconia, and the heraldic canon *Le ray au soleil* is also by Ciconia. All of these pieces date roughly from the turn of the fifteenth century.

[129] Giangaleazzo's daughter Valentina married Louis de Valois, who was Duke of Orléans and brother of king Charles VI of France. Giangaleazzo himself married Isabelle de Valois, sister of Charles V and Jean de Berry.

Heraldic Madrigal Composers

Of the eighteen surviving heraldic madrigals, two are anonymous.[130] The remaining sixteen were written by six composers working in northern Italy between roughly 1350 and 1400: Giovanni da Cascia , Jacopo da Bologna, Donato da Cascia, Antonello da Caserta, Bartolino da Padova, and Johannes Ciconia. Niccolò del Proposto is the only non-northern composer to set a heraldic text.

Giovanni da Cascia is believed to have worked in the mid-trecento, along with Magister Piero and Jacopo da Bologna, although Giovanni is thought to be younger than Piero and slightly older than Jacopo. The only contemporary writing we have about Giovanni's life (or about Jacopo da Bologna's for that matter) comes from Filippo Villani's chronicle regarding the competition at the court of Mastino II della Scala, quoted above. A Giovanni degli Organi is mentioned in the records of the Florentine monastery of Santa Trinità in 1360, and may be the same as the composer of madrigals.[131] Since his name appears in only one record, it is not possible to determine if he was employed by the monastery on a regular basis. There is nothing to link Giovanni degli Organi with the composer Giovanni da Cascia, except perhaps the fact that we know that other composers of trecento music visited the monastery between 1360 and 1363.[132] It is possible that another piece of documentary evidence about Giovanni has survived: one Giovanni di Firenze also appears in the records of the Lauda singers of Santa Reparata in Florence on and off between the years 1342 and 1362.[133] It is not certain that this Giovanni is the same as the composer mentioned by Villani, but Giovanni's absences from the Laudesi brotherhood's records could easily be reconciled with the fact that we know the composer

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[130] These are *La nobil scala* and *Di vertù vidi.*

[131] Frank d'Accone, "Music and Musicians at the Florentine Monastery of Santa Trinità, 1360-1363," *Quadrivium* 12 no. 1 (1971): 133.

[132] *Ibid.*, 135-146. These include Francesco da Firenze, Niccolò del Proposto, Gherardello da Firenze, and Matteo da Siena.

[133] Kurt von Fischer, "Quelques remarques sur les relations entre les Laudesi et les compositeurs florentins du Trecento," In *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* III (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1970), 249. Von Fischer notes that Giovanni's name does not appear for the years 1343-44, 1346-48 and 1350-51.

Giovanni also worked in the north of Italy.[134] The Giovanni da Firenze cited in the Florentine records held the post of cutler (*coltellaio*), which, according to von Fischer, is perfectly compatible with the social status of some Florentine composers of the trecento.[135] Despite his connections with monasteries, Giovanni has not traditionally been associated with sacred music. However, a recently-discovered fragment in Perugia contains a *Sanctus* and *Benedicamus Domino* by a composer named Magister Johannes de Florentia, who has been identified as Giovanni da Cascia by the editors of this fragment, Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti.[136]

We know very little of life of Jacopo da Bologna. Apparently from Bologna, he seems to have spent his entire career in northern Italy. From references to Luchino Visconti in three works by Jacopo (the madrigals *O in Italia* and *Lo lume vostro,* and the motet *Lux purpurata*), we gather that the composer was working at the Visconti court in the 1340s.[137] The Florentine chronicler Filippo Villani places Jacopo at the Veronese court of Mastino II Della Scala in the late 1340s and early 1350s along with the composer Giovanni da Casica. Jacopo, Piero and Giovanni wrote several madrigals featuring shared references: some allude to a woman named Anna and a tree called a *perlaro*, some to the Visconti *biscia*, and some to a woman named Margherita.[138] Based on heraldic references in Jacopo's madrigal *Aquil'altera/Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio*, it is assumed that he returned to work for the Visconti after the death of Mastino II Della Scala in 1351. Some believe that Jacopo's portrait in the Squarcialupi Codex

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[134] *Ibid.*

[135] *Ibid.*, 250. A cutler is a person who makes or sells cutlery.

[136] Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti, eds., *Frammenti musicali del trecento* (Florence: Olschki, 2004), 35-36.

[137] The madrigal *O in Italia* celebrates three events that took place on August 4, 1346: the birth of Luchino's twin sons, and Milan's defeat over both Parma and Liguria. For more on this song, see Alberto M. Pizzaia, "Closer Correspondence Between Works of Trecento Music and their Cultural and Political Environment." *Revista de musicología* 16, no. 4 (1993): 43-44.

[138] Alberto M. Pizzaia, *Musical Culture of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines* (Hartwell, Australia: Alberto Pizzaia, 1998), 48. Quoting Paganuzzi, Pizzaia claims that these madrigals are the result of two competitions: one in 1334 on the occasion of the wedding of Anna Zavarise to Francesco Bevilacqua, and in 1350 for the wedding of Beatrice (called Regina) Della Scala to Bernabò Visconti. Paganuzzi, however, does not link these particular madrigals to Villani, nor does he say that they are the results of separate competitions. See Enrico Paganuzzi, "La music alla corte scaligera," 52-36.

indicates that he was much younger than Piero, and slightly younger than Giovanni.[139] Kurt von Fischer has also suggested that a marginal illumination depicting musicians in a manuscript from Bologna may portray Jacopo, along with the two other early madrigal composers associated with the Della Scala court, Piero and Giovanni.[140]Apart from composing music, Jacopo is the author of the theoretical treatise *L'arte del biscanto misurato secondo el maestro Jacopo da Bologna*, which perhaps suggests that he taught at a university.[141]

With the exception of the motet *Lux purpurata*, all of Jacopo's surviving works are madrigals.[142] Stylistically, Jacopo's music bridges the gap between the works of the earlier trecento madrigal composers (such as Piero and Giovanni da Cascia) and those of the late trecento (such as Bartolino and Ciconia). Jacopo's madrigals in the earlier style show the madrigal's links to improvisation, featuring a florid cantus over a more static tenor, and voices that do not cross. Jacopo's madrigals in the later style display elements which later became trademarks of the madrigal: imitation between cantus and tenor, song-structure determined by the text, with a sectional break between the tercets and the ritornello indicated in the music by a change in mensuration.[143] The madrigals of Jacopo feature memorable cantus parts (even in the more improvisatory style) whose important notes are carefully coordinated with those of the tenor to give a sense of "tonal" and melodic cohesion not found in most early madrigals. In the heraldic repertoire this occurs in *O in Italia, Nel bel giardino*, and *Donna già fu' leggiadra.* The music of Jacopo seems to have influenced that of other composers in the north of Italy, notably Bartolino da Padova, whose music not only reflects musical elements of Jacopo's songs such as

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[139] Kurt von Fischer and Gianluca d'Agostino, "Jacopo da Bologna," in **Grove**, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/14068 (accessed August 14, 2008).

[140] Kurt von Fischer, "'Portraits' von Piero, Giovanni da Firenze, und Jacopo da Bologna in einer Bologneser Handschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts?" *Musica disciplina* 27 (1973): 61-64.

[141] von Fischer and d'Agostino, "Jacopo da Bologna."

[142] The motet *Laudibus dignis*, bearing Luchino Visconti's name in an acrostic, is sometimes attributed to Jacopo.

[143] von Fischer and d'Agostino, "Jacopo da Bologna."

monophonic linking passages and a simpler style (less ornate cantus parts) but also the heraldic aspect of Jacopo's madrigals.[144]

Like Jacopo and Giovanni, Donato da Cascia appears to have spent some time at the Della Scala court in Verona.[145] It is possible that Donato's madrigal *Sovran' ucello* was composed for one of two visits to Italy by emperor Charles IV (one in 1355 and another in 1368).[146] From his portrait in **Sq**, we know that Donato was a Benedictine monk. Unlike composers such as Giovanni and Jacopo, very little information about him can be garnered from his song texts since many of his madrigals are settings of texts by Sacchetti and Soldanieri.[147]

Niccolò del Proposto is known to have set several texts by Sacchetti, leading Fischer to assume that he lived and worked in Florence between 1354 and 1373.[148] He is thought to have been the son of a *proposto* of Perugia (an official in the church or the government), and the title "Ser" that he is given in **Sq** tells us that he was probably a notary or a priest.[149] The only documentary evidence we have for Niccolò is a record of his visit to the monastery of Santa Trinità in Florence, accompanied by the Florentine composer Gherardello in 1362.[150] Additionally, a Ser Niccolò is also mentioned in the records of the Compagnia delle Laudi Santa

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[144] Four heraldic madrigals can be securely attributed to Bartolino: three with Visconti heraldry (*Alba colomba, Le aurate chiome* and *La fiera testa*) and one with Carrara heraldry (*La douce cere*). This is the greatest number of heraldic madrigals by any single composer apart from Jacopo. For a discussion of the madrigal *Inperiale sedendo*, see Chapter 6 below.

[145] The madrigal *Dal cielo scese* mentions two heraldic emblems of the Della Scala family: the ladder and the phoenix. It has been suggested that this madrigal was written for the wedding of Samaritana da Polenta and Antonio della Scala (whose paraheraldic device was the phoenix) in 1378, but this has been contested on stylistic grounds. See Enrico Paganuzzi, "La musica alla corte scaligera," 531; and Nino Pirrotta, "La musica," in *Il Codice Squarcialupi*, 207.

[146] Kurt von Fischer, "Le biografie," in *Il Codice Squarcialupi*, 136.

[147] See Pirrotta, *CMM 8*, vol. II for the texts of Donato's songs.

[148] Fischer, "Le biografie," 137.

[149] Kelly, *The Works of Niccolò da Perugia* (PhD diss, Ohio State University, 1974), 1-5. Giuliano di Bacco notes that in the two documents containing direct transactions with Niccolò, he is referred to as "del Proposto," which is why I have chosen to use this name. See Giuliano di Bacco, "Alcune nuove osservazioni sul codice di Londra," *Studi musicali* 20 (1991): 199.

[150] Frank D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at the Florentine Monastery of Santa Trinità, 1360-1363," 145.

Maria Novella in Florence; it appears that in 1393 he was paid to sing for the brotherhood on Fridays.[151]

Antonello da Caserta is usually associated with the manuscripts **ModA**, in which eight of his French works are preserved, and **Lu**, which transmits his Italian repertoire. Apart from the fact that he was Italian, and that he belonged to a monastic community, we know little about him except what can be inferred from his works. Stylistically, his French songs (five ballades, two rondeaux and one virelai) are typical examples of ars subtilior song, featuring complex syncopations and musical borrowing. It has been suggested that his madrigal *Del glorioso titolo* was written to celebrate the coronation of Giangaleazzo Visconti as Duke of Milan in 1395, thus placing him at the Visconti court.[152] It is also possible that his ballata *Più chiar che'l sol* was composed for the wedding of Giangaleazzo's niece Lucia Visconti in 1390.[153] Antonello's style has been likened to that of Bartolino da Padova.

Although his works appear in virtually every trecento manuscript, we know rather less about Bartolino da Padova than we should about a composer who was obviously famous in his own day. Aside from the wide circulation of his songs, Bartolino's fame as a trecento composer is confirmed by the fact that he is mentioned in two pieces of contemporary literature: Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*, and Simone Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto* (c. 1415).[154]

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[151] Frank D'Accone, "Le compagnie dei laudesi in Firenze durante l'ars nova," in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* II (Certaldo: Centro di Studi sull'ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1970), 258. Although Fischer assumes that the Ser Niccolò mentioned in the laudesi bortherhood's records may refer to Niccolò del Proposto, D'Accone does not make this claim anywhere. See also Fischer, "Le biografie," 137.

[152] Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 38.

[153] *Ibid.*, 39.

[154] The *Paradiso degli Alberti* is a memoir reminiscent of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, in which the author recounts the events of a springtime stay in the Tuscan countryside in 1389:

> … gia le donne veniano nel giardino e la brigatta tutta a sollazzare cominciava. E postasi a sedere, parve al proposto che si dovesse qualche madriale cantare per li musichi e pelle donzelle che quivi si erano, e a loro dicendo che di quelli frati a Padova per Frate Bartolino si famoso musico cantare dovessonno.
>
> (already the women were coming into the garden and the whole party began to entertain themselves. When they were seated, it appeared that the musicians and some young women who

His portrait in **Sq** identifies him as a Carmelite monk, and although there is no documentary evidence placing him in Padua, it is thought that he lived and worked there in the second half of the fourteenth century. Despite her inability to establish documentary ties between Bartolino and the Carmelite convent in Padua, Nicole Goldine thought it likely that Bartolino lived there.[155]

Bartolino's setting of the ballata *La sacrosancta carità d'amore* by Carrara court poet Giovanni Dondi dell'Orologio suggests that Bartolino did indeed work in Padua, and that he was working there before Dondi's death in 1389. Pierluigi Petrobelli points out that the "numerous affinities of style, speech, and even context which exist between the poetry of Giovanni Dondi and the texts set to music by Bartolino, give us a firm orientation toward Padua as a place in which Bartolino lived and worked."[156] Occasionally, hints in his song texts offer clues as to his patrons: while the madrigals *Alba colomba, Le aurate chiome* and *La fiera testa* indicate some connection with the Visconti, two other madrigals, *Inperiale sedendo* (often attributed to Bartolino) and *La douce cere* point to patronage by the Carrara family of Padua.

There is somewhat more documentary evidence for Johannes Ciconia. Ciconia's first biographer, Suzanne Clercx, believed that he had been born in Liège around 1335, and that he had travelled to Italy with Cardinal Egidio Albornoz in 1358 before settling in Padua at the end

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were there would sing some madrigals, and it was suggested that they should sing those of the famous musician Frate Bartolino, composed in Padua.)

Giovanni da Prato, *Paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. Antonio Lanza (Rome: Salerno, 1975), 272. Simone Prodenzani's poem *Il Saporetto* is a series of 186 sonnets describing noble pastimes such as hunting, jousting and singing. It has long been familiar to scholars of trecento music because twenty-four sonnets contain the names of fourteenth-century songs, both Italian and French. Sonnets 25 and 29 name six songs by Bartolino (*La douce cere, Per un verde boschetto, Inperiale sedendo, Alba colomba, Le aurate chiome, La sacrosancta carità d'amore*). See John Nádas, "A Cautious Reading of Simone Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*," *Recercare* 10 (1998): 25.

[155] Nicole Goldine, "Fra Bartolino da Padova, musicien de cour," 144. There was a Frater Bartolomeus living at the monastery who taught theology in the 1380s, but there is no evidence linking him to Bartolino. Pierluigi Petrobelli also discovered a Bartolomeus living there in 1376, but again there is no evidence to link him to Barotlino. See Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova," 110-111; Cesira Gasparotto, *Santa Maria del Carmine* (Padua: Tip Antoniana, 1956).

[156] Petrobelli, "Some Dates," 89-91.

of the century.[157] However, in his landmark article "*Ciconia padre e figlio*," David Fallows drew attention to a suspicious absence of documents linking Ciconia to any musical activity before 1400, and suggested that rather than presenting one biography, Clercx had in fact conflated two: that of Ciconia and his father, also named Johannes Ciconia. This older Ciconia had also worked at the church of St John the Evangelist in Liège, and had fathered several illegitimate children, the youngest of which, born around 1370, was the composer Ciconia.[158] Since then, Giuliano di Bacco and John Nádas have discovered a letter placing a composer named Johannes Ciconia in Rome in the 1390s as a member of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon's household. This suggests that Fallows's theory was at least partly correct, since it grants one Johannes Ciconia dispensation from his illegitimacy.[159] However, Fallows is careful to point out that this document does not name his father, and that "it is not yet by any means inevitable that the Johannes Ciconia in Rome in 1391 was the man, surely the composer, who appeared in Padua ten years later."[160] He also reminds us that although we know that Johannes Ciconia Sr. was dead by 1405, "there was still a canon of Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste named Johannes Ciconia, and the same church was making payments to a Johannes Ciconia in 1415-16 and 1422-23, long after the composer's death."[161] The theory that Ciconia spent some time in Rome during the 1390s is strengthened by the text of his motet *O virum omnimoda/O lux et decus/O beate Nicholae* which honours St Nicholas of Trani (a town near Bari).[162]

Two songs (the madrigal *Una panthera* and the heraldic canon *Le ray au soleil*) refer to Giangaleazzo Visconti, suggesting that the composer Ciconia was at the Visconti court in the

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[157] Suzanne Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia, un compositeur liègeois et son temps* (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1960), and "Ancora su Johannes Ciconia (1335 circa-1411)," *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 11 no. 4 (1977): 573-90.

[158] David Fallows, "Ciconia padre e figlio", *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 11 (1976): 171-77.

[159] Giuliano di Bacco and John Nádas, "Verso uno 'stile internationale' della musica nelle capelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378-1417): il caso di Johannes Ciconia da Liège", *Collectanea* I (1994): 7-74.

[160] David Fallows, "Ciconia's Last Songs and their Milieu," in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 110.

[161] *Ibid.*

[162] Bent and Hallmark, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, xiii.

49

1390s.[163] Anne Hallmark discovered that the composer Ciconia received his first benefice in Padua in 1401, and shortly thereafter became *custos* and *cantor* of Padua Cathedral.[164] His association with a circle of Paduan humanists, including Francesco Zabarella, has been studied in detail by Julie Cumming, Anne Hallmark, and Annette Kreutziger-Herr.[165] Ciconia seems to have spent the rest of his life composing music and working at the Cathedral in Padua beyond the reign of the Carraras, suggesting perhaps that his relationship with this family was mediated by Padua cathedral archpriest Francesco Zabarella[166] (though he did set the poem *Con lagreme bagnandome*, a lament on the death of Francesco il Vecchio, which hints at some closeness with the family.[167]) Ciconia died in the summer of 1412.

While there are many anonymous trecento madrigals, only two madrigals in the heraldic repertoire are not attributed, and each of these is transmitted in only one source. *La nobil scala*, most likely celebrating Cansignorio Della Scala's victory over Vicenza, survives in **PR**, and *D'or pomo incominciò*, which may refer to an aqueduct built by Cansignorio, survives exclusively in **Sq**. The fact that so few heraldic madrigals are unattributed is noteworthy, and is probably a result of the wide circulation of this repertoire. Having said this, it seems that as well as concerns of patronage, those of authorship are especially apparent in the genre, which may be another reason for the small number of unattributed heraldic madrigals.

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[163] Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 42.

[164] Anne Hallmark, "*Protector, imo verus pater*," 161.

[165] *Ibid.*, 153-68; Julie Cumming, *Concord out of Discord: Occasional Motets of the Early Quattrocento* (PhD dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1987), 213-50; Annette Kreutziger-Herr, *Johannes Ciconia (ca. 1370-1412): komponieren in einer Kultur des Wortes* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung K.D. Wagner, 1991).

[166] Hallmark, "*Protector*," 163.

[167] For more on *Con lagreme bagnandome*, see Fallows, "Leonardo Giustinian and Quattrocento Polyphonic Song," in *L'edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario*, ed. Renato Borghi and Pietro Zappalà (Lucca: Liberia musicale italiana, 1995), 247-60; Hallmark, "*Protector*," 164; Kreutziger-Herr, "Rethinking *Con lagreme*: Johannes Ciconia, Leonardo Giustinian and the musical text," in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, 215-32.

Transmission of the Heraldic Madrigal Repertoire

Heraldic madrigals seem to have been some of the most-circulated songs of the fourteenth century. If surviving music manuscripts convey an accurate picture of trecento song copying practices, Bartolino da Padova's *La douce cere* is the most-transmitted work of the trecento, followed closely by another heraldic madrigal, *Inperiale sedendo*. Though composed at the courts of northern Italy, heraldic madrigals are represented in Tuscan manuscripts also. And although they celebrate northern tyrant dynasties and their military conquests, heraldic madrigals were apparently popular in Florence as well. The wide circulation of heraldic madrigals is demonstrated by the fact that they are not usually *unica*; the exceptions are those by Antonello da Caserta (*Del glorioso titolo*) and Ciconia (*Per quella strada* and *Una panthera*) in **Lu**, Donato da Cascia's *D'or pomo incominciò* (**Sq**), and the anonymous *La nobil scala* (**PR**).[168]

Table 2.2 shows the transmission of heraldic madrigals in trecento music manuscripts. Judging from this manuscript evidence, the heraldic madrigals of Jacopo da Bologna and Bartolino da Padova were especially popular (Jacopo and Bartolino were also the most prolific producers of heraldic madrigals). Some madrigal texts, such as *Aquila altera*, *Sotto l'imperio* and *La fiera testa* circulated in non-musical manuscripts. It is not surprising that *La fiera testa* is transmitted as a poem in one manuscript, since it was set by both Niccolò del Proposto and Bartolino da Padova, and is therefore less likely to have been written by one of the composers who set it.

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[168] It seems as though the exemplars in which these madrigals circulated (if they did indeed circulate) did not leave the north, making the unique presence of Donato da Cascia's heraldic madrigal in a Florentine source all the more intriguing.

Table 2.2 Transmission of the heraldic madrigal repertoire (in rough chronological order)

Composer	Incipit `	Sources	Notes
Jacopo da Bologna	*Nel bel giardino*	**Fc** 1v **FP** 63v **Pit**7v – 8r **PR** 5r **SL** 43v – 44r **Sq** 9v – 10r	
Jacopo da Bologna	*Posando sopra*	**FP** 65v **Pit** 6v – 7r **PR** 9r **Sq** 10v – 11r	
Jacopo da Bologna	*Sotto l'imperio*	**FP** 71v – 72r **PR** 1v – 2r **SL** 45v – 46r **Sq** 7v – 8r	First song in **PR**. Opens the Jacopo section in **Pit**, **PR**, and **Sq**.
Giovanni da Cascia	*Donna già fu'*	**FP** 56v – 57r **SL** 20v – 1r **Sq** 4v – 5r	In the original order of **SL**, 20v was the end of gathering 3. 1r opened gathering 4.
Niccolò del Proposto	*La fiera testa*	**Sq** 95v	Text only in **Parma 1081**.
Anon.	*La nobil scala*	**PR** 40v-41r	
Jacopo da Bologna	*Aquila altera*	**Fa** 72v – 73r **FP** 91v – 92r **Pit** 2v – 3r **SL** 48v – 49r **Sq** 8v – 9r	
Donato da Cascia	*D'or pomo incominciò*	**Sq** 74v-75r	
Bartolino da Padova?	*Inperiale sedendo*	**Lu** 90v – 92r **Mod A** 29v – 30r **Pit** 47v – 48r **PR** 22v – 23r; 13r **Sq** 109v – 110r	For 3 voices in **Lu**. Not in the Bartolino section in **Lu**. **Pit** 13r has tenor only. Not in the madrigal section of Bartolino's songs in **Sq**.
Donato da Cascia	*Dal cielo scese*	**SL** 21v – 22 **Sq** 78v – 79r	

Composer	Incipit `	Sources	Notes
Bartolino da Padova	*Le aurate chiome*	**PR** 20v **SL** 31v – 32r **Sq** 107v – 108r	
Bartolino da Padova	*Alba colomba*	**Lo** 12v – 13r **PR** 14v – 15r **SL** 9v – 10r **Sq** 105v – 106r	
Bartolino da Padova	*La fiera testa*	**Pit** 40v – 41r **SL** 8v – 9r **Sq** 104v – 105r	Survives only in Florentine manuscripts. Text only in **Parma 1081**.
Antonello da Caserta	*Del glorioso titolo*	**Lu** 66v – 67v	
Bartolino da Padova	*La douce cere*	**FP** 108v – 109r **Lo** 15v **Lu** 20r (tenor only) **Pit** 41v – 42r **PR** 13v – 14r **SL** 7v – 8r **Sq** 101v – 102r **Bux** 16r – 17r **Fa** 71v – 72r	**Bux** and **Fa** contain instrumental intabulations. This song appears the French collection in **FP**.
Johannes Ciconia	*Una panthera*	**Lu** 82v – 83v	
Johannes Ciconia	*Per quella strada*	**Lu** 84v – 85	
Anon.	*Di vertù vidi*	Trento, Biblioteca dei Padri Francescani no. 60.	Transmitted on a flyleaf.

The Florentine manuscript **FP**, dating from c. 1380 – 1400, is the earliest source to contain heraldic madrigals. It consists of eleven gatherings, each devoted to a composer or group of composers. The number of heraldic madrigals in **FP** is very small: one each by Giovanni da Cascia and Bartolino da Padova, and three by Jacopo da Bologna. While the later Florentine collections **Sq** and **SL** each contain a section devoted to Bartolino, the only song of his appearing in **FP** is the French-texted madrigal *La douce cere*, copied with other French songs in Gathering 11. *La douce cere* is the last song of the manuscript, and it seems strange to me that a madrigal by an Italian composer, copied in Italian notation, for an Italian patron, should be grouped with French songs on the basis of its text.[169] **FP** also contains two other heraldic songs, *Cine vermeil* and *En mon cuer*, both of which refer to the heraldry of Jean, Duc de Berry.[170]

    Sq, a Tuscan manuscript dating from c. 1410 – 15, presents a very different picture. More lavish than other surviving trecento music manuscripts and planned with extreme care, **Sq** is divided into composer sections that are organized chronologically. It is evident that **Sq** was planned before the copyists had obtained all the music they were planning to include: in some sections there are empty ruled pages, and two composer sections are completely devoid of music.[171] Unlike **FP**, **Sq** contains all but five madrigals from the repertoire of heraldic madrigals, suggesting that songs by northern composers became more readily available to Florentine copyists in the time between the copying of **FP** and **Sq** (or, of course, that the compilers of **FP** did not want to include many heraldic madrigals).

    The way in which **Sq** presents heraldic madrigals is significant because it gives us information about the circulation of heraldic madrigals and how they were perceived by trecento scribes. For example, both the Giovanni and Jacopo sections of **Sq** (Gatherings 1 and 2) present

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[169] The organizational concerns of the compilers of **FP** do not seem to have been the the norm. For example, they place *La douce cere* in the French collection, and Gathering 10 is devoted to canonic madrigals (**FP** is the only source to separate canonic madrigals from the rest of the madrigal repertoire).

[170] Ursula Günther, "Unusual Phenomena in the Transmission of Late Fourteenth Century Polyphonic Music," *Musica Disciplina* 38 (1984): 103; Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'?" *Cine vermeil* is in Gathering 11 with the main corpus of French songs and *En mon cuer* is an addition at the end of Gathering 10 (folio 100v).

[171] There are no songs copied in the sections for Paulus Abbas de Florentia (referred to throughout this thesis as Paolo Tenorista) or Giovanni Mazzuoli.

madrigals in an order that can be found in other manuscripts as well, suggesting that there was a standard order for their songs that circulated in exemplars.[172] In most composer sections in **Sq**, madrigals are copied across openings, two to an opening, one above the other. Heraldic madrigals appear at the beginning of the Jacopo section, but are not given the superior position on the page. In contrast, the Bartolino section (the largest composer section in the manuscript) is organized so that heraldic madrigals start the section, always appearing in the superior position. The order of songs in the Bartolino section in **Sq** is almost identical to that of **SL** (also complied in Florence), but very different from that of northern manuscripts **PR** and **Lu**, suggesting that the Bartolino sections of **Sq** and **SL** are derived from different and more highly organized exemplars, or that the scribes of northern manuscripts were not as interested in starting composer sections with heraldic madrigals. Despite organizational differences among manuscripts, *La douce cere* either opens or appears very close to the opening of the Bartolino section in all manuscripts that are organized by composer, suggesting its importance in the trecento repertoire (as mentioned above, it is Bartolino's most-transmitted work and also the most-transmitted trecento song in surviving sources).

Unlike the Florentine manuscripts, the northern sources tend to transmit only the works of northern composers. In **PR**, heraldic madrigals are found at the beginning of both the Jacopo and the Bartolino sections. While **Lu** contains many songs by Bartolino, it also contains many heraldic songs that are *unica* by Ciconia and Zachara, two composers who are not well represented in other complete trecento manuscripts. For example, **Lu** is the only source containing the madrigals of Ciconia, including the two heraldic madrigals *Per quella strada* and *Una panthera*, and it is also the only source to transmit his heraldic canon *Le ray au soleil*.[173] Zachara's heraldic ballata *Sol me trafige 'l cor* and Antonello da Caserta's heraldic madrigal *Del glorioso titolo* are also uniquely transmitted in **Lu**.

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[172] John Nádas, "The Squarcialupi Codex: An Edition of Trecento Songs, c.a. 1410-1415," in *Il Codice Squarcialupi*, 59-60. Nádas also notes that the order of songs in the Jacopo section is similar to that in **PR** but not **FP**, from which we can imply that the compilers of **Sq** "made use of a different set of exemplars, probably deriving more directly from Paduan rather than Tuscan sources."

[173] David Fallows noticed that the two songs referring to the Visconti (*Una panthera* and *Le ray au soleil*) are copied in the same opening in **Lu** (82v-83). See Fallows, "Ciconia's Last Songs and their Milieu," 118.

Heraldic madrigals appear as instrumental intabulations in two sources, **Bux** and **Fa**.[174] While **Bux** transmits only *La douce cere*, **Fa** contains four heraldic madrigals: Jacopo's *Sotto l'imperio* and *Aquila altera*, Bartolino's *La douce cere*, and *Inperiale sedendo.* In the case of **Fa**, the compiler seems to have enjoyed taking songs for three voices and intabulating them as two parts; with the possible exception of *Inperiale sedendo*, all three heraldic madrigals included in the manuscript are originally for three voices.[175]

The Heraldic Madrigal as a Traditional and Experimental Genre

Perhaps because of its unusual subject matter, and, later in the century, because of its traditional nature, the heraldic madrigal seems to have been a vehicle for musical and textual experimentation. Many heraldic madrigals are for three voices, allowing the composer to show off his contrapuntal skill (Table 2.2). Several of the three-voice heraldic madrigals are canonic or caccia-madrigals, a type of madrigal in which the upper voices enter in imitation. Mostly, these canonic heraldic madrigals date from the mid-century. Later composers who composed madrigals for three voices did not use imitation as a way of integrating the two upper voices into the texture; their conception of the three-voice madrigal is based on the voice ranges and counterpoint of the ballata, which all of them composed as well. With the exception of Jacopo's *Sotto l'imperio*, the non-canonic heraldic madrigals are by Bartolino and Ciconia, who were active in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

Three-voice madrigals make up roughly ten percent of the known madrigal repertoire (22 out of about 190, or 11%)[176] and we can see from Table 2.3 that slightly more than one third of three-voice madrigals are heraldic (8 out of 22, or 36%). Therefore, three-voice madrigals

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[174] For more on the intabulations in **Fa**, see Timothy J. McGee, "Instruments and the Faenza Codex," *Early Music* 14 no. 4 (1986): 480-90.

[175] **Lu** transmits a three-voice version of this song, but the contratenor is inessential, and may be a later addition. There is no evidence that the version of *Inperiale sedendo* in **Fa** is derived from the three-voice version in **Lu**. The version in **Lu** is transcribed in Appendix 2.

[176] This statistic comes from the "Madrigal" article in *Grove*, but I am assuming that there are slightly more extant madrigals than this, due to recent discoveries of manuscript fragments containing unknown madrigals, such as *Di vertù vidi*.

account for a much greater percentage of the heraldic madrigal repertoire than of the non-heraldic repertoire. This is probably due to the occasional nature of the heraldic madrigal, which can be viewed as somewhat analogous to the laudatory political motet of the trecento, though perhaps considered more suitable for women than the laudatory political motet. The purpose of the three voices in madrigals is not always the same, however: for example, there is evidence that in at least one madrigal, Jacopo's *Aquila altera*, the three-voice texture reflects the Trinitarian symbolism of the heraldic emblems mentioned in the text (this madrigal is the focus of Chapter 4 below). Similarly, in canonic madrigals in which the musical material of the two upper voices is generated exclusively through imitation (such as Niccolò del Proposto's *La fiera testa*), the three-voice texture is necessary for the canonic form to work.

Table 2.3 Three-voice madrigals in trecento manuscripts, in rough chronological order.

Composer	Incipit	Heraldic?	Canonic?
Giovanni da Cascia	*Nel bosco senza foglie*		yes
Giovanni da Cascia	*Per larghi prati*		yes
Jacopo da Bologna	**Aquila altera**	yes	yes
Jacopo da Bologna	*In verde prato*		
Jacopo da Bologna	*I' senti cia*		
Jacopo da Bologna	*Oselletto silvaggio*		yes
Jacopo da Bologna	*Sì come al canto*		
Jacopo da Bologna	**Sotto l'imperio**	yes	
Donato da Cascia	*Faccia chi de' se 'l po'*		yes
Niccolò del Proposto	**La fiera testa**	yes	yes
Niccolò del Proposto	*O sommo specchio*		yes
Anon.	**La nobil scala**	yes	yes
Lorenzo Masini	*Dolgomi a voi maestri*		
Francesco da Firenze	*Deh, dimmi tu*		yes
Francesco da Firenze	*Sì, dolce non sonò*		
Bartolino da Padova	**Alba colomba** (**PR**)*	yes	
Bartolino da Padova	*I bei sembianti*		
Bartolino da Padova	**La douce cere**	yes	
Bartolino da Padova	**Inperiale sedendo** (**Lu**)* yes		
Johannes Ciconia	*Una panthera*	yes	
Paolo Tenorista	*Godi, Firenze*		

* Manuscript sigla in parentheses indicate that the madrigal is for three voices in that source alone.

In many madrigals, both heraldic and non-heraldic, the text is set in a distinctive manner. The musical setting begins with a long melisma in the upper voice, after which the text-setting becomes syllabic, with both voices in homophony, until the final syllable of the poetic verse, when the text-setting becomes melismatic once more. While this may represent the remnants of an oral tradition, the homophonic sections of the madrigal provide an excellent opportunity to make text audible. In the heraldic madrigal repertoire, heraldry often appears in the part of the poem that will be sung syllabically in both voices. This is the case, for example, in Jacopo's *Nel bel giardino*, in Giovanni's *Donna già fu'* and both heraldic madrigals by Ciconia, *Per quella strada* and *Una panthera*. This also happens in *Inperiale sedendo*. Other heraldic three-voice madrigals and canonic madrigals do not seem to be so concerned with text setting as with following the musical form, and so heraldry is not always highlighted by texture. The exception is Niccolò del Proposto's setting of *La fiera testa*, where the motto *Sofrir m'estuet* and the subsequent description of Bernabò Visconti's paraheraldry are set homophonically, breaking free from the strict canonic form.

Experimentation in the heraldic madrigal is not limited to aspects of musical style. Since the subject matter of the heraldic madrigal is distinct from those of its non-heraldic counterparts, the poetry is often vocative (as in the laudatory political motet) rather than narrative. Several heraldic madrigals also feature unusual poetic texts. Jacopo da Bologna's madrigal *Aquila altera* is composed for three voices, each of which sings a different text, though the ritornello text is the same for all voices. *Sotto l'imperio*, also by Jacopo, has four tercets, and Antonello da Caserta's *Del glorioso titolo* features two *ritornelli*.[177] The use of languages other than Italian, such as French and Latin, seems to have been popular in both the heraldic and mainstream madrigal repertoires.[178] Within the heraldic madrigal repertoire, the poem *La fiera testa*, set by both

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[177] In the entire madrigal repertoire, both poetic and musical, only five madrigals contain four tercets. Apart from *Sotto l'imperio,* these are: the anonymous *Canta lo gallo* (an early madrigal, with no ritornello), Masini's *Di riva in riva* (also with no ritornello), and *Cavalcando con un giovane* and *Con dolce brama*, both by Piero. Similarly, only four madrigals feature two ritornelli. Apart from *Del glorioso titolo*, these are: Piero's *Ogni diletto*, Zachara's *Plorans ploravi*, and Cerchi's *Seguendo un pescator*, which was not set to music. See Capovilla, "Morfologia e storia del madrigale 'antico,'" 235-243.

[178] Jacopo's madrigal *Lo lume vostro* is in Italian and Latin. Other non-heraldic madrigals with text in Italian and French include Piero's *Ogni dilecto,* and *L'antico dio Biber* and *Quant je voy le duç* (both anonymous). French also features in heraldic songs that are not madrigals: Ciconia's heraldic canon *Le ray au soleil* is entirely in French, Paolo da Firenze's ballata *Sofrir m'estuet* is in both French and Italian, and Philipoctus da Caserta's ballade *En*

Niccolò del Proposto and Bartolino da Padova, is in three languages: Italian, Latin and French. Bartolino's *La douce cere* is entirely in French, reflecting the subject matter of the text (the description of an armorial bearing).[179]

The role of women in association with the heraldic madrigal repertoire has yet to be discussed, but there is evidence that women played an important role in the commissioning of heraldic songs by being either patron or dedicatee. Heraldic madrigals composed for weddings always refer to the bride, and do so in several ways. Song texts can describe a bride's adoption of her husband's heraldry, often achieved by describing the bride's transformation into her new family's heraldic charge. This occurs in the madrigals of the *biscia* cycle, and also in Jacopo's *Fenice fu'*, which describes a woman becoming a turtledove, and is sometimes considered a heraldic madrigal (I have excluded it from this study because the paraheraldry in the text has yet to be identified). Heraldic madrigals can also describe the bride's appearance, with special reference to her hair and to jewellery. Finally, they can name her in a *senhal*.[180] In the case of *Inperiale sedendo*, the textual reference to the Virtues provides evidence that the madrigal was either commissioned by Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara's wife Fina, or that she was responsible for overseeing the commission. While women are referred to in other madrigals and songs of the trecento, the occasional nature of the heraldic madrigal provides evidence for the association of real, identifiable women with trecento song.

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attendant, souffrir m'estuet is entirely in French. The influence of French culture on the northern Italian musical scene is demonstrated by the appearance of French text in Italian songs, by the presence of French composers at the northern courts, and by the presence of French songs in trecento music manuscripts (with the exception of **VR**). For more on this, 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 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 193-225; Yolanda Plumley, "An 'episode in the south?' Ars subtilior and the Patronage of French Princes" *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 103-68.

[179] The multi-lingual aspect of these songs is addressed in Dorothea Baumann, "Some extraordinary forms in the Italian secular Trecento repertoire," *L'ars nova italiana del trecento* IV (Certaldo: Centro di Studi sull'ars nova italiana del trecento, 1978), 45-63.

[180] The madrigals of the *biscia* cycle, composed for the wedding of Bernabò Visconti and Regina della Scala describe a woman's transformation into a viper. Similarly, Donato da Cascia's *Dal cielo scese* describes the bride in terms of her husband's heraldry. Both *Dal cielo scese* and Bartolino da Padova's *Le aurate chiome* describe the bride's jewellery (or clothing decorated with jewels), and both of these madrigals also feature senhals.

Related Repertoires: The Songs of the ars subtilior and the Trecento Motet

Heraldic madrigals make up a distinct group within the repertoire of trecento secular song because they combine the madrigal genre with specific textual references to heraldry and paraheraldry. Other types of song, however, intersect with this repertoire. This section glances briefly at these other songs in order to clarify the general musical contexts in which heraldic madrigals were composed. First, I will mention the few heraldic songs that are not madrigals that were composed in the Italian trecento, then I will review heraldic songs composed in the French ars subtilior style. Finally, I will examine the trecento motet and its relationship to the heraldic madrigal, concluding with a discussion of the only surviving heraldic motet, Ciconia's *O felix templum*.

Though heraldic madrigals are the most common type of heraldic song in trecento Italy, at least six other songs refer to heraldry (see Table 2.4). With the exception of the motet *O felix templum*, these all refer to the heraldry or paraheraldry of the Visconti family members. Three of these songs are in French. Two ballatas quote the motto of Bernabò Visconti and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Ciconia's canon *Le ray au soleil* is visually and aurally striking; heraldically, it is interesting because it describes Giangaleazzo's paraheraldic dove-in-sun badge and quotes his motto, *A bon droit*. Musically, it is intriguing because it is a proportional canon and an early example of a close relationship between the musical material and the meaning of the text, and I hope to explore it in more detail someday.

Table 2.4 Heraldic songs of the trecento, excluding madrigals

Composer	Incipit	Date	Dedicatee	Heraldry
Paolo Tenorista	*Sofrir m'estuet*	Before 1385	Bernabò Visconti?	motto *soufrir m'estuet*
Philipoctus da Caserta	*En attendant, soufrir*	Before 1385	Bernabò Visconti?	motto *soufrir m'estuet*
Johannes Ciconia	*Le ray au soleil*	Before 1401	Giangaleazzo Visconti	dove-in-sun badge
Antonello da Caserta	*Più chiar che 'l sol*	1390	Giangaleazzo Visconti	sun
Zachara da Teramo	*Sol me trafige 'l cor*	Before 1402	Giangaleazzo Visconti	sun
Johannes Ciconia	*O felix templum*	1401-1405	Stefano da Carrara	Carrara chariot

Heraldic references in songs of the ars subtilior

The French compositional style known as the ars subtilior emerged in the later fourteenth century, and is associated with compositional circles in Paris and at several French noble courts, including those of Gaston de Foix and Jean de Berry. Trademarks of the style are syncopations and other complex rhythms, notational complexity and cryptic textual references.[181]

Several songs composed in this style contain citations from other contemporary songs, a practice that seems to have started with Machaut, and was continued by younger composers after his death. Yolanda Plumley has contested Ursula Günther's claim that the music of the ars subtilior does not contain much musical or textual citation, and shown that it is in fact full of textual and musical allusions to other works, both contemporary and older.[182] Predictably, many songs quote Machaut. One of these, the anonymous rondeau *Espérance qui en mon cuer s'embat*, seems to have been the model for the three related *En attendant* songs, to be discussed below. The quotation of songs by Machaut was not strictly limited to the works of French composers, since Matteo da Perugia's ballade *Se me plaing de fortune* quotes Machaut's ballades 15 and 23.[183] Similarly, Antonello da Caserta, an Italian composer who composed Italian ballatas and

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[181] Sometimes this notational complexity is necessary to notate the rhythms, but at other times it points to other concerns. For example, in Senleches's *Je me merveil/J'ay plusieurs fois*, the part of the text that refers to counterfeiting uses different notation in each voice, but the music is exactly the same, with the second voice imitating the first a breve later. See Anne Stone, "The Composer's Voice in Late-Medieval Song," in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition,* 179-87.

[182] Ursula Günther, "Zitate in fransösichen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior," *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972): 53-68. In all of her articles dealing with citation and allusion in ars subtilior song, Yolanda Plumley strongly disagrees with Günther's assertion that the practice of citation died out with the emergence of the ars subtilior style. Plumley suggests that rather than the more clumsy "cut and paste" type of citation, ars subtilior songs integrate citation and allusion with much more subtlety and sophistication, and this is why the practice has gone undetected in the past. See Plumley, "Intertexuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson," *Music and Letters* 84 (2003): 370; *Idem*, "Citation and Allusion in the Late *ars nova*: The Case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* Songs," 288-89; *Idem*, "Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta," in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, 141; *Idem*, "Playing the Citation Game in the Late Fourteenth-Century Chanson," *Early Music* 31 (2003): 21.

[183] Yolanda Plumley, "Intertextuality," 365-69. In the case of ballade 23 (*De Fortune me doy pleindre et loer*), Matteo quotes both the text and the music of Machaut's song.

madrigals as well as French chansons, cites text and music from Vaillant's well-known virelai *Par maintes foys* in the refrain of his ballade *Dame d'onour en qui*.[184]

The practice of citation and allusion in the French repertoire seems to have been associated with songs that are occasional and/or dedicatory. For example, Plumley has suggested that a group of songs, connected by their use of intertextual and musical references, was composed for the wedding of Jean, Duc de Berry to his second wife, Jeanne de Boulogne, in 1382.[185] Plumley has also proposed that the three songs beginning with the text *En attendant* (Senleches's *En attendant, espérance conforte*, Galiot's *En attendant, d'amer la douce vie* and Philipoctus da Caserta's *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*) were composed for the betrothal of Bernabò Visconti's daughter Lucia to Louis of Anjou.[186]

Many of the French songs containing borrowed or cited material also contain heraldic references, making them analogous to the heraldic madrigals that were being composed in Italy at roughly the same time (see Table 2.5).

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[184] Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M.5.24*, 78. Antonello also set an entire text by Machaut (*Beauté parfaite*). Ursula Günther has suggested that his use of mensuration signs in his rondeau *Dame donour con ne puet esprixier* may be borrowed from Matteo de Sancto Johanne's ballade *Inclite flos*. See Ursula Günther, "Polymetric Rondeaux from Machaut to Dufay," in *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*, ed. Eugene Wolf and Edward Roesner (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1990), 96-98.

[185] Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'?" 130-48. The songs are: the anonymous *En mon cuer*, Trebor's *Passerose* and Egidius's *Roses et lis.*

[186] Plumley, "Citation and Allusion," 353-54.

Table 2.5 Heraldic songs of the French ars subtilior

Composer	Incipit	Dedicatee	Para/Heraldry	Sources	Notes
Anon.	*Espérance, qui en mon cuer*	Unknown	*Espérance* motto	widely disseminated*	
Senleches	*En attendant, espérance*	Unknown	*Espérance* motto	**Ch** 44 **Mod A** 78	Attributed to Galiot in **Ch**.
Philipoctus da Caserta	*En attendant, soufrir*	Bernabò Visconti?	*Soufrir m'estuet* motto	**Ch** 33v **Mod A 34** **PR** 84v	Attributed to Galiot in **Ch**.
Anon.	*Loys, prijs, honour*	Louis d' Anjou	*L'escu de Franche orlé de gueles*	**PR** 60v-61	Acrostic "Loys de France et de Valois"
Anon.	*Cine vermeil*	Jean de Berry	Wounded white swan	**Ch** 56 **FP** 101v-102	
Anon.	*En mon cuer*	Jean de Berry	Wounded white swan	**FP** 100v	
Trebor	*Quant joyne cuer*	Jean de Berry	Gold and red *golfanon*	**Ch** 31	
Solage	*Joieux de cuer*	Valentina Visconti?	Motto *A bon droit*	**Ch** 58v	
Anon.	*Doulour me tient par ma foy*	Valentina Visconti?	Motto *A bon droit*	**PR** 82v	
Anon.	*Bonté de corps*	Bertran du Guesclin	*Barre* of Bertran, motto *A bon droit*	**PR** 55	Acrostic "Bertran"
Salinis	*En la saison*	Olivier du Guesclin	White shield with red bar	**Ch** 46	
Anon.	*L'escu d'amors*	Unknown	Argent shield, green tree	**PR** 76v	

* for a list of sources, please refer to Plumley, "Citation and Allusion in in the Late *Ars Nova*," *Early Muisc History* 18 (1999): 295n.

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Three of these heraldic songs belong to what Plumley has termed the "*En attendant* complex" (the first three songs in Table 2.5), which appears to have historical and heraldic links to the French royal family and to Bernabò Visconti. Reinhard Strohm was the first to notice that *En attendant, Espérance conforte* by Senleches quotes material from the anonymous and widely-transmitted rondeau *Espérance qui en mon cuer s'embat*, and noted that in each of the *En attendant* songs, the incipit *En attendant* is followed by a quotation.[187] Plumley has commented further on the relationships among these songs; she noted that Galiot's ballade is closely modeled on the *Espérance* rondeau, and cites text from Machaut's *En amer la douce vie*. This same ballade by Machaut is quoted in the *Esperance* rondeau.[188] Finally, though Philipoctus's *En attendant* song does not contain any textual or musical links to the *Espérance* rondeau, it is cited in Senleches's *En attendant, Espérance conforte*. These relationships are outlined in Figure 2.2.[189]

Three heraldic songs for Jean, Duc de Berry have survived: *Quant joyne cuer* (Trebor)*, Cine vermeil* and *En mon cuer*, both anonymous. While these last two refer to the wounded white swan, a device used by Jean from 1370 until his death, *Quant joyne cuer* mentions the red and gold *golfanon* of Jean's wife Jeanne de Boulogne, to whom he was married in 1382.[190] As in the heraldic madrigal repertoire, the reference to the heraldry of a woman (or, in this case, that of her father) is confined to a song composed for her wedding. While the presence of *Cine vermeil* and *Quant joyne cuer* in **Ch** is hardly surprising, both *Cine vermeil* and *En mon cuer* were copied into **FP**, a manuscript that has always been associated with Florence, demonstrating knowledge of the French heraldic repertoire in Italy.[191]

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[187] Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 60.

[188] Plumley, "Intertextuality," 370.

[189] *Ibid.*

[190] Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'?" 150. Plumley describes a *golfanon* as "a three-lobed military design that was attached to a lance."

[191] While *Cine vermeil* appears in gathering 11 of **FP** with other French-language songs (including *La douce cere*), *En mon cuer* is an addition to the last folio of gathering 10.

The three texts containing the motto of Giangaleazzo Visconti (*A bon droyt*) are somewhat of a puzzle. We know that at least one of these was composed for military commander Bertand du Guesclin (c. 1320 – 1380) because it contains a reference to his heraldry (*l'aygle noir à la barre vermeille*) and the acrostic "Bertran."[192] Similiarly, *En la saison*, composed for Bertrand's brother Olivier du Guesclin refers to Olivier's heraldry in the refrain (*un escu blanc à la barre vermeille*).[193] The two other songs containing the motto of Giangaleazzo Visconti, however, may refer to his daughter Valentina, who lived in France and was married to Louis d'Orléans, and who is known to have used this motto.

Finally, as with *La douce cere* and *La nobil scala*, the text of the anonymous ballade *L'escu d'amors dont le chanp est argent* consists of a description of arms, as yet unidentified. The text describes a shield with an argent field on which is charged a green tree, and is carried by a "noble creature," which may refer to a heraldic charge, or equally to a woman of renown.

The Trecento Motet

While much scholarly attention has been focused on the motets of the French ars antiqua and ars nova, comparatively little has been paid to the trecento motet. This is probably due to the small number of examples that survive from before 1400, and the fact that this repertoire was probably never very extensive.[194] Unlike the French motet, which seems to have been cultivated all over France, the composition of motets in the Italian trecento was limited to the Veneto region. Twenty-seven Italian motets survive.[195] Of the seventeen motets that can be dated using textual references, eight were composed before 1400, and the remaining nine date from the first two decades of the fifteenth century.

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[192] Ursula Günther, "Zwei Balladen auf Bertrand und Olivier du Guesclin," *Musica Disciplina* 22 (1968): 24.

[193] *Ibid.*, 28.

[194] Margaret Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," in *L'ars nova italiana del trecento* VI, 94.

[195] *Ibid.*, 122-25.

Stylistically, the trecento motet is different from motets of the French tradition. Generally speaking, they feature two upper voices in an equal range above a newly-composed tenor, and are exclusively in Latin. Some have contratenor parts, but most of these are not necessary from a contrapuntal point of view. Heraldic madrigals and motets share many stylistic features but can still be viewed (and heard) as two distinct genres. The trecento motet is a more elevated genre than the madrigal. Though it is now acknowledged that its connection to sacred music is tenuous at best, motets were often dedicated to saints, bishops and other church authorities. Motets exist for three or four voices, while madrigals are usually for two or three, and motets are often much longer than madrigals. Because of the length of motets, composers sometimes used large-scale organizational devices such as isorhythm, and sectional breaks determined by the text.[196] The texts themselves are different also: motets are in Latin and are often self-consciously learned, featuring acrostics, internal rhymes, and grammatical constructions that can be symmetrical or antithetical.

Ciconia's motets occupy a special place in the study of trecento music. They are traditional, displaying many of the standard characteristics of the trecento motet: two upper voices in the same range, imitation, introitus openings, limited use of isorhythm, conceived without a contratenor part. They are also innovative, featuring the extended use of hocket, fanfare-like passages and complex wordplay. Ciconia's name is often embedded in the texts of the motets for political or religious figures.[197]

O felix templum is one of a group of motets by Ciconia composed in the early fifteenth century and dedicated to prominent Paduan officials. As we can see from Table 2.6, *O felix templum* was composed for Stefano da Carrara, an illegitimate son of Francesco il Novello who became bishop of Padua in 1402. *Padu…serenans* was composed for Andrea da Carrara, Abbot of Santa

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[196] Julie Cumming points out that "Works demonstrating this kind of rhythmic organization tend to be ambitious, formal and backward-looking: these works are the top of the genre hierarchy, and they are often occasional or dedicatory." See Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 34.

[197] Ciconia's name appears at the end of five motets: *O felix templum jubila*, *O Padua, sidus preclarum*, *Venecie, mundi splendor/Michael, qui stena domus, Albane, misse celitus/Albane, doctor maxime* and *Petrum Marcello Venetum/O Petre, antistes inclite*). Though Bent and Hallmark state that *O Padua, sidus preclarum* "resists dating," the fact that Ciconia's name appears in the text suggests that it was written for a specific political event. See Bent and Hallmark, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, xiii.

Giustina. After the end of Carrara rule in Padua, Ciconia wrote motets for two Venetian bishops of Padua: *Albane, misse celitus/Albane, doctor maxime*, and *Petrum Marcello Venetum/O Petre, antistes inclite*. He also wrote a motet, *Venecie, mundi splendor/Michael, qui stena domus* for Venetian Doge Michele Steno (1400 – 1413). Two other motets, *Doctorem principem/Melodia suavissimus/Vir mitis* and *Ut te per omnes celitus/Ingens alumnus padue* are for Francesco Zabarella, Ciconia's friend and patron.[198]

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[198] For more on the relationship between Ciconia and Zabarella, see Julie Cumming, "Concord Out of Discord: Occasional Motets of the Early Quattrocento," (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1987), 213-48; Anne Hallmark, "*Protector, imo verus pater*," 161-68.

Table 2.6 Motets by Johannes Ciconia

A. Carrara motets

Incipit	Dedicatee	Date	Voices	Texts	Signature	Sources
O felix templum	Stefano da Carrara	1401 -1405	3 + contra (2 texted)	1	Yes	**Q15, Ox 213**
Padu... serenans	Andrea da Carrara	1399 -1404	3	1		**Padua 1106**

B. Venetian Bishop motets

Incipit	Dedicatee	Date	Voices	Texts	Signature	Sources
Albane, misse celitus/ Albane, doctor maxime	Albane Michele	1406	3 + contra	2	Yes	**Q15**
Petrum Marcello venetum/O Petre, antistes inclite	Pietro Marcello	1409	3 + contra	2	Yes	**Q15**

C. Zabarella motets

Incipit	Dedicatee	Date	Voices	Texts	Signature	Sources
Doctrorem principem/ Melodia suavissima/ Vir mitis	Francesco Zabarella	1405- 1409?	3 + contra	2	No	**Q15**
Ut ter per omnes celitus/ Ingens alum- nus padue	Francesco Zabarella	1401- 1412	3 + contra	2	No	**Q15, Ox 213**

D. Motets in honour of saints

Incipit	Dedicatee	Date	Voices	Texts	Signature	Sources
O virum omnimoda/ O lux et decus/ O beate Nicholae	St Nicholas of Trani	1394?	4	3	No	**Q15**, **Bu 2216**, **Siena 36**
O proles hispanie	St Anthony of Padua	1401-1412	2	2	No	**Padua 1106**

E. Other motets

Incipit	Dedicatee	Date	Voices	Texts	Signature	Sources
Venecie, mundi splendor/ Michael, qui stena domus	Michele Steno	1406?	3	2	Yes	**Q15**
O Padua, sidus Preclarum	Unknown	Before 1405?	3	1	No	**Q15**

Although *O felix templum* shares many textual elements with Ciconia's other motets, such as complex poetic structure and wordplay, it is, as far as we know the only one that contains heraldic references (the surviving text of the other Carrara motet, *Padu…serenans*, does not refer to the Carrara chariot or any individual Carrara crest). The Carrara heraldry cited in *O felix templum* is not as obvious as it is in the Carrara madrigals, since the *carro* is not mentioned explicitly. Instead, Francesco il Novello da Carrara is referred to as *plaustriger illustrissime* (most illustrious charioteer).[199] He is also described as having prepared a path to the stars (*ad astra iter jam parasti*), which recalls the texts of the heraldic madrigals *Inperiale sedendo* and *Per quella strada*, both composed for the Carrara family.[200]

There is some disagreement as to when *O felix templum* was composed. Clercx, and more recently Steffen Seiferling both believe the motet to have been written in 1399 for the consecration of an altar to St Stephen in the Duomo, but Bent and Hallmark think it more likely that it dates from Stefano's bishopric (between 1402 and 1405).[201] Unfortunately, the heraldry cited in the motet is not personal but hereditary, and cannot clarify this point.

O felix templum is transmitted in two manuscripts, **Q15** and **Ox 213**. **Q15** dates from the third and fourth decades of the fifteenth century, and is the work of a single scribe. Margaret Bent, who has carried out an extensive codicological study of **Q15**, has shown that it was compiled in three stages, with large chunks of the manuscript discarded in stages 2 and 3. These later stages contain fewer French and more Italian works, as well as many older three-voice

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[199] There are several other words that Ciconia uses in his motets to refer to greatness of the dedicatees, *inclitus* being the most common (others are *preclarum* and *nobilis*). I would argue that his use of *illustrissime* in this motet is therefore significant, and, though it is likely unintentional, it recalls the *Sala virorum illustrium* (the Hall of Illustrious Men, a room in the Carrara palace decorated with 'portraits' of Roman military heroes as described in Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*).

[200] *Inperiale sedendo* refers to the *carro* as *fra più stele* (among many stars) and *Per quella strada* describes a chariot flying along the Milky Way. These madrigals are the focus of Chapter 6.

[201] Suzanne Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia*, 86; Steffen Seiferling, *O felix templum jubila: Musik, Text und Zeremoniell in den Motetten Johannes Ciconias* (Berlin: Mensch & Buch Verlag, 2003), 90-92; Bent and Hallmark, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, xii. Though Stefano did not become bishop until 1402, he was administrator of the Paduan See beginning in 1396.

songs that have been updated by the addition of contratenors.[202] *O felix templum* was copied at each stage: in stage 1 it did not have a contratenor part, in stage 2 it was recopied with a contratenor that Bent describes as "problematic," but in stage 3 the contratenor was removed again.[203] As well as updating stylistic elements such as contratenors, the **Q15** scribe sought to update the notation of the manuscript by copying Italian works in French notation (which is somewhat ironic, considering that he was also seeking to discard much of the French repertoire and focus on Italian works), and it is evident that all of Ciconia's motets were originally conceived in Italian notation, but later translated into a more French notation.[204]

The manuscript **Ox 213** is thought to have been compiled in Venice slightly earlier than **Q15**. Like **Q15**, it includes French and Italian, sacred and secular works. It contains four works by Ciconia: two Glorias and two motets (the other motet is *Ut te per omnes celitus/Ingens alumnus padue*), and transmits *O felix templum* in Italian notation. Based on the frequency of textual errors in **Ox 213**, it appears that the transmission of the motet in this manuscript is less secure than that of **Q15**, except for the fact that it appears in unadulterated Italian notation.

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[202] Margaret Bent, "A Contemporary Perception of Early Fifteenth-Century Style; Bologna Q15 as a Document of Scribal Editorial Initiative," *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987): 183-203.

[203] *Ibid.*, 194. According to Bent, the addition and removal of the contratenor is the only obvious reason for the motet to be copied at each stage.

[204] *Ibid.*, 196.

Table 2.7 Textual and musical structure *O felix templum*

STROPHE	TEXT	METRIC DIVISION	SUBJECT	TEXTURE
1	O felix templum jubila et chors tua canonici nunc plaudat corde supplici. Tu, clere, viso rutila	Iambic tetrameter	Temple and clergy	Imitation
2	Qui presul divi muneris de summo missus cardine a justo nato Dardane est pastor sacri oneris.	Iambic tetrameter		Homophony
3	Tu genitoris stephane, o plaustriger illustrissime, virtutes splendidissime sunt tuis factis consone:	Iambic tetrameter	Stefano and Carraras	Imitation
4	Fano novo et multis aris superis quas dedicasti ad astra iter jam parasti tibi et cunctis tui laris.	Trochaic tetrameter		Homophony
5	Precor, pater o digna proles, justa, mitis et modesta, viciorum ac infesta, virtutibusque redole[n]s,	Trochaic tetrameter	Dedicatory	Imitation
6	dignare me Ciconiam (tanti licet sim indignus) tui habere in cordis pignus, es benignus quoniam.	Trochaic tetrameter		

The text of *O felix templum* is in metrical verse, divided into six quatrains, which are then divided metrically into two halves (two groups of three strophes). This however, serves to complicate the meaning of the poem, which is understood in terms of three groups of two strophes (see Table 2.7).[205] The first two strophes describe the temple and its attendants, the second group of strophes honours Stefano and the Carrara family. The third is dedicatory and includes Ciconia's name. Ciconia uses different techniques to highlight the metric structure and sense structures of the poem. To emphasize the metric structure, he places the name Stefano at the end of the first half when divided metrically (strophe 3) and his own at the end of the motet (strophe 6). Ciconia does not seem to have been interested in matching stressed syllables with accented beats in the music.[206]

In some of Ciconia's polytextual motets, such as *Albane, misse celitus*, *Doctorem principem* and *Ut te per omnes*, large-scale rhythmic organizational procedures are applied to all voices, with the result that the motet is divided into rhythmically symmetrical halves. *O felix templum*, however, is through-composed, with a formal structure determined by its single text.[207] In this motet, Ciconia uses two opposing textures (imitation and homophony) to clarify the underlying sense structure of the poetry. *O felix templum* opens with an introitus in echo-imitation (the same music and text in imitation) between the upper voices. Ciconia uses homophony, often in longer notes such as semibreves to emphasize the text at the beginning of strophes 2 and 4. This technique is not unique to Ciconia's motets; it is also apparent in *Per quella strada* and many of his other songs. Ciconia uses echo-imitation to demarcate the

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[205] M.J. Connolly, "Motet Texts and Translations," in *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, 220; Seiferling, *O felix templum jubila*, 92-94.

[206] Margaret Bent, "Text Setting in Sacred Music of the Early 15th Century," in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, 310-11; Jane Alden, "Text/Music Design in Ciconia's Ceremonial Motets," in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, 40. Alden notes that Ciconia set "lines of opposite accent to the same musical rhythm and metrically equal lines to different music."

[207] *O virum omnimoda/O lux et decus/O beate Nicholae* is the only polytextual motet by Ciconia that does not use some kind of large-scale rhythmic organization. All three texts are of almost equal length (even the tenor), making a text-based form possible.

beginnings of strophes 1, 3 and 5, but does not musically separate strophe 6 from strophe 5.[208] The heraldic text, *o plaustriger illustrissime*, is set in imitation and is not easy to pick out aurally, especially since the text immediately preceding it, s*tephano*, is set so that no other text is sung at the same time (it is the first statement of a motive to be treated in echo-imitation). Obviously, it was more important to Ciconia to highlight the name of the patron, as opposed to his heraldry.

Wordplay, or what Connolly calls "creative sound patterning" figures prominently in *O felix templum*. Connolly notes that the name Stefano is mirrored in the text: the *S* is omitted, but the *te* appears at the beginning of *templum*, and the rest appears at the beginning of strophe 4, *Fano* (this echoes his use of Stefano's entire name to draw attention to the metric structure of the text).[209] Similarly, many individual syllables are mirrored throughout the poem, such as the *on – on* of *consone*, reflected in the *no – no* of *Fano novo* in the next line.[210] Note also that phrases which address their subjects directly (beginning with *O* and *tu*) always appear in close proximity.

Bent has suggested that the trecento motet is derived from the caccia, a statement used by Cumming to help explain why trecento motet tenors are usually newly composed.[211] Since both the motet and the madrigal are related to the caccia, it is understandable that there should be some stylistic overlap between these two genres. The aural impressions of the trecento motet and the madrigal are still very different, however, despite sharing many compositional techniques. In Ciconia's works, both motets and madrigals feature the alternation of imitative and homophonic passages, and distinctive linking and cadential motives. For example, many of the motives used in *O felix templum* are also present in the heraldic madrigal *Una panthera*, but it is impossible to know whether or not this is intentional. In order to understand the heraldic madrigal repertoire more fully, the following chapter provides texts, translations and information about the heraldic

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[208] For a detailed analysis of the underlying contrapuntal texture in this motet, see Margaret Bent, "Ciconia, Prosdocimus, and the workings of musical grammar as exemplified in *O felix templum* and *O Padua*," in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, 65-106.

[209] Connolly, "Motets Texts and Translations," 220.

[210] *Ibid.* Connolly also mentions the juxtaposition of *astra* and *parasti* in strophe 4, and Seiferling notes the repetition of letters in *Qui presul divi muneris* and *est pastor sacri oneris*.

[211] Bent, "The fourteenth-century Italian motet," 104; Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 71.

madrigal repertoire, which will make the distinction between heraldic madrigal and heraldic motet more evident.

Chapter 3

The Heraldic Madrigal Repertoire

This chapter provides texts, translations and commentary for the heraldic madrigal repertoire. Table 3.1 contains a list of heraldic madrigals of the trecento, as defined by the following criteria. Two types of madrigal are included: those whose texts consist of a description of a coat of arms, and those whose texts refer to an element from the coat of arms or paraheraldry of an individual or family. I have divided the repertoire according to the following categories:

1. The entire text is a description of arms or paraheraldry. Two madrigals fall into this category: *La douce cere* by Bartolino da Padova, and *D'or pomo incominciò* by Donato da Cascia.

2. The text mentions the arms of a particular family. This is by far the most common type of heraldic madrigal. Three such devices can be found in trecento madrigal texts: the Visconti *biscia*, the della Scala *scala* and the Carrara *carro*.

3. The text refers to the paraheraldic badge or device of an individual. Four paraheraldic devices have been identified in the madrigal repertoire: those belonging to Bernabò Visconti, Giangaleazzo Visconti, Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara and his son Francesco il Novello. Three paraheraldic badges appear in the repertoire: the phoenix of Antonio Della Scala, the leopard of Bernabò Visconti and the knot associated with Giangaleazzo Visconti.

4. The text contains the motto of an individual, but no other paraheraldry. Bernabò Visconti and Giangaleazzo Visconti are the only individuals whose mottoes appear in madrigal texts.

5. The text contains an epithet associated with an individual's heraldry or paraheraldry. For example, I consider Giangaleazzo Visconti's epithet *Conte di Virtù* to be part of his paraheraldry because of its close association with his paraheraldic dove-in-sun emblem.

Although colour is an important element of heraldry, I have not included madrigals whose texts refer to colours without reference to other heraldry. This is because I do not consider heraldic colours alone to be sufficient indicators of a specific coat of arms or paraheraldic badge/device. For this reason, Giovanni da Cascia's *Quando la stella* is not included in the Table.[212]

The texts of surviving trecento madrigals are usually allegorical, making heraldic identifications somewhat difficult. For example, madrigal texts often use the metaphor of the hunt to describe the pursuit of a woman, who appears in the guise of an exotic bird or animal.[213] References to eagles are particularly confusing, because they suggest references to either the emperor or one of his vicars (the Visconti, Della Scala and Carrara families all held imperial vicariates at various times during the fourteenth century). I have not included these madrigals in my discussion of heraldry, partly because the references do not point clearly to one patron, even when combined with our knowledge of the composer's working career

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[212] This issue of heraldic colours is confusing, especially when the colours themselves are common, or when paraheraldic colours change. For example, both the Scaligeri and the Carraresi had white and red shields (an argent field with a charge gules).

[213] Donato da Cascia set many texts of this type, including *Un bel girfalco*, *Seguendo 'l canto*, *I' fu' già usignolo*, *Sovran' uccel*, and *I' fu' già bianc' uccel*.

Table 3.1 Repertoire of heraldic madrigals, in the order in which they are discussed

Composer	Incipit	Dedicatee	(Para)Heraldry
Jacopo da Bologna	*Nel bel giardino*	Mastino II Della Scala	Visconti *biscia*
Jacopo da Bologna	*Posando sopra*	Mastino II Della Scala	Visconti *biscia*
Jacopo da Bologna	*Sotto l'imperio*	Mastino II Della Scala	Visconti *biscia*
Giovanni da Cascia	*Donna già fu'*	Mastino II Della Scala	Visconti *biscia*
Niccolò del Proposto	*La fiera testa*	Bernabò Visconti	*biscia*, leopard, flames
Bartolino da Padova	*La fiera testa*	Bernabò Visconti?	*biscia*, leopard, flames
Jacopo da Bologna	*Aquila altera*	Giangaleazzo Visconti	eagle, sun
Bartolino da Padova	*Le aurate chiome*	Giangaleazzo Visconti	knot
Bartolino da Padova	*Alba colomba*	Giangaleazzo Visconti	dove
Antonello da Caserta	*Del glorioso titolo*	Giangaleazzo Visconti	sun, *vertù*
Anon.	*Di vertù vidi*	Filippo Maria Visconti	peregrine, sun, *vertù*
Johannes Ciconia	*Una panthera*	Giangaleazzo Visconti	panther
Donato da Cascia	*Dal cielo scese*	Antonio Della Scala	phoenix
Anon.	*La nobil scala*	Cansigorio Della Scala?	ladder
Bartolino da Padova?	*Inperiale sedendo*	Francesco I da Carrara?	chariot, Saracen
Johannes Ciconia	*Per quella strada*	Francesco II da Carrara	chariot
Bartolino da Padova	*La douce cere*	Francesco II da Carrara?	white shield, lion, motto
Donato da Cascia	*D'or pomo incominciò*	Unknown	golden shield, axe, "gi"

I. Madrigals Containing Visconti Heraldry

The Visconti Family

The Visconti family were tyrants: they were self-appointed hereditary rulers with no legal right to rule. Propaganda, in the form of heraldry, building programs and contributions to religious spaces, were therefore used to justify their unauthorized position as lords of Milan. Although they had been in power since the thirteenth century, their rule was not legitimized until 1395 when Emperor Wenceslaus IV crowned Giangaleazzo Visconti Duke of Milan, making the lordship of Milan both legal and hereditary. The Visconti had first risen to prominence in 1262, when Pope Urban IV made Ottone Visconti archbishop of Milan in an effort to subdue the power of the ruling Della Torre family.[214] Ottone established his heir Matteo I (sometimes called "the Great") as Captain General of Milan, thus ensuring that power stayed within the family. Matteo the Great was also the first Visconti to hold an imperial vicariate.[215] In 1317, Matteo gave up the vicariate and called himself Lord of Milan, a title that would be held by the Visconti rulers of Milan until Giangaleazzo became a Duke.[216] Upon his accesssion to power, each Visconti ruler was obliged to obtain the approval of the Grand Council of Milan, but as the fourteenth century progressed this became more and more of a formality.

One unusual aspect of Visconti rule was that it was often shared. For example, both Giovanni and Luchino ruled during the 1340s (Luchino as lord of Milan and Giovanni as archbishop), and after Giovanni's death in 1354 power was divided among Giovanni's three nephews Matteo II, Bernabò and Galeazzo II (Luchino having died in 1349). This approach to government had its strengths: it was more difficult to overthrow two or three rulers than one, and the system also encouraged territorial expansion so that each lord could be assured of land to

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[214] E.R. Chamberlin, *The Count of Virtue: Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1965), 15. Please refer to Appendix 3 for the Visconti family tree.

[215] D.M. Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan: A Study in the Political Career of an Italian Despot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941), 3. The Peace of Constance, signed in 1183, promised the loyalty of Italian states to the Emperor. However, through the bestowing of imperial vicariates, the Emperor returned some powers to selected northern-Italian magnates.

[216] *Ibid.*

pass on to his heirs. Naturally, though, power divided among two or three rulers was bound to create tensions, and these resulted in the death of Matteo II, probably at the hands of his brothers, in 1355.[217] Joint rulers seem to have alleviated tensions by focusing on different aspects of rule. For example, Giovanni concentrated on his ecclesiastical duties while Luchino ran the state,[218] and Bernabò was much more interested in the expansion of Milanese territories than Galeazzo, whose court was a centre of humanist learning.[219] After the capture of Pavia in 1359, however, Galeazzo decided to move his court to this city in order to put some distance between himself and Bernabò. In addition to building a large castle with an extensive game park, Galeazzo founded the city's university and invited Petrarch to stay. His son Giangaleazzo therefore grew up surrounded by the foremost humanists and scholars of the day.

Like most noble marriages in the Middle Ages, those of the Visconti were carefully arranged to build up a network of political alliances and gain territory. While Bernabò and his children followed the older model of marriage to northern Italian neighbours, Galeazzo and his children married people from further afield, setting a precedent for noble Visconti marriages of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Bernabò and Galeazzo were married in the same month in 1350; Bernabò married Beatrice (called Regina) della Scala in a move to strengthen ties with the ruling family of Verona, while Galeazzo married Blanche of Savoy, whom he had known from his stay at the court of Savoy.[220] Giangaleazzo, the only son of Galeazzo and Blanche, was born in October 1351.

Though Galeazzo's court was somewhat overshadowed by that of Bernabò, he nevertheless managed to arrange extremely advantageous marriages for both his children. In 1360 Giangaleazzo was married to Isabelle de Valois, daughter of the French king John II

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[217] Chamberlin, *The Count of Virtue*, 26.

[218] After the death of Luchino in 1349, Giovanni ruled alone and managed to increase Visconti territory as far west as Genoa and as far south as Bologna.

[219] Galeazzo's palace near the Porta Giovia was known for its patronage of the arts. He invited poets such as Petrarch to the court, and founded an extensive library. Thibault suggests that Jacopo's madrigal *Sotto l'imperio* was written for Galeazzo (see Chapter 2), and if this is true we can add composers to the list of artists patronized by Galeazzo.

[220] Bernabò's wedding was one of the first Italian weddings to feature a joust as part of the festivities. See Chamberlin, *The Count of Virtue*, 22.

(known as "the Good"), who was being held for ransom in England after the French defeat at Poitiers.[221] The bride arrived in Milan on October 8, 1360 and the wedding took place a few days later.[222] In 1368, Giangaleazzo's sister Violante married Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who was the third son of Edward III of England.[223] Unfortunately, Lionel died soon after the wedding, and Violante was later married to a local lord, Secondotto, Marquis of Montferrat, in 1377. Giangaleazzo's wife Isabelle died in childbirth in 1372, and Giangaleazzo married his cousin (Bernabò's daughter) Caterina in 1380.

In 1375 Galeazzo, who suffered from a chronic illness which may have been gout, transferred most of his power to his son Giangaleazzo.[224] Galeazzo died in 1378, the first year of the papal Schism. Giangaleazzo remained neutral throughout the Schism, and gained local popularity by lowering taxes.[225] The event for which Giangaleazzo is most often remembered, however, is his takeover of Milan in May of 1385, which sent shock waves throughout Italy and the rest of Europe, even to the point of being mentioned in Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*.[226] Bernabò was captured and imprisoned, and died later that year, with many believing that he had been poisoned). Giangaleazzo's first task, after legalizing his capture of Milan, was to centralize the local governments over which he had control.[227] He then began a campaign of territorial expansion that lasted until his death. In 1387 he seized Verona, and in 1388 he captured Padua, forcing the ruling families of these cities into exile. While the Carraras of Padua were able to

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[221] Contemporary chroniclers, who seem obssessed with the amounts of money paid out by Galeazzo to bring about the wedding of Isabelle and Giangaleazzo, criticize John II for "selling" his daughter to Galeazzo. This money seems to have been used to secure John's freedom from captivity in England. See Pietro Azario, *Cronaca della Lombardia e dei Visconti* (Pavia: Associazione Culturale Liutprand, 1997), 172; Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, 317. Isabelle was also the sister of Jean, Duc de Berry and future king Charles V of France.

[222] Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, 318.

[223] Strangely, it was not considered bad manners to marry off Giangaleazzo's sister to the son of Edward III, who was after all the man who had imprisoned Giangleazzo's father-in-law (John II of France). For a description of the wedding of Lionel and Violante, see John Larner, *Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch* (London and New York: Longman, 1980), 211-13.

[224] Chamberlin, *The Count of Virtue*, 61.

[225] *Ibid.*, 66.

[226] This event was recorded by almost every Italian chronicler. See Chamberlin, *The Count of Virtue*, 75-76.

[227] *Ibid.*, 83-84.

regain their city in 1390, the Della Scala family of Verona never rose to power again. In 1395 emperor Wenceslaus IV agreed to create the hereditary title of Duke of Milan for the sum of 100,000 florins, and on 5 September Giangaleazzo was crowned in Milan by the emperor.[228] Giangalezzo fell ill and died in the autumn of 1402, while waging war on both Bologna and Florence.

Visconti Heraldry and Paraheraldry

The heraldic charge of the Visconti family is the viper or *biscia*, which was borrowed from the arms of the city of Milan. The viper is blue, and holds a red figure in its mouth (Figure 3.1). This serpent was associated with St Ambrose, the patron saint of Milan.[229] By adopting the *biscia*, therefore, the Visconti consciously associated their rule with divinely sanctioned military aggression. While Bernabò ruled Milan (1354 – 1385), he used the *biscia* as well as his own paraheraldry; once Giangaleazzo controlled Milan, however, he adopted the *biscia*, but continued to use his own paraheraldry as well.

Figure 3.1 The Visconti *biscia*. From Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds, latins 6069). © BnF. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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[228] *Ibid.*, 163.

[229] Allison Lee Palmer, "Bonino da Campione's Equestrian Monument of Bernabò Visconti and Popular Piety in the Late Middle Ages," *Arte Lombarda* 121 (1997, no. 3): 60.

The adoption of paraheraldic badges and devices at the courts of the Visconti seems to have been influenced to some extent by the exile of Bernabò and Galeazzo at the court of Savoy. Count Amadeus VI of Savoy (1334 – 1383), is generally credited with bringing French culture to northern Italy, and it is probable that the Visconti brothers adopted their paraheraldic devices at his court. Amadeus was known as "the Green Count" because of the distinctive green clothing he wore at tournaments, and also because the liveries he distributed were green.[230] He founded the Order of the Collar, a monarchical order of chivalry, from whose paraheraldry the Visconti knot badge was most likely borrowed.[231] The paraheraldic device used by Bernabò consists of a seated and helmeted leopard surrounded by flames, holding a scroll, and the motto *Souffrir m'estuet* (I must suffer) (for a picture of this, please refer to Figure 5.1). That of Galeazzo is very similar: a seated, helmeted lion surrounded by flames, holding a branch, with the motto *Ich hof* (I hope).[232] This device was later adopted by Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who used it as part of the decoration in the *Sala azzurra* in the castle at Pavia.[233] Giangaleazzo adopted several paraheraldic devices throughout his lifetime, but the one most often associated with him is the dove-in-sun badge, sometimes accompanied by the motto *A bon droit* (sometimes written as *A bon droyt*). This badge is thought to have been created for him by Petrarch in connection with his first marriage (to Isabelle de Valois in 1360), and is also associated with his epithet *Conte di Virtù* (Count of Virtue) since Isabelle had brought the county of Vertus in France as part of her dowry; this was Italianized as *Virtù*, meaning virtue.

Five heraldic madrigals refer to the Visconti *biscia*. The four madrigals of the *biscia* group are thought to have been composed for Bernabò (Jacopo da Bologna's *Nel bel giardino*, *Posando sopra un'acqua*, and *Sotto l'imperio*, Giovanni da Cascia's *Donna già fu' leggiadra*). Additionally, the text of *La fiera testa*, set by both Niccolò del Proposto and Bartolino da

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[230] Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 80.

[231] For a detailed description of this order, see Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325 – 1520* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 249-70.

[232] Donata Vicini, *Il castello visconteo di Pavia e i suoi musei* (Pavia: Logos International, 1984), 15.

[233] The ceiling of the *sala azzurra* is pictured in Antonella Gigli, "Pavia," In *La pittura in Lombardia: Il Trecento* (Milan: Electa, 1993), 143-52.

Padova, alludes to the *biscia* and contains Bernabò's motto *Souffrir m'estuet*.[234] Interestingly, none of the *biscia* madrigals were composed for Giangaleazzo; poets of heraldic madrigals for Giangaleazzo preferred to refer to his paraheraldry, perhaps due to the *biscia*'s negative connotations, or its connection to Bernabò.[235] Elements of the dove-in-sun badge and epithet are celebrated in Jacopo da Bologna's *Aquila altera*, Bartolino da Padova's *Alba colomba*, Antonello da Caserta's *Del glorioso titolo* and possibly the anonymous *Di vertù vidi*. The knot, a device associated with weddings in the Visconti family, adopted by Giangaleazzo for his second marriage (to his cousin Caterina, in 1380), is mentioned in *Le aurate chiome*, which was almost certainly composed for their wedding.[236] Several other songs outside of the heraldic madrigal repertoire also allude to elements of the dove-in-sun badge. These include Antonello da Caserta's ballata *Più chiar che'l sol*, believed to have been composed for the wedding of Giangaleazzo's niece Lucia in 1390, and Antonio Zachara da Teramo's ballata *Sol me trafige'l cor*.[237] Finally, three French songs refer to Giangaleazzo's motto *A bon droit*: Solage's virelai *Joieux de cuer*, and the anonymous ballades *Bonté de corps* and *Doulour me tient par ma foy a bon droit*.

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[234] As well as these two settings of *La fiera testa*, two other songs refer to this motto: Paolo Tenorista's ballata *Sofrir m'estuet*, and Philipoctus da Caserta's *ballade En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*. For more on this last song, please see Chapter 2 above.

[235] The only example that I can find of a poem including both *biscia* and dove badge is in the anonymous poem *Hélas qui tant dire poroit*, copied into an anthology of verse associated with the Visconti court (British Library Add. 15224), which refers to

> *… vertu abon droit*
> *Dedens le soleil splendissant*
> *Avironez porte abon droit*
> *A la guarde dun fier serpent.*

See N. Hardy Wallis, *Anonymous French Verse*, 95.

[236] Because the knot was a paraheraldic device associated with Visconti weddings, it is appropriate that Giangaleazzo adopted it for his second wedding. On this occasion he married Caterina Visconti (Bernabò's daughter), so the knot was the perfect symbol for a marriage within the Visconti family. It is also fitting that Giangaleazzo did not use his personal paraheraldry in connection with this wedding, because the dove-in-sun device, along with his epithet ('Conte di Virtù') were associated with his first wife, Isabelle de Valois.

[237] Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 39 and 46.

The *biscia* group

Nel bel giardino (Jacopo da Bologna)

Nel bel giardino che l'Atice cenge   In the beautiful garden that the Adige encloses
vive la biscia fera velenosa,   Lives the wild poisonous viper,
che già fu donna bella e amorosa,   that used to be a beautiful amorous woman,

porgendo a me fedel ottima luce.   who offered me faithful good light.
Spezò la fede e tenne via diversa,   She broke faith and took a different path
sì che di donna in serpe fu conversa.   such that she was transformed into a snake.

Com più mi dà di morso,   As she bites me more and more
né rimedo le trovo né soccorso.   I can find neither remedy nor aid.

Donna già fu' leggiadra (Giovanni da Cascia)

Donna già fu' leggiardra innamorata,   I was a beautiful woman in love,
facendo al servo mio dolce sembiante;   giving sweet looks to my servant;
or sono in biscia orribil tramutata,   Now I have been transformed into a horrible viper

Sol per uccider questo falso amante;   only to kill this false lover;
non so come'l suo cor may lo sofferse   I don't know how his heart ever permitted him
ch'a dirmi vilania se dischoperse.   to show his true self, and say villainous things to me.

Com'io di tormentarlo sia ben saçia   When I have have had enough of tormenting him
tornerò donna renderoll'in graçia   I'll become a woman again and restore him to grace.

Posando sopra un'acqua (Jacopo da Bologna)

Posando sopra un'acqua, en sonio vidi   Resting beside a river, in a dream I saw
tramutars'una dona in fera bissa,   a woman transformed into a wild viper
che tut'al volto me se zitò fissa.   who transfixed me, just by looking at me.

Ligomi per li piedi cum la coda   She tied me by the feet with her tail
e questa serpe me mordea sì forte,   and this serpent bit me so hard
ch'io me svegliai poco lonci da morte.   that I woke up not far from death.

Atorno'l collo ne lassò una stropa,   Around my neck she left a lash,
che per incanti mai no se desgropa.   that cannot be removed by any enchantment.

Sotto l'imperio (Jacopo da Bologna)

Sotto l'imperio del possente prince
che nel so nom'h a le dorate ale,
regna la bisa el cui morso me vince

Under the rule of the powerful prince
who in his name has the golden wings
reigns the viper whose bite conquered me

sì, che da lei fugir nula me vale.
La me persegue [e]'l cor mio segnoreza;
poi como dona instesa se vagez

So, that fleeing from her is no use.
she pursues me and rules over my heart;
then, like a woman, takes joy in her own self.

Come ch'io la remiro pur s'acorze,
i ochi doneschi e chiude e via sen fuze;
ma como serpe tossicosa porze

As I look at her she notices
and closes her womanly eyes and goes away;
but like a poisonous serpent gives off

de foco fiama che m'aceca e struze.
L'animo ha crudo e sì aspra la scorza,
ch' amor en lei per mi più non ha forza.

a flame of fire that blinds and destroys me.
She has a cruel soul and such a bitter bark,
that her love for me no longer has force.

Custei me fe' zà lume più che'l sole;
cum più zò me recordo più me dole.

She already gives me more light than the sun
the more I remember the more I am in pain.

The madrigals *Nel bel giardino*, *Donna già fu'leggiadra*, *Posando sopra un'acqua* and *Sotto l'imperio* each contain a reference to the Visconti viper or *biscia*. Some scholars have assumed that all madrigals by Jacopo, Giovanni and Piero that contain shared refences (to a *perlaro* tree, a woman named Anna and the Visconti *biscia*) were composed at the court of Mastino II della Scala, and because of this, belong to one continuous cycle, even though not all of the madrigals included in this cycle necessarily refer to Anna or the *perlaro*.[238] Considering all these madrigals as a cycle, F. Alberto Gallo suggested that *Nel bel giardino* (which does not refer to either the *perlaro* or to Anna) ends this cycle, because its text describes the transformation of a woman (whom he equated with Anna) into a poisonous snake.[239]

Based on textual evidence, however, Enrico Paganuzzi believed that these madrigals in fact make up two separate groups, which were not necessarily a cycle: the *perlaro* (or *Anna*) group and the *biscia* group (so-called because the madrigals in each group contain either the

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[238] Madrigals that refer to the *perlaro* and to Anna are *Sovra un fiume reghale* and *All'onbra d'un perlaro* by Magister Piero, *Un bel parlaro vive sulla riva* and *O dolce appresso un bel perlaro* by Jacopo da Bologna, and *Appress'un fiume chiaro* and *O perlaro gentil* by Giovanni da Cascia.

[239] F. Alberto Gallo, "Padua," in *Music of the Middle Ages* II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 58.

words *perlaro* (and *Anna*), or *biscia* in the text).[240] He suggested that the most likely occasion

for the composition of the *perlaro* madrigals was the wedding of two Veronese, Anna Zavarise

and Giovanni Bevilacqua, which took place in 1334.[241] This suggestion is based on the fact that

perlaro trees (*celtis australis* or European hackberry) are documented as being used as part of

the decorations at their wedding.[242] Paganuzzi's evidence also provides a tentative identity for

the character of Anna in the *Anna* madrigals, and he has suggested that the reference to the

perlaro may pay homage to Bevilacqua family's former (and very lucrative) occupation as

foresters, which had made it possible for the family to become courtiers.[243]

Robert Nosow, however, argues that though the "Anna" of the madrigals may be the

same person, not all of the *perlaro* songs were written for the same event. He suggests that the

presence of Magister Piero at the Della Scala court preceded that of Jacopo and Giovanni by

more than a decade, and that the competition described by Villani was in fact a challenge to the

later composers to write a madrigal in the style of Piero, on a similar topic.[244] He also proposes a

different identity for the figure of Anna: Giovanna d'Antiochia, wife of Cangrande I Della Scala.

Nosow suggests that two of the *perlaro* madrigals, *O perlaro gentil* (Giovanni) and *O dolce

appresso* (Jacopo) are very different from the others: both ritornellos begin with the same

lamenting phrase, *Ay lasso a me*, and Giovanni's madrigal speaks of flowerless winter, while

Jacopo's describes a person in the past tense. Nosow suggests that these two *perlaro* madrigals

were composed on the death of Giovanna in 1351.[245]

It is possible that the original conflation of the *perlaro* and *biscia* cycles is due to the

presence of both the Anna *senhal* in the first line of the first tercet of *Donna già fu'*

(*leggiardr'**ana**morata*) and the word *biscia* in the third line of the tercet. The name "Anna"

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[240] See Enrico Paganuzzi, "La musica alla corte scaligera," in *Gli Scaligeri*, 528.

[241] *Ibid.*

[242] *Ibid.*

[243] *Ibid.*

[244] Robert Nosow, "The *Perlaro* Cycle Reconsidered" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Québec City, November 1–4, 2007).

[245] *Ibid.*

appears highlighted in the editions by both Pirrotta and Marrocco.[246] However, I would argue that *Donna già fu'* does not in fact belong to the *Anna* cycle at all. The confusion caused by the *senhal* arises from the sources transmitting the madrigal. *Donna già fu'* survives in three sources, **Sq**, **FP**, and a source discovered after the publication of both editions, **SL**. While **FP** transmits the text as "*leggiardrannamorata*", **Sq** has "*gentile innamorata*."[247] Though Pirrotta and others felt that the text in **FP** provided sufficient evidence to show that *Donna già fu'* belongs to the *Anna* cycle, I think that given the discrepancies between texts and the fact that here the Anna *senhal* does not appear in the ritornello (as it does in all the other *Anna* madrigals), the *senhal* in **FP** can best be explained as a scribal error, a result of the scribe's knowledge of both cycles.[248] Table 3.2 lists the *Anna* madrigals, while Table 3.3 lists the madrigals of the *biscia* cycle.

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[246] *CMM 8*, 1:12; *PMFC* , 6:34.

[247] Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 13.

[248] **FP** transmits all four *biscia* madrigals, and four of the six *perlaro* madrigals (Piero's *Sovra un fiume reghale* and *All'ombra d'un perlaro*, Jacopo's *O dolce appress'un bel parlaro* and Giovanni's *O perlaro gentile*). With the exception of *Sotto l'imperio*, all of these were copied by the same scribe (Nádas's Scribe C). Of course, crediting **Sq** with the correct reading of a text or musical setting is in itself problematic, since the compilers of this manuscript seem to have gone out of their way to present a standard (and perhaps definitive) version of both texts and notation. For more on this, see Chapter 2 above.

Table 3.2 Madrigals of the *Anna* cycle

Composer	Incipit
Jacopo da Bologna	*O dolce appress'un bel parlaro*
Jacopo da Bologna	*Un bel parlaro vive sulla riva*
Giovanni da Cascia	*O perlaro gentile*
Giovanni da Cascia	*Appress 'un fiume chiaro*
Piero	*All'ombra d'un perlaro*
Piero	*Sovra un fiume reghale*

Table 3.3 Madrigals of the *biscia* cycle

Composer	Incipit
Jacopo da Bologna	*Nel bel giardino*
Jacopo da Bologna	*Posando sopra un'acqua*
Jacopo da Bologna	*Sotto l'imperio*
Giovanni da Cascia	*Donna già fu'*

The four madrigals of the *biscia* cycle are some of the most-transmitted madrigals of the earlier trecento repertoire, surviving mostly in the comprehensive Tuscan trecento song anthologies. Jacopo's madrigals *Nel bel giardino*, *Posando sopra un' acqua* and *Sotto l'imperio* are transmitted in **FP**, **Pit**, **PR**, and **Sq** (*Nel bel giardino* and *Sotto l'imperio* also survive in the almost illegible palimpsest **SL**). *Nel bel giardino* and *Posando sopra un'acqua* seem to have been perceived as a pair in **SL** and **Sq**, where they are copied on consecutive openings, while *Sotto l'imperio* is the madrigal that opens the Jacopo section in **Pit**, **PR** and **Sq**. For some reason, Giovanni's contribution to the *biscia* cycle is not as well represented in manuscripts, appearing only in the Tuscan sources **FP**, **SL** and **Sq**. Generally, the transmission of these older madrigals is very stable; the only real quirk of transcription occurs in **PR**. In this manuscript, the copying of the text residuum (tercets 3 and 4) of *Sotto l'imperio* is unique and suggests that a different type of exemplar was used: the words of tercets 3 and 4 are not separated from each other at logical points (i.e. in between words), but are written in a way that implies they were copied from an exemplar in which the music was underlaid by all four tercets. This situation is not found anywhere else in the manuscript.

The most likely occasion for the composition of the *biscia* cycle is the wedding of Beatrice (called Regina) Della Scala to Bernabò Visconti in 1350. Because heraldic pieces are usually occasional, and because the text describes a woman becoming a heraldic symbol, Paganuzzi read the texts as pertaining to a wedding.[249] Nosow agrees with Paganuzzi, proposing that Mastino asked both Jacopo and Giovanni to write a madrigal for Regina's wedding, resulting in the composition of *Nel bel giardino* and *Donna già fu'*. He detected points of similarity or opposition in the texts of these two madrigals, pairing the terms *bella ed amorosa* from *Nel bel giardino* with *leggiadr'annamorata* in *Donna già fu'*, *fedel* with *falso*, *reversa* with *tramutata*, and *socorso* with *graçia*.[250] Although Marrocco believed that *Donna già fu'* was written in response to *Posando sopra un'acqua*,[251] Nosow feels that since the textual parallels

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[249] Paganuzzi, "La musica alla corte scaligera," 529-30.

[250] Robert Nosow, "The *Perlaro* Cycle Reconsidered."

[251] *PMFC*, 6: Introduction.

that exist between *Nel bel giardino* and *Donna già fu'* do not exist in *Posando sopra un'acqua*, it should not be considered part of this pair.[252]

While all four songs contain a reference to the *biscia*, then, only two are related in their use of poetic language. While Nosow allows that *Posando sopra un'acqua* is related to the other *biscia* madrigal, he does not suggest how it might be related, and he does not mention *Sotto l'imperio* at all.[253] How does *Sotto l'imperio* fit into this scheme? Geneviève Thibault read the reference to a powerful prince in the first line as best describing Galeazzo II Visconti. This works well with her chronology for Jacopo, since she believed that Jacopo wrote at least two pieces for Galeazzo II Visconti, who came to power in 1354.[254] Thibault's dating of the piece rests on her literal translation of the second line of the text, *puisqu'il y est question d'un prince puissant qui, dans son nom* a le *dorate* ale (since it is a question of a powerful prince who, in his name, has the golden wings), in other words, **Gale**azzo. Both Gallo and Paganuzzi, however, included *Sotto l'imperio* in the *biscia* cycle.[255] Paganuzzi felt that the *possente prince* best described Mastino II Della Scala and that the phrase *regna la biscia* is a *senhal* alluding to Regina.[256] The mastiff with golden wings is a shared badge of the Della Scala family, and the flame mentioned in the fourth tercet could refer to Bernabò's coat of arms, which includes a leopard in red flames. Finally, Paganuzzi's interpretation explains a situation in which a woman would become transformed into a viper through marriage into the Visconti family, and thus adopt the heraldry of her husband. Given the connection between the other *biscia* songs and the court of Mastino, and also the presence of a paraheraldic badge of the Della Scala family (the

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[252] Robert Nosow, "The *Perlaro* Cycle Reconsidered." Nosow also observes that *Posando sopra un'acqua* is a different type of narrative (a dream vision).

[253] *Ibid.*

[254] Thibault, "Emblèmes et devises," 144. The other song is *La douce cere* by Bartolino da Padova, but it is unlikely, given the political circumstances at the time, that Bartolino would ever have composed a song in honour of Galeazzo Visconti. This song is discussed in detail below.

[255] Alberto Gallo, *Music in the Middle Ages II*, 58; Paganuzzi, "La musica," 529. These are Jacopo da Bologna's *Nel bel giardino, Posando sopra un'acqua* and Giovanni da Cascia's *Donna già fu' leggiadra*).

[256] Paganuzzi, "La musica alla corte scaligera," 530. Paganuzzi also pointed out that Beatrice is a name that is "anch'esso alluso nel richiamo a colei che dà luce al suo fedele, la Beatrice dantesca" ("also alluded to in the cry of she who gives light to her faithful admirer, [in other words] the Beatrice of Dante"). There are strong ties between Dante and the court of Cangrande I della Scala, who invited the exiled Dante to Verona.

mastiff) in the text, it is more likely that Gallo and Paganuzzi are correct in associating this song with the wedding of Bernabò Visconti and Regina della Scala. In fact, there is no reason to assume that the entire *biscia* cycle is not associated with this wedding. It is also possible that the original text *La fiera testa* may celebrate this event (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of this poem).

Further evidence to support this theory can be found in the language of the *biscia* poems, which suggests a political situation in which the viper wins: all four madrigals describe some sort of struggle between a man and the Visconti viper (a woman transforms into a viper and attacks the narrator, a man who has been bitten and cannot recover from the wound, and a man chased by a viper). Obviously, this is a political statement about the strength of the Visconti dynasty, but it is a personal statement too, since once married, Regina would become like the female viper in the song. Additionally, in this set of madrigals, we have references to the Visconti viper as "wild," "horrible," "venomous," and "toxic," which is the way the Viscontis wanted others to remember them, and would be particularly appropriate in a song whose performance took place outside of the Visconti state.

Bernabò's motto

La fiera testa (Niccolò del Proposto, Bartolino da Padova)

La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba	The proud head that feeds on a human
Pennis auratis volitum prequerit:	*Seeks flight with golden wings:*
Sovr'ogni Italian questa preliba	This excellence is over every Italian
Alba sub ventre palla decoratur	*The mantle is decorated with white on the front*
Perché del mondo signoria richiede,	because he requests lordship from the world
Velut eius aspectu demonstratur.	*Just as by its appearance he is represented.*
Cist fier cimiers et la flamma che m'art	This proud crest is the flame that burns me
Soffrir m'estuet che son fier leopard	I must suffer because I am a proud leopard.

Two madrigals set this text, which refers to the motto of Bernabò Visconti. One setting is by Niccolò del Proposto, the other by Bartolino da Padova. Additionally, two other songs contain Bernabò's motto: Philipoctus da Caserta's *En attendant, soufrir m'estuet* and Paolo Tenorista's *Sofrir m'estuet*. The songs are the focus of Chapter 5, so I will not discuss them here.

Madrigals referring to the heraldry of Giangaleazzo Visconti

Aquila altera/ Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio (Jacopo da Bologna)

Aquila altera, ferma in su la vetta	Heavenly eagle, lift the valorous eye
de l'alta mente l'occhio valoroso,	above the summit of the high mind,
dove tuo vita prende suo riposo,	where your life takes its repose,
là è'l parer e là l'esser beato.	There is the appearance and there bliss.
Creatura gentil, animal degno,	Gentle creature, worthy animal,
salire in alto e riminare'l sole	only to rise high and look at the sun
singularmente tuo natura vole.	your nature flies.
Là è l'imagine e là perfezione.	There is the image and there, perfection.
Uccel di Dio, insegna di giustizia,	Bird of God, emblem of justice,
tu hai principalmente chiara gloria,	you have above all clear glory,
perché ne le grand'opre è tua vittoria.	because in great works is your victory.
Là vidi l'ombra e là la vera essenza.	There I see shadow and there the true essence.

A detailed discussion of this madrigal is the focus of Chapter 4, so I will not discuss it here.

Le aurate chiome (Bartolino da Padova)

Le aurate chiome nodose ed avolte	The golden hair knotted and wrapped
d'un fil de perla, talor d'un bel fiore,	in a string of pearls, at times in a beautiful flower
per virtù oculta mi penetra 'l core.	by hidden virtue penetrates my heart.
El me convien catar in alcun loco	It suits me to sing in any place
ché per me sento da' sospiri en foco.	because my feelings range from sighs to fire.

Le aurate chiome survives in four trecento manuscripts, **Lu**, **PR**, **SL** and **Sq**. In **Lu** it is incomplete, consisting only of the tenor with text for the first tercet (presumably the rest of the text was on the missing folio with the cantus part). The text of *Le aurate chiome* contains the *senhal* "Catarina" in the first line of the ritornello (***catar in a****lcun loco***), and also refers to the knot, a paraheraldic badge often associated with weddings and love. The reference in the text to

virtù may refer to Giangaleazzo's epithet, *Conte di Virtù*, which is associated with his first wedding, to Isabelle de Valois in 1360.

This song was first discussed by Thibault, who included it in her list of heraldic songs based on the reference to the knot in the first line of the madrigal text.[257] The text of *Le aurate chiome* strongly suggests that it was commissioned for Giangaleazzo's second wedding in 1380, to his cousin Caterina (Bernabò's daughter). The paraheraldic elements in the text, the knot and the reference to *virtù*, can be associated with Visconti weddings. Also, the description of the woman's hair in the madrigal text strongly suggests that she is getting married.

In the later Middle Ages noble brides wore dresses that, while not usually white or in a different style from their everyday attire, were distinguised by the use of higher-quality fabric. Because the dresses themselves were not terribly different from everyday wear, accessories gained particular importance and were often extravagant, with the hair in particular becoming a focal point for accessories. The most common hair accessories (at least for the nobility) were gems. Chaucer's description of Griselda's wedding attire describes her hair, for example, as decorated "with gems of changeful glory."[258] Pearls, a symbol of purity, were often worn by brides, sometimes on their dresses and sometimes in their hair.[259]

Unfortunately, there is no evidence of any kind linking Bartolino to the Visconti court, and the only time a Paduan composer could safely praise the Visconti was during their period of domination over Padua from 1388 to 1390. Accordingly, Nádas and Ziino suggest these dates as possibilities for the madrigal's composition,[260] but this theory does not explain why Bartolino would compose a madrigal in honour of an event that had taken place eight years earlier. Goldine, on the other hand, thought that *Le aurate chiome* had been composed to celebrate the

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[257] Thibault, "Emblèmes et devises," 146.

[258] *Ibid.*, 95.

[259] Patricia Cunnington and Catherine Lucas, *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1972), 92-95. Of the examples given by Cunnington and Lucas from historical accounts of weddings, most note that the bride's hair or dress is decorated with pearls.

[260] Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 41.

wedding of Francesco il Novello's sister, Caterina Carrara, in 1372.[261] Petrobelli was not completely convinced by this argument, and Thibault thought it more likely that the Caterina in the song was Giangaleazzo's second wife, and that the madrigal had been composed on the occasion of their marriage.[262]

Let us turn now to the reference to a knot in the first line of the madrigal. A stylised knot is depicted several times in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 757, an Hours-Missal, which Edith Kirsch has suggested was commissioned for Giangaleazzo's second wedding.[263] This hypothesis is based on her identification of a monogram on folio 364 as the letters "GV," and the portrait of a man kneeling before the Virgin on folio 109v, who wears a sun-shaped pendant and whose appearance matches that of other depictions of Giangaleazzo. Kay Sutton, however, contests Kirsch's association of **Lat. 757** with Giangaleazzo Visconti, stating that the manuscript was in fact made for Bertrando de' Rossi, a member of Giangaleazzo's court.[264] Sutton argues that the man kneeling before the Virgin on folio 109v is actually Bertrando de' Rossi, wearing a livery of Giangaleazzo.[265] She also reads the GV monogram which appears on folio 364 of the manuscript as "BE," and offers this as evidence of Bertrando's patronage.[266] Although I am not an expert on medieval scripts, it is *much* easier, in my opinion, to see how the monogram could be the letters "GV," than to try and see them as "BE."

I would like to argue, however, that Bartolino's song text offers evidence in support of Kirsch's theory that the manuscript **Lat. 757** was indeed commissioned by Giangaleazzo Visconti, and that the event it commemorates is his wedding to Caterina Visconti in 1380.

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[261] Goldine, "Fra Bartolino da Padova," 153.

[262] Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova," 90; Thibault, "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti," 146.

[263] Edith Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts for Giangaleazzo Visconti* (University Park and London: College Art Association, 1991), 24.

[264] Kay Sutton, "The Original Patron of the Lombard Manuscript 757 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (Feb. 1982): 88-94.

[265] *Ibid.*, 93. Sutton claims that the manuscript can be dated on the basis of this illumination, to after 1385, when Bertrando entered the service of Giangaleazzo.

[266] *Ibid.*

Although I cannot reconcile this date with what little we know of the life of Bartolino da Padova, the presence of the "Catarina" *senhal*, combined with the reference to the knot (and the passing reference to *virtù*) in the text of *Le aurate chiome* suggest that not only was this madrigal composed for Giangaleazzo's second wedding, but the manuscript **Lat. 757** was also compiled for the same event.

Further evidence that Kirsch's theory is correct appears in the illumination on folio 380 of this manuscript. This picture features Saint Ursula and her followers, two of whom are women wearing paraheraldic clothing. The woman on the left wears a dress decorated with gold knots, and the woman on the right wears a dress patterned with white doves. Kirsch proposes that these women are Caterina, Giangaelazzo's second wife (in the knot dress) and Isabelle, Giangaleazzo's first wife (in the dove dress).[267] Giangaleazzo's first wife, Isabelle de Valois, adopted a turtledove or pigeon badge, and Caterina is named in Bartolino's madrigal, along with the knot, so it is probable that Kirch has correctly identified the women in this illumination, and that the madrigal *Le aurate chiome*, along with the manuscript **Lat. 757**, were commissioned for Giangaleazzo's second wedding in 1380.

Alba colomba (Bartolino da Padova)

Alba colomba con sua verde rama	The white dove with his green branch
in nobile giardino nutricata,	nourished in a noble garden,
pax, pax *nunziando su l'al'è montata.*	took off on its wings, announcing *peace, peace*.
Posò suo volo in verde scoglio	He paused on a green cliff
per riposarsi e, rimirando in giuso,	to rest and, looking onward,
prese argomento di volar più suso,	took the challenge to fly higher,
perché gustava già i boni odori	because he had just inhaled the good perfumes
ch'eran lassù tra frondi ed altri fiori.	that were there under branches and other flowers.

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[267] Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts*, 22. The turtledove was a paraheraldic badge of Isabelle, which Giangaleazzo adopted as part of his dove-in-sun emblem when he married her in 1360.

Bartolino's *Alba colomba* survives in several manuscripts of both northern and Tuscan provenance (**PR**, **SL**, **Sq**, **Lo**), and is also mentioned in Prodenzani's *Saporetto*.[268] The text of *Alba colomba* describes the allegorical flight of a dove carrying an olive branch and bringing the message of peace.

Because Bartolino is thought to have been in the employ of the Carrara family in the 1380s, Goldine assumed that *Alba colomba* had been commissioned by them. She felt that the *pax, pax* in the first tercet was crucial in establishing a date for the song, asserting that *La paix dont il est ici question doit être considérée comme incomplète puisque nous voyons la colombe reposant sur un rocher et aspirant à des cîmes plus élevées qu'elle ne peut atteindre*. (The peace discussed here must be considered incomplete, since we see the dove resting on a rock and aspiring to summits higher than those it can reach).[269] In light of this interpretation she suggested that the *pax, pax* in the text refers to the Peace of Genoa, a treaty signed in January 1392, in which Francesco il Novello and Giangaleazzo agreed to the terms of il Novello's capture of Padua.[270] Although il Novello had succeeded in reclaiming the city, the terms of the Peace of Genoa were not what he had hoped for. Among other things, Padua was required to pay five hundred thousand gold florins to Giangaleazzo over the next fifty years.[271] Giangaleazzo was not happy with the treaty either, since he had hoped to keep the city under his control.[272] Although Goldine's theory seems to fit, that of Petrobelli is more convincing. Pierluigi Petrobelli suggested that *Alba colomba* had been in fact composed in 1388, based on a reading of the text that was radically different from that of Goldine. Petrobelli stated that at the time of the madrigal's composition,

> the Count of Virtù had recently made a new territorial conquest ("Posò suo vuolo
> suso un verde scoglio"), by means of which he would extend his own domain

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[268] Sonnet 29.

[269] Goldine, "Fra Bartolino," 155.

[270] *Ibid.*

[271] Kohl, *Padua Under the Carrara,* , 274.

[272] *Ibid.*

("prese argumento de volar più soso"); this, then, is what is celebrated by the author of the madrigal text.[273]

Petrobelli also notes that his interpretation contradicts any idea that the text was composed *for* the Carraresi, concluding that the only occasion that fits the events described in the text is that of Giangaleazzo's triumphant entry into Padua in November 1388.[274] This is supported by Nádas and Ziino, who comment that the period of Giangaleazzo's rule over Padua, lasting from 1388 to 1390, was the only time when Bartolino could have safely lauded the Visconti.[275] The inclusion of the dove badge in the madrigal text, which is obviously meant to evoke the dove of the Holy Spirit by bringing peace, suggests that it was commissioned for Giangaleazzo Visconti, and therefore Petrobelli's reading of the text must be accepted for the time being.

Del glorioso titolo (Antonello da Caserta)

Del glorioso titolo d'esto duce,	Everybody now celebrates the title,
ça zaschun fa fest'omai, ch'à in sè vertute,	of this Duke, who possesses virtue,
che, che novo Re si nasce per salute,	Such that a new king is born for our health,
da, da quella donna che za estese l'ale,	by this woman who once extended the same wings,
e, e possedette ciò che'l sol riguarda,	and possessed that which looks at the sun,
ch'aver un sposo è sta sì lenta e tarda.	so that she is so slow and late to have a husband.
Ma, ma questo è quel che per vertù celeste	But this Duke is the one who, by celestial virtue
fia novo Augusto cum triumphi e feste.	becomes a new Augustus with triumphs and celebrations.
E, e ça monarcha un sceptro d'or s'il chiama	And, already a monarch, he claims a golden
perche'l dilati l'italicha fama.	sceptre, in order to spread the fame of Italy.

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[273] Petrobelli, "Some Dates," 108.

[274] *Ibid.*, 108-109.

[275] Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 40-41.

Del glorioso titolo is a madrigal for two voices, uniquely transmitted in **Lu**. The text of this madrigal contains references to the sun and to virtue, two aspects of Giangaleazzo's paraheraldry. Other words in the text also suggest that this madrigal was composed for a powerful ruler (Duke, king, Augustus, monarch). Pirrotta, considering the terms *Re*, *novo Augusto* and *monarcha* in the text of *Del glorioso titolo*, believed that it had been composed for the wedding of Joanna II, the last Angevin ruler of Naples, on the occasion of her wedding in 1415.[276] Nádas and Ziino, however, provide a more credible date for the madrigal, based on their reading of the allegorical text. They suggest that this madrigal was in fact written for Giangaleazzo Visconti when he became Duke of Milan in 1395.[277] According to Nàdas and Ziino,

> The solution to the madrigal, we believe, lies in an allegorical reading of the marriage, one between Giangaleazzo (the "duce") to Italy ("quella donna") and the attendant image of the Duke of Milan as saviour of a country which in Roman times had dominated the known world ("che zà estese l'ale/ e possedette ciò che'l sol reguarda")[278]

Based on their interpretation of the text and on the more general transmission of his works, they have placed Antonello at the Pavian court during the 1390s.[279] This theory fits well with their revised provenance and dating of **Lu** (Padua and Visconti circles, 1390 – 1408), and I am in agreement with their dating of the song.

The reference in the text to Giangaleazzo's paraheraldry indicates that it is not the lineage of just any Visconti ruler, but that of Giangaleazzo specifically who will continue to rule the Milanese state. We know, from documentary evidence, that Giangaleazzo's son Filippo Maria, who ruled Milan from 1412 until 1447, did in fact adopt his father's paraheraldry as well as the Visconti family heraldry, in a move that was likely meant to show that he was descended from the first *legal* ruler of Milan. Aside from the heraldry, the text makes it clear that the song

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[276] Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca III," 135.

[277] Pizzaia, "Closer Correspondence," 47; Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 38-39.

[278] Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 39.

[279] *Ibid.*, 38. They also note that the language of *Del glorioso titolo* is reminiscent of other poetry written at this time by Pavian court poets.

celebrates a Duke, who can now be compared to a monarch or Augustus, and whose job it is to expand the fame of Italy. The second tercet describes a woman (presumably Italy) who has decided to wait for this Duke to marry her rather than marry someone else, implying that Giangaleazzo Visconti and his descendants are the ideal rulers of all of Italy.

Di vertù vidi (Anon.)

Di vertù vidi che dal ciel discende	From virtue I saw from the sky descending
un pelegrin falcon di vaga luce	a peregrine falcon of elusive light
cum pennee d'oro, e più che'l sol riluce.	with golden wings, shining more than the sun.
Qual per seguire ne l'aer sereno	Which to follow in the calm air
monta mirando una stella fixa	it climbs, looking at a fixed star
lucida, bella, del color de lissa.	bright, beautiful, of the colour of Lissa.
Et se per zentileza el cor d'adorna	And if through nobility the heart becomes adorned
de beltà, degno e' pelegrin ritorna.	with beauty, the peregrine returns worthy.

The only person to have examined this madrigal in any detail is Marco Gozzi, who discovered the song on a flyleaf of a printed book.[280] Although Gozzi does not suggest an occasion for which *Di vertù vidi* might have been composed, Giangaleazzo's paraheraldic badge, as well as part of his epithet are present in the first tercet. Gozzi believes that the enigmatic end to the second tercet (*lucida, bella, del color de lissa*) is actually a *senhal* (*lissa-bella*), providing some more information on which to identify the song's patron or patrons. Gozzi also points out that the end of first line *dal ciel discende* is similar to phrases used in two other madrigals: *Dal cielo scese* (the opening line of Donato's madrigal) and *dal ciel descese* in *Inperiale sedendo*, which refers to the Carraras.[281] He also notes that the description of the beloved as a star is reminiscent of Giovanni da Cascia's *La bella stella*, and points out that Jacopo's madrigal *Lo lume vostro*, composed for Luchino Visconti and containing the acrostic 'Luchinus', also has a ritornello in which the first line contains the *senhal* of Isabella (wife of Luchino), while the second line compares her to a star.[282]

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[280] Marco Gozzi, "Un novo frammento trentino di polifonia del primo quattrocento," 237 – 51.

[281] *Ibid.*, 243.

[282] *Ibid.*, 243-44.

While it is possible that this madrigal was composed for Giangaleazzo, it is perhaps more probable, at least on heraldic grounds, that *Di vertù vidi* was composed for his son Filippo Maria. According to Filippo Maria's biographer, Pier Candido Decembrio, Filippo Maria adopted the badge of the peregrine falcon in 1412 and used it until his death in 1447.[283] This badge is illustrated in a manuscript from the mid-1400s, and shows "a bird against a sun, while below, eight other smaller birds are flying above or sitting in a body of water."[284]

Una panthera (Johannes Ciconia)

Una panthera in compagnia de Marte	A panther in the company of Mars
candido Jove d'un sereno adorno:	pure Jove surrounded by clear skies:
costante è l'arm' e chi la guarda intorno.	steadfast are the arm and the person that keep him safe.
Questa guberna la città lucana:	This panther governs the city of Lucca:
con soa dolceza el ciel dispensa e dona,	with its sweetness heaven distributes,
secondo el meritar, iusta corona,	each according to his due, the crown of justice,
Dando a ciascun mortal che ne sia degno	giving to everyone who is worthy
triumfo, gloria e parte in questo regno.	triumph, glory and a place in his kingdom.

Una panthera is uniquely transmitted in **Lu** (folios 82v-83v), as are all of the madrigals by Ciconia. Unlike other madrigals for Giangaleazzo Visconti, *Una panthera* does not refer explicitly to the *biscia* or to his dove-in-sun badge. The reason for its inclusion in this section because it is thought to have been performed at the court of Giangaleazzo. The heraldic reference in the madrigal is to the panther, the charge on the arms of the city of Lucca. Though Nádas and Ziino note that Giangaleazzo is referred to in the song as both Jupiter (*Jove*) and Mars, it is also likely that Jupiter is mentioned in the madrigal text because he is the mythical founder of the city of Lucca. The *arme* mentioned in the third line may refer to either real military arms or to the heraldic arms of the city. The text includes the phrase *iusta corona*, which also appears (as *zusta Corona*) in Francesco di Vannozzo's *Cantillena Francisci V. pro Comite Virtutum*, written for

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[283] Anne Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M.5.24*, 104.

[284] *Ibid.*

Giangaleazzo sometime after 1387 (this poem celebrates his conquests of Verona and Vicenza).[285]

Recognizing the heraldic charge of the city of Lucca within the text of *Una panthera*, Pirrotta reported that this madrigal had been composed for Paolo Guinigi, lord of Lucca from 1400 to 1430.[286] Though it is dangerous to date songs from this general period on stylistic grounds alone, a date of 1420 or so (what Pirrotta suggested) seems too late for a madrigal in the style of the mid- to late-1300s. Nádas and Ziino, however, have used text of *Una panthera* in **Lu** to suggest Ciconia's presence at the Visconti court in the late 1390s. Documents place Ciconia as a member of the chapel of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon in the early 1390s, and at the Carrara court in the first decade of the fifteenth century, but what Ciconia did in the time in between these two appointments was a mystery. Happily, based on the new date proposed by Nádas and Ziino, we have some idea of Ciconia's career in the late 1390s.

Nádas and Ziino suggest that *Una panthera* was composed for the visit of the Lucchese dignitary Lazzaro Guinigi to the court at Pavia in 1399, who was seeking an alliance with the Visconti in light of their recent takeover of Pisa. They explain that "In addition to the *capoverso*, the rest of the madrigal makes clear allusions to a situation in which Lucchese citizens could expect to take their rightful place in Giangaleazzo's reign."[287] This view has been taken up with enthusiasm by musicologists: Margaret Bent has added that Ciconia's virelai *Sus une fontayne* and his heraldic canon *Le ray au soleil* further demonstrate his presence at the Visconti court at this time,[288] and David Fallows has noted that the placement of the two Visconti pieces in **Lu**

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[285] Francesco di Vannozzo, *Rime*, ed. Antonio Medin (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1928), 267.

[286] Nino Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca III," 124-25.

[287] Nádas and Ziino, 43.

[288] Giuliano di Bacco, et al., "Ciconia, Johannes," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* vol. 4 (London: MacMillan, 2001), 838. *Sus une fontayne* quotes three songs by Philipoctus da Caserta (*En remirant, En attendant souffrir m'estuet* and *De ma doulour*), who is believed to have been at the Visconti court in the 1380s. The text of *Le ray au soleil* describes the sun element of Giangaleazzo's dove-in-sun badge.

(*Una panthera* and *Le ray au soleil*) supports Nádas and Ziino's theory, since they were copied into the same opening.[289]

II. Madrigals Referring to the Heraldry of the Della Scala Family

The Della Scala family ruled Verona from 1277 until 1387, when Giangaleazzo Visconti captured Verona. The hereditary heraldry of the Della Scala was a red ladder or *scala* with four rungs on a white field, which was obviously derived from the family name (Figure 3.2). In addition, family members were often named with dog names, such as Cangrande ("big dog"), Mastino ("mastiff") and Cansignorio ("top dog"). This may have been in reference to the family's hereditary crest, a mastiff with golden wings; conversely, the names may have been the inspiration for the family crest (Figure 3.3).[290] In his study of the social and moral associations of various heraldic charges, Pastoureau notes that dogs are rarely used in medieval heraldry, and that when they are used, they not generally used by the nobility.[291] Therefore, like the Visconti family's adoption of a viper as heraldic charge, the Della Scala's choice of crest was somewhat unusual.

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[289] David Fallows, "Ciconia's last songs and their milieu," in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 118.

[290] Enrico Paganuzzi, "Il trecento," in *La musica a Verona* ed. E. Paganuzzi, C. Bologna, L. Rognini, G.M. Cambié, M. Conati (Verona: Banca Mutua Popolare di Verona, 1976), 45. Gidino da Sommacampagna describes the mastiff, calling it *Questo bianco mastino/Con l'ale d'oro sempre vola in alto* (This white mastiff/with golden wings that are always in flight). The winged mastiff appears on several of the della Scala tombs.

[291] Pastoureau, "Figures et couleurs péjoratives en héraldique médiévale," In *Figures et couleurs: Étude sur la symbolique et la sensibilité médiévales* (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1987), 202; *Heraldry*, 61.

Figure 3.2 The Della Scala ladder. Shield at the castle in Soave.

Figure 3.3 Mastiff with golden wings, on the tomb of Mastino II Della Scala (ruled 1329 – 51).

Antonio Della Scala (1362 – 1388) adopted a phoenix with golden wings as a paraheraldic badge.[292] It is this badge (and not the ladder or the mastiff) which is carved in relief on his tomb in the courtyard of Santa Maria Antica in Verona. Additionally, two poems by Veronese court poets mention the heraldic phoenix of Antonio. The first, *Francesco, se la tua bella calandra*, was written by Antonio del Gaio for Francesco di Vannozzo (himself a poet at the court in Verona) and refers to *la Sacra Fenice del gran Signor* (the sacred phoenix of the great lord).[293] The second poem is Gidino da Sommacampagna's famous ode to Antonio Della Scala, *Viva l'excelsa scala*, which celebrates all the heraldry and badges used by Antonio:

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[292] Levi, *Francesco di Vannozzo e la lirica nelle corti lombarde durante la seconda metà del secolo XIV* (Florence: Galetti, 1908), 146.

[293] *Ibid.*

Viva l'excelsa Scala.	Long live the exalted Scala.
Viva la prole diva	Long live the divine offspring
de la Scala ioiliva	from the decorated Scala
ch'a mal far no si cala.	who can do no wrong.
Vivo lo suo Mastino	Long live its mastiff
Che come uciel divino	who like a divine bird
La ricopre con l'ala	is covered with wings
Viva la sua Fenice	Long live its phoenix
che è de virtù radice	who is the root of virtue
e de iusticia equala	and equally of justice
Viva 'l so excelso prince,	Long live its exalted prince,
che per sua virtù vince	who by his virtue overcomes
zaschuna cosa mala.	each evil thing.
Viva l'onor de Italia,	Long live the honour of Italy
viva de vertù balia	power alive with virtue
la magnifica Scala![294]	the magnificent Scala!

In his four publications about music at the Della Scala court, Enrico Paganuzzi argues that there were at least twenty-five madrigals written for the Scaligeri between 1334 and 1382, and that ten of these are heraldic.[295] His list of heraldic madrigals consists of the four *biscia* madrigals, along with four madrigals that he believes refer to the heraldry of Agnese di Durazzo, who married Cansignorio Della Scala in 1363 (*La bella stella, Suso quel monte, Quando la stella* and *La bianca selva*). He also includes Donato da Cascia's *Dal cielo scese* and the anonymous madrigal *La nobil scala*. I have only included *Dal cielo scese* and *La nobil scala* in my discussion of heraldic madrigals for the Della Scala family, since the four *biscia* madrigals are discussed above. Furthermore, based on Gallo's research concerning *La bella stella*, I do not agree that it is heraldic, nor do I agree with Paganuzzi's assertion that it was composed for the wedding of Cansignorio Della Scala in 1363.[296] *Quando la stella* mentions the colours red and white, which

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[294] Quoted in Levi, *Francesco di Vannozzo*, 154.

[295] Enrico Paganuzzi, "Nota sul madrigale 'Suso quel monte che fiorise l'erba' (Codice Vaticano Rossi 215)," *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 31 (1997): 337-42; "La musica alla corte scaligera"; "Il trecento"; "L'opera idraulica di Cansignorio della Scala in un madrigale di Donato da Firenze," *Vita Veronese* 28 (1975): 143-47.

[296] In 1976 Gallo had demonstrated that *La bella stella* must have been written before 1354, the date of a poem sent by Antonio da Ferrara to Lancillotto Anguissola, which mentions the tenor of this madrigal: *fa sì vago el Sovran al bel tenore/del vostro madrial* La bella stella. This poem by Antonio da Ferrara, entitled *La dolce passion che ve*

Paganuzzi believes are part of the della Scala family heraldry, but it is not clear from the madrigal's text whether or not they are meant to refer to the Scaligeri, so I have not included this madrigal in my discussion. Finally, neither *La bianca selva* nor *Suso quel monte* mention heraldry in unequivocal terms (and in any case, Paganuzzi argues that these madrigals refer to the lily of the Angevins of Durazzo, not the heraldry of Della Scala family), so these have not been included in my discussion.

Dal cielo scese (Donato da Cascia)

Dal cielo scese per iscala d'oro	From heaven descends by a golden staircase
una donna fenice, umile e pia,	a phoenix woman, humble and pious,
per dimostrar d'onesto amar la via.	to show the way to love honestly.
Di perle oriental tutta vestita	All dressed in oriental pearls
bella più ch' altra, di virtù copiosa,	more beautiful than any other, she is made
e di vera onestà è fatta sposa.	the bride of abundant virtue and true honesty
Però chi vòl d'onesto amar la fama	However, he who wants the fame of honest love
segue coste', che n'è radice e rama.	follows her, who is root and branch.

The text of *Dal cielo scese* refers to the arms and the phoenix badge of Antonio Della Scala , and survives in two Tuscan sources, **SL** and **Sq**. Apart from *D'or pomo incominciò*, *Dal cielo scese* is the only other heraldic madrigal composed by Donato. The language of this text is similar to those of the *biscia* cycle, suggesting that *Dal cielo scese* was commissioned for a wedding. Thibault believed that *Dal cielo scese*, along with Jacopo's *Fenice fu'* celebrate the wedding of Regina della Scala and Bernabò Visconti.[297] Both Corsi and Paganuzzi, however, felt that the

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martella, therefore, not only gives a date for *La bella stella*, but also tells us that Giovanni's song is a setting of a poem by Lancillotto Anguissola. Paganuzzi, however, did not feel that this was sufficient evidence to date the madrigal, preferring instead his own allegorical interpretation. See Gallo, "Antonio da Ferrara, Lancillotto Anguissola e il madrigale trecentesco," *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 12 (1976): 40-45, and Paganuzzi, "Nota sul madrigale," 339n.

[297] Thibault, "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti," 146.

presence of Antonio's paraheraldic badge in the text of *Dal cielo scese* suggests that it was composed for his wedding, to Samaritana da Polenta, in 1378.[298]

Several aspects of the text suggest that this madrigal was indeed commissioned to celebrate a wedding. As in *Donna già fu'*, *Dal cielo scese* describes a woman as a heraldic charge or badge (*una donna fenice*), and includes the word *sposa* (bride). Finally, the woman is "covered in oriental pearls." Aside from the heraldry and paraheraldry, texutal evidence suggests that the wedding in question is that of Antonio and Samaritana. Paganuzzi noted the repetition of letter-combinations that are found in the name Samaritana: *amar* appears twice in the text (in the first tercet, and in the first line of the ritornello), and *rama* (*amar* in reverse) is the last word of the ritornello.[299]

La nobil scala (Anon.)

La nobil scala che'l signor Lombardo	The noble ladder that the Lombard lord
sovra Vicença e'l Veronese spiega,	unfolds over Vicenza and the Veronese,
ai gradi suoi l'ascender non ha tardo	he is not slow to ascend its steps.
Se sieghue per l'orme del bon Can Vechio	He follows in the footsteps of Can Vecchio
el mie signor che fu di Gloria spechio.	my lord who is the image of Glory.

The madrigal *La nobil scala* is an *unicum* in the northern manuscript **PR**. *La nobil scala* is canonic and stylistically similar to those by Giovanni and Jacopo written in the 1350s. The text may be fragmentary. Pirrotta thought that the madrigal could have been composed for any of the successors of Mastino or Alberto Della Scala, but noted that it "particularly fits Cansignore" Della Scala (ruled 1359 – 75).[300] Since the protagonist of *La nobil scala* is to "follow in the footsteps" of Can Grande il Vecchio (d. 1329), this date must serve as a *terminus post quem*,[301] and Kurt von Fischer logically assumed that the madrigal must have been written before the

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[298] Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, xlviii; Paganuzzi, "La musica alla corte scaligera," 531.

[299] Paganuzzi, "La musica alla corte scaligera," 531.

[300] *CMM* **8**, 2:ii.

[301] Corsi, *Poesie musicale*, 365n.

collapse of the Della Scala dynasty in 1387.[302] Alberto Pizzaia, however, understood the text as being written *for* Can Grande I, meaning that the poem (though not necessarily the musical setting) must have been written before 1329.[303] Nigel Wilkins suggested that while the music dates from c. 1350 – c. 1380, the poetry was written by someone at the court of Can Grande.[304] He does not consider that there is any text missing. He proposes that while the poetry dates from before 1329, the setting is by Jacopo.[305]

Pizzaia's theory present some problems on both textual and stylistic grounds, while that of Fischer does not: the text states explicitly that the protagonist of the madrigal is one of the Scaligeri, because of *scala* in the first line, and that he must follow in the footsteps of Can Grande I (*Se sieghue per l'orme del bon Can Vechio*), which obviously eliminates Can Grande I himself. The stylistic evidence is perhaps stronger and is based principally on the fact that *La nobil scala* is a three-voice madrigal. There is no evidence of the composition of three-voice madrigals as early as the 1320s, and it is generally accepted that the earliest madrigals in **PR** date from the 1340s.[306] The earliest surviving madrigals, in **VR** (dating from c. 1325 – 50) are all scored for two voices. *La nobil scala* is typical of the three-voice madrigal composed in the mid-fourteenth-century. Though the tenor moves as quickly as the upper voices in some places, it contains longer note values and has a lower range. The upper voices are paired through the use of melodic imitation and rhythmic motives.

To date, Pirrotta's theory is by far the most convincing, since it is probable that Cansignorio commissioned several heraldic madrigals for his wedding in 1363. Cansignorio became sole ruler of Verona in 1359 after overthrowing his brother Can Grande II. He undertook the most ambitious civic building program in Verona since Can Grande I's wall-building

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[302] *Ibid.*

[303] Alberto Pizzaia, "Closer Correspondence," 48.

[304] Nigel Wilkins, "A Madrigal in Praise of the Della Scala Family," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 19 (1965): 82.

[305] *Ibid.*, 88.

[306] Kurt von Fischer, et al, "Madrigal,"in *Grove* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/40075 (accessed July 23, 2009).

program in the early 1300s by providing the city with new buildings, bridges and an aqueduct.[307] In that regard, then, he can be considered as "following in the footsteps of the good Can Vechio."

III. Madrigals Referring to the Heraldry of the Carrara Family

The Carrara Family of Padua

The Carrara family ruled Padua from 1318 to 1405. While their origins are obscure, it seems they rose to prominence during the Paduan commune at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[308] The first Carrara lord, Giacomo il Grande, was elected by the commune in 1318 in response to the threat of attack by Cangrande Della Scala, and was proclaimed defender, protector and captain general of Padua.[309] As head of the commune, the Carrara lords were elected, but with Francesco il Vecchio's acceptance of an imperial vicariate in 1356, the lordship of Padua became hereditary.[310] Francesco il Vecchio was the Carrara lord in power for the longest period (1356 – 1388). The most notable aspects of his rule are his expansionist policy in Friuli (north of Venice), the wars with Venice, a change in political relationships between the Carraras and the city's noble families, and artistic patronage on a grand scale.

Il Vecchio's plan to dominate Friuli was a goal he never gave up on and his campaigns in this region were continued by his son il Novello. Padua's relationship with Venice, its closest and most powerful neighbour, was both friendly and hostile, depending on regional politics. Tensions between the two states were evident right from the beginning of il Vecchio's rule, with minor disagreements about the extradition of criminals, and with more major disputes about the

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[307] Anna Maria Calgani, "La Signoria scaliera e l'occupazione viscontea," in *Le mura di Verona: La città e le sue difese della fondazione romana all'unita d'Italia* (Caselle di Sommacampagna: Cierre, 1999), 57-78.

[308] Gigi Vasoin, *La Signoria dei Carraresi nella Padova del '300* (Padua: La Garangola, 1987), 13.

[309] Benjamin Kohl, *Padua Under the Carrara, 1318 – 1405* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 38.

[310] For a list of Carrara rulers, please see Appendix 6.

construction of Paduan fortifications and il Vecchio's alliance with King Louis of Hungary.[311]

Before the defeat of the Carrara regime by Venice in 1405, conflict between these powers was most evident in two wars, the Border War of 1372 – 73, and the Chioggia War, lasting 1376 – 80. These were both territorial conflicts, and in each case Venice claimed victory. In 1388, faced with a Venice-Visconti alliance and unsure of his support at home, il Vecchio abdicated, leaving his son il Novello in power.[312] Unfortunately, due to the bad government of il Novello, Giangaleazzo Visconti seized control of Padua later that same year. Il Vecchio was imprisoned in the castle at Monza, where he remained until his death in 1393. Il Novello and his immediate family were exiled, travelling to Florence for refuge. In 1390, il Novello was able to regain Padua and ruled over the city until its defeat by Venice in 1405.

While power within the Visconti family was unusual in that it was often shared, and it seems that the Carrara family had atypical means of assuring political hegemony also. Carrara rule under Francesco il Vecchio did not follow the feudal principle. The noble families from whom il Vecchio wanted support were given land that had been confiscated from families in exile, or were given tax exemptions, but Francesco il Vecchio made no formal demands such as pledges of fealty.[313] This system worked greatly to his advantage, and created what Benjamin Kohl terms the "Carrara Affinity," a group of noble families who offered unofficial support to the Carrara dynasty,[314] and even went so far as to model their public lifestyle after that of the ruling family.[315] Francesco il Vecchio, therefore, not only became a political role model, but also a social and artistic one.

Both Francesco il Vecchio and his son were great patrons of the arts. At il Vecchio's invitation, the poet Petrarch spent some time at the Carrara court, and was given a house at Arquà south of Padua where he lived until his death in 1374. The Carrara court also attracted less

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[311] Kohl, *Padua Under the Carrara*, 109-110.

[312] *Ibid.*, 242.

[313] *Ibid.*, xx.

[314] *Ibid.*

[315] An obvious example is the Lupi family, who commissioned Carrara court artist Altichiero to decorate both the Oratory of St George in Padua, and the San Felice chapel in the Basilica of Sant' Antonio.

famous poets, such as Nanni Pegolotti, Zenone da Pistoia and Andrea da Firenze.[316] Artists patronized by the Carrara court included Giusto de' Menabuoi (ca.1320 – 1397), who painted frescoes in the Padua Duomo Baptistery and various chapels in the city, and Altichiero da Zevise (ca. 1325 – ca. 1395), who is responsible for the painting in the Oratory of St George and the San Felice chapel in the Basilica of Sant' Antonio. Composers under Carrara patronage are less well documented, and most information here has to be gleaned from song texts. It appears that both Bartolino da Padova and Johannes Ciconia were commissioned to write songs celebrating the Carrara family.[317] Certainly Padua had a vibrant musical scene, as is demonstrated by the wide range of music found in the Paduan fragments.[318]

Based on the heraldry present in the two Carrara madrigals, they were composed for either Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara (1354 – 1388) or his son Francesco il Novello da Carrara (1388, 1390 – 1405). Because these two lords shared the same armorial bearings and crest, it is often difficult to know for whom a work was commissioned. Both il Vecchio and il Novello were known for their patronage of art and poetry. Il Vecchio in particular was a patron of the visual arts, commissioning a fresco cycle in the Cathedral baptistery by Giusto de' Menabuoi, and a cycle of scenes taken from Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* that were painted in a hall in the Reggia, the primary Carrara palace. Il Novello seems to have valued the Carrara library, and is thought to have commissioned the *Liber cimeriorum dominorum de carraria* (Book of Crests of the Carrara Lords), from which most details about Carrara heraldry are taken. In all the illustrations of crests in this book, as well as in the baptistery frescoes (and also in the *Camera dei cimeri* in the Reggia), the shared device of the Carrara family, the red *carro* (chariot) figures prominently (Figure 3.4).

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[316] Ezio Levi, *Francesco di Vannozzo*, 74-79.

[317] Bartolino wrote one madrigal that can definitely be associated with the Carrara family (*La douce cere*). Ciconia's Carrara songs include *Per quella strada* and *Con lagreme bagnandome el viso*, as well as the motets *O felix templum jubila* and *Padu…serenans*. It has also been suggested that all four of his madrigals were written for the Carrara family. See Margaret Bent, "Johannes Ciconia," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), 4:838.

[318] Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence in Northern Italy, *c.* 1400," 193-225.

Figure 3.4 Red *carro* (stylized chariot) of the Carrara family, shown here on the shield of Francesco "il Novello" da Carrara. *Liber cimeriorum dominorum de Carraria*, folio 21 (Padua, Biblioteca Civica, B.P. 124/XXII).

Although there is no hard evidence, it is often assumed that all four of Ciconia's madrigals were composed for either the Visconti or the Carrara families. *Per quella strada* refers to the heraldry of the Carrara family, but neither *I cani sono fuora* or *Caçando un giorno* contain any overt heraldic references, though it has been suggested that these may contain "veiled references," most likely to the Carrara family.[319]

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[319] *Ibid.*

Inperiale sedendo (**Bartolino da Padova?**)

Inperiale sedendo fra più stele	Imperial, sitting among many stars
dal ciel descese un carro d'onor degno	a cart worthy of honour descended from the sky,
soto un signor d'ogni altro via benegno.	under a lord more kind than any other.
Le rote sue guidavan quattro done,	Four women guided its wheels,
Justitia e Temperantia con Forteçça	Justice and Temperance with Fortitude
et am Prudenza tra cotanta alteçça.	and Prudence among such nobility.
Nel meço un Saracin con l'ale d'oro	In the middle a Saracen with golden wings
tene' el fabricator del so tesoro.[320]	keeps the maker of his treasure.

Per quella strada (**Johannes Ciconia**)

Per quella strada lactea del cielo,	Along the heavenly milky way,
da belle stelle ov'è'l seren fermato,	from beautiful stars where clear skies lie,
vedeva un carro andar tutto abrasato,	one saw a chariot go all enflamed,
Coperto a drappi rossi de fin oro;	Covered in red cloth with gold brocade;
tendea el timon verso ançoli cantando.	its shaft pointed towards angels singing,
El carro triumphal vien su montando.	the triumphal chariot came climbing up.
De verdi lauri corone menava,	It brought crowns made of green laurels,
che d'alegreça el mondo verdeçava.	that filled the world with happiness.

These two madrigals, one each by Padua's most renowned composers, describe the heraldic Carrara *carro*, but from different points of view. *Inperiale sedendo* describes the Cardinal Virtues (Justice, Temperance, Fortitude and Prudence) guiding the wheels of the chariot, while *Per quella strada* focuses on a description of the *carro* as if it were decorated for a Roman-style triumph. In Chapter 6 I argue that although the two madrigals are extrememly similar in terms of textual *and* musical style, they did not use the same models for their texts, and that this necessitates a reconsideration of the dating of *Inperiale sedendo*.

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[320] This version of the text is taken from **Lu**, which I consider to be the closest source to the Padua of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara, both temporally and geographically. Other manuscripts give the incipit as *Imperiale sedendo* or *Imperial sedendo*, and *mai benegno* or *più benegno* instead of **Lu**'s *Inperiale sedendo* and *via benegno*.

La douce cere (Bartolino da Padova)

La douce cere d'un fier animal   The mild appearance of a proud animal
se poit entendre por senefiance   can also be understood to mean
grant hardiment et humele semblance. great boldness and humble appearance.

Le vis human, le buste est d'un lion,   The face is human, the bust is that of a lion,
intresignes d'un brief a legier   crossed by an attached motto
qui dit lialment sans dottier.   which says "loyally without doubting."

Et a son col port un escu tout blans,   At his neck he bears a shield all white,
que d'engombrier il fet tout garans   that he is guaranteed to charge.[321]

As far as we know, Bartolino's *La douce cere* is the most-transmitted secular song of the trecento, surviving in nine manuscripts, two of which feature instrumental transcriptions of the madrigal (**Bux**, **Fa**, **FP**, **Lo**, **Lu**, **Pit**, **PR**, **SL** and **Sq**). The madrigal is scored for three voices, except in **Pit** and the instrumental manuscripts **Bux** and **Fa**. The song manuscripts feature very different approaches to text underlay: **Sq** gives text for all three voices, while **Lu** and **Pit** give text for both cantus and tenor. **FP** and **PR** provide text only for the cantus, but in **FP** this can be explained by the placement of *La douce cere* in a gathering of French songs (Gathering 11), and is therefore reflective of the French practice of only providing text for the cantus. The transmission of the text in *La douce cere* in **PR** may also be a result of its French text and musical construction: as Strohm points out, the inessential contratenor is treated in a French manner.[322]

Though not technically a "Carrara" madrigal, *La douce cere* is included in this section because to some extent, it is thought to describe the arms of the Papafava family, one branch of the Carrara family. As with *D'or pomo incominciò,* the text of *La douce cere* consists of a detailed description of heraldry, or in this case, a paraheraldic crest and semi-heraldic shield. Although the text of this song is in French, its rhyme scheme is that of a madrigal, and Corsi describes it as such, despite the fact that it does not contain the standard number of syllables per

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[321] Though this is my own translation, I have used Petrobelli's translations of the words *cere* in the first line and *intresignes* in the fifth. See Petrobelli, "Some Dates," 103.

[322] Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 89. An inessential contratenor is one that is not needed for the song to make sense contrapuntally.

line.[323] Li Gotti considered *La fiera testa* to be "the mate to a setting by Bartolino of a French text, *La douce cere*, and refers to the Visconti."[324] Pirrotta thought that the text of this madrigal referred to the Visconti and suggested the range of dates from 1388 to 1390, the time when Giangaleazzo Visconti controlled Padua.[325] Petrobelli proposed that this piece was probably written in honour of a member of the Papafava family, whose arms were suppressed by Francesco il Novello sometime after his return to power in 1390.[326]

Unfortunately for scholars, one aspect of the crest described in the song does not match that of the Papafava family. In the *Liber cimeriorum dominorum de Carraria*, the Papafava crest is shown as a lion covered in blue fur (Figure 3.5). The text accompanying the illustration does not describe the crest, saying only that Marsilietto carried the image of the lion (*portavit signum leonis*).[327] This is echoed in the Gatari chronicle, which describes

> … the head and the bust of a blue lion covered with golden fur, and the whole helmet is covered with this. His shield is quartered by a red cross, and in two quarters there are red *carri* and in the other two, rampant blue lions.[328]

In the song, the lion is described as having a human face, but as we can see from the illustration in the *Liber cimeriorum*, the lion's face is that of a lion. Additionally, the song text does not mention the most notable feature of the lion, which is that it is blue, with golden fur.

[323] Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 263.

[324] Ettore Li Gotti, *La poesia musicale italiana del sec. XIV*, 66. Quoted in Petrobelli, "Some Dates," 51n.

[325] Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca III," 121.

[326] Petrobelli, "Some Dates," 103.

[327] **BP 124**, folio 17.

[328] Quoted in *I Dondi dell'Orologio e la Padova dei Carraresi* (Padova: Edizioni 1+1, 1989), 34.

Figure 3.5 Crest of Marsilietto Papafava da Carrara. Padua, Biblioteca Civica, B.P. 124/XXII, f. 17r.

Issues of heraldic identification aside, what is particularly striking about the text of *La douce cere* is the way in which a literary blazon has been almost literally turned into a poem. In his study of early blazon, Gerard J. Brault gives several examples of blazons taken from Old French romance literature, each describing a helmet (crests seem to have been ignored by romance authors, or were not yet fashionable). In each case, the shield is described as being at either under the helmet (*dessus*), or at its neck (*a son col*). For example, the twelfth-century French translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum britanniae* (c. 1136) describes King Arthur's heraldry as

> Helme or en sun chief cler luisant,
> D'or fut tut li nasels devant
> E d'or li circles environ;
> Desus ot portrait un dragun[329]

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[329] Gerard J. Brault, *Early Blazon: Heraldic Terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries with Special Reference to Arthurian Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 23.

Similarly, Geoffrey describes Pridwen as wearing *sun escu, a sun col.*[330] While it might be obvious to describe the shield of a warrior as being "at his neck" when it is being carried, it is clear that the shield is meant to be attached somehow to one's neck. The arms of Apollo, for example, described in the epic *Fierabas* (c. 1170) are described as hanging from around his neck: *A son col a pendu son fort escu listé.*[331] Brault gives these examples as "early blazon," meaning that the order of naming heraldic elements and their positions in relation to one another had yet to be standardized. But it seems the practice of having a heraldic shield at the helmet's neck persisted, at least until the fourteenth century. This practice can also be seen in rolls and manuscripts of arms dating from the fourteenth century, where the helmet rest on top of the shield (see Figure 3.5).

Although its heraldry has never been satisfactorily identified, *La douce cere* was probably composed for the Carrara family or the Papafava family, since its attribution to Bartolino in numerous sources can be considered reliable, and since Bartolino is not known to have ever left Padua. I hope that future research on this song text will provide a secure identification of the heraldry in the text, and thus a historically accurate date for the madrigal.

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[330] *Ibid.*, 24.

[331] *Ibid.*, 25.

IV. Madrigal Referring to Heraldry that is as yet Unidentified

D'or pomo incominciò (**Donato da Cascia**)

D'or pomo incominciò ne l'aer fino,	A golden apple tree begins in the fine air
da cerchi involto selvagio creare	from packaged rings forests create
frutto, cui solo son contento amare.	fruit, which I alone am pleased to love.
Po' discendendo in simil campo d'oro	Then descending into a similar field of gold
con piccon forte, appuntato, vermiglio	with a strong axe, pointed, vermillion
s'agiunse, qual di pietra schianto 'l ciglio	joins, that of stone whitening the edge
Che gi incatena legato d'argento,	That "g" enchained tied with silver
si vago e bel ch'è fatt'omai in petra	so elusive and beautiful that is made now in stone
che dentro a me ma' piú neun penetra.	that inside my heart no-one will ever pierce.
Al chiaro dolce allis'a tutt'asembrasi	Everything resembles the clear, sweet alyssum
el bel fior, sí che dentr'al cor amembrasi.	the beautiful flower, so that it breaks inside my heart.

Although the madrigal *D'or pomo incominciò* is clearly heraldic, it has never been identified as such until now. The text describes a golden field (*campo d'oro*) with a red pointed axe. The enigmatic reference to "gi" (clumsily explained by Paganuzzi as a reference to the church of San Giorgio in Verona) may be part of the heraldic description also, and may refer to the letter G. Aside from the heraldic language, *D'or pomo incominciò* seems to contain at least one *senhal*. Li Gotti thought that *pietra* in line 6 was one,[332] and Corsi felt that by the same logic *allis'a* in line 10 could be another, and that when combined with the *fior* in line 11, could be read as *fiordaliso*, or *fleur-de-lys*.

Paganuzzi believed that this madrigal had been composed to commemorate the opening of a new aqueduct bringing water to Verona from the spring at Avesa. The aqueduct was one of Cansignorio Della Scala's improvements to Veronese infrastructure, and began carrying water in 1368. The acqueduct entered the city near the church of San Giorgio, and then entered a cistern so that it could be purified. It then travelled through a lead pipe which rested on the Pietra Bridge, on the other side of the Adige. The water arrived in Piazza delle Erbe through a fountain

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[332] Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 118.

which is still there.[333] According to Paganuzzi, the first tercet describes the formation of spring water, and the second and third tercets describe its trajectory from the hills into Verona.[334]

Although he deserves credit for his allegorical explanation, Paganuzzi did not recognize the heraldic terms in the madrigal text. Although I have not been able to identify the heraldry, I will continue to look for a yellow shield charged with a red pointed axe, and something that could be the *gi* of the song text.

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[333] Paganuzzi, "La musica alla corte Scaligera," 531; *Idem*, "L'opera idraulica di Cansignorio Della Scala," 143-47.

[334] Paganuzzi, "La musica," 531.

Chapter 4

A Trinitarian Reading of Jacopo da Bologna's *Aquila altera*

Despite being one of the most extraordinary songs of the heraldic madrigal repertoire, Jacopo da Bologna's three-voice madrigal *Aquila altera/Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio* continues to be ignored by both musicologists and performers. As is the case with most heraldic madrigals, musicologists have only been interested in using the heraldic references in *Aquila altera* to reconstruct the biography of Jacopo da Bologna. I believe, however, that a thorough study of the heraldry in *Aquila altera* can tell us much about the occasion of its performance, the relationship between Jacopo da Bologna and members of the court of Galeazzo Visconti, and finally, how unusual madrigals such as *Aquila altera* were perceived by scribes and collectors of trecento song.

Nino Pirrotta was the first to suggest a date for *Aquila altera*, proposing that it had been written to celebrate the visit of emperor Charles IV to the Visconti court in 1354.[335] Geneviève Thibault thought otherwise: she believed it more likely that *Aquil'altera* had been written in 1360 on the occasion of Giangaleazzo Visconti's wedding to Isabelle de Valois, daughter of the French king John II.[336] In Thibault's interpretation, each stanza of the madrigal mentions a heraldic badge, either of the Visconti or the Valois: the upper voice sings of the eagle, the middle voice mentions the sun, and the lower voice describes the "Bird of God", which can be interpreted as both the eagle and the dove. The eagle is an emblem of the Visconti, reflecting their status as imperial vicars, and is also reminiscent of John the Evangelist, revealer of the Trinity. The dove-in-sun badge is said to have been adopted by Giangaleazzo when he married Isabelle. This chapter will show that heraldic references within the song, as well as their trinitarian associations, strongly suggest that Thibault's theory is correct.

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[335] Pirrotta, "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian ars nova," 70.

[336] Thibault, "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti," 146.

The Paraheraldry of Giangaleazzo Visconti

The Visconti arms were the same as those of Milan: a blue viper or *biscia*, said to be that of St Ambrose, holding a red human figure in its mouth (Figure 3.1)[337]. Because the biscia charge was associated with the lordship of Milan (which was held by his uncle Bernabò), Giangaleazzo Visconti did not adopt it until after his takeover of Milan in 1385. When Giangaleazzo became Duke of Milan in 1395, his arms were changed to reflect his new status: the *biscia* was now quartered with the imperial eagle.[338]

In addition to their official heraldry, the Visconti were among the first Italian noble families to adopt paraheraldic devices, a practice that seems to have originated with Giangaleazzo's father Galeazzo II.[339] Though we do not know exactly when, Galeazzo adopted the *divisa dell'acqua e del fuoco,* the device of water and fire, consisting of "a ragged staff set diagonally, burning at its lower end and supporting at its upper end two pails of water suspended from the same rope."[340] The taste for paraheraldry was passed on to Galeazzo's son Giangaleazzo, and also to Giangaleazzo's son Filippo Maria, who adopted the paraheraldic devices of both his father and grandfather.[341] Thus, along with true heraldry, Visconti paraheraldry was passed on from generation to generation.

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[337] Chamberlin, *The Count of* Virtue, 16. The Visconti supposedly adopted this device after killing a Saracen while on Crusade, and stealing his heraldry, which happened to be the viper device. See Emilio Galli, "Sulle origini araldiche della biscia Viscontea." *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 46 (1919): 363-81. This story is strongly reminiscent of a more general theory of the origin of heraldry, which suggests that it was originally a Muslim tradition which travelled to western Europe at the time of the First Crusade. See Michel Pastoureau, *Heraldry: An Introduction to a Noble Tradition* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997), 16.

[338] Richard Trexler, "Triumph and Mourning in North Italian Magi Art, " In *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250-1500*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame, 1990), 46. For an illustration of this new coat of arms, see the border decoration of the illustration of Giangaleazzo's coronation in the Coronation Missal (Milan, Biblioteca capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio, Lat. 6), folio 8.

[339] Boulton, "Insignia of Power," 117. Boulton argues that it is likely that Galeazzo II introduced the practice of adopting paraheraldic devices into Italy.

[340] *Ibid.*

[341] For example, both the *divisa dell'acqua e del fuoco* and the knot are displayed in the Visconti Hours (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Banco Rari 397 and MS Landau-Finlay 22), begun under the patronage of Giangaleazzo and completed for Filippo Maria. Boulton, "Insignia of Power," 119.

Giangaleazzo also adopted several paraheraldic devices for his own personal use. One of these was a monogram with the letters G and V intertwined, which appears twice in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 757 (hereafter **Lat. 757**), a combined Book of Hours and Missal associated with Giangaleazzo.[342] The monogram appears once on folio 309, where it serves as decoration in the backdrop for a depiction of Christ's transfiguration, and again on folio 364, where a woman (whose dress is also decorated with the monogram) holds the letters GV in one hand, and a stylized knot in the other.[343]

The stylized knot was a popular paraheraldic device in Italy, and, as demonstrated by its presence in **Lat. 757**, it became another of the devices adopted by Giangaleazzo Visconti. The first known use of the knot as a paraheraldic badge was by the Company of the Holy Spirit of Right Desire, a monarchical order of knighthood founded by Louis of Taranto, King of Naples, which existed from 1353 until his death in 1361.[344] The love-knot adopted by the order symbolized "the insoluble bonds of fraternity," was evocative of courtly love, and was of course associated with the Holy Spirit.[345] Another monarchical order, the Order of the Collar, founded by Giangaleazzo's uncle Amadeus of Savoy, featured a badge with three love-knots hanging from a collar.[346] This was the second monarchical order founded by Amadeus – the first, was the Company of the Black Swan, had been created in 1350 to celebrate the marriage of Amadeus's sister Blanche and Galeazzo Visconti (Giangaleazzo's parents). The badge of the Company of the Black Swan consisted, predictably enough, of a black swan, with a red beak and red legs on a white field.[347] Though the order was most likely disbanded after the wedding festivities,[348] this

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[342] Kay Sutton has argued that these letters are in fact BE, but seems very unlikely when taking into account the way in which the letters would have been written, and also the way they actually look. Sutton, "The Original Patron of the Lombard Manuscript Lat. 757 in the Bibliothèque Nationale," 93.

[343] The depiction of the knot on folio 364 is stylized to the point where it cannot easily be recognized. In the past it has been described as interlocking rings, but both Thibault and Kirsch definitively identify it as a knot.

[344] Boulton, "Insignia of Power," 111 and 113. While there is no evidence that the Viscontis belonged to the order, the connection between the knot and the Holy Spirit is striking.

[345] *Ibid.*, 111. It should also be noted that one of the emblems of the order was a shield depicting a descending dove and the rays of the sun. See Boulton, Fig. 6.2.

[346] *Ibid.*, 113.

[347] Boulton, "Insignia of Power," 112.

example demonstrates that at least within the Visconti family, paraheraldry came to be associated with weddings. In fact, the connection between paraheraldry and weddings in the Visconti family is so great that Edith Kirsch argues that the presence of the knot device in the manuscript **Lat. 757** strongly suggests that it was commissioned for a Visconti wedding – that of Giangaleazzo to Caterina Visconti in 1380.[349] Kirsch also believes that the knots belonging to the paraheraldry of emperor Wenceslaus IV (the emperor who crowned Giangaleazzo Duke in 1395) were "multivalent christological and imperial symbols that also stood for the bond of love between Wenceslaus and his wife Sophia."[350] Therefore, we see that in the fourteenth century the knot could convey several meanings: it was a symbol of love, marriage, and the Holy Spirit.[351]

The paraheraldic badge most commonly associated with Giangaleazzo, however, is that of the dove in the sun, featuring a white dove set against the rays of the sun with blue sky in the background, and sometimes accompanied by the motto *A bon droit*. This device is often thought to have been created by Petrarch and based on the heraldry of Isabelle de Valois, to whom Giangaleazzo was married in October 1360.[352] This connection with Giangaleazzo's marriage explains why the dove-in-sun badge is also associated with his epithet, Conte di Virtù, since part of Isabelle's dowry was the county of Vertus in France (which was Italianized as *Virtù*, meaning virtue).

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[348] *Ibid.*

[349] Although there is no proof that Paris, MS Lat. 757 was commissioned for this wedding, Kirsch builds a convincing case. See Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts*, 24.

[350] Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts,* 22. She also notes that knots, when depicted with intertwined initials, were a symbol of marriage in late medieval and renaissance art.

[351] Kirsch argues that the knot might also represent the Trinity, as demonstrated in an early fourteenth-century illumination which depicts the Dove of the Holy Spirit enclosed in a knot. See Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts*, 24.

[352] Bianca Becherini, "Le insegne viscontee e i testi poetici dell'ars nova", 19. The dove-in-sun device is also mentioned in Thibault, "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti", 142. Kirsch states that Petrarch is believed to have created this emblem on the occasion of Giangaleazzo's wedding in 1360, and if this is true, many issues in connection with *Aquila altera* become much clearer. First, it leaves a very small margin of doubt that the madrigal was also written for the same wedding, and it tells us that the poet of the madrigal's text was either Jacopo himself or someone else at the Visconti court at the time of Giangaleazzo's wedding.

In his canzona *Pascolando mia mente al dolce prato*, Petrarch explains the dove-in-sun badge. The sun represents the lord's power, and its rays of unequal length reach out to everyone, so that their souls can be bathed in its light.[353] The dove symbolizes chastity and humility, the sky stands for serenity, and three orbs or balls (*palle*), which may be on the dove's chest or on the sun, signify lawfulness, loyalty and honesty.[354] Writing in 1389, Visconti court poet Francesco di Vannozzo expands on Petrarch's poem in his *Canzon morale fatta per la divisa del conte di Virtù* (Moralizing Song Made on the Device of the Count of Virtù). The sun, symbol of Giangaleazzo, is discussed first:

Per sua divisa al tuo signor è dato	Your lord is given for his device
un sol, che rappresenta sua persona,	a sun, representing his person,
in segno di corona	in the shape of a crown
tra gli altri e de victoria trionfante...	triumphant in victory among all others…
Mira gli raggi suoi che dan splendore	Admire the sun's rays that give brightness
tramegg'i grandi, maggi e piccolini:	among them the large, the medium and the very small:
questo vuol ch'endovini	you are meant to realize
che del suo lume ogn'anima è vestita...[355]	that from its light every soul is clothed…

The next element Vannozzo describes is the dove, which symbolizes humility:

…	
ziò che comprende l'alba totorella,	that which comprises the white dove
la qual con Umeltà tanto s'inbella	that which with Humility beautifies itself so much
a Purità conzonta e Castitate;	combined with Purity and Chastity;
chè se con lui legate	so that linked to it
seran queste tre donne[356]	will be these three women

Finally, Vanozzo discusses the blue background, home of the sun:

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[353] Ezio Levi, *Francesco di Vannozzo*, 264.

[354] *Ibid.*, 265.

[355] Francesco di Vannozzo, *Canzon morale fatta per la divisa del conte di Virtù*,in *Rime*, ed. Antonio Medin, 7. This stanza is very similar to the text of Ciconia's canon *Le ray au soleil*, whose entire text is a description of the sun part of Giangaleazzo's dove-in-sun badge.

[356] *Ibid.*, 10.

Apri la luce ancora e poni mente	The light opens and reminds us
al chiaro sole che non alberga in valle;	that the bright sun that does not sleep in valleys;
ma con soe dolce spalle	but with its sweet shoulders
riposa e giace ne l'azurro cielo,	rests and idles in the blue sky,
de cui color risorge a tutta gente	the colour of which reminds everyone
tre zentilesche e lizadrette palle,	of three noble and beautiful orbs,
che saglion come galle	that rise like floats
riempiendo il mondo d'amoroso gielo.	filling the world with loving cold.

Vannozzo then summarizes this device in trinitarian terms. The azure background symbolizes
heaven (the "loco del padre"), the sun represents Christ and the dove embodies the Holy Spirit:

Prima l'azurro per lo ciel si pone,	First the blue stands for the sky,
eterno loco d'un Padre da cui	eternal realm of a Father from whom
el sol Figlio, per cui	comes the only Son, through whom
se tien lo mondo franco;	holds the mortal world;
poi l'ucel bianco, Spirito Santo, in quale	then the white bird, Holy Spirit, on whom
s'apoggia per salvarse ogni mortale.[357]	every mortal depends for salvation.

Giangaleazzo is known to have venerated the Holy Spirit and the Trinity, giving money to
buildings erected in honour of both, presumably because this devotion was inspired by the
trinitarian meaning of the dove-in-sun device.[358] Apart from Vannozzo's explication of the
dove-in-sun device in terms of the Trinity, there is ample artistic evidence of the religious
symbolism inherent in Giangaleazzo's paraheraldic device, and this is made clear by its frequent
appearance in trinitarian contexts in manuscripts both commissioned by and associated with
Giangaleazzo. For example, in the Visconti Hours, Giangaleazzo's portrait "appears in the *bas-
de-page* of [folio] 105, a page devoted to the Trinity, where a dove descending from a radiant
sun in the upper margin without a doubt serves both as the Holy Spirit and as an emblem of the
Count of Virtues."[359] The manuscript **Lat. 757**, an Hours-Missal associated with Giangaleazzo,

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[357] *Ibid.*, 12.

[358] Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts*, 20. Giangaleazzo's will requested that a church dedicated to the Holy
Spirit in Pavia be completed, and he also commissioned a chapel dedicated to the Trinity in Verona.

[359] *Ibid.*

features a Creation Cycle which Kirsch reads in terms of Ambrose's writings on the Trinity, since according to Ambrose, the Creation is the work of the Trinity. Kirsch argues that

> The inclusion of a brilliant, radiant sun in the miniature on folio 37 of Lat. 757, the Separation of Land from Water and the Creation of Plants and Trees ... accords well with Saint Ambrose's strict exegesis of the third day of Creation.... The only sun, both necessary and present on the third day, argues Ambrose, is the Son of God who, Ambrose stresses in his exegesis of the fourth day, is of course the creator of the earthly sun.[360]

Thus Ambrose associates the earthly sun with the Son of God, as did many medieval writers. Ambrose, the most famous Milanese saint, would have been an appropriate source for the depiction of the Creation, and it is possible that Giangaleazzo had a copy of Ambrose's writing in his library. We can see then, that in mansucripts associated with Giangaleazzo, his paraheraldic emblems take on a trinitarian meaning. Furthermore, in these manuscripts Giangaleazzo's veneration of the Holy Spirit and the Trinity are linked iconographically to his other devotional interests, including veneration of the Magi and of the Virgin.[361]

Aside from his adoption of the trinitarian dove-in-sun badge, Giangaleazzo seems to have identified himself with the figure of Christ, represented by the sun.[362] This is demonstrated in

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[360] *Ibid.*, 34.

[361] The Trinity is associated with the Magi on folio 293v of **Lat. 757**, where one of the Magi wears a pendant in the shape of a knot (see Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts*, 36). As mentioned above, the GV monogram appears in the Transfiguration miniature on folio 309 of **Lat. 757**. It seems likely that its presence here is linked to Giangaleazzo's identification with the sun and with Christ. During the Transfiguration Christ's clothing radiates white light, and God identifies him as his Son, thus supporting the doctrine of the Trinity (Matthew 17:1 – 6, Mark 9:1 – 8, Luke 9:28 – 36).

Giangaleazzo's veneration of the Virgin was associated primarily with his concerns for the Visconti dynasty. After the birth of his first son by Caterina on the eve of the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, Giangaleazzo reputedly vowed to name all his sons after the Virgin. His legitimate sons were named Giovanni Maria and Filippo Maria, and his illegitimate son, Gabriele Maria (see Corio, *Storia di Milano*, ed. A. Morisi Guerra (Turin: Tipografia Cane, 1978), 1058-59; Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts*, 48). The Virgin is associated with the Trinity on folio 15 of the manuscript Bibliothèque nationale de France, Smith-Lesouëf 22, which depicts Giangaleazzo Visconti in front of the Madonna and Child. A crowned female saint standing (perhaps Catherine) makes a circular sign with her thumb and index finger, symbolizing the unity of the triune God. Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts*, 36 and 30.

[362] The identification of the bearer of paraheraldic "arms" with Christ is also apparent in the white hart device adopted by Charles VI of France in 1382 (a white hart with white wings, accompanied by the motto *Jamais*). Collette Beaune notes that in Scripture, as well as in the works of Ambrose and Bede in particular, the hart is associated with Christ, who is hunted throughout the world. She points out that (unlike the dove-in-sun device) it is also associated with chivalry. Rather than becoming a personal device, the white hart was passed down from king to king until the end of the fifteenth century. See Collette Beaune, "Costume et pouvoir en France à la fin du Moyen

three miniature portaits of Giangaleazzo. The first is found on folio 109v of **Lat. 757**, in which he wears a pendant in the shape of the sun, and the second appears on folio 128 of the Visconti Hours, where Giangaleazzo's portrait is framed by the rays of the sun. A similar portrait appears on folio 115 of this same manuscript.[363] Although the connection is not as striking, the depiction of the Coronation of Giangaleazzo in heaven on folio 1 of the Eulogy-Genealogy (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 5888), features a large golden sun at the top of the page.

As we have seen, Giangaleazzo's dove-in-sun badge, most probably created on the occasion of his marriage to Isabelle de Valois in 1360, is the paraheraldry most often associated with him, and the one most often used to link his religious and dynastic concerns.[364] In *Five Illuminated Manuscripts for Giangaleazzo Visconti*, Kirsch argues very convincingly that two of these manuscripts, **Lat. 757** and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Smith-Lesouëf 22, commemorate the marriage of Giangaleazzo to his cousin Caterina in 1380 and demonstrate Giangaleazzo's "lifelong devotion to both the Holy Ghost and the Trinity."[365] While the two illuminated manuscripts are the earliest examples of the artistic depiction of the dove-in-sun device, Jacopo da Bologna's madrigal *Aquila altera/Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio* can be considered the first musical work to refer to this device.[366]

Age: Les devises royales vers 1400," *Revue des sciences humaines* n.s. 55, no 183 (July-September 1981): 130 and 137.

[363] The marginal illumination on folio 108v of this manuscript depicts Justice and Temperance, with Justice holding the Visconti crest, surrounded by dozens of tiny decorative suns. The historiated initial, depicting David in prayer, is also framed by rays of the sun. Kirsch suggests that the manuscript associates Giangaleazzo with David, since two other illuminations depicting David are framed by the sun's rays. Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts,* 54.

[364] For more on how the device is used to connect religious devotion and concerns about his lineage, please see Kirsch, *Five Illuminated Manuscripts*, 45-59.

[365] *Ibid.*, 24. Smith-Lesouëf 22 is also an Hours-Missal.

[366] Two later madrigals refer to this device: Bartolino da Padova's *Alba colomba* and Antonello da Caserta's *Del glorioso titolo*, composed for Giangaleazzo's coronation as Duke of Milan in 1395. Ciconia's canon *Le ray au soleil* also describes the device, and it has been suggested that references to the sun in two ballatas, Zachara's *Sol me trafige 'l cor* and in Antonello's *Più chiar che 'l sol*, refer to this device.

Aquila altera/ Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio

Aquila altera, ferma in su la vetta	Heavenly eagle, lift the valorous eye
de l'alta mente l'occhio valoroso,	above the summit of the high mind,
dove tuo vita prende suo riposo,	where your life takes its repose,
là è 'l parer e là l'esser beato.	There is the appearance and there bliss.
Creatura gentil, animal degno,	Gentle creature, worthy animal,
salire in alto e riminare 'l sole	only to rise high and look at the sun
singularmente tuo natura vole.	your nature flies.
Là è l'imagine e là perfezione.	There is the image and there, perfection.
Uccel di Dio, insegna di giustizia,	Bird of God, emblem of justice,
tu hai principalmente chiara gloria,	you have above all clear glory,
perché ne le grand'opre è tua vittoria.	because in great works is your victory.
Là vidi l'ombra e là la vera essenza.	There I see shadow and there the true essence.

The madrigal *Aquila altera*/*Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio* features three voices, each singing a different text. Each voice mentions a heraldic device associated with Giangaleazzo Visconti: the cantus sings of the eagle, the middle voice refers to the sun, and the tenor sings of the Bird of God, which could refer to the dove, or again to the eagle. Although one of the most original madrigals written before French music became popular in Italy, *Aquila altera* has been all but ignored. This may be due in part to Pirrotta's assumption, unlikely as it seems, that the madrigal is missing both the second tercet of the poetry and the second line of text in the ritornello, in all surviving versions.[367] While it is improbable that there is text missing, the poetry of *Aquila altera* is certainly unique. As we have seen, most madrigal texts consist of two tercets made up of eleven-syllable lines, and a two-line ritornello. *Aquila altera*, however, is made up of three tercets (one for each voice) and a one-line ritornello for each voice. Each tercet is constructed in the same way: the first line describes a bird who embodies a virtuous attribute ("heavenly," "gentle," "worthy," "just"). The second line of each tercet associates the bird with physical or metaphorical height ("fix the gaze of the high mind," "only to rise high and look at the sun,"

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[367] Pirrotta, **CMM 8** 4:vi. In his transcription, however, there is no evidence of missing text, especially in the ritornello, where this would be obvious. W. Thomas Marrocco's transcription in **PMFC** presents the three texts simultaneously, and without any mention of missing text or music. See **PMFC**, 6:80-81.

"you have above all clear glory"). Finally, each ritornello is related to the others by means of similar formal structure and through the comparison and juxtaposition of similar concepts (appearance/image/shadow *vs.* heavenly existence/perfection/true essence).

Guido Capovilla and Pirrotta both mention the similarity between this madrigal and the textual style of the trecento motet.[368] In terms of textual style, *Aquila altera* does indeed seem more motet-like than the other madrigals of Jacopo and his contemporaries. In *Aquila altera*, each of the three voices sings its own text, resulting in the simultaneous declamation of texts, as in the French motet, and to a lesser extent, in the Italian motet. The text itself, though in Italian, is closer in style and subject matter to that of the trecento motet than to other madrigal texts by Jacopo and his contemporaries. In general, madrigals written by Jacopo have texts that are narrative, speaking in either the first person or the third, whereas the poetry of *Aquila altera* addresses the subject (the heavenly eagle) directly. [369] In this respect, the poetry of *Aquila altera* has much in common with the texts of surviving laudatory political motets from the trecento.

Julie Cumming has discussed the "problem of polytextuality" in motets of the trecento in some detail. She argues that although polytextuality "seems particularly paradoxical in a political piece, given our understanding of how propaganda works," medieval readers were always reading texts with other texts in mind, and that this naturally led to typological and allegorical readings.[370] She gives several examples, including St Bonaventure's explanation that "one place in Scripture depends upon another" (in other words, to fully understand the New Testament one must read with an eye for typology).[371] This sort of intertextuality is evident in *Aquila altera* too, since the madrigal text refers not only a paraheraldic badge and a heraldic charge, but also to the famous description of John the Evangelist, who, as the eagle, flew up and looked into the face of God. I will argue that typology is present as well: if John the Evangelist is the type of Christ,

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[368] **CMM 8**, 4: ii; Guido Capovilla, "Materiali per la morfologia e la storia del madrigale 'antico'," 170-171. Capovilla also notes that the text of Landini's madrigal *Musica son* is in a similar style.

[369] Of Jacopo's twenty-four madrigals, eleven feature poetry in the first person, and of these, two are heraldic (*Nel bel giardino* and *Posando sopra un'aqua*). Four madrigals, including *Aquila altera*, are in the second person, and three of these address members of the Visconti family. The fourth, *O cieco mondo*, uses a standard poetic formula to address the world in general. Nine madrigals are in the third person.

[370] Julie Cumming, "Concord out of Discord: Occasional Motets of the Early Quattrocento," 201-202.

[371] *Ibid.*, 202.

then Giangaleazzo is the type of both John and Christ through his heraldic associations with the eagle and the sun. I will return to these ideas later in the chapter.

Though the language and text-setting in *Aquila altera* may resemble the textual style of the motet, Margaret Bent points out that the *musical* style of Jacopo's madrigals is not at all similar to that of the trecento motet, even though the upper voices in his three-voice madrigals have equal ranges.[372] How, then, does *Aquila altera* relate to the trecento madrigal or to the repertoire of trecento song? The manuscript transmission of *Aquila altera* can offer clues as to how its unusual textual and musical forms were perceived (at least to compilers of music manuscripts) in the fourteenth century, and ultimately lead us to some inferences about where the madrigal lies in relation to the various genres of trecento music.

Aquila altera is transmitted in six musical sources, one of which, **Fa**, gives an instrumental version of the madrigal. Copies of the song for three voices appear in the Tuscan manuscripts **FP**, **Pit**, **SL** and **Sq**, and also in **PR**, the only manuscript here originating in the north of Italy. The text of *Aquila altera* also survives in a fifteenth-century collection of poetry, Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.II.61. This textual source is significant because its existence suggests two things: first, that Jacopo may not have been the author of the madrigal's text, and second, that the text itself may have been of some political importance in its own right.[373] If the poem was not by Jacopo, this would explain why (at least superficially) this poetry is so different from those in his other madrigals.[374]

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[372] Margaret Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," 104. Bent's argument is concerned mainly with cadences in the upper voices: madrigals tend to cadence with a 3rd converging on a unison, while motets follow a 10/6 – 12/8 cadential pattern, a characteristic they share with *cacce*. The cadences in *Aquila altera* are typical of the madrigal. Most of the time, they are elided (two voices sing alone, then cadence while the third enters), and all three voices cadence together only twice: once before the ritornello, and again at the end of the song.

[373] In a parallel example, Ciconia's ballata *Con lagreme bagnandome el viso*, written on the death of Francesco il Novello da Carrara (1406) survives in three text-only sources. Interestingly, it also survives in two keyboard intablutations. See Anne Hallmark, "*Protector, imo verus pater*," 164; David Fallows, "Leonardo Giustinian and Quattrocento Polyphonic Song," 247-260; Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 42.

[374] As mentioned earlier, however, if the poet was not Jacopo, he must have been at the Visconti court at the time of Giangaleazzo's wedding to Isabelle, since the dove-in-sun device was most likely created for Giangaleazzo on the occasion of his first wedding.

In all sources (with the obvious exception of **Fa**), *Aquila altera* is notated similarly, in typical Italian notation.[375] It begins in *octonaria* (the modern 2/4, or more accurately, 4/8), changing to *senaria perfecta* (equivalent to the modern 3/4) at the ritornello. Because of its length and the nature of its text setting, *Aquila altera* is always copied across an opening, with the cantus (*Aquila altera*) and contratenor (*Creatura gentile*) opposite each other at the top of the page, and the tenor (*Uccel di Dio*) underneath the cantus.

When we examine the musical sources transmitting *Aquila altera,* it is immediately obvious that the madrigal was perceived in two distinct ways. All but two of the manuscripts place *Aquila altera* near the beginning of the Jacopo section, which, for both **Pit** and **PR**, is the first section of the manuscript. Both of these sources place *Aquila altera* across the opening on folios 2v and 3. In both cases, the madrigal is preceded by *Sotto l'imperio*, which seems to have been the madrigal most used to open the Jacopo section, and may have been considered the most suitable section-opener because of its overt political and heraldic references.[376] **Sq**, and to a lesser extent, **SL**, give heraldic madrigals pride of place within each composer section. In **Sq**, *Sotto l'imperio* once again opens the Jacopo section. Of Jacopo's heraldic madrigals, those with three voices are given priority within the section. Thus, we can see that in most of the surviving trecento sources, *Aquila altera* was placed close to the beginning of the Jacopo section, along with other three-voice madrigals and heraldic works.

FP, a Florentine manuscript whose main corpus dates from the end of the fourteenth century, has a different strategy for classifying *Aquila altera*. **FP** is the earliest of the musical sources transmitting *Aquila altera*, and it is the only source to group canonic madrigals and caccias into a separate gathering. While the bulk of the Jacopo section consists of Gathering 7 and the first half of Gathering 8 (shared with Lorenzo Masini), *Aquila altera* appears in Gathering 10 along with other canonic madrigals and caccias by Jacopo, Giovanni and Piero.

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[375] Having said this, I have been unable to check the notation in **SL**, because there is no facsimile reproduction or microfilm of this manuscript (which is a palimpsest in any case).

[376] While the musical version of *Aquila altera* in **PR** is the same as those in other manuscripts, Corsi noted that its textual transmisison is "poor and insecure," which is interesting because PR is the only northern source transmitting *Aquila altera* (so we might expect it to be more secure). On the other hand, John Nádas has pointed out to me that stable transmission practices are often the mark of a source far removed (either geographically or temporally) from the original. John Nádas, pers. comm.

The canonic madrigal is a type of three-voice madrigal in which the two upper voices open the song with imitation, as in a caccia (it is also sometimes called the caccia-madrigal). This imitation can be continued to a greater or lesser degree throughout the song. Nádas has shown that the canonic songs in Gathering 10 of **FP** "belonged to a rather narrowly circulated collection," a statement supported by the fact that most of the pieces in the gathering are *unica*.[377] Given its presence in five other manuscripts, *Aquila altera* does not belong to this group of narrowly-circulated songs, but it is worth noting that the scribe has separated it from the other well-transmitted madrigals by Jacopo because of its unusual musical and textual form. There are three other canonic madrigals by Jacopo in this gathering: *Sì come al canto*, whose text was also set by the composer Magister Piero (but in non-canonic fashion), *Giunge 'l bel tempo* and *In verde prato*.[378] Therefore, to the compilers of **FP**, *Aquila altera* belonged to a subgenre of the madrigal which they considered to be related to the caccia because of its imitative opening, while the compilers of the other song manuscripts, (probably as a result of a more standardized song order) placed *Aquila altera* with Jacopo's other three-voice heraldic madrigal, *Sotto l'imperio*.[379] It seems, then, that even shortly after the composition of *Aquila altera*, compilers of music manuscripts had different ideas about how it fit into the repertoire of trecento song. This is particularly interesting because both ways of categorizing *Aquila altera* appear in manuscripts that are trying to preserve the complete corpus of trecento song, and are often highly organized by composer and genre, and are often organized chronologically. It is intriguing that in most manuscripts, *Aquila altera* is grouped according to a combination of musical and textual concerns, since it is placed with Jacopo's other political madrigal for three voices, but in **FP**, musical considerations alone are more important.

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[377] John Nádas, "The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the Transmission of Trecento Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 413.

[378] Of the four madrigals by Jacopo, only *Giunge 'l bel tempo* is an *unicum*.

[379] The fact that the canonic madrigal and *caccia* are grouped together in **FP** is interesting because of the relationships among *Aquila altera*, the *caccia* and the trecento motet. Bent sees the *caccia* as providing the stylistic roots for the motet, and we have seen that *Aquila altera* has some textual elements of the motet.

Heraldry in *Aquila altera*

Nino Pirrotta suggested that the presence of the eagle in the madrigal's text, coupled with the ambitious scope of the composition, might indicate that it had been composed for the coronation of emperor Charles IV in 1355.[380] Giuseppe Corsi thought that *Aquila altera* was most likely composed for Charles's first visit to Italy in 1354, and noted that the text was reminiscent of Donato da Cascia's madrigal *Sovran uccello*, which he claimed was written for the emperor's second visit.[381] The association of the heraldic eagle with that of the emperor is an obvious one, and is supported by Pastoureau's research, which demonstrates that the eagle was a popular heraldic charge in places where support for the emperor was strong.[382] (Conversely, the lion, symbol of the papacy, was a more popular heraldic charge in lands allied with the Pope).[383]

In her groundbreaking article "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti," however, Geneviève Thibault pointed out that the heraldry in the madrigal's text makes more sense if we consider that the song had been composed in 1360 for the wedding of Giangaleazzo Visconti to Isabelle de Valois, daughter of the French king John II (sometimes called "the Good").[384] Thibault reasoned that since we know that Jacopo had been in the service of Luchino Visconti, it would be reasonable to look for Visconti devices in the text of *Aquila altera*. This led to the discovery what she believed were three heraldic or paraheraldic charges of the Visconti in the madrigal text: the eagle, while technically not a Visconti heraldic charge at that time, represented the family's role as imperial vicars, and the dove (*Uccel di Dio*, "Bird of God") and the sun were part of the paraheraldry of Giangaleazzo, and seemed to have some connection to his wife,

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[380] Pirrotta, *CMM 8*, 4: ii.

[381] Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 30. Donato's madrigal refers to a *Sovran uccello*, an imperial bird to whom all other birds are faithful.

[382] Pastoureau, "Quel est le roi des animaux?" 167. Frederick Barbarossa seems to have been the first emperor to use the eagle, which from this point on was always shown facing the viewer (guardant).

[383] *Ibid.*

[384] Thibault, "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti," 138.

Isabelle.[385] More recently, Oliver Huck has reiterated Thibault's theory, but interprets *creatura gentil* as representing the union between Giangaleazo and Isabelle itself.[386]

The reference to the Bird of God in the madrigal's text is confusing, since we naturally assume that this represents the dove of the Holy Spirit, but in medieval Italian literature the Bird of God clearly refers to the eagle.[387] There is no real need, however, to choose between the two, if we keep in mind that medieval readers were not overly worried about polytexuality, intertextuality or the exact intentions of the author. With regard to medieval symbols, Russell Peck states "One does not ask… 'What does it mean?' Rather one asks 'What can it mean?'."[388] In this case, I believe that the Bird of God can be taken to mean either the eagle, who is described by the other two voices in the song, or the dove, implied by the other trinitarian associations of the music and text, reflecting Giangaleazzo's badge. Instead of simply relying on the openness of medieval interpretation to associate Giangaleazzo with *Aquila altera*, however, there are other reasons to suppose that the madrigal was composed for the wedding of Giangaleazzo and Isabelle de Valois. If Giangaleazzo's connections to the text of *Aquila altera* can be doubted on heraldic grounds, Isabelle's cannot. As a member of the French royal family, Isabelle's heraldry was the royal *fleur-de-lys*, which the house of Valois had taken great pains to associate with the Trinity.

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[385] *Ibid.*, 146. Thibault is wrong in claiming that the Visconti held the vicariate from 1294 onwards; in fact, it was granted and taken away several times during the fourteenth century. Interestingly, Pirrotta mentions another madrigal in connection with the wedding of Giangaleazzo Visconti and Isabelle de Valois, suggesting that the *tortora* (turtle-dove) in Jacopo's *Fenice fu'* could refer to Isabelle de Valois. He then goes on to doubt this theory, since he had decided that Jacopo's career must have ended before 1360. See Pirrotta, **CMM 8**, 4: ii.

[386] Oliver Huck, "Muisc for Luchino, Bernabò and Gian Galeazzo Visconti," In *Kontinuität und Transformation in der italienischen Vokalmusik*, ed. Sandra Dieckmann, Oliver Huck, Signe Rotter-Broman and Alba Scotti (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2007), 251. Huck states that Isabelle's paraheraldic badge is the pigeon while that of Giangaleazzo is the eagle. While it is true that Matteo I added the eagle to his arms when he became imperial vicar, he also gave up that title, and with it the right to bear the eagle.

[387] For example, Dante refers to the eagle as *uccel di Dio* in *Purgatorio.*

[388] Russell Peck, "Public Dreams and Private Myths: Perspective in Middle English Literature," quoted in Allan Atlas, "Dufay's *Mon chier amy*: Another Piece for the Malatesta," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Essays in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony Cummings (Warren: Harmonie Park, 1997), 7.

In the Middle Ages, the lily symbolized both Christ and the Virgin, and it was also considered a symbol of marriage, probably on account of its connection to the Song of Songs.[389] The origin of the heraldic *fleur-de-lys* as the French royal charge are unclear, but beginning either with Louis VII or Philip Augustus, it became the hereditary charge on the arms of the French kings in the thirteenth century.[390] By the fourteenth century, all French princes bore the *fleur-de-lys*, and it was at this time that the lily became much more bound up in French politics than it had been in the past, representing both sacred kingship and the Royal Dignity.[391]

The heraldic *fleur-de-lys* is also a symbol of the Trinity.[392] The association of the *fleur-de-lys* with the Trinity began during the reign of St Louis (1226 – 70), when a series of Parisian writers began producing commentaries on the Biblical lily, the purpose of which was to show St Louis as the personification of the Trinity. In the anonymous *Vitis mystica*, the lily flower (and by association its heraldic counterpart) is shown to be the perfect reflection of the Trinity because "its six floral leaves… are divided into two groups of three each that can be said to correspond to the three petals and the three sepals that alternate to form the actual floral envelope of the lily flower."[393] The pistil is in the form of a triangle, another perfect representation of the Trinity, since it is "one in substance but whose three angles, each distinct from each other, are the three persons who together make up the indivisible Godhead." [394] These earlier writings set a precedent for later writers who explicitly compared the heraldic lily of the French royal house to the Trinity. One of the first of these authors is Philippe de Vitry, whose poem *Le chapel royal des trios fleurs de lis* was written in preparation for the French king's departure for the crusade

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[389] Pastoureau, "La fleur de lis: emblème royal, symbol marial ou thème graphique?" in *L'hermine et le sinople* (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1982), 160.

[390] Collette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 211; Pastoureau, "La fleur de lis," 162.

[391] Pastoureau, "La fleur de lis," 163.

[392] William Hinkle, *The Fleurs de Lis of the Kings of France 1285-1488* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 21.

[393] *Ibid.,* 13.

[394] *Ibid.* 14. Furthermore, the lily possesses six stamens, which represent the six acts of mercy.

of 1335, which never took place. In this, as in many later works, Vitry deliberately confuses the natural flower with the heraldic lily.[395]

The house of Valois also used the trinitarian associations of the royal lily to their advantage. The original royal shield was blue, bearing an unspecified number of golden lilies, but Charles V is said to have reduced the number of lilies on the royal shield to three in honour of the Trinity.[396] Additionally, a royal charter dating from 1376 identifies the lily not only as the symbol of the king, but also that of France, and equates both the lily and the king with the Trinity.[397] Finally, in the preface to his translation of Augustine's *City of God* (c. 1420), Raoul de Presles describes how the kings of France bear *les armes de trois fleurs de lys en signe de la beneoite Trinité, qui de Dieu par son ange furent envoiez a Clovis, le premier roi chrestien* (the arms of the three *fleurs-de-lys* as a sign of the Holy Trinity, that was sent by God, by means of his angel, to Clovis, the first christian king).[398] This same manuscript contains an illumination depicting an angel bringing Clovis his shield, while the dove of the Holy Spirit flies above and an eagle fixes his eyes on the sun, obviously a reference to John the Evangelist.[399] This image demonstrates that in at least one instance not too far removed from Jacopo's madrigal, the combination of the royal *fleurs-de-lys*, the dove of the Holy Spirit and the eagle referred to the kings of France, and specifically to the Valois, for whom the manuscript was prepared. This supports the notion that all three of these elements could equally be present in *Aquila altera*.

The colours of the French royal arms are also symbolic. Blue was associated with the Capetian dynasty, especially during the reign of St Louis.[400] This association of blue with royalty remained, even after the house of Valois came to power. The gold of the lilies stood for

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[395] *Ibid.*, 18.

[396] *Ibid.*, 42-43.

[397] Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, 219.

[398] Quoted in Pastoureau, "La fleur de lis," 161.

[399] Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, 224.

[400] Pastoureau, "Et puis vint le bleu," in *Figures et couleurs*, 18.

faith, justice and the charity of Christ.[401] This aspect of Giangaleazzo's dove-in-sun badge has not been addressed in scholarship, but Francesco di Vannozzo's poem describes the colours of the dove and the sky and thus underscores the importance of colour with regard to this particular paraheraldic badge. In Vannozzo's poem, the white dove is humble, chaste and pure, and the blue sky represents heaven. Blue, as we have seen, represented royalty, and also spiritual superiority.[402]

If Jacopo da Bologna wanted to celebrate Giangaleazzo's marriage and the adoption of the dove-in-sun badge, why did he not refer to either the badge or the *fleur-de-lys* explicitly in the text? Why do all three voices sing about the eagle instead? (although, as mentioned above, the tenor sings about the Bird of God, which can be interpreted as the eagle and/or the dove). Do the answers to these questions exclude Giangaleazzo as the patron, or his wedding as the event for which *Aquila altera* was composed? Obviously, I will argue that this is not the case at all. In 1360 Giangaleazzo's father Galeazzo was granted an imperial vicariate, so we can assume that the presence of the eagle in the text of *Aquila altera* is designed to impress Galeazzo's new political status upon those who would have heard the madrigal. And apart from the textual references that suggest a trinitarian reading of the song, the formal structure of the music lends itself to a such a reading, and also to such a hearing, since the madrigal is for three voices, with different but related texts for each voice. Each voice, while part of a unified whole, is able to present a different version of the same story. Although this is perhaps far-fetched, it is also possible to interpret the canonic form of the madrigal in trinitarian terms: the secundus flows or follows directly from the cantus, whose musical material it imitates, suggesting the relationship between two persons of the Trinity, the Father and the Son.

Finally, we must also consider the reference to John the Evangelist, identified in the madrigal text as the eagle who flew up and looked at the sun.[403] Aside from being his namesake

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[401] Pastoureau, "Les couleurs médiévales: systèmes de valeurs et modes de sensibilité," in *Figures et couleurs*, 40.

[402] Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, 211.

[403] In his Homily *Vox spiritualis aquilae*, the theologian and philosopher Eriugena (c. 815 – 877) was the first to liken John to an eagle who flies up to heaven and looks into the face of God. According to Jeffrey Hamburger, this Homily "laid the foundations for the doctrine of John's divinization in later Western theology." See Jeffery

(Giangaleazzo is a shortened version of Giovanni Galeazzo), Giangaleazzo would have been aware of John's position as revealer of the Trinity. While Paul commented on the Trinity, John was the first to describe the relationships among the persons of the Trinity. The word "Trinity" is not mentioned anywhere in scripture, although it could be argued that it is foreshadowed in the Old Testament, and implicit in the New Testament. The Holy Trinity refers to the triune God: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are three distinct persons, but who are mutually indwelling, and who are all divine and unchanging. The doctrine of the Trinity was developed by theologians and based on evidence of the Trinity in the Bible, taken especially from the writings of Paul and John. Since it is not mentioned explicitly in the Bible, however, the doctrine has been a source of contention for theologians and ecclesiastics throughout Christian history.

In his writings, John focuses on Christ's possession of the Holy Spirit, which flows from him.[404] Alasdair I.C. Heron states that the Johanine perspective and language are distinctive, that John uses similar terms to describe both Christ and the Holy Spirit, and that this suggests that John considered the Holy Spirit as a counterpart to Christ.[405] That Christ and the Holy Spirit are closely associated in Revelation supports this view.[406] John's connection of Christ and the Spirit is echoed in the manuscripts made for Giangaleazzo which emphasize his identification as Christ (in the guise of the sun) along with the trinitarian associations of his dove-in-sun badge.

It seems that as well as reflecting John's understanding of the Trinity, the text of *Aquila altera* is also indebted to the writings of Paul. According to Paul, Christ was God made visible, and was the perfect image and reflection of the Father, and thus Paul "introduced the theme of

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Hamburger, *St. John the Divine*: *The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 17.

[404] Alasdair I.C. Heron, *The Holy Spirit* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1983), 51-53.

[405] *Ibid.*, 51.

[406] Robert Letham, *The Holy Trinity: In Scripture, History, Theology and Worship* (Phillipsburg, PA: P & R, 2004), 68. For example, John tells us that his vision is due to the fact that he is "in the Spirit on the Lord's day" (Revelation 1:10).

vision into the dynamics of Christian faith."[407] Tensions between visible and invisible, and between appearance and essence are a medieval concern in art and worship, since those who created religious art had to grapple with the issue of how one could depict the divine and the invisible.[408] The text of *Aquila altera* also reflects on the natures of the visible and the invisible: each ritornello comments compares appearance on the one hand to true essence on the other:

Là è'l parer e là l'esser beato.	There, appearance and there heavenly being
Là è l'imagine e là perfezione.	There, image and there, perfection
Là vidi l'ombra e là la vera essenza.	There I see shadow and there the true essence.

As with many devotional images, the text of *Aquila altera*, composed on a trinitarian theme and celebrating the marriage of two people, can be seen as prescriptive. If Giangaleazzo Visconti identified himself with Christ and his personal paraheraldry was the dove of the Holy Spirit, then these should become models for him as he entered this new phase of his life. He could also aspire to the heights attained by his namesake, St John the Evangelist. Isabelle, whose heraldry also had trinitarian associations, could draw inspiration from a text that compares earthly appearance with heavenly essence.

Conclusions

When we consider the evidence given by the trinitarian associations of the dove-in-sun badge *and* the lilies of the Valois, then, it seems very likely that Thibault's theory is correct, and *Aquila altera* was indeed commissioned for Giangaleazzo's wedding in 1360. The hypotheses of Corsi and Pirrotta do not acknowledge the reference to the sun in the second tercet of the madrigal, and can therefore be discounted.

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[407] Jeffrey Hamburger, *St. John the Divine*, 14. In Colossians 1:15-16, Paul writes that Christ is "the image of the invisible God" and that "For him were all things created in heaven and earth, visible and invisible."

[408] Hamburger notes that several types of medieval image strive to bridge the gap between the real and divine, or the apparent and essential. He notes that some images "insist on the invisibility of the risen Christ," while others are meant to be inspirational. See Hamburger, *St. John the Divine*, 4.

Giangaleazzo and Isabelle were married in Milan in October 1360. The bride was eleven years old and the groom had just turned nine. Three contemporary accounts exist of the wedding. The chronicler Pietro Azario limits his discussion of the marriage to the amount spent by Galeazzo to procure the bride,[409] but Matteo Villani, brother of the Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani, gives much more detail. Though highly biased (he complains that while the French king received three hundred thousand *scudi*, all he gave in return was the "tiny county of Vertus"[410]), he describes the wedding negociations, preparations and festivities. The event Villani describes was certainly extravagant, the Lords of Milan having collected jewels, precious stones and fabrics with which to make clothing and other decorations.[411] The celebrations lasted for three days, and included jousts and a feast for more than a thousand featuring Lombard specialities.[412] Heraldry was everywhere, because the "festivities were of the most noble kind" and the guests had to be made to appreciate this.[413] Finally, it seems as though the festivities included dancing: two instrumental dances, named *Isabella* and *Principio di Virtù*, were almost certainly composed for this event.[414]

Two further points should be made with regard to *Aquila altera*. First, since Giangaleazzo was only nine years old at the time of his marriage to Isabelle, the commission for

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[409] Pietro Azario, *Cronaca della Lombardia e dei Visconti, 1250-1362 (con estensioni al 1364)* (Pavia: Liutprand, 1997), 172-73:

Durante quei fatti quel Signore [Galeazzo], magnanimo di cuore, pensò di trovar moglie, lui vivente, al suo unico figlio, Gian Galeazzo…. Deliberato un consiglio, gli unì in matrimonio donna Isabella, figlia dell'illustre Re di Francia, mentre entrambi erano ancora bambini. Ottenne ciò con grandissime spese. Furono sostenute spese enormi per accmpagnarla, poiché per mandare a prenderla mandò nel Regno di Francia moltissimi maggiorenti e nobili, con scorte illimitate.

During these events the Signore [Galeazzo], generous of heart, thought of finding a wife, while he was still alive, for his only son, Gian Galeazzo…. After taking counsel, he married his son to Isabelle, daughter of the illustrious king of France, while the two of them were still children. He accomplished this at great expense. There were also great expenses to accompany Isabelle, as well as sending important persons and noblepeople to accompany her from France, with a large escort.

[410] Villani, *Cronica*, 4:318.

[411] *Ibid.*

[412] *Ibid.*, 319.

[413] *Ibid.*

[414] Gallo, "The Visconti Library," 54; Timothy J. McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), 79-83 and 102-106. Both of these dances are uniquely transmitted in **Lo**.

Aquila altera must have originated with his father, Galeazzo. Therefore, the trinitarian references in the song's text and music are a clever way for the composer and poet (or composer/poet) to acknowledge both the support of the father (Galeazzo) and the marriage of the son (Giangaleazzo). Although presumably children's weddings were not that uncommon in the fouteenth century, very little information exists describing how they might differ from marriages between adults. I know of only one other commemorative artefact made specifically to celebrate the marriage of two children, and Cecily Hennessy has argued convincingly that this dates from the fourteenth century also.[415] This is the poem known as the Vatican *Epithalamion* (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. gr. 1851), a fragmentary manuscript written in Greek that tells the story of the wedding preparations for the marriage of Andronikos IV, son of the Byzantine emperor, to Maria, daughter of the tsar of Bulgaria Ivan Alexander. The manuscript tells of Maria's arrival in Constantinople and her first meeting with Andronikos's family, using informal language and numerous illustrations, much like a childrens' picture book.[416] Hennessey has suggested that this book may have been made for Maria on the occasion of her wedding at the request of her husband's family, thus making it anaolgous to Jacopo's heraldic madrigal for the wedding of Giangaleazzo and Isabelle.[417]

The second point I would like to mention concerns the imperial vicariate granted to Galeazzo that same year, which is represented by the eagle in the song text, though this obviously stands for John the Evangelist as well. The presence of the eagle/imperial vicariate reference is especially important since it was primarily his wealth, and not his political influence, that had allowed Galeazzo to marry his son into the French royal family.[418] It seems perfectly plausible, therefore, that Galeazzo would want to show off his newly acquired title as a rebuttal to those who had accused him of buying himself an undeserved royal daughter-in-law.

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[415] Cecily Hennessy, "A Child Bride and her Representation in the Vatican *Epithalamion*, cod. gr. 1851," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 30 no. 2 (2006): 115-50.

[416] *Ibid.*, 150.

[417] *Ibid.*

[418] Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan*, 10.

In summary then, Jacopo da Bologna's madrigal *Aquila altera/Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio* features an unusual textual and formal design, which, I have argued, is due to the occasion for which it was written. Each heraldic element mentioned in the text refers to Giangaleazzo Visconti and his devotion to both the Holy Spirit and the Trinity. If we accept that the dove-in-sun emblem was created on the occasion of Giangaleazzo's marriage in 1360, then *Aquila altera* is the first artistic work to document Giangaleazzo's adoption of the device, and we can even consider the possibility that *Aquila altera* was meant as much as a celebration of his new paraheraldry as it was a commemoration of his wedding. It is unfortunate that this heraldic madrigal has been ignored for so long, since it reveals so much about fourteenth-century perceptions of the relationships among concerns for piety, dynastic ambition and personal identity.

Chapter 5

La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba: A Celebration of Visconti Ruthlessness?

This chapter examines a poem set by two composers in the trecento, *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba*, and tries to determine to what extent the madrigals that set this text are laudatory or condemnatory. The two settings are by Niccolò del Proposto and Bartolino da Padova, who are not known to have met, and may not even have been contemporaries. While scholars have acknowledged the paraheraldry of Bernabò Visconti in the poem, they have been extremely unwilling to accept that it, or the madrigals that set it, may have been commissioned by him, or that the poem and its settings might celebrate his style of rule. In the scholarly literature, three principal arguments are given against Bernabò's patronage of this song: its apparent Tuscan origin, its current dating to c. 1400 (long after Bernabò's death), and the fact that Bernabò is not known to have been a great patron of the arts. In this chapter, however, I will present evidence to support the idea that the text of *La fiera testa* is in fact laudatory, and that what it praises is the ruthlessness with which Bernabò is said to have ruled. I will also argue for an earlier dating of Niccolò's setting, which is stylistically similar to heraldic madrigals that can be dated to the 1350s and 60s.

Scholars have had some difficulty separating the poetic text from its musical settings. The poetic text of *La fiera testa* survives independently in a Tuscan poetry anthology, and also in Giovanni Sercambi's *Novelliere*. While the poetry itself may praise Bernabò, it is entirely possible that the madrigals do not, and we do not currently have sufficient evidence to understand the composers' intentions in setting this text. If the madrigals read the poem as an attack on the Visconti, then, I believe, they are misreading it, and what was once a piece of Visconti propaganda may have come to be directed back at the Visconti.

The Paraheraldry of Bernabò Visconti

Bernabò Visconti can be associated with one paraheraldic device: a leopard surrounded by flames, holding a scroll, and the motto *Soufrir m'estuet*. While Giangaleazzo Visconti's dove-in-sun device was obviously meant to be reminiscent of iconography associated with the dove of the Holy Spirit, both the Visconti *biscia* and Bernabò's leopard device contain more negative connotations. Snakes were not often chosen as heraldic charges because they were associated with the devil, as were monkeys, frogs, and dragons.[419] The leopard was also considered a fierce and unnatural animal. Michel Pastoureau gives three reasons for its association with evil in the Middle Ages: first, the leopard was thought to be an impure lion (the lion being the noblest of all charges) because it was the offspring of the female lion (*lionne*) and the *pard*, the male panther (hence the name *léopard*). Second, the leopard has spots, which reveal its impure nature. Finally, Pastoureau notes that unlike most animal charges, the leopard is usually shown facing the viewer ("guardant"), making it more fierce and menacing than other heraldic charges.[420] In medieval heraldry, it is only animals with negative associations that are shown guardant.[421]

Many medieval families chose not to adopt animals with malevolent or unnatural associations as part of their heraldry, even when such an animal was suggested by the family name. For example, the German Katzenellenbogen family did not choose the cat as their heraldic charge because of its association with the devil; instead they displayed the rampant lion on the family shield.[422] The Visconti family did not seem to have these same concerns. It is true that the

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[419] Michel Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 84-85. At some point during the Middle Ages, the devil was given his own arms, consisting of three green frogs.

[420] Pastoureau, "Figures et couleurs péjoratives," 200-202. Pastoureau goes on to say that the leopard figures much more prominently in imaginary heraldry (arms invented for historical or mythological characters) than in real heraldry, so Bernabò's choice of the leopard for his paraheraldic badge is especially intriguing. We know that Bernabò was very interested in Arthurian romances: he owned copies of *Lancelot du Lac* and *Guiron le courtois*, and he named three of his illegitimate sons Lancillotto, Palamede and Sagramore. It is possible, then, that his choice of the leopard was informed by his knowledge of imaginary heraldry.

[421] Pastoureau, "Quel est le roi des animaux?" 162. Although the adoption of the leopard as a heraldic charge seems to have originated with Plantagenet heraldry, by the fourteenth century heralds were reluctant to use the term 'leopard' to refer to the Plantagenet arms, preferring instead the term 'lion passant guardant'.

[422] Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 82.

family claimed to have taken the *biscia* device from a Saracen defeated by a Visconti while on Crusade instead of choosing it for themselves, but this story is obviously fictional.[423] In fact, the Visconti *biscia* did gain a reputation for fierceness and belligerence which is attested to by chroniclers (from other cities) and is echoed in the poetry, music and literature of the Italian trecento.[424] There is also written evidence that the Visconti wanted to be remembered as fierce warriors: the inscription on the tomb of Giovanni Visconti (d. 1354) celebrates his role as a ruler who captured numerous cities, despite the fact that his official position was Archbishop of Milan.[425] Similarly, the inscription on the tomb of Azzone Visconti (d. 1339) celebrates his cruelty, military acumen and "kingly power."[426] According to Evelyn S. Welch, these Visconti monuments show "That a reputation for ferocity and even cruelty could be as beneficial as the more Christian virtue of peaceable magnanimity."[427] This celebration of ruthlessness, seen in the adoption of the Visconti *biscia*, the tomb inscriptions and Bernabò's adoption of the leopard device, is evidence that the text of *La fiera testa* need not be read as an attack on the Visconti family.

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[423] Galli, "Sulle origini araldiche della Biscia Viscontea," 363-81. This story is strongly reminiscent of a more general theory of the origin of heraldry, which suggests that it was originally a Muslim tradition which travelled to Western Europe at the time of the First Crusade. See Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 16.

[424] For examples of anti-Visconti poetry, see Antonio Medin, "I Visconti nella poesia contemporanea," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 18 (1891): 733-95.

[425] Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan*, 17-18.

[426] *Ibid.* Azzone is best remembered for having built defensive city walls for Milan.

[427] *Ibid.*, 18.

Figure 5.1 The equestrian statue and sarcophagus of Bernabò Visconti. Milan, Castello Sforzesco. © 2007 Giovanni Dall'Orto. Reproduced with the permission of Giovanni Dall'Orto.

Bernabò's heraldry and paraheraldry constitutes the primary decoration on his equestrian statue, and reveals much about how he wished to be remembered by the Milanese (Figure 5.1). The statue depicts him as a chivalric leader, and the inclusion of his heraldry and paraheraldry identify him as a leader whose lineage and personal renown are shown to be integral parts of his persona as a ruler (Figure 5.2).[428] Allison Lee Palmer has commented that the statue's placement in the Milanese church of San Giovanni in Conca, near the altar, was the first of its kind, which should be interpreted as Bernabò's wish to be remembered as a Christian warrior saint.[429] This fits well with the theory that armorials were often placed in churches in order to bring families

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[428] The equestrian statue enjoyed a revival among the northern Italian tyrants during the trecento. Cangrande della Scala (d. 1329) began a trend for funerary equestrian statues within the della Scala family, which was followed by both Mastino II (d. 1351) and Cansignorio (d. 1375). The statue of Cansignorio was also carved by Bonino da Campione. The original tomb of Giangaleazzo also featured an equestrian statue. For more on this topic, see Graziano Alfredo Vergani, "*Ego sum Papa et Imperator ac Dominus in omnibus terris meis*: Osservationi sugli aspetti simbolici e ideologici del monumento," in *L'arca di Bernabò Visconti al Castello Sforzesco di Milano* (Milan: SilvanaEditoriale, 2001), 169-81. For information about Giangaleazzo's tomb, see Welch, *Art and Authority*, Chapter 1.

[429] Allison Lee Palmer, "Bonino da Campione's Equestrian Monument of Bernabò Visconti and Popular Piety in the Late Middle Ages," *Arte lombarda* 121 (1997): 57.

and individuals closer to salvation after death.[430] Lee Palmer's in-depth reading of the iconographic program on the statue and sarcophagus leads her to conclude that Bernabò's goal is to achieve salvation through the "militaristic expansion of the Christian state and his moral ideals as an upper-class *condottiere*."[431]

Figure 5.2 The paraheraldry of Bernabò Visconti: a leopard surrounded by flames, wearing a helmet with a *biscia* crest, holding a scroll bearing the words *Soufrir m'estuet in gotrisach*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 7323, folio 9 (Alfodhol de Merengi, *Liber judicorum*). © BnF. Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

On his statue, the *biscia* appears on both the front and back of Bernabò's surcoat, as well as on the front and back of the plinth on which the horse stands, and on the small shields that protect his elbows. Thus, the placement of the *biscia* on the statue ensures that it can be seen from all sides. The leopard badge appears twice: once on the back of the saddle, and on either side of the plinth supporting the horse. Only one other depiction of Bernabò's device survives, painted into his copy of Alfodhol de Merengi's *Liber de judicorum et consiliorum*, where it appears on folio

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[430] Michael Michael, "The Privilege of 'Proximity': Towards a Re-definition of the Function of Armorials," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 no. 1 (1997): 55-74.

[431] *Ibid.*, 65.

9 (Figure 5.2).[432] It is worth noting that in both places (the statue and the manuscript) the leopard is wearing a helmet, and is therefore shown in profile, because only royalty were allowed to display their helmets facing the viewer. This means that it is not guardant, but I suspect that it was still intended to be menacing. Despite the fact that it is couchant rather than guardant, we know that Bernabò's heraldic charge is definitely a leopard because it is depicted with spots in the *Liber judicorum*, and because of the poem *La fiera testa*, which describes this device with such precision. The depiction of the leopard badge on Bernabò's statue includes his monogram DB, for *Dominus Bernabos*.[433]

The scroll held by the leopard on Bernabò's statue is not inscribed with his motto, but Graziano Alfredo Vergani tells us that Bernabò's armour was originally decorated with heraldic shields and mottoes, a statement corroborated by Welch.[434] From close-up photos of the statue, and from Berdo's garbled transcription of the gold lettering on the statue, it seems that both of Bernabò's French mottoes were originally written around the neck of his surcoat.[435] Although the text on the statue is now illegible, the version of *La fiera testa* is quoted by Giovanni Sercambi in his *Novelliere* (c. 1400) gives Bernabò's mottoes in full: *Sofrir m'estoit in Gotrisach/Sofrir m'estoit in Sanderlich*.[436] The accuracy of this quotation is backed up by the

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[432] Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 7323. Élisabeth Pellegrin does not recognize the animal as a leopard, and describes it as "un animal tâcheté (chien?), couché sur des flames coiffé d'une casque avec le cimier à la guivre, tenant une banderole dont la légende 'Souffrir? m'estuet mgoten xach'?" ("a spotted animal (dog?), resting on flames, wearing a helmet with a viper crest, holding a scroll on which is written 'Souffrir? m'estuet mgoten xach'?"). See Élisabeth Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1955), 119.

[433] Kay Sutton, "Milanese Luxury manuscripts," *Apollo* 134 (1991): 322.

[434] *Ibid.*; Evelyn S. Welch, *Art and Authority*, 18. Although Pietro Azario did not mention heraldry when he described this statue in 1363, he noted that it was covered with gold and bright colours, which is certainly consistent with heraldic decoration. See Daniela Pizzagalli, *Bernabò Visconti* (Milan: Rusconi, 1994), 7.

[435] Vergani, Graziano Alfredo, *L'arca di Bernabò Visconti*, 55. The gold lettering was still legible in the early nineteenth century, and a version of it appears in an engraving by Berdo in the volume of Pompeo Litta's *Famiglie celebri italiane* published in 1824.

[436] Giovanni Sercambi, *Il Novelliere*, ed. Luciano Rossi (Rome: Salerno, 1974), 204. The poem in the *Novelliere* is missing the third line of the second tercet, and gives the incipit as *La fiera bestia che d'uman si ciba*. The ritornello is given as *Cist fier cimiers et la fiamma chi m'ari*.

leopard device in the *Liber judicorum*, in which the scroll held by the leopard bears the words that Elisabeth Pellegrin could not identify, but are in fact *soufrir mestuet in gotrisach*.[437]

The fact that both mottoes begin with *Soufrir m'estuet* is perhaps somewhat unusual, as is their length; before the fifteenth century mottoes rarely consisted of more than one or two words.[438] In her attempt to suggest a date and patron for Bartolino's setting of the poem, Evelyn Arnrich tried to understand the meaning of *Gotrisach* and *Sanderlich*. She suggested two possible linguistic origins for *Gotrisach*: Middle French and Middle German.[439] In French, the word *gotrisach* suggests burning, making the phrase read "I must suffer while I burn." In German, *Gotrisach* can be read as a combination of *Gott* and *reisen*, with the meaning "I must suffer on my journey to God."[440] Arnrich also notes that one line of the fourteenth-century poem *Diex quant tu vi ie bien iolie* quotes Bernabò's motto: *Mez souffrir m'estuet la fumée*. The association of the motto and burning (which is so obvious in Bernabò's device) leads her to suppose that the Middle French interpretation is more likely.[441]

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[437] Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza*, 119. The motto on the scroll is almost illegible, and Pellegrin read it as "Souffrir? m'estuet mgoten xach."

[438] Collette Beaune, "Costume et pouvoir," 126.

[439] Evelyn Arnrich, "Offene Fragen zu *La fiera testa* von Bartolino da Padova," 277-78.

[440] *Ibid.*, 277.

[441] *Ibid.*, 278.

The Poetic Text

La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba	The proud head that feeds on a human
Pennis auratis volitum prequerit:	*Seeks flight with golden wings:*
Sovr'ogni Italian questa preliba	This excellence is over every Italian
Alba sub ventre palla decoratur	*The mantle is decorated with white on the front*
Perché del mondo signoria richiede,	because he requests lordship from the world
Velut eius aspectu demonstratur.	*Just as by its appearance he is represented.*
Cist fier cimiers et la flamma che m'art	This proud crest is the flame that burns me
Soffrir m'estuet che son fier leopard	I must suffer because I am a proud leopard.

The poem *La fiera testa* is unusual in several respects. First, it is in three languages (Italian, Latin and French), with the sense-structure of the poem divided according to the madrigal form and not according to language. Second, it is a mixture of two types of heraldic poem: the type that refers to heraldic elements within a different textual framework, and the type that describes a coat of arms in detail. The first line describes the *biscia*, while the rest of the first tercet elaborates on the device. The second tercet is constructed in a similar way: the first line, I believe, describes the white field or shield on which the *biscia* is charged, while the rest of the tercet comments on the heraldry again. Finally, the ritornello is a description of Bernabò's paraheraldry. It is unusual for a madrigal to cite both heraldry and paraheraldry; the inclusion of references to both family and personal devices leave no doubt that this poem is indeed for Bernabò, and not directed at the Visconti in a more general way, as has been suggested. A clue that this poem celebrates the fierceness of Bernabò is present in the wordplay on the Italian *fiera* and its subsequent comparison to the French *fier* in the ritornello. In Italian, the adjective *fiera* can mean "proud" or "fierce," but the noun *fiera* can also mean "wild beast." The madrigal text thus equates pride and power with aggressiveness.

Apart from its quotation in Sercambi's *Novelliere,* the poem is transmitted in the manuscript Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081 (hereafter **Parma 1081**). This manuscript is an early fifteenth-century collection of poems copied in a single hand.[442] It is Tuscan, and is

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[442] Emilio Costa, "Il codice parmense 1081," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 12 (1888): 79. Costa notes that three poems are additions in a different hand, dating from the mid-fifteenth century.

thought to have originated in Florence, although Emilio Costa suggested a Pisan origin for the scribe, based on his orthography.[443] For the most part, the manuscript contains sonnets by Petrarch, labelled *s.d.m.f.p.* (presumably *sonetto di maestro francesco petrarca*) but also contains several texts by other Tuscan poets such as Niccolò Soldanieri and Cino da Pistoia. Present in the manuscript are texts attributed to Niccolò del Proposto, including the frottola *Non più dirò* and the madrigals *Tal mi fa guerra* and *Non dispregiar virtù*.[444] *La fiera testa* is copied on folio 91v under the heading *madrigale di M.F.P.*, which has caused scholars to attribute it to Petrarch, though Giuseppe Corsi states that this attribution is erroneous, and is probably correct.[445] If the poem is indeed by Petrarch, it is not attributed to him in any other source.

As with Jacopo's *Aquila altera* and Ciconia's *Con lagreme bagnandome*, the separate circulation of the poem suggests that the text of *La fiera testa* may be politically significant, and also that neither Niccolò del Proposto nor Bartolino da Padova were the poets. In support of this last suggestion, both Niccolò and Bartolino are known to have set poems written by others. Niccolò set many pre-existing texts by Tuscan poets such as Franco Sacchetti and Niccolò Soldanieri.[446] While less is known about the poems set by Bartolino, there are at least two instances in which he set the poems of others: *La sacroscanta carità d'amore* is a setting of a text by Giovanni Dondi, and the text of the ballata *Chi tempo ha* is by Matteo Griffoni. Further evidence distancing Bartolino from the poetic text comes from his biography. Bartolino is not known to have worked anywhere but Padua, except possibly Florence, where he may have

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[443] *Ibid.*

[444] Stephen Kevin Kelly, "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia," 19. The caccia *Tosto che l'alba* is also attributed to Niccolò in this manuscript, rather than to Gherardello da Firenze, as it is in **Sq**. Interestingly, Kelly does not mention that the text of *La fiera testa* is included in **Parma 1081**. The madrigal *Non dispregiar virtù* has since been attributed to Stefano da Cino, and it is thought that *Tal mi fa guerra* may be by Soldanieri. See Kurt von Fischer and Gianluca d'Agostino, "Niccolò da Perugia," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 17, 861. Most of the contents of **Parma 1081** are edited in Costa, "Il codice parmense 1081," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 12 (1888): 77-108; 13 (1889): 70-100, 14 (1890): 31-49. Costa does not edit the text of *La fiera testa*.

[445] Corsi, *Poesie musicali del trecento*, 97. Arnrich accepts the attribution to Petrarch, suggesting that the poem was written during his stay in Milan (dates). I cannot believe that the attribution is secure, however, for two reasons: first, this poem does not appear in any other poetry anthology or letter of Petrarch's, and more convincingly, **Parma 1081** makes many misattributions, particularly with regard to Niccolò del Proposto (to be discussed below).

[446] Of Niccolò's twenty-one surviving ballatas, four texts have been identified as the work of other poets. Half of Niccolò's sixteen surviving madrigals have texts by other poets (mostly Sacchetti), and both of his *cacce* set texts by Sacchetti. Additionally, Sacchetti's list of his own poems set to music by composers includes three ballatas and two madrigals set by Niccolò , which these do not survive.

travelled with Francesco il Novello da Carrara in 1388 after Giangaleazzo's takeover of Padua. While the period between 1388 and 1390 is the only time when a Paduan composer could safely praise the Visconti (which, in any case, Bartolino would not have done if he had been in Florence with the Carraras), *La fiera testa* is specific in lauding Bernabò, who had died in 1385. Thus, if our information concerning Bartolino's life is correct, he cannot be the poet of *La fiera testa*.

The question of Niccolò's authorship of the poetic text *La fiera testa* is more complicated. His numerous settings of poems by Sacchetti and other Florentine poets suggest that he lived in Florence.[447] As mentioned above, Fischer believed that he was active as a composer between 1354 and 1373, and we have evidence that he may still have been active as a singer in 1393. No texts besides *La fiera testa* link him either to the Visconti in general or to Bernabò in particular, but given that both Niccolò and the poetry anthology can be associated with Florence, Niccolò is a much likelier candidate for the author of the poetry. Having said this, it seems unlikely to me that Niccolò wrote the text *La fiera testa*, mainly because it is not attributed to him in **Parma 1081**, a source that attributes several poems to him, including some he did not write.

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[447] Kelly, "The Works of Niccolò da Perugia," 5. Kelly suggests that Niccolò's father may have been a *proposto* in Florence.

The Style and Date of the Music

The two musical settings of *La fiera testa*, one by Niccolò del Proposto, the other by Bartolino da Padova, are very different. Niccolò's setting survives in a single source, **Sq**, where it is copied with his other madrigals (though Sacchetti considered this song a caccia).[448] The madrigal is for three voices: two upper voices that sing in imitation until the ritornello, and a textless tenor. Musically, the song is a caccia, but the poetry is in madrigal form, resulting in the form known as the caccia- or canonic madrigal.[449] As in most heraldic madrigals, the heraldic text is set so that it can be heard clearly: this occurs at the beginning, where the text *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba* is sung by the upper voice, accompanied by the textless tenor. Although the heraldic text *souffrir m'estuet* does not occur in an especially noticeable position in the poem, Niccolò sets it homophonically. The setting of Bernabò's motto is the only time that homophony is used in the entire song, making the motto stand out and ensuring that it can be heard and understood.[450]

Bartolino's setting of *La fiera testa* could not be more different from that of Niccolò. Most obviously, it is for two voices, and is not canonic. While Niccolò's setting uses relatively simple rhythms, that of Bartolino features rhythms that are more complex, including minim triplets and several syncopations "across the barline," indicated by single-pitch ligatures of semibreves and minims.[451] While Niccolò's musical setting is in *duodenaria*, without any change of mensuration at the ritornello, Bartolino's setting begins in *octonaria* and changes to *senaria perfecta* at the ritornello. Bartolino's use of mensurations made up of larger note values allows for more rhythmic freedom, since the minim can stand for either one eighth or one

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[448] F. Alberto Gallo, *Music of the Middle Ages* II, 65.

[449] I will use the term canonic madrigal instead of caccia to describe Niccolò's *La fiera testa* because the poem is not a caccia also. Poetic caccias describe hunting, and feature certain textual characteristics, such as spoken dialogue, onomatopoeia, and proper names (often those of the hounds).

[450] This is the only musical indication that *La fiera testa* may be a later madrigal. The practice of making heraldic references audible through the use of homophony is common in the madrigals of Bartolino and Ciconia. Having said this, we are still unsure of when most of these were composed. Stylistic evidence only provides a range of dates, between 1370 and 1400.

[451] These occur in the cantus part on the word *perquirit* (semibreves) and quite frequently in the tenor, where minims are often tied over the barline (on *talian*, and on *che* in the ritornello).

sixteenth of the breve, depending on the context. Although this alone cannot prove that Bartolino's song is later than that of Niccolò, an increase in rhythmic complexity is characteristic of songs composed later in the century.[452] The tenor line in the Bartolino setting also contains rhythmic variety; in fact, most of the minim single-pitch ligatures are in the tenor. Unlike Niccolò, Bartolino does not set Bernabò's motto homophonically. Instead, the setting of the motto is preceded by a short untexted passage in the tenor, which makes the text of the motto more audible when it enters in the cantus. Arnrich has pointed out that Bartolino's *La fiera testa* contains two musical citations: one of Machaut's *Phyton, le merveilleus serpent* and the other of *Phiton, phiton, beste tres venimeuse* by Magister Franciscus, both of which refer to Ovid's description of Phoebus Apollo shooting the serpent Python with arrows.[453] Bartolino thus associates the Visconti *biscia* with a mythical serpent, perhaps suggesting that the two are analogous, and that the *biscia* should be destroyed.

Bartolino's setting of *La fiera testa* appears in three manuscripts, all of Tuscan origin (**Pit**, **SL**, and **Sq**). This may be significant, or it may simply be a quirk of survival and might not represent the madrigal's actual circulation in the trecento. The fact that the first surviving folio of the northern manuscript **Lu** contains the tenor part of *La douce cere* suggests that **Lu** is missing a section devoted to the works of Bartolino, which may have also contained *La fiera testa*.[454] Given the fact that *La douce cere* is paired with *La fiera testa* in both **Pit** and **SL**, this is a distinct possibility.

While the two musical settings of *La fiera testa* differ considerably in style, they are still assumed to have been written at about the same time, c. 1400. Nino Pirrotta dated Niccolò's

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[452] If we assume that the breve (which in Italian trecento notation is a constant value) is a half note, then in *duodenaria* the minim can only have the value of a sixteenth note, but in *octonaria* the minim has the value of either an eighth or a sixteenth note.

[453] Arnrich, "Offene Fragen," 275; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Mary M. Innes (London: Penguin, 1955), 40-41. This story is found in Book I. Python is described as a huge snake whose body covered an entire hillside and was greatly feared because nobody had never seen anything like it before. Apollo shot the serpent with a thousand arrows, and then named the Phythian games after it. *Phiton, Phiton* was composed for Gastion "Fébus" of Foix, hence the reference to Phoebus Apollo in the text. This ballade is transmitted in **Ch** and **PR**.

[454] Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 32.

setting of *La fiera testa* to 1400 – 1402, when Giangaleazzo Visconti controlled Perugia.[455] Fisher and D'Agostino maintain that

> Despite the allusion in the text of this work to the coat of arms of the Visconti family (i.e. the viper: "La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba"), and the quotation of their motto in the last line ("soffrir m'estoit"), the text is probably directed against the Visconti; the piece may have been composed in Perugia during the period of the hostilities between Florence and Milan between 1397 and 1400.[456]

Similarly, Corsi, not recognizing the paraheraldry of Bernabò, thought that the settings by both Niccolò and Bartolino were a reaction to the Visconti attacks on Florence in 1397, and stated that the *fiers cimiers* refers to the *biscia* crest of Giangaleazzo Visconti.[457]

While the political situation at this time may have been suitable for the setting of such a text, there is no evidence that Niccolò ever lived or worked in Perugia. Additionally, the only secure documentary link we have to Niccolò dates from 1362 when he visited the Florentine monastery of Santa Trinità.[458] And though it is within the bounds of possibility that he would still be actively composing c. 1400, the canonic form and the more general musical style of his setting of *La fiera testa* suggest an earlier date for the madrigal. While it can hardly be considered conclusive, an earlier date for Niccolò's setting of *La fiera testa* is supported by the placement of Niccolò's songs in **Sq** (in which composer sections are copied in chronological order). The section containing Niccolò's songs comes after that of Donato da Cascia, but before that of Bartolino da Padova.[459]

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[455] Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca III," 122.

[456] von Fischer and d'Agostino, "Niccolò da Perugia," **Grove**, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/19860 (accessed May 1, 2009).

[457] Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, xliv-xlv.

[458] D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at the Florentine Monastery of Santa Trinità, 1360-1363," 145.

[459] Of course, there is the possibility that some of these composers were exact contemporaries, and the order of composer sections in **Sq** may actually reflect some other criterion, such as the popularity of composers' songs, or the perceived quality of the music.

The text of *La fiera testa*, with regard to Bartolino's setting, was discussed by Li Gotti, who paired it with the text of Bartolino's *La douce cere*. Li Gotti's assertion was echoed by Pirrotta, who labelled the text as anti-Visconti, and dated Bartolino's madrigal to the period of Visconti control over Padua (1388 – 90).[460] In her survey of Bartolino's madrigals, Nicole Goldine also paired the two madrigal texts, but was unable to identify the heraldry in either of them, except to say that they were probably composed for a *Personnage fier mais vaincu* (interestingly, Goldine remains the only scholar to describe this song as a lament).[461] As with *La douce cere*, Pirrotta believed Bartolino's *La fiera testa* to have been written in Padua during Visconti rule over that city (1388 – 90).[462] Similarly, Nádas and Ziino see the madrigal text as referring to Giangaleazzo, stating that Bartolino's *La fiera testa* is "a reaction to the increasingly hostile campaigns waged by the Visconti in the regions of the Veneto, Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany during the 1390s, climaxing in the year of Giangaleazzo's death."[463]

More recently, Oliver Huck suggested that Bartolino's madrigal had been composed for Giangaleazzo (and not *against* him, as many have suggested).[464] And despite her analysis of Bernabòs mottoes, Arnrich does not link this madrigal directly to Bernabò either, noting that Bernabò, Galeazzo and Giangaleazzo all used the *biscia* as their heraldic charge.[465] While Geneviève Thibault was the first to recognize the heraldry in *La fiera testa* as that of Bernabò Visconti, then, it can be seen that subsequent scholars have been extremely unwilling to consider that either the poem *La fiera testa* or either of its musical settings may refer to him, or that they might be laudatory.[466]

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[460] Li Gotti, *La poesia musicale*, 66.

[461] Goldine, "Fra Bartolino," 154.

[462] Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca III," 121.

[463] Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 41.

[464] Oliver Huck, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento* (Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2005), 301.

[465] Arnrich, "Offene Fragen," 279.

[466] Thibault, "Emblèmes et devises," 152. Although Thibault's comment is intriguing, some of her information is erroneous: only the two settings of *La fiera testa* are madrigals (the French piece is a ballade, and the song by Paolo Tenorista is a ballata). Though Thibault notes that all four songs share a musical motive that sets the words "*Souffrir*

La fiera testa: Pro- or Anti-Visconti?

The poem *La fiera testa* survives in two textual sources, the Tuscan manuscript **Parma 1081** and Sercambi's *Novelliere* (also Tuscan). Niccolò's setting of this text survives in one musical source, the Florentine **Sq**, and Bartolino's setting survives in three Florentine manuscripts (**Sq**, **Pit** and **SL**). Additionally, the language used in the poem suggests that it is Tuscan. Given the animosity between Florence and Milan, especially during the rule of Giangaleazzo Visconti, it is difficult not to see the poem *La fiera testa* as anti-Visconti, and specifically as anti-Giangaleazzo.[467] In light of the Visconti family's pride in their brutal style of rule, however, this reading of *La fiera testa* may be misleading. If *La fiera testa* is indeed anti-Visconti, it is the only heraldic madrigal that does not *celebrate* a ruler through reference to his heraldry. Additionally, all other heraldic madrigals that refer to Giangaleazzo celebrate his paraheraldry, not the Visconti arms, and no other madrigal referring to him also mentions the device of Bernabò.[468] My final argument, on which I will expand, is that the language of *La fiera testa* does not bear any resemblance to that of other surviving anti-Visconti poetry; on the contrary, it has much more in common with poetry in praise of the rulers of Milan.

In his *Trecento novelle*, the Florentine poet Franco Sacchetti praised Bernabò Visconti, describing him as a prince who was both and caring and just.[469] This alone demonstrates that we cannot always assume that the Florentines were united in their hatred of the Visconti.[470] When

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m'estuet" ("I must suffer" or "I choose to suffer"), Thibault's comment is misleading, since the music is not identical in every song, nor does it follow the pitches provided by Thibault. See "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti," 157-58.

[467] Yolanda Plumley has argued that *La fiera testa*, along with Philipoctus da Caserta's ballade *En attendant, soufrir m'estuet* and Paolo Tenorista's ballata *Sofrir m'estuet* can be considered "anti-Giangaleazzo" because they contain Bernabò's motto (i.e. they contain the motto of one of Giangaleazzo's enemies), but this argument does not seem likely in view of other types of poetry directed against the Visconti. See Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*," 159n.

[468] All six heraldic madrigals for Giangaleazzo Visconti refer to his dove-in-sun device, and one, *Le aurate chiome*, also mentions the knot.

[469] This is also implied by Sercambi's inclusion of *La fiera testa* in the *Novelliere* as a suitable song to sing while taking a stroll.

[470] Medin, "I Visconti nella poesia contemporanea," 747.

Florence was under attack from the Visconti, however, it was a different story. Sacchetti wrote several poems using strong language that were directed against the Visconti. The first of these, was apparently written in response to Bernabò's attack on Florence in 1370, and begins *Biscia, nemica di ragione umana* (Viper, enemy of human reason). The poem describes the Visconti *biscia* as *mordendo e facendo guerra* (biting and causing war), and tells Bernabò to leave Florence alone now that he has been chased from Florentine territory. [471] Two years later, when Niccolò d'Este asked Florence for help in defending the Visconti attack on Modena, Bernabò was sent a poem that begins

Credi tu sempre, maladetta serpe,	Do you think, cursed serpent, to always
regnar vivendo pur dell'altru' sangue,	reign by living off the blood of others
essendo a tutti velenoso tarlo?[472]	and by being a venomous woodworm to all?

The language of these poems referring to Bernabò cannot be construed as anything other than derogatory or antagonistic, and there is no doubt that these poems are anti-Visconti. More subtle, but also in the anti-Bernabò category, is an anonymous poem contained in an anthology that is thought to have originated at the court of Bernabò's captor and successor, Giangaleazzo Visconti. The poem, *Diex quant te vi je bien jolie*, seems to have been written after the death of Bernabò. The second stanza cites Bernabò's motto:

Trop nai je grant melancholie	I do not feel a lot of sadness
Mais soufir m'estuet la fumee	but I must suffer the smoke
Quar ne sui paz sans compaignie	since I am not without the company
A qui ta perte soit grevee	of those who are grieved by your loss
Mes troup sumes a la semblee	but I will take on the appearance
Qui plaint qui souspire et qui pleure	of those who mourn and sigh and weep
Quar perd sa coleur ta figure.	Because your face is losing its colour.

Diex quant te ui ie bien iolie is a *ballade* in three stanzas and describes the loss of a personified Lombardy and by extension, Bernabò.[473] The refrain, *Quar perd sa coleur ta figure*, may refer

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[471] *Ibid.*, 744.

[472] *Ibid.*, 745.

equally to the lifeless lady Lombardy (the Lombardy ruled by Bernabò), the gradual fading of Lombardy from the poet's memory, or to the fading of a heraldic colour (*coleur*) and charge (*figure*), either from the poet's memory, or perhaps as woven into fabric.[474] The collection in which this poem appears is noteworthy because it contains several poems that refer to Giangaleazzo's motto *A bon droit*, as well as some other elements of his dove-in-sun badge. Since this poetry anthology was compiled for Giangaleazzo, it is not surprising that Bernabò is vilified in one of its poems.

Poems in honour of Bernabò often praise his aggressiveness, rather than his more humane qualities, a fact which must have influenced anti-Visconti readings of *La fiera testa*. Visconti court poet Braccio Bracci praises Bernabò for having "made the church tremble,"[475] and also describes Bernabò as a *gran signor possente* (great and powerful lord).[476] In a much-quoted poem Bracci compares Bernabò's appearance to that of a lion.[477] In an anonymous poem describing the 1356 attack in Lombardy by an anti-Visconti league that was repelled by Milanese forces, Bernabò is referred to as *Magno signor* and *biscia* is called *valorosa Vipera gentile* (noble and courageous Viper).[478] In the heraldic madrigal repertoire itself, the poems of the *biscia* cycle, composed in celebration of Bernabò's wedding, describe the Visconti viper as "wild and poisonous" (*Nel bel giardino*), and "horrible" (*Donna già fu' leggiadra*). In *Sotto l'imperio* the viper is a "poisonous serpent," against whose bite there is no cure. In this context, we can see that *La fiera testa* has much more in common with texts that praise his forceful style of rule than with attacks on the Visconti.

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[473] Wallis, *Anonymous French Verse*, 99.

[474] The theme of clothing can be found in several of the poems in Additional 15224. Yolanda Plumley has discussed one of these, *Troup bien me plet ma iaquete*, which shares textual references with Solage's *Pluseurs gens voy*, itself a commentary on fashion. See Plumley, "Crossing Borderlines," 13-14. Heraldic colours are mentioned in several poems in this manuscript, the most frequent being the combination of red and white.

[475] Medin, "I Visconti nella poesia contemporanea," 743.

[476] *Ibid.*, 249.

[477] Levi, *Francesco di Vannozzo*, 250. The poem is Bracci's *Risposta alla detta lettera*.

[478] *Ibid.*, 741.

Another reason for the persistence of the anti-Giangaleazzo theory is the fact that most of the sources transmitting both *La fiera testa* and *Sofrir m'estuet* can be dated to 1400 or later. Though Sercambi dates his *Novelliere* to 1374, this is the date of the events recounted in the story, and the date of the *Novelliere* itself is closer to 1400.[479] **Parma 1081** dates from the early fifteenth century, as do **Pit**, **SL** and **Sq**. In her discussion of *En attendant, soufrir m'estuet*, however, Anne Stone argues for an earlier date for *La fiera testa*, stating that "It seems unlikely that a song prominently displaying Bernabò's motto would have been composed after this death," and tries to date the song to before 1385.[480] In favour of an earlier date for at least the poem *La fiera testa*, we have Niccolò's setting, a canonic madrigal, similar to both Jacopo's *Aquila altera* which can be dated to 1360, and the anonymous *La nobil scala*, which has been dated to the reign of Cansignorio della Scala (1359 – 75). The misattribution in **Parma 1081** may be due to some geographical or temporal distance from the poet.

The Artistic Patronage of Bernabò Visconti

Another argument given for the theory that the text of *La fiera testa* is anti-Visconti is that Bernabò is not known to have been a great patron of the arts. Stone notes that "many contemporary accounts portray Bernabò as something of an uneducated thug, a bellicose and tyrannical ruler."[481] These accounts do not explain the evidence, now coming to light, of Bernabò's artistic patronage. The range of his artistic interests included illuminated manuscripts, sculpture, painting, and a large-scale building program designed for artistic merit as well as for defence and propaganda.[482] Apart from the reputation he gained in his lifetime, the main reason

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[479] Nádas, "The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista," 58. Though the presence of *La fiera testa* has been used as evidence for a date of c.1400, based on Corsi's interpretation of the text, the sonnet at the end of Sercambi's Introduction to the *Novelliere*, containing an acrostic of Sercambi's name, alludes to the assassination of Lazzaro Guinigi in 1402. See Sercambi, *Il Novelliere*, xx.

[480] Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain," 375.

[481] *Ibid.*, 374.

[482] See in particular Kay Sutton, "Codici di lusso a Milano: gli esordi," in *Il millennio ambrosiano III, La nuova città dal comune alla signoria*, ed. Carlo Bertelli, (Milan: Electa, 1989), 110-39; Sutton, "Milanese luxury books:

for the lack of recognition of Bernabò as a patron of the arts, it seems, is that much of what he commissioned has since been destroyed or does not survive in its original form.[483] In fact, several types of evidence demonstrate Bernabò's interest in the arts. The most obvious example (though until recently not considered an indication of Bernabò's interest in art) is the equestrian statue above his tomb, begun in 1363 by pre-eminent Lombard sculptor Bonino da Campione.

It is also probable that Bernabò also commissioned Bonino da Campione to create a tomb for the bodies of his parents, Stefano and Valentina, in the Visconti chapel of the Milanese church of Sant'Eustorgio.[484] In support of this theory, Vergani has discovered three documents from the early 1370s that document Bernabò's donations to Sant' Eustorgio, demonstrating his connection to the church where his parents were buried.[485]

Though Bernabò's agency in the remodelling of the Milanese church of San Giovanni in Conca as a family mausoleum cannot be definitively established, it is suggested by two facts: first, Bernabò's tomb was originally housed there, and second, Visconti biographer Paolo Giovio (1483 – 1552) described a painting in the church depicting Bernabò and Galeazzo making offerings to Saints Cosma and Damiano after their return from exile.[486] More generally, the fourteenth-century chronicler Pietro Azario states that Bernabò beautified the church walls by adding paintings and altars.[487] Azario's statment is supported by archeological evidence: when the church was demolished in 1949, a series of frescoes depicting the life of St John was

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the patronage of Bernabò Visconti," 322-26; Liana Castelfranchi Vegas, "Il percorso della miniature lombarda nell'ultimo quarto del Trecento," in *La pittura in Lombardia: il trecento* (Milan: Electa, 1993), 297-321.

[483] Vergani, "'*Maladetta serpe*," 26.

[484] *Ibid*., 28-29. Vergani proposes that the style of decoration on the tomb of Stefano and Valentina Visconti is too late for them to have commissioned it, is in keeping with other works by Bonino from the 1370s. He also suggests that this tomb may have been a joint commission by Bernabò and Galeazzo.

[485] *Ibid*., 29.

[486] Paolo Giovo, quoted in Vergani, "'*Maladetta serpe*," 36.

[487] Azario, *Cronaca della Lombardia*, 143.

uncovered and have been dated to 1355 – 60, which coincides with Bernabò's return from exile and rise to power, and may therefore have been commissioned by him.[488]

Bernabò's artistic patronage is also evidenced by the existence of several illuminated manuscripts, thought to have been compiled in Milan in the 1370s and early 1380s. We can assume Bernabò's ownership of Alfodhol de Merengi's *Liber judicorum et consiliorum* because of the heraldic and paraheraldic illuminations it contains.[489] Additionally, Kay Sutton has identified a lavishly illustrated copy of the popular romance *Guiron le courtois* as having belonged to Bernabò (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouveaux acquisitions français 5243).[490] She has also demonstrated that a copy of the romance *Lancelot du Lac* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 343) was made for Bernabò or a member of his court, since many of its illustrations are based on those of *Guiron*.[491] Similarly, a treatise on health owned by Bernabò's daughter Verde, the *Tacuinum sanitatis* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouveaux acquisitions latins 1673), shares certain illustration techniques with *Guiron*, leading Sutton to suppose that the same illustrator worked on both manuscripts.[492]

Though it seems that Bernabò commissioned works of art for churches, his most visible contribution to buildings in Lombardy is the series of castles that he built during his thirty-year

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[488] Vergani, 29. The fifteenth-century historian Bernardino Corio also noted that there were many Visconti tombs in the church, suggesting that it had become a family mausoleum, but did not attribute this to Bernabò.

[489] Aside from the leopard badge, the *biscia* appears on folio 1v. See Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque*, 119.

[490] Sutton, "Milanese luxury books," 322. This theory is based on the presence of the *biscia* device on folio 71v, and Bernabò's monogram "DB" in a capital letter on folio 46v. She also suggests that Petrarch's copy of the *Iliad*, which can be dated to 1369, was produced in the same scriptorium as *Guiron*. Additionally, Vergani notes that the style of the initials in *Guiron* is very similar to that of Alfodhol's *Liber judicorum*. See Vergani, "'*Maladetta serpe*'," 27.

[491] Sutton, 'Milanese luxury books," 324. Sutton shows that the illustration in *Guiron* follows the text very closely, but that the illustrator of *Lancelot* has copied groupings of figures from *Guiron*, resulting in illustrations that do not follow the text closely at all.

[492] *Ibid.*, 325. These techniques include the method of pigment application, the finish on the paintings, and the colours used (Sutton describes these as "sugared almond tones with details sharply picked out in black"). Additionally, each book depicts a man wearing a doublet made of two specific fabrics: one is yellow with eyes and that other is a "patterned lilac" fabric.

reign.[493] The biggest of these and the most strategically important of the castles along the river Adda was Trezzo, in which Bernabò himself was imprisoned after his capture by Giangaleazzo.[494] The castle of Pandino, however, is the most artistically important. Renovated by Bernabò between 1355 and 1361, Pandino seems to have served both as a defensive building and as a hunting lodge. The castle features a striking fresco program throughout the interior, which is unified by a similar style: the walls of each room are divided into different registers, separated by painted faux-cosmati borders based on geometric shapes that do not repeat.[495] For example, the wall space in one of the second-floor rooms is divided into three registers, the bottom register consisting of large slabs of painted faux marble in different colours, while the upper register has more geometric forms, alternating with *trompe l'oeil* window arches. The middle register features a *trompe l'oeil* using offset arches to achieve the illusion of perspective, which are decorated with the heraldic shields of Bernabò and his wife Regina della Scala.[496]

As for the patronage of composers, F. Alberto Gallo argues that Bernabò was interested in polyphonic music. He quotes Conforto da Costozza, who describes how, even while on campaign, "Bernabò found a way to pass the time *cum cantis et musicis*."[497] According to Giovanni da Prato, Bernabò's court also welcomed the musician Dolcibene, who sang and accompanied himself on the portative organ and the lute, among other instruments.[498] Far from being an "uneducated thug," then, Bernabò enjoyed reading, singing and listening to music. He also enjoyed good modern art. Writing after Bernabò's death, Honoret Bonet wrote to Louis d'Orléans, deploring a new generation of princes who were not interested in learning or the arts,

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[493] Interestingly, Edward I, also a great fan of Arthurian legend and its opportunities for propaganda, is also perhaps best known for initiating a castle-building program and fondness for jousting.

[494] This castle was accessed by a large single-arch stone bridge that Bernabò had ordered to be built, thought to have been the largest of its kind at the time, and considered a feat of engineering.

[495] Vergani, "'*Maladetta serpe*'," 34. Cosmati is a method of using contrasting cut stones, tightly fitted together, to create patterns on floors. The technique is named for a thirteenth-century Roman family who popularized this method of decoration.

[496] *Ibid.* The presence of Regina's heraldry may suggest her involvement in the decoration.

[497] F. Alberto Gallo, "The Visconti Library," in *Music in the Castle: Troubadours, Books and Orators in Italian Courts of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1995), 51.

[498] *Ibid.* For more on this, see Levi, *Francesci di Vannozzo*, 242-3.

using Bernabò as an example of a ruler who promoted the arts and learning, and commenting that Bernabò *ama fort toute sa vie (les hommes estudians) et leurs fis plusieurs biens* (for his whole life liked (students) and was good to them).[499]

Other Songs containing Bernabò's Motto

Geneviève Thibault was the first to notice that aside from the two settings of *La fiera testa*, two other songs, *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* by Philipoctus da Caserta, and Paolo Tenorista's *Soufrir m'estuet* contain the short version of Bernabòs motto, *soufrir m'estuet*. Thibault conjectured that all four songs date from Bernabò's heyday, the period between 1370 and 1385, and wondered if perhaps he had met Philipoctus in Avignon.[500] Discussion of the two other songs that quote Bernabò's motto has been taken up more recently as part of a resurgence of interest in the practice of quotation in fourteenth-century song, particularly with regard to Ciconia's virelai *Sus une fontayne*.[501]

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[499] Sutton, "Milanese luxury books," 322.

[500] *Ibid.*, 157-58.

[501] See Yolanda Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus un' fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta," In *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, 131-68; Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain: Homage and Irony in Ciconia's 'Sus une fontayne'," *Music and Letters* 82 no. 3 (2001): 361-90.

En attendant, souffrir m'estuet (Philipoctus da Caserta)

En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief payne	While waiting, I must suffer great pain
Et ne langour vivre c'est ma destinée,	and I am destined to live in pain,
Puisqu'avenir ne puis a la fontayne,	since I cannot come close to the fountain,
Tant est de ruissus entour avironnée.	because it is so surrounded by streams.
Telle vertu [si grant] li a Dieu dounée	God has given it such great virtue
Qu'el puet assouvir chascun a souffisance	that it can statisfy anyone's thirst
Par sa dignité et tres noble puissance.	by its dignity and most noble power.
Les grans ruissanz qui la font leur demaine	The great streams that make their home there
Sì ont les conduis de la font estoupée,	have blocked the way to the fountain,
Si c'on n'i puet trouver la droite vaine,	so that one cannot find the right path,
Tant test courompue l'iau et troublée.	because the water is so troubled.
Gouster n'en puis une seule helenée	I cannot drink a single mouthful
Si Umble Pitié n'a de moy remembrance	if Humble Pity does not remember me
Par sa dignité et tres noble puissance.	by his dignity and most noble power.
Si pri a Dieu que a droit la ramaine	So I pray to God to put the fountain to rights
Et la purifie sanz ester etamée	and to purify it without becoming tainted
Je n'en puis aprochier nuit ne matinee.	for I cannot approach it by night or day.
Et s'a moy estoit qu'ainsi fust ordenée,	and it seems to me that thus it must be ordained,
Je vivroye en espoir d'avoyr bonee stance	I will live in hope of being in good standing
Par sa dignité et tres noble puissance.	by its dignity and most noble power.

Philipoctus da Caserta's *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* has been the subject of much discussion in the past fifteen years, particularly in relation to Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*, which quotes both text and music from the Philipoctus song. Reinhard Strohm was convinced that *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* was composed for Bernabò[502] and went so far as to suggest that the attribution of the song in **Ch** to "Galiot" is in fact a French version of "Giangaleazzo."[503] This hypothesis is somewhat far-fetched and has met with some scepticism, especially when we take into account the tense relations between Bernabò and Giangaleazzo which culminated in Bernabò's capture by Giangaleazzo in 1385.[504]

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[502] Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 59.

[503] Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta, ovvero i francesi in Lombardia," in *In cantu et in sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday* (Florence: Olschki, 1989), 70.

[504] Yolanda Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus un' fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta," 159.

Stone is more cautious when suggesting that *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* is meant to refer to Bernabò. She reads the text as an elaborate job request, and suggests Bernabò Visconti as the possible patron, based on Thibault's hypothesis that the presence of Bernabò's motto is meant to link the song to him.[505] In support of Thibault's theory, Stone points out that Philipoctus's other political works of the 1380s cause Philipoctus to have "at least an indirect connection" to Bernabò (these are *Le grant senz*, most likely composed for Louis duc d'Anjou, and *Par les bons gedeon*, written for Pope Clement VII, both of whom were allies of Bernabò).[506] On the other hand, she urges caution when attempting to read historical fact in the song text.[507] Yolanda Plumley goes even futher in trying to distance *En attendant* (and also *Sofir m'estuet*) from Bernabò, saying that the fountain is more evocative of the Valois court than that of the Visconti,[508] and argues that the links among the three *En attendant* songs strongly suggest Philipoctus's involvment in (or awareness of) French compositional circles.[509]

Scholars are guarded when trying to determine Bernabò's influence in the composition of *En attendant, soufir m'estuet* or Philipoctus's intention in referring to Bernabò. The circumstantial evidence, however, points to Philipoctus's knowledge of Bernabò and his policies, since he composed songs for Bernabò's allies in the 1380s. And, as Reinhard Strohm has pointed out, Philipoctus's familiarity with contemporary French songs does not necessarily rule out the theory that *En attendant* was composed for Bernabò. In fact, since many French composers are documented as visiting the Visconti court at Pavia during the fourteenth century, Strohm's assertion that Philipoctus may not ever have left Italy gains some credibility.[510]

The other song to quote Bernabò's motto is Paolo Tenorista's ballata *Sofrir m'estuet*:

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[505] Anne Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain," 374.

[506] *Ibid.*, 375.

[507] *Ibid.* She states that "The quotation of Bernabò Visconti's motto, tempting to those of us seeking historical clues hidden in musical compositions, may simply be part of the quotation game established in the three 'En attendant' ballades and have no autobiographical significance whatsoever."

[508] Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus un' fontayne*," 162.

[509] *Ibid.*, 160.

[510] Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta," 65-74. See also Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'?"118-19. The composer Solage and the minstrel Jacquet de Noyon visited the Visconti court in the 1380s.

Sofrir m'estuet et plus non puis durer	I must suffer, nor can I stand
le grant fors d'amour:	The great force of love:
je fort languis con joye en grant doulour.	I languish with joy in great pain.

Vidor gli ochi di razi accesa	I see the eyes alight with flames
fiammegiar una stella al modo un sole;	a star shines in the manner of a sun;
la vista mia non poté far difesa:	my sight cannot make any defence:
passò el razo al core, onde si dole.	the fire pierces my heart, from where it hurts.
Non val sospir, non fé, non dir parole,	Breathing is useless, so is faith, and speech,

| En grant doye est mon cuer: | My heart is in great pain: |
| je pour port esperance en douls amour. | I put faith in sweet love. |

Sofrir m'estuet is transmitted uniquely in **Pit**, the collection that can be closely associated with the songs of Paolo Tenorista. As with *La fiera testa*, this song is not exclusively in Italian, and survives independently in a textual form. *Sofrir m'estuet* appears in a fifteenth-century poetry collection (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 2735) sandwiched between two love poems, causing Nádas to interpret its text as "a love poem with veiled political overtones."[511] Nádas reads the text of *Sofrir m'estuet* as condemning Giangaleazzo's military campaigns in Tuscany shortly before his death.[512]Although we do not know that the reference to Bernabò's motto in this song is intentional, *Sofrir m'estuet* can be linked, at least in **Pit**, to Philipoctus's *En attendant, soufrir m'estuet*, since they are both copied by Scribe D, who Nádas has described as having "extraordinary access to Paolo's *oeuvre*."[513]

It is more difficult to argue that *Sofrir m'estuet* was composed for Bernabò, since it is a late addition in **Pit**, suggesting perhaps that the song had not been composed when **Pit** was first planned.[514] On the other hand, the late appearance of *Sofrir m'estuet* in **Pit** may have nothing to do with its date of composition, and it may be that Paolo withheld its inclusion in **Pit** for political reasons. *Soufrir m'estuet* may also simply be an exercise in quotation. In fact, the length, number

[511] Nádas, "The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista," 58.

[512] *Ibid.*

[513] *Ibid.*, 59.

[514] *Ibid*, 55.

and similarity of Bernabò's mottoes, which are obviously meant to go together, suggest that they themselves might be quotations. If this is the case, it is easy to see how the phrase *soufrir m'estuet* could be used in quotations by so many composers. **Pit** contains several French songs that can be associated with musical or textual citation, such as Philipoctus's *En attendant, soufrir m'estuet* and Machaut's *En amer la douce vie*, which is quoted in the anonymous *Espérance, en qui mon cuer s'embat* (a rondeau quoted by all three *En attendant* songs).

It seems as though French songs were popular additions to Florentine manuscripts at the beginning of the fifteenth century: the manuscript **FP**, compiled in Florence at roughly the same time as **Pit**, contains a gathering of French songs, including Bartolino's heraldic madrigal *La douce cere* and the anonymous heraldic ballade *Cine vermeil*. Additions of French songs to other gatherings include the anonymous heraldic ballade *En mon cuer*, and **FP** also transmits a textless version of Solage's *Pluseurs gens voy*, a song whose text Plumley has connected to British Library, Additional 15224, the same anthology containing the anti-Bernabò poem *Diex quant te vi je bien jolie*.[515]

Conclusions

Thibault remains the only scholar to have suggested an occasion for the composition of either setting of *La fiera testa*, but she was also the only scholar who assumed that the madrigals had been commissioned by Bernabò.[516] Based on the evidence contained in the poetic text, both in the heraldry and the nature of the language used, it seems as though the poem *La fiera testa* is praising Bernabò Visconti and his fierce style of rule. The argument that Bernabò was not a great patron of the arts, and therefore would not have commissioned a heraldic madrigal simply does not hold water. The arguments of scholars who have tried to distance Bernabò from the other songs containing his motto are not entirely convincing, and it is possible that all four songs were intended for him and not against him. It is difficult to know what to think when reading the texts of the French songs containing Bernabò's motto, but I am inclined to think that Philipoctus's *En*

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[515] Plumley, "Crossing borderlines,"13-14.

[516] Thibault, "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti," 156-58.

attendant, souffrir m'estuet was composed with Bernabò in mind, while Paolo Tenorista's *Sofrir m'estuet* was not (simply because of its geographical, political and temporal distance from Bernabò).

Following up on Thibault's idea of possible occasions for which *La fiera testa* might have been composed, one in particular springs to mind: Bernabò's wedding in 1350, for which the *biscia* cycle was composed. One song from this cycle, *Sotto l'imperio*, refers to the golden wings of the Della Scala crest, and although *La fiera testa* does not describe the transformation of a woman into a viper, it is possible that the *pennis auratis* in the first tercet of *La fiera testa* refer to this same crest. In this reading of *La fiera testa*, the viper seeks to ally himself with the golden wings of Mastino II through marriage to Mastino's daughter Regina. *La fiera testa*, then, could be read as the change in Bernabò's marital status from his point of view, as opposed to Regina's, which is described in *Donna già fu'* in the *biscia* cycle. The text of *Sotto l'imperio* also contains a reference similar to that found in the ritornello of *La fiera testa*: in *Sotto l'imperio* the narrator describes "a flame of fire that blinds and destroys me," which could be interpreted as referring to the flames surrounding Bernabò's paraheraldic leopard. There is also the similarity in paraheraldic devices between the brothers Bernabò and Galeazzo, who were married at about the same time, and may have adopted similar devices in celebration of these events. Stylistically, Niccolò's setting of *La fiera testa* works well with this date, although why Niccolò would have been asked to compose such a song cannot be ascertained.[517]

Bartolino's setting of *La fiera testa* is more difficult to associate with an event in the life of Bernabò Visconti because of its supposed later date, and because there is no documentary evidence linking Bartolino and the Visconti. We do know, however, that Bartolino wrote madrigals with political texts, and also that he set poetry written by others, so it is possible that he may have come across this poem, with or without knowledge of Niccolò's setting, and set it at a time that seemed politically appropriate. While Niccolò's setting may be pro- or anti-Visconti, Bartolino's is probably anti-Visconti, unless we have a distorted view of his life. We will perhaps never know who wrote the poem *La fiera testa*, for which occasion it was written, or

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[517] All other canonic heraldic madrigals were composed by composers working in the 1340s and 50s. See Table 2.2 for details.

when the musical settings were composed. There is no doubt, however, that the original poem *La fiera testa* is laudatory, and that it celebrates Bernabò Visconti and his aggressive style of rule.

Chapter 6

Two heraldic madrigals for the Carrara family

This chapter offers a reassessment of two madrigals containing references to the heraldic *carro* (chariot or bull-cart) of the Carrara family, rulers of Padua from 1318 to 1405. The madrigals *Inperiale sedendo* and *Per quella strada* are extremely alike in terms of musical and textual style, and both texts contain the image of the Carrara chariot flying across the heavens. While many have commented on the similarity between the texts of both madrigals, in this chapter I will argue that the text for each madrigal was in fact influenced by a different non-musical source. In the case of *Inperiale sedendo*, this results in a re-evaluation of its date of composition.

Inperiale sedendo (Bartolino da Padova?)

Inperiale sedendo fra più stele	Imperial, sitting among many stars
dal ciel descese un carro d'onor degno	a chariot worthy of honour descends from the sky
soto signor d'ogni altro via benegno.	under a lord more kind than any other.
Le rote sue guidavan quatro done,	Four women guided its wheels,
Iusticia e Temperencia con Forteza	Justice and Temperance with Fortitude
ed an' Prudenza tra cotanta alteza.	and Prudence among such nobility.
Nel mezo un Saracin con l'ale d'oro	In the middle a Saracen with golden wings
tene' 'l fabricator del so tesoro.	held the maker of his treasure

Currently, it is believed that *Inperiale sedendo* (which may or may not be the work of Bartolino da Padova) was written in 1401 to commemorate an imperial commission given to Francesco il Novello da Carrara.[518] However, there exist striking similarites between the texts of *Inperiale sedendo* and that of a moral treatise, *De curru carrariensi*, written in 1376 and dedicated to Francesco il Vecchio. If *Inperiale sedendo* was written for Francesco il Vecchio, then the latest possible date for that madrigal is 1388, the date of his abdication. In this chapter I will also

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[518] Petrobelli, "Some dates for Bartolino da Padova," 100.

propose that the focus on female imagery in the text of *Inperiale sedendo* may be due to the patronage of Francesco il Vecchio's wife, Fina Buzzacarini da Carrara.

Johannes Ciconia's madrigal *Per quella strada* is also thought to have been composed in 1401, for the same event as *Inperiale sedendo*. This suggestion has been made on the basis of great similarities between the texts of *Inperiale sedendo* and *Per quella strada*.[519]

Per quella strada (Johannes Ciconia)

Per quella strada lactea del cielo,	Along the heavenly milky way,
da belle stelle ov'è'l seren fermato,	from beautiful stars where clear skies lie,
vedeva un carro andar tutto abrasato,	one saw a chariot go all enflamed,
Coperto a drappi rossi de fin oro;	Covered in red cloth with gold brocade;
tendea el timon verso ançoli cantando,	its shaft aimed towards angels singing,
El carro triumphal vien su montando.	The triumphal chariot comes climbing up
De verdi lauri corone menava,	It brought crowns made of green laurels
che d'alegreça el mondo verdeçava.	that made the world green with happiness.

Although the heraldic images described in both madrigals are similar, I will argue that the inspiration for *Per quella strada* was not the text of *Inperiale sedendo* nor *De curru carrariensi*, but the depiction of the Triumph of Fame which appears in Francesco il Vecchio's personal copy of Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* (completed in 1379), and which may be a copy of a picture from the *Sala virorum illustrium* (Hall of Illustrious Men, also completed in 1379), a room in the Carrara palace.

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[519] Anne Hallmark, "*Protector, imo verus pater*: Francesco Zabarella's Patronage of Johannes Ciconia," 165.

Carrara Heraldry

Familiarity with Carrara heraldry is crucial to the understanding of the heraldic madrigals commissioned by Francesco il Vecchio and Francesco il Novello. Although each family member had his own personal crest, the Carrara *carro* (heraldic chariot or bull-cart) was a shared family device.[520] This can best be described as the stylised frame of a bull-cart as seen from above, with the draw bar facing upwards and the wheels turned so that they appear flat (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1. The Carrara family chariot or *carro*. Reverse of a medallion minted in 1390 for Francesco il Novello da Carrara. © Museo Bottacin, Padova. Reproduced with the permission of the Museo Bottacin.

The coat of arms described in the madrigals *Inperiale sedendo* and *Per quella strada* is that of Francesco il Vecchio, also used by his son Francesco il Novello. It consists of the red *carro* on a white field, and a horned Saracen with golden wings (Figures 6.2 and 6.3). The Carrara *carro* is a typical example of canting arms, or arms that take their design from the bearer's name. The origin of the horned and winged Saracen can be found, as is often the case with non-canting

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[520] In the *Liber cimeriorum dominorum de carraria* or Book of Crests of the Carrara Lords (Padua, Biblioteca Civica, B.P. 124/XXII), every lord of Padua from 1318 to 1405 carried this device on his shield.

devices, in family history, either real or invented.[521] Apart from Francesco il Vecchio and his son, the only other Carrara to carry the Saracen device was Ubertino da Carrara, who ruled from 1338 to 1345. In the *Liber cimeriorum dominorum de Carraria* (*Book of Crests of the Carrara Lords*, written in the late fourteenth century), Ubertino is described as seeing the horned Moor (*Cornigerum gessit maurum tridendo severos*) and watching infidel enemies (*Hostibus infidelis animo vigilante paravit*). As with many family "histories" that try to explain the origin of family heraldry, the story in the *Liber cimeriorum* is highly improbable, created to legitimise the family's right to power, and explain the presence of the Saracen-head as a Carrara family device.[522]

Figure 6.2 The crest of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara. *Liber cimeriorum dominorum de carraria*, Padua, B.P. 124/XXII, folio 20r.

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[521] Writing about arms carried at various French jousts held in the fifteenth century, Christian de Mérindol notes that heraldic references to giants or Saracens seem to have originated in family history. De Mérindol notes that the Saracen head device is related to the giant's head device, since in the Middle Ages, the giant and the Saracen were often associated. Both were thought to share the same physical characteristics: tightly curled hair, a beard, large nostrils and large ears. See Christian de Mérindol, *Les fêtes de chevalerie à la cour du Roi René*, 47.

[522] This story is similar to that of the origin of the Visconti heraldic viper, which was supposedly the heraldry of a Saracen, who was killed by a Visconti while on Crusade. The Visconti then adopted the Saracen's device.

Figure 6.3 The crest Francesco il Novello da Carrara. *Liber cimeriorum dominorum de carraria*. Padua, B.P. 124/XXII, folios 20r and 21r.

Both symbols of Carrara domination – the *carro* and the Saracen-head – were of considerable political importance to il Vecchio and il Novello. Coins and seals issued between 1388 and 1405 by il Novello featured either one device or the other.[523] Roman-style medallions created by il Vecchio and il Novello featured their faces in profile, with the *carro* device on the reverse, and seem to have been inspired by Petrarch's collection of Roman coins.[524] Medallions minted for il Vecchio were housed in terracotta reliquaries and built into the foundations of buildings and fortifications erected during his reign.[525] The function of the Carrara medallions changed in 1390 when il Novello ordered some made to commemorate his conquest of Padua.[526] These are striking and noteworthy. One medallion features il Novello, with the *carro* on the reverse; the

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[523] Petrobelli, "Some Dates," 98. For example, in 1388, il Novello used the Saracen device on his seal, and from 1390 to 1400 he used the chariot exclusively. After 1400, he went back to using the Saracen.

[524] Roberta Parise, "La collezione di medaglie," in *Musei Civici di Padova: Museo Bottacin*, ed. Bruno Callegher (Padua: Comune di Padova, 2004), 113. Petrarch was a guest at the Carrara court from about 1368 until his death in 1374.

[525] *Ibid.*, 114.

[526] *Ibid.*

other features il Vecchio, in Roman dress and presented in profile (Figure 5.4).[527] The portrait of

il Novello is deliberately modelled on bronze sesterces minted during the reign of Vitellius

(April – December 69).[528] Obviously, the purpose of these medallions was to recall Padua's

Classical past, and to liken Carrara rule to that of the Roman emperors.[529] The Carrara

medallions (both "functional" and commemorative) are now recognized as the first produced in

Italy after Roman antiquity, and are considered important precursors to the those created in the

late fifteenth century by Pisanello and others.[530]

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[527] *Ibid.* This is the first known example of a medallion or coin featuring a ruler who was no longer in power. Note the slight variation on the traditional Roman presentation of the head in profile (here il Vecchio is presented in three-quarter profile, perhaps a more Humanistic pose).

[528] Kohl, *Padua Under the Carrara* , 269.

[529] It should be noted that in antiquity, only emperors and imperial families were allowed to appear on coins and medallions. See Joanna Woods-Marsden, "Art and Political Identity in Fifteenth-Century Naples," in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250-1500*, 11-37. The issue of portraiture is of extreme importance here, since, like the medallions, portraits of the Carraras constitute the first pre-Renaissance portrait likenesses in Paduan art (the profiles appearing on the medallions can safely be called likenesses – they are very similar to all other depictions of il Vecchio and il Novello. The fact that the medallions combine the portrait likenesses of il Vecchio and il Novello with Carrara heraldry is also of importance (this happens in the Padua Duomo Baptistery frescoes as well) because often in medieval art heraldry is offered as a substitute for realistic likeness. This unusual combination of portraiture and heraldry seems to be the product of the combination of traditional dynastic propaganda and early Humanism in Padua. For more on portraits of the Carrara family, see 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 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 177-99; *Idem*, "Portraits and Politics in Late Trecento Padua: Altichiero's Frescoes in the San Felice Chapel, San Antonio," *Art Bulletin* 63 no.3 (1981): 407-94.

[530] Parise, "La collezione di medaglie," 113.

Figure 6.4 Medallion featuring Francesco il Vecchio dressed as a Roman emperor (obverse, the reverse is shown in Figure 6.1). While il Vecchio's crest in the *Liber cimeriorum* contains the monogram FF, this medallion gives the monogram as FR. © Museo Bottacin, Padova. Reproduced with the permission of the Museo Bottacin.

Spaces belonging to the Carrara family were also places where family heraldry was displayed. In the Reggia (the Carrara palace), Ubertino da Carrara had commissioned the painter Guariento di Arpo to decorate the waiting room leading to the main-floor reception hall, the *Sala dei Cimeri*, with Carrara paraheraldry. He decorated the reception hall itself with depictions of the *carro*, causing the room to be named the *Sala dei Carri*.[531] Public artwork commissioned by Francesco il Vecchio also featured the *carro*: the Padua Duomo Baptistery frescoes depict the *carro* as marginal decoration in the dome, and a fresco of the Saracen-head on an arch shows the place where Francesco il Vecchio's tomb lay. As in traditional heraldic display, the Carrara *carro* was the symbol of the Paduan army in battle: the battle-cry used in the 1387 war against the Scaligeri was "*Carro! Carro!*"[532]

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[531] Benjamin G. Kohl, "Fina da Carrara, née Buzzacarini: Consort, Mother, and Patron of Art in Trecento Padua," in *Beyond Isabella: Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sheryl E. Reiss and David G. Wilkins (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2001), 20.

[532] Kohl, *Padua Under the Carrara*, 236.

Just as the madrigals *Inperiale sedendo* and *Per quella strada* refer to Carrara heraldry, poets at the Carrara court wrote verses in which they mention the Carrara *carro*. Zenone di Pistoia refers to the triumph of the *carro* in the following passage from *La piestosa fonte*, a lament on the death of Petrarch, written in 1374:

Da Catellina cogli altri dirivo	I came from Catellina with the others
e in Padova di tanto venni autore	and in Padua I was author of many things
d'un mese o due di quel poeta privo,	deprived of that poet for a month or more,
di quella terra, che trionfa il Carro.	from that land, where the Chariot triumphs.
Finita è l'opera fatta per suo amore[533]	The work made for its love is finished.

While Carrara court poet Andrea di Firenze does not mention the triumphal chariot explicitly, the triumphal aspect of the *carro* is implied by the fact that the chariot is covered (and therefore not for use in warfare):

Móvesi il Carro co' la veste bianca	The Chariot moved with white coverings
col siri per quale serà più magnifico[534]	with nobles for whom it will be more magnificent

Braccio Bracci mentions the heraldry of both the Della Scala and the Carrara families, and possibly the Visconti eagle in the following stanza:

Veggio l' antica dritta e ferma scala	I saw the ancient straight and steady ladder
esser guardata da un fiero cane,	being guarded by a proud dog,
e non partirsi per mostrar di pane:	and it did not leave when offered bread:
chè del sopran scaglione ma' si cala;	since from the upper rung it never descends;
l' aquila bianca d' una e d' altra ala	the white eagle, first with one wing then the other
dargli nel fianco botte fiere e strane,	gives him fierce and strange blows on his flank,
e 'l saracin sul carro ad ambo mane	and the Saracen on the chariot with both hands
dargli, per farlo andar fuor di sua sala.	gives them too, to make him leave his room.

Other poems describing Carrara heraldry include *La figlia di Tiresia non si stanca* and *Veggio l'antica dritta e ferma scala*.[535] The idea of associating the Carrara *carro* with the Roman-style

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[533] Ezio Levi, *Francesco di Vannozzo*, 76.

[534] Levi, *Francesco di Vannozzo*, 79. While the similarity between *carro* and *Carrara* seems to have been fruitful for court poets, Nanni Pegolotti prefers to associate the words *fe' cara* (good faith) with *Carrara*. See Levi, *Francesco di Vannozzo*, 74.

[535] Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 242.

triumph must have been obvious to trecento writers, composers and poets, since almost all references to the Carrara *carro* allude to it as though leading a triumph.[536] While Francesco il Vecchio and il Novello are known to have used both the *carro* and the Saracen-head in their daily business, the *carro* seems to have been the device referred to most often in art, music and poetry. Under il Vecchio and il Novello, the *carro*, with its associations of Carrara lineage and ancient triumphs, became the perfect vehicle for literary and artistic propaganda.

Music in trecento Padua

Though Tuscany has long been considered the main centre for the composition and copying of trecento music, documentary and manuscript evidence is revealing that Padua was also an important musical centre in the fourteenth century.[537] It was the home of composers, theorists and patrons of music, as well as religious authorities whose priorities included manuscript production and the performance of liturgical polyphony.

The earliest musical personage associated with trecento Padua is theorist Marchetto da Padova, whose theory of notation was used in Italy for a hundred years before being replaced by the French system. He wrote two treatises, the *Lucidarium in arte musice plane* (c. 1317), in which he presents a theory of dividing the whole tone into five equal parts, and the *Pomerium in arte musice mensurate* (before 1319), the first Italian treatise to discuss the division of the breve into two parts (as opposed to three).[538] Marchetto, who worked at Padua Cathedral, is also thought to have composed music; it is assumed that he is the composer of the motet *Ave regina/Mater innocentie*, containing the acrostic *Marcum Paduanum*. Antonio da Tempo, author

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[536] See the texts of *Inperiale sedendo* and *Per quella strada*, and discussion of the treatise *De curru carrariensi* (below) for more examples of this.

[537] See in particular Anne Hallmark, "Some Evidence for French Influence"; Giulio Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del I quattrocento: il copista Rolando da Casale. Nuovo frammenti musicali nell'Archivio di Stato," *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1964-67): 17-41; Francesco Facchin, "Una nuova fonte di polifonia 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.

[538] Jan Herlinger, "Marchetto da Padova." In **Grove**, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/17738 (accessed July 22, 2009).

of the *Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis* (1332), was also a native of Padua. Another important theorist associated with Padua is Prosdocimus de Beldemandis (d. 1428), who wrote eight music treatises, including the *Tractatus practice cantus mensurabilis ad modam Ytalicorum* (1412), the last major treatise dealing with Italian notation.[539]

Documentary evidence places the composers Gratiosus de Padua and Johannes Ciconia in early fifteenth-century Padua.[540] Apart from this evidence, one madrigal, one ballata and several motets by Ciconia associate him with the city.[541] Though no documentary evidence survives situating the composer Bartolino da Padova in Padua, his presence there is inferred from the text of the ballata *La sacrosancta carità d'amore* (with text by Paduan Giovanni Dondi dell'Orologio) and possibly the madrigal *La douce cere*, which may describe the coat of arms of the Papafava family, a branch of the Carrara family. The only other biographical information we have concerning Bartolino comes from his portrait in **Sq**, where he is depicted as a Carmelite monk. Although scholars have as yet been unable to find any secure documentary links between Bartolino and the Carmelite monastery that existed in Padua in the fourteenth century, it is generally assumed that he lived there.[542] Other composers associated with trecento Padua are Jacobus Corbus and Zanino de Peraga de Padua.[543]

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[539] The other seven are *Expositiones tractatus pratice cantus mensurabilis Johannis de Muris* (1404?), *Tractatus pratice cantus mensurabilis* (1408), *Brevis summula proportionum quantum ad musicam pertinet* (1409), *Contrapunctus* (1412), *Tractatus plane musice* (1412), *Parvus tractatulus de modo monacordum dividendi* (1413) and *Tractatus musice speculative* (1425).

[540] Three works by Gratiosus survive: a Gloria, a Sanctus, and the lauda-ballata *Alta regina de virtute ornata*, all transmitted exclusively in the Paduan fragments.

[541] The madrigal is *Per quella strada* (to be discussed below) and the ballata is *Con lagreme bagnandome*, a setting of Leonardo Giustinian's poem, composed on the death of Francesco il Novello (1406). Nine of the ten Ciconia motets are associated with Padua: both *O felix templum jubila* and *Padu…serenans* were composed for members of the Carrara family; *Doctorem principem/Melodia suavissima/Vir mitis* and *Ut te per omnes/Ingens alumnus padue* honour Francesco Zabarella; *Albane, misse celitus/Albane, doctor maxime* and *Petrum Marcello venetum/ O Petre, antistes inclite* were written for Venetian bishops of Padua; *Venecie, mundi splendor/Michael, qui stena domus* was composed for Doge Michele Steno, who ruled Padua after the downfall of the Carrara family; *O Padua, sidus preclarum* praises the city of Padua; *O proles hispanie* is in honour of St Anthony of Padua.

[542] Goldine, "Fra Bartolino," 144. Goldine states that "Que Bartolino appartint à ce couvent est fort probable". See also Cesira Gasparotto, *Santa Maria del Carmine* (Padua: Tip. Antoniana, 1956), 109 and Documents 9 and 10; Petrobelli, "Some Dates," 111.

[543] Francesco il Vecchio's paternal aunt's husband was called Zanino da Peraga. He was one of il Vecchio's closest political supporters, and was knighted by il Vecchio in 1354. It is unclear whether or not he is the same person as the composer of the same name.

Padua was a large centre for manuscript production. The first manuscript evidence of musical activity in Padua comes from a Processional located in the Cathedral, featuring two polyphonic liturgical pieces for use in dramatic offices.[544] The monk Rolandus de Casali, who was at the abbey of Santa Giustina from 1396 to 1448, copied both sacred and secular music. Many of the Paduan fragments (fragments of manuscripts known to have originated in Padua) can be associated with him.[545] Both Rolandus and Ciconia seem to have been on friendly terms with Franceso Zabarella, who taught jurisprudence at the university, was archpriest of Padua Cathedral, and belonged to a circle of Paduan humanists.[546]

The only Paduan patrons of music known to us today are the members of the Carrara family who commissioned works by Bartolino da Padova and Ciconia. The Carrara court chronicler Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna discusses the status of artists and musicians under a lord's patronage, suggesting perhaps that musicians were employed by the Carrara family on a regular basis.[547] It is possible that as with artistic patronage, the members of the "Carrara Affinity" took up music patronage as well, but records of this do not survive. Surviving musical evidence hints that the link between music and extra-musical sources was fairly common within the Paduan repertoire. For example, it seems as though some motets by Ciconia were written to accompany Zabarella's orations, and shared similar textual references.[548] Two other connections between musical and extra-musical sources are the focus of this chapter: the link between *Inperiale sedendo* and *De curru carrariensi*, and the link between *Per quella strada* and Altichiero's depiction of the Triumph of Fame.

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[544] Pirrotta, "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian *ars nova*," 64-65. Pirrotta observes that the notation used for these pieces is very similar to that advocated by Marchetto.

[545] Rolandus can be associated with the fragments **Padua 1106**, **Padua 1225**, **Padua 675**, **Padua 1283** (which make up **Pad D**) and **Stresa 14**. See Cattin, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova," 28-31.

[546] Hallmark, "*Protector, imo verus pater*," 158.

[547] Diana Norman, "'Splendid Models and Examples from the Past'," in *Siena, Florence, Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280- 1400*, ed. Diana Norman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 155.

[548] Hallmark, "*Protector, imo verus pater*," 165.

Inperiale sedendo

Inperiale sedendo fra più stele	Imperial, sitting among many stars
dal ciel descese un carro d'onor degno	a chariot worthy of honour descends from the sky
soto signor d'ogni altro via benegno.	under a lord more kind than any other.
Le rote sue guidavan quatro done,	Four women guided its wheels,
Iusticia e Temperencia con Forteza	Justice and Temperance with Fortitude
ed an' Prudenza tra cotanta alteza.	and Prudence among such nobility.
Nel mezo un Saracin con l'ale d'oro	In the middle a Saracen with golden wings
tene' 'l fabricator del so tesoro.	held the maker of his treasure

Inperiale sedendo appears in six trecento manuscripts from Tuscany and northern Italy: **Fa**, **Lu**, **Mod A**, **Pit**, **PR** and **Sq**, making it one of the most-transmitted songs of the trecento. The madrigal appears in Italian notation in all sources, with the Italian practice of providing text for both cantus and tenor. One of the more striking notational aspects of *Imperial sedendo* is that it appears in a three-voice version in **Lu**, but in two voices in the other versions (**PR** transmits the madrigal twice, though in one version only the tenor is copied). Appendix 3 contains a transcription of the three-voice version from **Lu** ,with commentary. The madrigal also appears as a keyboard intabulation in **Fa.**[549]

The attribution of *Inperiale sedendo* to Bartolino da Padova had been universally accepted until very recently, when it was suggested that the reason it appears unattributed in many sources, and also outside the Bartolino section in some manuscripts, is that it is not actually by Bartolino (see Table 6.1).[550] In **Mod A**, a manuscript that is not divided into composer sections, this madrigal is attributed to "Dactalus de Padua," which has long been considered a copying error despite the fact that other songs attributed to Bartolino in **Mod A** are labelled "Frater Bartolinus," or "Frater Carmelitus."[551] In **Lu** the madrigal is not attributed, and

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[549] 74v-77r. *La douce cere* also appears unattributed in **Fa**, on folios 71r-72r.

[550] David Fallows credits his student, Leah Stuttard, for providing this information. See Fallows, "Ciconia's Last Songs and their Milieu," 120. Michael Cuthbert believes that the attribution in **Mod A** could be valid, since "the added suffix, 'fecit' (to my knowledge never again used in this manuscript) could be read as an affirmation of authorship, 'Yes, Dactalus, and not someone else, composed this'." Michael Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2006), 66.

[551] Although "Dactalus" may be a person's name, there is also the possibility that it is a nickname, just as Antonio da Teramo was known as "Zachara" and Antonello da Caserta is called "Marot" in **Lu**. Similarly, **Pad A** contains a

appears outside the Bartolino section. Nádas and Ziino have argued that **Lu** was compiled in Padua and therefore represents a source very close in space and time to Bartolino. If this is true, it is likely that the lack of attribution here is significant.[552] **PR**, the only other northern source to transmit *Inperiale sedendo*, does not give a composer attribution, even though the madrigal appears twice in the manuscript. Neither northern source, therefore, attributes *Inperiale sedendo* to Bartolino. *Inperiale sedendo* also appears in the Bartolino section of **Sq** but is not placed with the other madrigals; instead it is located in the middle of the ballata section.[553] In **Pit** there is no substantial Bartolino section: three of his songs appear together, but are separated from *Inperiale sedendo*. In **Fa** the madrigal is anonymous.

Table 6.1 Manuscript transmission of *Inperiale sedendo*

Manuscript	Attribution	Bartolino section?
Fa	unattributed	n/a
Lu	unattributed	no
Mod A	Dactalus de Padua fecit	n/a
Pit	unattributed	n/a
PR	unattributed	yes
Sq	Magister Frater Bartholinus de Padua	yes

Sanctus by one Mediolano ("Milanese"). Stone wonders if the name Dactalus is perhaps a nickname, since, as Anne Stone points out, it is a "latinized version of the Greek 'daktulos,' meaning a measurement of one-sixteenth of a foot." See *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense a.M.5.24*, 60. My own suggestion is that the word "Dactalus," which seems to have been derived from "dactyl," meaning "digit" in Greek, may have something to do with writing (perhaps it is a scribe's nickname?). There is of course the possibility that Dactalus was Bartolino's own nickname.

[552] Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 48.

[553] This, however, may be misleading. John Nádas has shown that the Bartolino gathering in **Sq** was originally conceived as two. In this scenario, *Inperiale sedendo* would have opened the second gathering, which, in **Sq**, is a typical placement for a heraldic madrigal. See Nádas, "The Squarcialupi Codex," 67-68.

Analysis of the stylistic evidence does little to clarify the situation. *Inperiale sedendo* is very much like the madrigals of Ciconia and therefore difficult to attribute on stylistic grounds alone. Fallows notes that in terms of textual and musical style, *Inperiale sedendo* and *Per quella strada* are "astonishingly similar."[554] Indeed, apart from the fact that both texts describe the Carrara chariot in the sky, the musical styles of both madrigals are remarkably alike. In many ways, *Inperiale sedendo* is stylistically closer to Ciconia's songs than to those of Bartolino: for example, *Inperiale sedendo* opens with a very short florid passage (not at all characteristic of Bartolino's music), and like Ciconia's madrigals, *Inperiale sedendo* features several internal mensuration changes (apart the from one at the ritornello), the economic use of musical materials such as motives, rhythms and harmonies, and perhaps most distinctively, the use of homophony and imitation to emphasize important phrases in the text.[555]

In both the madrigals and the motets, Ciconia uses changes in texture to elucidate the structure of the text, and to highlight specific words. For example, in his two heraldic madrigals, *Una panthera* and *Per quella strada*, Ciconia uses homophony to make audible the heraldic elements of the text. *Inperiale sedendo* does this also, with homophony occurring at *ciel descese un carro d'onor* (a transcription of this madrigal appears in Appendix 3). In **PR**, **Sq**, **Lu**, **Mod A and Pit**, this textual phrase is repeated: the first statement features a florid cantus over a more static tenor, and the second statement is begun by the tenor while the cantus is resting, thus making the most obviously heraldic part of the text stand out. When the cantus enters with the same text, it imitates the rhythm of the tenor's solo, but on different pitches. At *Sotto un signor d'ogni altro più benegno*, the tenor sings while the cantus rests, and when the cantus enters, it sings a variant of the melody it sang at *dal cielo descese un carro d'onor degno* (second statement).

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[554] Fallows, "Ciconia's Last Songs," 120.

[555] The notational aspects of Bartolino's style are more difficult to determine, since he probably did not copy his own music into any of the surviving sources. **Lu**, however, preserves one notational form not found in Bartolino's music in other sources: the single-pitch ligature. Because of its geographical and temporal proximity to Bartolino, Tiziana Sucato suggests that **Lu** is a more reliable source for Bartolino's music than those in which the single-pitch ligatures have been removed. Single-pitch ligatures are found in the contratenor of *Inperiale sedendo*, which does not appear in any other manuscript. See Tiziana Sucato, "La tradizione notazionale delle opere di Bartolino da Padova e il codice Mancini," 29-37.

The overall impression obtained from singing through both madrigals is that *Inperiale sedendo* is a blend of the styles of Bartolino and Ciconia. This supports the theory that the madrigal is not by Bartolino, since none of his other madrigals exhibit such strong stylistic ties to Ciconia's madrigals. There is of course the possibility that *Inperiale sedendo* was written after *Per quella strada*, and that Bartolino was making a conscious effort to relate the two works, though given my reassessment of the date of *Inperiale sedendo*, this is unlikely. A third possibility is that both of Ciconia's heraldic madrigals derive their stylistic traits from Bartolino's style as demonstrated in *Inperiale sedendo*, one of the most widely-transmitted madrigals in the trecento repertoire.

Evidence of association with the Carrara family is found in the second line and in the ritornello of *Inperiale sedendo*, where the shared heraldic devices of Francesco il Vecchio and Francesco il Novello appear ("a chariot worthy of honour," and "a Saracen with golden wings"). In **Mod A** the music is accompanied by an illustration, but rather than draw the Carrara coat of arms, the artist has depicted the constellation Auriga, the chariot.[556] Nino Pirrotta was the first musicologist to notice the heraldry in the madrigal text, stating that it clearly alluded to the Carrara family, but did not specify for which member, or speculate as to when it was written.[557] Nicole Goldine believed that *Inperiale sedendo* had been written for Francesco Il Vecchio, arguing that the song celebrates the Carrara's imperial vicariate, and describes events that took place in 1356.[558] Pierluigi Petrobelli, on the other hand, thought that the madrigal had been composed in 1401 for Francesco Il Novello, on the occasion of his being made captain-general of the imperial army in Emperor Robert of Bavaria's war against Giangaleazzo Visconti.[559] To support this argument, Petrobelli compares the passage from the Gatari *Cronaca carrarese* in which Francesco il Novello is given this commission to the text of *Inperiale sedendo*, and notes the repetition of *imperial* in the chronicle's text, leading him to associate this occasion with

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[556] **Mod A**, folios 29v-30r. This was first noticed by Petrobelli, "Some Dates," 97.

[557] Pirrotta, "Il Codice di Lucca III," 122. Pirrotta says that "il madrigale *Inperiale sedendo* (n. 62), che è l'unico che chiaramente allude ai da Carrara, signori di Padova fino al 1405" (the madrigal *Inperiale sedendo* (no. 62) is the only one that clearly alludes to the Carraras, lords of Padua until 1405).

[558] Goldine, "Fra Bartolino da Padova," 151.

[559] Petrobelli, "Some Dates," 100.

Inperiale sedendo.[560] John Nádas and Agostino Ziino reiterate Petrobelli's view, stating that it was "probably written in 1401 to celebrate the investiture of Francesco as imperial general by the then-new Emperor Robert of Bavaria."[561]

Despite the fact that Petrobelli's argument is somewhat subjective, based as it is on a selective reading of the Gatari chronicle, it has been generally accepted for the past forty years. However, based on new evidence, this chapter proposes that the madrigal *Inperiale sedendo* was written for Francesco il Vecchio, that it could not have been written before 1376, and that it was not written after 1388, when Francesco il Vecchio abdicated in favour of his son, il Novello. None of the authors who have discussed this madrigal were aware that its poetry bears an extremely close resemblance to parts of *De curru carrariensi*, a moralizing treatise describing the Carrara *carro*, written in 1376 for Francesco il Vecchio by a Franciscan monk named Francesco Caronelli (de Caronellis).[562] Both *De curru carrariensi* and *Imperial sedendo* describe the Carrara chariot as having wheels guided by the four cardinal virtues. In her study of Caronelli's *De curru carrariensi*, Caterina Griffante noticed the similarity between Caronelli's text and that of *Imperial sedendo*, although she believed that the song had been written sometime in the middle of the fourteenth century.[563] This led her to posit that the association of the *carro* wheels with the four Cardinal Virtues was a popular Paduan idea at the time.[564] Although I have found evidence of the Virtues in some Paduan visual art created at the time of Francesco il Vecchio, I have not discovered any direct link (at least in any of the arts, as manifestations of current thought) between the Virtues and the Carrara coat of arms.[565] I believe it is more

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[560] *Ibid.*

[561] Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 40.

[562] In his discussion of the text of *O felix templum jubila*, however, Steffan Seiferling describes its similarity to the moralizing chariot in *De curru*, though without naming the treatise. His information seems to be drawn exclusively from the depiction of the moralized chariot in *De curru* which is given in Benjamin Kohl's *Padua Under the Carrara*, 153.

[563] Caterina Griffante, *Il trattato* De curru carrariensi *di Francesco de Caronellis* (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1983), 30.

[564] *Ibid.*

[565] For example, the Cortellieri chapel in the Eremitani church is decorated with frescoes of the Virtues and the Liberal Arts painted by Carrara court painter Giusto de' Menabuoi. Although Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel

appropriate to consider that the text of *Inperiale sedendo* was directly influenced by Caronelli's treatise.

De curru carrariensi

The link between the treatise *De curru carrariensi* (On the Carrara chariot) and the songs discussed in this chapter has been commented on in the past but never examined in detail. As mentioned above, Caterina Griffante, editor of *De curru carrariensi*, was the first to notice the similarity between the text of the treatise and the second tercet of the madrigal *Inperiale sedendo*, but did not discuss it.[566] More recently, in his study of Ciconia's motets, Steffan Seiferling describes the illustration of the chariot from *De curru*, but does not give any information about the treatise itself, nor does he attempt to account for the textual similarities found in *De curru* and the two Carrara madrigals.

Francesco Caronelli's treatise (Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 6468), dedicated to il Vecchio, is a moralizing description of the Carrara *carro*. Caronelli was a Franciscan monk active in the second half of the fourteenth century, who lived in Padua from 1361 to at least 1378.[567] He was a teacher of theology at the university, and had contacts with the Carrara family as well.[568] He may have worked for the Della Scala family of Verona in the 1380s, since two of his works (*De fato* and the *Profismata*) are dedicated to Antonio Della Scala.[569] Of his four known works, two are of a moralizing character: *De curru*, believed to be

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date from much earlier (c. 1305), they could have been models for Carrara court artists Giusto de' Menabuoi and Altichiero. The San Felice chapel in the Basilica of St Anthony, decorated by Altichiero, contains a fresco depicting Justice. According to the will of Fina Buzzacarini (wife of Francesco il Vecchio), one room in her palace, the Palazzo di Levante, was decorated with artwork depicting the virtues.

[566] Griffante, *Il trattato* De curru carrariensi, 38.

[567] Griffante, *Il trattato* De curru, 14-15.

[568] *Ibid.*, 16.

[569] *Ibid.*, 15.

his first work, dating from 1376, and the *Profismata*, dealing with various theological and moral questions, which was designed as a guide for preaching.[570] *De fato* discusses the subject of fate and provides definitions from Classical and Christian authors from Homer to Boethius, before Caronelli presents his own definition.[571] The fourth work, the *Sompnium pauperis in sermone*, like *De curru*, uses the form of a dream-vision to impart information. The *Sompnium* is now lost.

De curru carrariensi* is divided into two sections: a dream-vision, called the *Visio*, and a description of the Carrara *carro* in moral terms. After the long dedication, the *Visio* introduces the subject of the *carro*, and sets up the main theological ideas to be discussed in the treatise. The *Visio* begins with Caronelli describing how, in a dream, he sees three chariots lit up by the rays of the sun. The first chariot contains Elijah (described in the Bible as ascending into heaven on a fiery chariot), and the second contains St Francis and St Anthony of Padua (St Francis is also said to have ascended to heaven on a fiery chariot).[572] St Anthony, patron saint of Padua, was the disciple of St Francis, so their appearance together here is entirely appropriate. The third contains a prince surrounded by a halo of light and accompanied by a young man. This last chariot is followed by a crowd made up of powerful and famous men with their wives and children, and is so large that the author cannot see the end of the procession. This procession, led by chariots, is a fairly typical description of a triumph.

Desiring to identify the third charioteer, Caronelli asks St Jerome for advice, and is told that he must seek out the wisdom that only the old possess. The author therefore asks Elijah, who informs him that the third charioteer is Francesco il Vecchio, accompanied by il Novello (then 16 or 17 years of age).[573] St Jerome then answers four critical questions put to him by Caronelli, including how much of non-Christian philosophy can be believed, and whether he should put

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[570] *Ibid.,* 16.

[571] *Ibid.*

[572] This is noted by Seiferling, who gets his information from Sergio Bertelli, *Il corpo del re: Sacralità del potere nell'Europa medievale e moderna* (Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 1990), 21.

[573] Note that all three chariots contain people who are traditionally associated with them (Elijah in the Bible, St Francis in hagiography, and the Carraras).

faith in prophecy.[574] At this point St Jerome disappears, the *Visio* ends, and Caronelli settles down to his main task, the identification of all parts of the Carrara *carro* with moral characteristics, and an explanation for each. Both surviving copies of this treatise are illustrated, the pictures being intercalated in the text.[575]

Figure 6.5 shows a depiction of the *carro* with each part clearly labelled: the axles represent two of the theological virtues, Faith and Hope, who meet at the Law of Grace, while another part of the cart frame represents Charity. Other components of the chariot represent the Law of Nature, the Law of Moses, and Eternal Law. The bottom (or rear) section of the *carro* is labelled *Meditatio glorie* (the Contemplation of Glory), along with Purgatory and Eternal Pain. Each wheel is identified as one of the four cardinal virtues: Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence, and each spoke of each wheel is given a name (for example, the spokes of the Temperance wheel are labelled *castitas, pudicitia, virginitas, parsimonia, sobrietas, abstinencia, continencia, mansuetudo*).[576] The moralizing depiction of the *carro* in Figure 6.5 is organized so that to reach the top of the *carro* one must perform a symbolic journey from the bottom, beginning with the choice of Eternal Pain, Contemplation of Glory or Purgatory. Once the middle way (Contemplation of Glory) has been chosen, the traveller (in this case Francesco il Vecchio) journeys along the main horizontal shaft of the cart, and he can then be guided by the wheels of Justice and Temperance through Hope towards Eternal Law, and can pass through the Law of Grace and the front axle, representing Faith. The uppermost wheels, Fortitude and Prudence, guide him to his final destination, *Bonum honestum* (honourable good). Once he has reached his goal, he becomes a moral guide for his subjects.

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[574] Griffante, *Il trattato* De curru, 76-82.

[575] *Ibid.*, 18. See Figure 3 (Tavola III) in Griffante for an illustration from the copy held in Padua (Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, XX 437).

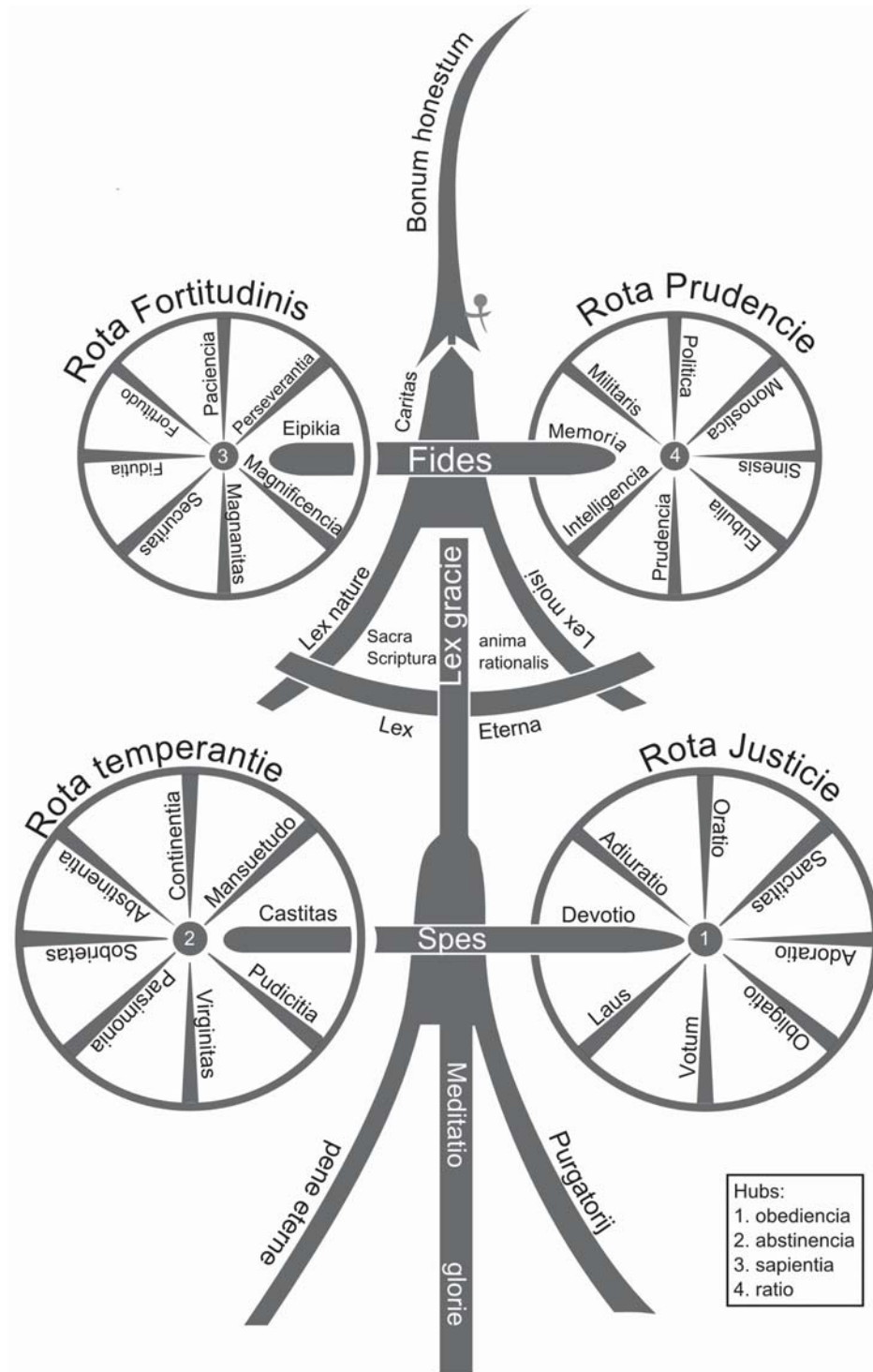[576] These are chastity, purity, virginity, thrift, sobriety, abstinence, self-control and mildness.

Figure 6.5 The moralized Carrara chariot, based on the illustration on folio 9v of Francesco Caronelli's *De curru carrariensi*.

The text of *Inperiale sedendo* is reminiscent of two sections of the Caronelli treatise. The first tercet of the madrigal recalls the opening of the *Visio*, in which il Vecchio and il Novello are in a chariot which could easily be interpreted as flying across the sky, since it is lit up by rays of the sun:

Inperiale sedendo fra più stele	Imperial, sitting among many stars
dal ciel descese un carro d'onor degno	a cart of worthy honour descends from the sky
soto signor d'ogni altro via benegno.	under a lord more kind than any other.[577]

The second tercet of *Inperiale sedendo* recalls the moralizing description of the bull-cart wheels given by Caronelli:

Le rote sue guidavan quatro done,	Four women guided its wheels,
Iusticia e Temperencia con Forteza	Justice and Temperance with Fortitude
ed an' Prudenza tra cotanta alteza.	and Prudence among such nobility.[578]

The four cardinal virtues named in Caronelli's treatise and *Inperiale sedendo* are derived from the four virtues enumerated in Plato's *Republic* (c. 360 B.C.E.). In this work Plato discusses their role in the ideal state and in the ideal individual. Wisdom (not prudence), courage, temperance and justice each have a place in the ideal state, which is made up of three classes: craftsmen, who develop the virtue of temperance; warriors, who develop courage, and guardians (rulers) who must possess wisdom. Justice is produced when the other three virtues work together.[579] Discussion of the four virtues was taken up by other Classical writers, notably Seneca, who saw them in political terms. For Seneca, "the four virtues were virtues for a political elite, virtues of paramount importance for emperors and rulers, because they produce 'tranquillity of mind' when in power, 'consolation' when not, and resolution when faced with 'the shortness of life' and the

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[577] Although I have translated *carro* here as "chariot," it could equally be translated as "bull-cart." "Chariot" is the obvious choice for a cart in which people travel, hence my choice in this case.

[578] Note that while the similarity in the text is there, the poet of *Inperiale sedendo* also chooses to present the virtues in the same order in which they appear in *De curru* (both in the cart diagram and in the text).

[579] Plato, *Republic*, trans. Francis MacDonald Cornford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 119-129.

prospect of death."[580] The first Christian to write about the virtues was Ambrose, who coined the term "cardinal virtues."[581] Discussion of the virtues was useful for Ambrose and other Church Fathers because it provided a means of integrating Classical philosophy with Christian doctrine. Later, both Alcuin and his student Rabanus Maurus wrote treatises in which they, like Caronelli, "couched their treatment of the cardinal virtues in works of advice to their royal patrons."[582] In the thirteenth century, scholastic writers such as Philip the Chancellor and Thomas Aquinas treated the subject of the cardinal virtues in detail to create the first truly philosophical Christian doctrine of the virtues.

Caronelli's allegorical chariot mixes Classical philosophy and Christian theology. For example, while some parts of the chariot represent the Christian theological virtues (Faith, Hope, Charity), others represent Classical ideas such as *Bonum honestum* (honourable good), which is Cicero's term for intrinsic good, since "virtue is an inner 'habit' because the life of virtue focuses on inner states rather than external actions or their consequences."[583] Notable in Caronelli's treatise are quotations from authors who have written about the virtues, such as Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory, as well as Cicero, Seneca, and later writers such as Peter Lombard.[584]

Caronelli explains that the placement of the virtues (two at the front of the *carro*, two at the back) is significant, because each pair is complementary: Justice and Temperance lead, one punishing and judging while the other restrains; Fortitude and Prudence follow, one lighting and guiding the way, the other keeping one away from evil.[585] The symbolism of each wheel is explained, beginning with Justice, who assures equality for everyone by rewarding good,

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[580] R. E. Houser, *The Cardinal Virtues* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2004), 31.

[581] *Ibid.*, 34.

[582] *Ibid.*, 39.

[583] *Ibid.*, 27. Cicero is the Classical writer most quoted by Caronelli. See Griffante, *Il trattato* De curru, 25.

[584] Interestingly, in answer to the first of Caronelli's questions, St Jerome tells him that his spiritual guides should be Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory, who were also the first three christian writers to contemplate the cardinal virtues.

[585] Griffante, *Il trattato* De curru, 19.

praising virtue, punishing evil and damning the impious.[586] It is the responsibility of Temperance to restrain the passions of the body and moderate how much pleasure one should enjoy.[587] Wisdom, the hub of the Fortitude wheel, reinforces its purpose, which is to keep emotions under control,[588] and Reason provides the foundation (and the hub) of the Prudence wheel. For Caronelli, Prudence was the most important virtue for the ruler in peacetime, guiding his judgment and a healthy economy.[589]

The similarities between elements of Caronelli's treatise and *Inperiale sedendo* are striking. How did such parallel ideas come to be in both Caronelli's treatise and this madrigal? Given the lack of similar imagery in contemporary Paduan music, poetry and visual art created for the Carrara family, Griffante's assumption that it was common practice to associate the wheels on the Carrara *carro* with the cardinal virtues is improbable.[590] It seems much more likely that the composer of *Inperiale sedendo* either had access to Caronelli's treatise, that he was made aware of its contents when being commissioned to write *Inperiale sedendo*, or that whoever commissioned the treatise and madrigal wanted both to refer to the wheels of the cart in allegorical terms. This leaves us with several unanswerable questions: what was the nature of the composer's relationship with the Carrara family? Did he have access to the Carrara library? Did he know Caronelli?

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[586] *Ibid.*, 37. *Est iusticia rota que statum mundi undique circumvolvit dum bonos premiat, virtuosos exaltat, malos punit, impios dampnat, unicuique suam dignitatem equaliter iuxta merita tribuendo* (Justice is the wheel that the state of the world revolves around in all respects, while she rewards the good, praises the virtuous, punishes the evil and damns the impious, bestowing merit upon everyone alike according to his worthiness). This description of Justice recalls the text of Ciconia's heraldic madrigal *Una panthera*, in which the heavens distribute the crown of justice to those who are worthy.

[587] *Ibid.*, 38. *Temperantia igitur debet passiones corporeas refrenare et moderare in quantum delectationi subduntur et ipsarum excessus evitare* (Temperance must therefore rein in the passions of the body, and moderate how much pleasure to enjoy, and avoid excesses).

[588] *Ibid.*, 20 and 39. *in rota Fortitudinis quanto quis est sapientior tanto amplius possidet habitum vere Fortitudinis* (in the wheel of Fortune he who is as wise as he is distinguished possesses the state of true Fortitude).

[589] *Ibid.*, 41.

[590] Pastoureau notes that use of the wheel as a heraldic charge is very rare. This argues in favour of a direct link between *Inperiale sedendo* and *De curru carrariensi*, since it is usually the whole chariot of the Carrara family that is considered heraldic. See Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, 48.

The textual similarities between *De curru* and *Inperiale sedendo* strongly suggest that *Inperiale sedendo* could not have been composed before 1376 (the date of *De curru*). Given the fact that the cardinal virtues are an integral part of an overriding moral plan in Caronelli's work, it is much more probable that the composer of *Inperiale sedendo* borrowed from *De curru*, rather than Caronelli borrowing from the text of *Inperiale sedendo*.[591] The text of *Inperiale sedendo* was probably not written after 1388, when il Vecchio's copy of this treatise was seized by Giangaleazzo Visconti in his takeover of Padua. Upon his return to power in 1390, il Novello managed to recover some of the books taken to Giangaleazzo's court at Pavia, but *De curru* was not among them.[592] Il Vecchio's copy of *De curru carrariensi* later travelled to France, along with a substantial portion of the Visconti-Sforza library, eventually making its way to the Bibliothèque nationale de France, where it is housed today.

While the manuscript of *De curru* with the illustration of the moralized Carrara *carro* is dedicated to Francesco il Vecchio, another copy of this same text exists, and currently is held in Padua (Padua, Bibioteca Antoniana, XX 437). Griffante dates this other copy of *De curru* to c. 1427 and considers this to be a closer representation of the original which is now lost. In her edition, Griffante outlines the stemma of *De curru*, from autograph to the final copies in Paris and Padua. Based on independent errors in the texts of the Parisian and Paduan copies, she conjectures that the Paduan copy represents a version closer to the original, and that the Paris copy is the result of less formal instructions given by Caronelli.[593] Since the Paris copy is dedicated to Francesco il Vecchio, and since it illustrates the entire *carro* (the Paduan manuscript depicts isolated parts of the *carro*, such as each wheel), I would argue that this version is more likely to be the original. In the case of Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* (to be discussed below), the original manuscript was dedicated to il Vecchio, and was kept in the Carrara library until it too was taken by Giangaleazzo Visconti.

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[591] Caronelli refers to authors who wrote about the virtues as ideal spiritual guides, and quotes most often from writers (both Classical and Christian) who have discussed the virtues. The cardinal virtues are also a vital component of the *carro*, since without them the wheels would not turn or be properly guided.

[592] Vittorio Lazzarini, "Libri di Francesco il Novello," in *Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica* (Padova: Antenore, 1969), 274.

[593] Griffante, *Il trattato* "De curru carrariensi," 55.

The practical outcome of Griffante's *stemma* is that while the composer of *Inperiale sedendo* could not have seen il Vecchio's copy of *De curru* after the Visconti takeover of Padua in 1388, he may have been able to see the hypothetical original (if it did in fact exist), from which the fifteenth-century Paduan copy is thought to have been made. In that case, the latest date for *Inperiale sedendo* is 1405 (the fall of the Carrara regime). But since *De curru* is dedicated to Francesco il Vecchio, and *Inperiale sedendo* shares the image of the virtues with *De curru,* it is much more probable that this madrigal was also written for Francesco il Vecchio. In that case it must have been written before 1388, when il Vecchio abdicated in favour of il Novello. This narrows the span of possible dates for *Inperiale sedendo* considerably: from the 1350s (Goldine) – 1401 (Petrobelli), to 1376 (the composition of *De curru*) – 1388 (the end of il Vecchio's rule).

Questions of Patronage

Presumably, *De curru* was commissioned by Francesco il Vecchio, since the treatise is dedicated to him. This leads us to the assumption that *Inperiale sedendo* was also commissioned by il Vecchio. The madrigal's ritornello refers to *un Saracin con l'ale d'oro*, which is featured on the shared crest of il Vecchio and il Novello, but I believe that the similarity between the texts of *Inperiale sedendo* and *De curru* provides sufficient evidence pointing to the patronage of il Vecchio in both cases. [594] There was, however, another, and perhaps greater patron of the arts in the Carrara family: il Vecchio's wife Fina Buzzacarini (c. 1325 – 78). Fina came from a rich local family of lawyers, and married il Vecchio in 1345. Both her father Pataro and brother Arcoano were close allies of the Carrara family, and her sister Anna was the abbess at the Paduan church of San Benedetto. Fina was wealthy in her own right: she owned lands in the Padovano near Noventa, Brugine and Arzercavalli, a house in Venice, and was able to make a large loan to the city of Florence in 1371. [595]

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[594] The reference to the manufacture of treasure offers a further hint that this madrigal was commissioned by Francesco il Vecchio, since it was under his rule that the monetary system and mint were overhauled to rival the mint of Venice, thereby initiating a competition between their currencies. See Andrea Saccocci, "La moneta italiana nel Medioevo," in *Musei Civici di Padova: Museo Bottacin* (Padova: Comune di Padova, 2004), 99.

[595] Benjamin G. Kohl, "Fina da Carrara, née Buzzacarini," 21.

Fina was known for her patronage in the construction and decoration of religious spaces: she donated money to her sister's church, San Benedetto Vecchio, for a chapel dedicated to St Louis of Toulouse, and she oversaw work done on the church of Santa Maria dei Servi in 1372.[596] In the 1370s, a plan was made by the Carraras to refashion the Padua Duomo Baptistery into the Carrara family mausoleum. In the end, only Francesco il Vecchio and Fina were buried there, and as they have since been moved, all that remains of their ambitious plan are the fresco cycles and the altarpiece, all painted by Giusto de' Menabuoi between 1376 and 1378.[597] Cordelia Warr has argued that though there is "no direct contemporary evidence of her involvement with the Baptistery frescoes," work on these was overseen by Fina.[598] Catherine King, however, has found documentary evidence linking Fina to the decoration of the Baptistery.[599]

The Carrara *carro* appears as a regular border decoration in the Duomo Baptistery frescoes at the base of the drum, and a winged Saracen appears underneath each Evangelist portrait (one in each of the four pendentives), but it is Fina, not il Vecchio, who appears in the donor portrait, kneeling at the right hand of the Virgin (Figure 6.6).[600] Visitors to the Baptistery would naturally assume that she was the primary patron. She also appears in the scene depicting the birth of John the Baptist (Figure 6.7) on the extreme right, accompanied by three women, who may or may not be her three daughters (Fina is the one in the foreground).[601] From the sidelines, Fina not only observes but participates in the scene, meeting the gaze of the infant John

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[596] Cordelia Warr, "Painting in Late Fourteenth-Century Padua: The Patronage of Fina Buzzacarini." *Renaissance Studies* 10 no. 2 (1996): 143; Catherine King, "Women as Patrons: Nuns, Widows and Rulers,"in *Siena, Florence and Padua*, ed. Diana Norman (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 249.

[597] For more on the placement of Francesco and Fina's tombs, see Howard Saalman, "Carrara Burials in the Baptistery of Padua," *Art Bulletin* 69 no. 3 (1987): 376-94.

[598] *Ibid.*, 139.

[599] King, "Women as Patrons," 251.

[600] Warr, "Painting in Late Fourteenth-Century Padua," 150-151. Warr suggests that the *carro* as border decoration may demonstrate il Vecchio's involvement in the decorative program early on, or that they may only have been added when he was buried there. King suggests that the heraldry of a woman patron's male family members (such as her husband) often appears in art commissioned by women because of the way in which families were perceived at the time. While men's families consisted only of their birth families, a woman's family included both her birth family and that of her husband. In the case of Fina, the presence of the Carrara *carro* can be understood to be a family device, and therefore belonging to Fina as well. See King, "Women as Patrons," 243-55.

[601] *Ibid.*, 145. These four women are set apart from the others in the scene by their contemporary dress.

the Baptist, who is presented to her by an attendant. Warr points out that "due to its importance for the function of the building the fresco of the Birth of the Baptist has a prominent position as the central fresco in the top register of the south side of the Baptistery."[602] Warr also suggests that the purpose of redecorating the Baptistery for Carrara family use was tied to Fina's role as a mother, and her desire to protect her children, especially il Novello, who was the only male heir.[603] Thus, appearing in scenes with two of Christianity's most revered mothers would be an appropriate way for Fina to give thanks for her children, and for her to reflect on the descriptive/prescriptive nature of these images. Though the fresco cycle was originally commissioned by her husband (and though il Vecchio's heraldry appears frequently in the border decoration), Fina managed to exert a considerable degree of control over the paintings by having herself painted into two of the most significant frescoes in the programme.

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[602] *Ibid.*, 149.

[603] *Ibid.*, 154.

Figure 6.6 Donor portrait with Fina Buzzacarini da Carrara kneeling at the Virgin's right hand. Giusto de' Menabuoi, Padua Duomo Baptistery. ©2006 Scala, Florence/ART RESOURCE, N.Y. Reproduced with the permission of ARTstor.

Figure 6.7 The birth of John the Baptist. Fina appears on the extreme right of the scene, flanked by three women, possibly her daughters. Giusto de' Menabuoi, Padua Duomo Baptistery. © 2006 Scala, Florence/ART RESOURCE, N.Y. Reproduced with the permission of ARTstor.
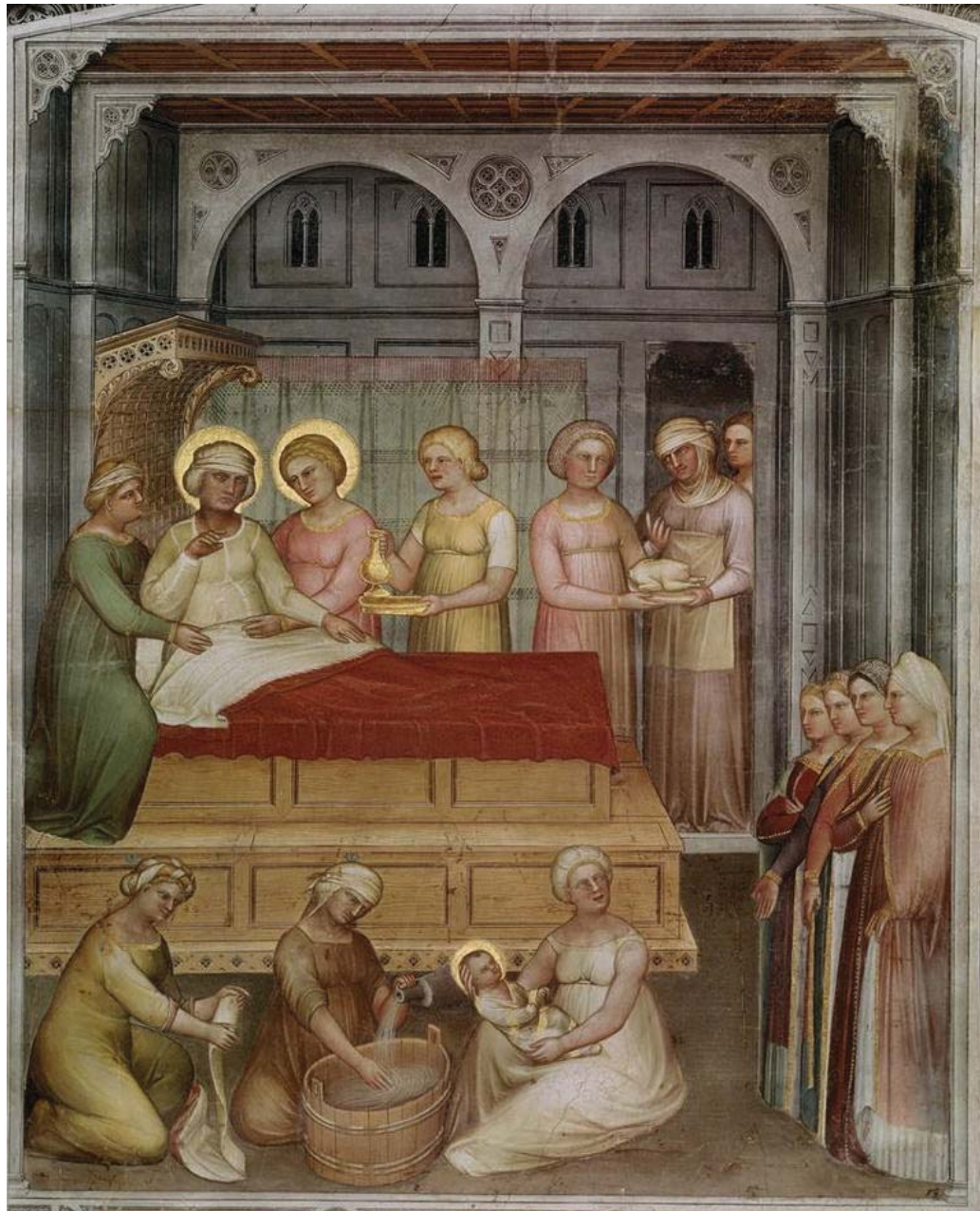
Fina's role in the decoration of the Duomo Baptistery has only recently been re-ascertained; it has been suggested that her part in the commission was not mentioned before the late sixteenth

century because it was a universally acknowledged aspect of Paduan history.[604] If this is the case, it is likely that Fina's patronage of other arts may have been forgotten also. Since il Vecchio was away for most of the time between 1376 and 1388, and since we now know that Fina oversaw at least some of the artistic patronage from 1376 until her death in 1378, it may be that the commission for *Inperiale sedendo* originated with her, or was at least overseen by her. This might explain the madrigal's focus on the personification of the *carro*'s wheels as the four cardinal virtues and not on the Saracen (who represents il Vecchio and therefore the "true" patron of the madrigal). In the Baptistery frescoes, Fina's presence is linked to her identity as a mother. Perhaps the presence of the virtues – personified as women in medieval culture and art – offers a clue that Fina had some interest in the commission of *Inperiale sedendo*.

Fina also had a more concrete connection to artistic representation of the virtues. Fina's place of residence, the Palazzo di Levante (located behind the Reggia, the main Carrara palace), was a female-oriented and female-dominated space, created so that the women at court could raise their children in privacy and safety.[605] In the 1370s Fina cultivated her own, exclusively female court here, with court functions taking place in a large hall decorated with illustrations of female personifications of the virtues (although these were the Platonic virtues: Justice, Wisdom, Temperance and Courage).[606] Thus in Fina's personal space, the virtues are associated not only with women at the Carrara court, but also in some sense with Fina as their hostess, role model and perhaps even their ruler.[607]

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[604] Kohl, "Fina da Carrara, née Buzzacarini," 26.

[605] Kohl, *Padua Under the Carrara*, 152.

[606] *Ibid.*; "Fina da Carrara," 22. The expenses of the court at the Palazzo di Levante were paid by Il Vecchio, who was willing to spend a considerable portion of his annual budget on them, and was obviously supportive of her private court for women and their children.

[607] The depiction of the virtues in the Palazzo di Levante is not the only space controlled by Fina in which worthy women are prominently displayed. The dome of the Duomo Baptistery is decorated with saints, and Catherine King states that "Most unusually, the importance of women saints in the baptistery is stressed by giving them half the space in the ranks of seated saints portrayed in the dome". This is especially remarkable considering that in Fina's time only a quarter of the saints were female. King also notes that though for the most part the saints are depicted in various categories, chaste females are given a much more prominent place in the dome painting than they are in the litany. See King, "Women as Patrons," 252-54.

If we return to the second tercet of *Inperiale sedendo* and read it as a description of four noblewomen, it can be interpreted as portraying Fina (Justice), as ruler of women at the Carrara court (represented by the other three virtues). To take this idea even further, the text of *Inperiale sedendo* could be read as applying to Fina and her three daughters, who could represent Temperance, Fortitude and Prudence, with Fina, as Justice, overseeing them:

Le rote sue guidavan quatro done,	Four women guided its wheels,
Iusticia e Temperencia con Forteza	Justice and Temperance with Fortitude
ed an' Prudenza tra cotanta alteza.	and Prudence among such nobility.

This interpretation may be the most fruitful to our understanding of the enigmatic ritornello,

Nel mezo un Saracin con l'ale d'oro	In the middle a Saracen with golden wings
tene' 'l fabricator del so tesoro.	held the maker of his treasure.

In this reading, the Saracen could refer to il Novello, who is holding onto the glory of his father.[608] Il Novello was born in 1359 and was the oldest legitimate child of Fina and Il Vecchio. If this madrigal does indeed refer to il Novello, and not il Vecchio, it may refer to his wedding, since, as we have seen, many heraldic madrigals were composed for weddings. Francesco il Novello married Taddea d'Este in 1377. This date is only a year after the completion of *De curru*, and during the decoration of the Baptistery Duomo. As we have seen in Jacopo's *Aquila altera*, a commission for the wedding of a ruler's son would originate with the ruler himself, and the shared crest of il Vecchio and il Novello would be a convenient way for the composer of *Inperiale sedendo* to honour both ruler and heir. In this case, the composer would be referring to not only il Novello, but to both his parents through references to Carrara heraldry and the virtues.

Although the purpose of *De curru carrariensi* is to show the enlightened ruler the way to becoming a moral guide for his people, it is also conceivable that the theme of the treatise would apply to Fina, since she was left to rule at least over the artistic works created for the Carrara family while her husband was away. King notes that women patrons often found ways to privilege female viewers, such as "including a donatrix portrait with which women could identify, or, when the image was made for female-only communities, stressing female responses

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[608] Thank you to William Robins for pointing this out to me.

in a holy scene."[609] Although the Padua Baptistery was not meant to be seen only by women, Giusto used both these devices in this space, and it is possible that the text of *Inperiale sedendo*, which privileges women by entrusting the virtues with the task of guiding the Carrara *carro*, can be read in a similar light.[610]

Per quella strada

Per quella strada lactea del cielo,	Along the heavenly milky way,
da belle stelle ov'è'l seren fermato,	from beautiful stars where clear skies lie,
vedeva un carro andar tutto abrasato,	one saw a chariot go all enflamed,
Coperto a drappi rossi de fin oro;	Covered in red cloth with gold brocade,
tendea el timon verso ançoli cantando.	its shaft aimed towards angels singing.
El carro triumphal vien su montando.	The triumphal chariot came climbing up
De verdi lauri corone menava,	It brought crowns made of green laurels,
che d'alegreça el mondo verdeçava.	that made the world green with happiness.

Apart from *Inperiale sedendo*, Ciconia's *Per quella strada* is the only other madrigal referring to Carrara heraldry. Like many of Ciconia's songs, it is preserved in a single source (**Lu** 94v – 95r), and there is no evidence of any separate textual transmission.

Pierluigi Petrobelli has linked the texts of *Per quella strada* and *Inperiale sedendo*, stating that the text of *Per quella strada* "undoubtedly refers to the red chariot of the Carrarese coat of arms, supplying exact parallels in meaning to the text of *Imperial*."[611] Bent and Hallmark suggested two possible occasions for the composition of *Per quella strada*: the return to power of il Novello in 1390, and il Novello's imperial commission in 1401 (the same occasion suggested by Petrobelli for the composition of *Inperiale sedendo*). Although they refused to

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[609] King, "Women as Patrons," 244.

[610] The role of women is also emphasized in the New Testament scenes in the Duomo Baptistery, such as the Marriage at Cana, the Massacre of the Innocents, and, as we have seen, the Birth of John the Baptist. See King, "Women as Patrons," 244 and 253.

[611] Petrobelli, "Some Dates," 105.

choose between these dates, Bent and Hallmark believed *Per quella strada* was composed between 1390 and 1405.[612] Since then, Hallmark has decided that 1401 would be a better date for the composition of *Per quella strada*, because it provides "a link between Ciconia and the Carraras … at the same time Ciconia received his first Paduan benefice."[613] Although these dates all seem equally likely, David Fallows notes that one drawback of his *padre e figlio* idea is that many of Ciconia's songs, particularly the madrigals, could very easily be dated to the 1360s or 70s on stylistic grounds.[614] Though it would be useful to establish a definitive date for *Per quella strada*, I am not sure that it is possible, and will confine my discussion to the issue of sources used for the text of the madrigal.

In many ways, the poetic structure of *Per quella strada* is similar to that of *Inperiale sedendo*. The first tercets of both madrigals describe a chariot in the night sky:

Inperiale sedendo	**Per quella strada**
Inperiale sedendo fra più stele	*Per quella strada lactea del cielo,*
dal ciel descese un carro d'onor degno	*da belle stelle ov'è'l seren fermato,*
soto signor d'ogni altro via benegno.	*vedeva un carro andar tutto abrasato,*
Imperial, sitting among many stars	Along the heavenly milky way,
a chariot worthy of honour descends from the sky	from beautiful stars where clear skies lie,
under a lord more kind than any other.	one saw a chariot go all enflamed,

While the chariot in *Inperiale sedendo* descends from the heavens, that of *Per quella strada* moves upwards "towards angels singing" (tercet 2). While *Inperiale sedendo* concentrates on the human and allegorical figures associated with the chariot (Francesco il Vecchio, referred to in the first tercet and ritornello, the virtues in the second tercet), the text of *Per quella strada* limits itself to a description of the actual chariot. In the second tercet of *Per quella strada*, the chariot is described in detail, particularly with regard to colour. As we have seen, colour is a crucial

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[612] Bent and Hallmark, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia* (Paris: Oiseau-Lyre, 1981), x.

[613] Hallmark, "*Protector, imo verus pater*," 165.

[614] Fallows, "Ciconia's Last Songs," 109.

element in understanding heraldry, and this is one way in which the poet alerts us to the heraldic nature of the text. This detailed description of the chariot in *Per quella strada* recalls the triumphal chariots of ancient Rome and the more obvious references to the "triumphal chariot" and "crowns made of green laurels" serve to strengthen this impression.[615]

Historical information regarding actual Roman triumphs can elucidate some of the elements present in the text of *Per quella strada* and its Paduan context. The Roman triumphal chariot, which was different from those used in warfare, seems to have been one of the defining elements of the triumph. Mary Beard notes that "second only to 'laurel,' the word 'chariot' (*currus*) was often used as a shorthand for the ceremony as a whole, and the honor it implied."[616] Triumphal chariots were also described in detail by Roman historians: for example, Livy, who lived in Padua (and whose great Roman history *Ab urbe condita* was later edited by Petrarch) describes a triumphal chariot that was either "gilded" or "inlaid with gold," depending on the translation. This is quite similar to the description of the gold brocade covering the Carrara chariot in *Per quella strada*. As is evident from their revival of the Roman practice of minting medallions, and from the medallion depicting Francesco il Vecchio in Roman dress (Figure 6.4), the Carrara family were very conscious of their city's Roman heritage, and used Roman imagery to liken their rule to that of Roman emperors. It is no coincidence, therefore, that the Carrara chariot is associated with a triumphal chariot in a song text written for them.

What is the relationship between the madrigals *Inperiale sedendo* and *Per quella strada*? Does the latter represent Ciconia's homage to the Carraras through references to an older and well-known heraldic madrigal? It may be that Ciconia, having recently arrived in Padua, received a commission to write a madrigal for the Carrara family and turned to the only other known madrigal with Carrara heraldry, *Inperiale sedendo*, for inspiration. Or did both madrigals use *De curru carrariensi* as their common source? I would argue that this is improbable, for two reasons. If the currently accepted biography of Ciconia is correct, then he did not arrive in Padua

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[615] The description of the triumphal chariot in *Per quella strada* is particularly reminiscent of the passage in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* in which Cleopatra sails up the river to meet Antony (which was of course closely paraphrased and immortalized by Shakespeare.)

[616] Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 223.

until after 1399 (this is the date of the madrigal *Una panthera*, apparently written for Giangaleazzo Visconti in Pavia). By that time, the copy of *De curru carrariensi* was housed in Pavia and was no longer in Padua, and the hypothetical original of *De curru* had been lost, so there was no way for Ciconia to have access to the treatise. In any case, *Per quella strada* does not seem to have much in common with *De curru carrariensi*. It does, however, share some marked similarities with one particular image found in Francesco il Vecchio's personal volume of Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*, which provided the inspiration for the pictures in the *Sala virorum illustrium* (Hall of Illustrious Men) in the Reggia.

Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* is a collection of biographies of Roman military heroes. Petrarch began work on *De viris* in the late 1330s, long before moving to Padua and enjoying the patronage of the Carrara family.[617] At that time he did not consider collecting the biographies into a single volume, but did so later at the suggestion of Francesco il Vecchio (to whom he also dedicated *De viris*).[618] As Petrarch explained in his Preface to *De viris*, this book was to be in part a moral exemplar,[619] making it somewhat analogous to Caronelli's *De curru*. Francesco il Vecchio liked the biographies in *De viris* so much that he decided to decorate one hall in the Carrara palace with portraits of the illustrious men from *De viris*. Unfortunately, the original paintings in the *Sala virorum* were destroyed by fire in the early sixteenth century. The hall was redecorated in the 1540s (again with pictures of heroes) and renamed the *Sala dei Giganti*, but only twenty-seven of Petrarch's thirty-six illustrious men were depicted.[620]

Work on the *Sala virorum illustrium* began in 1367 and was completed in 1379, just one year after the completion of the Padua Cathedral Baptistery frescoes. Petrarch had died in 1374 but *De viris* was completed by his secretary and amanuensis Lombardo Della Seta. There is evidence that work on the *Sala virorum* was halted while *De viris* was being completed,

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[617] For a detailed account of Petrarch's work on *De viris*, see Benjamin G. Kohl, "Petrarch's Prefaces to *De Viris Illustribus*," in *Culture and Politics in Early Renaissance Padua* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 132-44.

[618] Theodor Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua," *Art Bulletin* 34 (1952): 136-37.

[619] Kohl, "Petrarch's Prefaces," 135.

[620] These pictures still exist and have recently been restored. The only original painting to have survived the fire was a portrait of Petrarch, which is still there.

demonstrating the close ties between the manuscript and the illustrations in the *Sala virorum illustrium*.[621]

The 1379 manuscript of *De viris*, in the hand of Lombardo Della Seta, dedicated to Francesco il Vecchio and containing a portrait of Petrarch, was housed in the Carrara library until seized by Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1388.[622] This manuscript is now at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 6069F, hereafter **Paris 6069F)**. Folio 1 of this manuscript contains a picture of the *Triumph of Fame* (Figure 6.8).[623] Another manuscript of *De viris* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 6069, hereafter **Paris 6069**) contains a painted version of this same scene, which is attributed to Altichiero. While almost identical, the two scenes are slightly different. The version in **Paris 6069** shows more laurel crowns being thrown from Fame's chariot, and features the word *Gloria* in the sky. There are also more angels who play trumpets. I will argue that **Paris 6069F**, the volume of *De viris* dedicated to Francesco il Vecchio, is the original, and that both illustrations are by Altichiero. While very similar, the page layout of **Paris 6069** is superior: the chariot is centered properly on the page and the captives do not spill out into the right margin as they do in **Paris 6069F**. Since the painted version is much better laid out than the sketch version in **Paris 6069F**, I would like to suggest that both are by Altichiero, and that **Paris 6069F** represents the original version, the exemplar from which Altichiero worked when painting **Paris 6069**.[624] The theory that **Paris 6069F** is the original is supported by the fact that it is in the hand of Lombardo Della Seta, and is dedicated to Francesco il Vecchio (this dedication is visible in Figure 6.8, just underneath the picture).

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[621] Mommsen, "Petrarch and the decoration of the Sala virorum illustrium," 99. Lombardo Della Seta addresses il Vecchio at the beginning of the last biography, thanking him for his patience in waiting for the completion of the collection.

[622] It is now in Paris (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds latins 6069F). Information on this manuscript can be found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Trésors des bibliothèques d'Italie, IVe-XIVe siècles* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1950), catalogue entry 96.

[623] Throughout this chapter I will refer to the subject of the Triumph of Fame without italics, and use italics only when I am referring to Petrarch's poem by that name and Altichiero's painting of that name.

[624] I would like to thank Jill Caskey for undertaking a stylistic comparison of Altichiero's works to confirm my theory that the picture in **Paris 6069F** is by Altichiero.

Figure 6.8 The Triumph of Fame (1379). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latins 6069F, folio 1. Manuscript in the hand of Lombardo Della Seta, dedicated to Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara (the dedication is visible underneath the picture). © BnF. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The Triumph of Fame is not a subject not from *De viris illustribus*, but from Petrarch's *Trionfi*. There is evidence, however, that the original decorations in the *Sala virorum illustrium* also included a depiction of the Triumph of Fame.[625] The *Trionfi* is a set of poems on which Petrarch had been working since the 1330s, though as with *De viris*, it is unlikely that he conceived of the poems as a set until he had completed the last one shortly before his death in 1374.[626] Petrarch's *Trionfi* consists of six poems, each made up of several chapters, and each describing the Roman-style triumph of an allegorical figure. Dante was the first Italian writer to use the classical triumph as a literary device, placing Beatrice in a triumphal chariot surrounded by worthy historical figures in *Purgatorio*.[627] Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* (1342), also features descriptions of triumphal processions. Like Petrarch, Boccacccio describes the triumphs of Fame, Love, and Fortune.[628] In Petrarch's *Trionfi* the first poem, the *Triumph of Love*, describes Cupid riding a chariot pulled by four white horses, followed by captives who are all figures from classical mythology and history.[629] The second poem, the *Triumph of Chastity*, describes chaste love defeating Cupid, and the third poem, the *Triumph of Death*, written in 1349, seems to have been Petrarch's reaction to the death of Laura the year before. The fourth poem, the *Triumph of Fame*, in which Fame defeats Death, was completed by 1370.[630] In this poem, Fame appears,

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[625] Mommsen, "Petrarch and the decoration of the Sala virorum illustrium," 107-108. Julius von Schlosser was the first to suggest that the Triumph of Fame was depicted in the *Sala virorum illustrium*. His argument is summarized by Mommsen, who notes that there are three fourteenth-century Paduan manuscripts of *De viris* which all feature a depiction of the Triumph of Fame. One of these is the original from 1379, one is another copy in Paris, and the third is in Darmstadt (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Ländesbilbiothek, MS 101). The Darmstadt manuscript contains illustrations of the text of *De viris*, and the portrait of Petrarch here is a copy of the one in the *Sala virorum illustrium* (the only surviving original painting from the *Sala virorum*). Mommsen argues that "The similarity of these three illuminations and their common Paduan origin make it probable that they were all derived from a fresco in the Carrara palace."

[626] *Lord Morley's* Triumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke, ed. D.D. Carnicelli (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 21.

[627] Dorothy Shorr, "Some notes on the iconography of Petrarch's Triumph of Fame," *Art Bulletin* vol. 20, no. 1 (1938): 103.

[628] *Ibid.*

[629] *The Triumphs of Petrarch*, trans. Ernest Hatch Wilkins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 6. It should be noted that Cupid's chariot is described as "fiery", and that, like Caronelli, the protagonist in the *Triumph of Love* is curious about the procession, and asks a spirit who identifies the people accompanying the chariot.

[630] *Lord Morley's* Triumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke, 22.

surrounded by a blinding light, leading a large procession of famous men of antiquity. [631] It is understandable that the Triumph of Fame would have been depicted in the *Sala virorum illustrium*, since many of the famous men represented in *De viris* also appear as Fame's captives in the *Trionfi*.[632] Perhaps that is also why it was incorporated into manuscripts of *De viris* after the death of Petrarch, whose fame had outlasted his lifetime. The *Triumph of Time* and the *Triumph of Eternity* complete the set of poems, which, like *De curru carrariensi*, represents "the progress of the soul."[633]

The references to the Carrara chariot in *Per quella strada* are reminiscent of Petrarch's *Trionfi* in general, but they are markedly similar to both illustrations of the Triumph of Fame (**Paris 6069** and **Paris 6069F**). The *Triumph of Fame* illustrations depict Fame standing in a flying chariot, distributing laurel crowns to her captives who walk or sit on horseback.[634] This recalls the opening of *Per quella strada*, which describes a chariot in the night sky,[635] and the ritornello, which describes the chariot bringing green laurel crowns

Tercet 1

Per quella strada lactea del cielo,	Along the heavenly milky way,
da belle stelle ov'è'l seren fermato,	from beautiful stars where clear skies lie,
vedeva un carro andar tutto abrasato,	one saw a chariot go all enflamed,

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[631] *The Triumphs of Petrarch*, 73-100.

[632] Jean Seznec, "Petrarch and Renaissance Art," in *Francesco Petrarca, Citizen of the World: Proceedings of the World Petrarch Congress, Washington, D.C., April 6-13, 1974*, ed. Aldo S. Bernardo (Padova: Antenore; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1980), 136. Seznec states that "the heroes crowded around the figure of Fame come straight from *De viris illustribus*."

[633] *Lord Morley's* Triumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke, 20.

[634] *Trésors des bibliothèques d'Italie,* catalogue entry 96.

[635] As far as I can tell, no other illustrations of the Petrarch's *Trionfi* feature a chariot in the sky. Since the heraldic Carrara chariot is described as flying through the sky in two other sources (*De curru carrariensi* and *Inperiale sedendo*), we might wonder if this was a common way to depict the Carrara chariot, or whether Altichiero had access to these sources when planning his *Triumph of Fame*. It should be noted, however, that while the chariot is *described* as flying through the sky in *De curru*, it is not *illustrated* this way. It is also possible that the reason the Carrara chariot is described as flying across the sky is simply because there is a constellation called "the chariot" (see the depiction of this instead of the Carrara chariot next to *Inperiale sedendo* in **Mod A**). Also, placing the Carrara chariot in the sky would provide a flattering double meaning for their heraldic device (i.e. they would rule from the heavens, among the stars).

Ritornello

De verdi lauri corone menava,	It brought crowns made of green laurels
che d'alegreça el mondo verdeçava.	that made the world green with happiness.

 We must also consider the musical aspect of these illustrations. In both, Fame's chariot is guided by angels who play trumpets, so music is obviously part of this scene. In **Paris 6069**, the word *Gloria* appears twice in the sky, surrounded by angels who play trumpets. This is somewhat reminiscent of the chariot in *Per quella strada*, which climbs "towards angels singing."

If we accept that the text of *Per quella strada* was inspired by Altichiero's *Triumph of Fame* in the original *De viris illustribus* and perhaps the depiction of the same subject in the Reggia as well, then the madrigal could have been written anytime between 1379 (the completion of both *De viris* and the decoration in the *Sala virorum illustrium*) and 1405, when Padua was captured by Venice. The date of 1401 for *Per quella strada* has only been accepted on the basis of Petrobelli's dating of *Inperiale sedendo* and as such cannot be considered secure, although 1401 is probably the earliest possible date for *Per quella strada*, given that Ciconia's first documentary link with Padua dates from that same year. Since Francesco il Vecchio's volume of *De viris* was taken to Pavia in 1388, we are faced with either drastically reevaluating the dating *Per quella strada* or considering that Ciconia may have had access to the Visconti library while in Pavia in the 1390s.[636] Even if he had had access to il Vecchio's volume of *De viris* while in Pavia, it is very unlikely that Ciconia would have remembered this picture precisely so that he could use it a decade later in praise of Visconti enemies.

A third option (and by far the most intriguing one) is that although Ciconia did not have access to Francesco il Vecchio's *De viris*, he did see the painting in the *Sala virorum illustrium*, which must have been very similar to Altichiero's *Triumph of Fame* in il Vecchio's *De viris*, and may even have been painted by Altichiero.[637] In this case, the text of Ciconia's madrigal, along with the manuscript fonds latins 6069, may provide a clue as to the specific appearance of the

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[636] Though the original *De viris* and its two Paduan copies all include an image of the Triumph of Fame, the copy made for the Papafava family (the Darmstadt manuscript) features a different Triumph of Fame illustration from that of the original. In the Darmstadt manuscript, Fame is not depicted in a chariot, nor is she in the sky or accompanied by angels. This suggests that it was Altichiero's Triumph of Fame in the original *De viris* that inspired the text of *Per quella strada*.

[637] Although it is not known which artists decorated the *Sala virorum illustrium*, it is often assumed that Altichiero was one of them. See Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Decoration," 99 and 101.

Triumph of Fame painting in the Reggia. Furthermore, the fact that Ciconia's text describes Altichiero's painting so closely also hints that he had a closer association with the Carrara family than was previously believed. Hallmark has posited that Ciconia's contact with the Carrara family was mediated by Francesco Zabarella, but considering the similarities between the text of *Per quella strada* and the depiction of the Triumph of Fame in the Reggia, this information may be in need of revision.[638] In fact, I do not think it is too far-fetched to suggest that that Ciconia was invited into the *Sala virorum illustrium* sometime between his arrival in Padua in 1401 and the downfall of the Carrara regime in 1405, and it was at this time that he saw the painting of the *Triumph of Fame* on the wall, which provided him with the textual inspiration for *Per quella strada*.[639] Apart from the chariot flying across the sky, which is so reminiscent of triumphal chariots and Carrara heraldry, the evocation of music in the *Triumph of Fame* wall painting may have been partially responsible for Ciconia's decision to use this illustration as a source for the text of his madrigal.

One final point should be made with regard to the illustration of the Triumph of Fame in the Carrara palace. Mommsen notes that unlike later versions of this subject, women were not included in the scene in the *Sala virorum illustrium*, and suggests that it would have been inappropriate to depict women in the Hall of Illustrious Men.[640] I agree with this, and will add that there was no need to depict women in the *Sala virorum illustrium*, since the depiction of women *did* have its own place at the Carrara court. Records show that Francesco il Vecchio used the *Sala virorum illustrium* for public functions, making it analogous to the hall in the Palazzo di Levante containing the picture of the virtues.[641] If *Inperiale sedendo* is a tribute to Fina Buzzacarini da Carrara and reflects the painting on the walls of her female-oriented palace, then *Per quella strada* is its male equivalent, echoing the illustrations of the *Triumph of Fame* in both *De viris illustribus* and the *Sala virorum illustrium*.

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[638] Hallmark, "*Protector*," 163-4.

[639] Although I have yet to research this, I wonder if *Per quella strada* might have been commissioned in 1404 to mark the anniversary of Petrarch's birth one hundred years earlier.

[640] Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala virorum illustrium," 156. He notes that it was only when artists began to depict the general subject of the Triumph of Fame (and not attempt to illustrate Petrarch's text) that women were included in the procession.

[641] Kohl, *Padua Under the Carrara*, 152.

In conclusion, there are many points of similarity between the two Carrara madrigals. Both use similar musical language. Both refer to the Carrara chariot flying across the sky. Both draw their inspiration from non-musical manuscripts describing spiritual journeys. It is clear that the madrigal *Inperiale sedendo* and Francesco Caronelli's treatise *De curru carrariensi* share some remarkable textual similarities, and it is extremely probable that this madrigal was inspired by Caronelli's treatise. The fact that the cardinal virtues are an integral part of every aspect of Caronelli's *De curru carrariensi*, from the author's choice of quotations to his overall idea of the virtuous ruler, indicates that the poet of *Inperiale sedendo* borrowed from Caronelli, and not the other way around. This connection between *Inperiale sedendo* and *De curru carrariensi* has implications for the dating of the madrigal: since the madrigal's text was influenced by that of Caronelli, it is likely that *Inperiale sedendo*, like *De curru*, was also written for Francesco il Vecchio, and the currently accepted date of 1401 for the composition of *Inperiale sedendo* is no longer tenable. Since Francesco il Vecchio abdicated in 1388, we must consider this the latest possible date for *Inperiale sedendo*, with the date of *De curru*, 1376, as the earliest for the madrigal's composition. If Fina Buzzacarini was indeed the patron of *Inperiale sedendo*, the range of composition dates for this madrigal can be narrowed even further, since Fina died in 1378.

Ciconia's madrigal *Per quella strada*, while related musically and textually to *Inperiale sedendo*, does not seem to have taken its inspiration from *De curru carrariensi*. Although both madrigals refer to the Carrara chariot flying through the heavens, it is clear that Altichiero's *Triumph of Fame* provides a better model for the text of Ciconia's madrigal than does Caronelli's treatise. Unfortunately, the uncertainties that prevent us from reconstructing a secure biography for Ciconia also hinder our ability to date his works; it is equally possible that Ciconia wrote *Per quella strada* for Francesco il Vecchio (to whom *De viris illustribus* was dedicated and who commissioned of the decoration of the *Sala virorum illustrium*) or for Francesco il Novello, who was in power at the time of Ciconia's first documentary link with Padua.

Conclusion

The Legacy of the Heraldic Madrigal Tradition

In the previous chapters we have seen that although the heraldic madrigal represents a small percentage of the secular songs composed in the trecento, it is nonetheless an important genre. In terms of both poetry and music, it contains much of interest stylistically, and its texts contain valuable information both about the people who composed the music and for whom it was composed. Though we cannot pinpoint the exact origin of this genre, it appears that the first heraldic madrigals were composed in the middle of the fourteenth century at the court of Mastino II Della Scala, and may have developed out of the practice of composing songs with shared references, such as the *perlaro* cycle. The heraldic madrigal thrived as an occasional genre, even through the decline of the non-heraldic madrigal when other genres became more popular. Eventually, the heraldic madrigal was considered a traditional genre, suitable only for performance at important political events such as weddings. Heraldic madrigals were composed by the foremost composers working for the courts of northern Italy, such as Jacopo da Bologna, Bartolino da Padova and Johannes Ciconia.

Careful study of the heraldry described in the texts of these madrigals can dispel some of the widely held assumptions about certain songs. For example, by examining the paraheraldry of Bernabò Visconti and its inherently negative associations, we can interpret the poem *La fiera testa* as a celebration of Bernabò's aggressive style of rule. By investigating the trinitarian implications of Giangaleazzo's dove-in-sun device, the unusual form of Jacopo da Bologna's *Aquila altera* is explained, and its date of composition is clarified. References in two heraldic madrigals for the Carrara family point to non-musical manuscripts as the sources of these madrigal texts, and also force us to re-evaluate the accepted dates for these songs.

Heraldic madrigals were composed from c. 1350 to c. 1400. The beginning of this period may be difficult to identify, but is it possible to determine what caused the end of the heraldic madrigal as a genre? Did the downfall of two of the three dynasties for whom the majority of heraldic madrigals were composed have a significant impact on composition within this genre?

Did the influence of the early fifteenth-century "international style" put an end to heraldic madrigal composition? And what effect, if any, did the heraldic madrigal have on music in fifteenth-century Italy?

We will never truly know what caused composers to abandon the heraldic madrigal as a favourite commemorative genre, although the downfall of the Della Scala and Carrara regimes must have played a significant role. We do, however, have information concerning songs that this genre is bound to have influenced. For example, Giangaleazzo's son Filippo Maria Visconti commissioned Matteo da Perugia to compose a heraldic ballata, *Pres du soloil*, which can be dated to c. 1425. This song describes Filippo Maria's peregrine falcon badge, adopted sometime between 1412 and 1420.[642] Similarly, given the style of its text, it is probable that Paolo Tenorista's political madrigal *Godi, Firenze* (1406) was influenced by heraldic madrigals, perhaps those that appear in **Pit**.[643]

Works composed by Ciconia during his time in Padua may have influenced the early Italian works of Guillaume Du Fay. Margaret Bent notes the similarities between Ciconia's motets and Du Fay's motet *Vasilissa ergo gaude* (composed for the departure of Cleofe Malatesta for her wedding), and suggests that this may be a result of Du Fay's familiarity with the manuscript **Q15**, which is the principal source of Ciconia's motets.[644] Additionally, Du Fay is known to have composed at least one heraldic song: his ballade *Mon chier amy*, a lament on the death of Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini in 1427, mentions the three heads (or "three hats") of the Malatesta arms.[645] Despite a definite lack of evidence, it had already been generally accepted

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[642] Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M.5.24*, 104-107.

[643] **Pit** transmits four heraldic madrigals by Jacopo da Bologna and three by Bartolino da Padova. Paolo's heraldic song *Sofrir m'estuet* is also transmitted in this manuscript. For information about the dating of *Godi, Firenze*, see Ursula Günther, "Zur Datierung des Madrigals *Godi, Firenze* und der Handschrift Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (*Pit*)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1967): 99-119.

[644] Margaret Bent, "A Contemporary Perception of Early 15th-century Style," 196.

[645] Allan Atlas, "Dufay's *Mon chier amy*: Another Piece for the Malatesta," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honour of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony Cummings (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park, 1997), 10-13.

that *Mon chier amy* was composed for Carlo Malatesta on the death of his brother Pandolfo,[646] but the evidence provided by the heraldic reference in the text strengthens this hypothesis considerably.

Two songs, both composed for Pope Leo X, and both dating from the early sixteenth century depict the six balls or *palle* of the Medici arms through the creative use of notation. Heinrich Isaac's canzona *Palle, palle*, dating from before 1507, is based on a newly composed cantus firmus.[647] This cantus firmus is a combination of three graphic representations: the first consists of five notes arranged in an inverse V-shaped pattern and represent one of the *palle* of the Medici arms (see Figure 7.1). The second group of notes, three pitches arranged in a V-shaped pattern, represent the three *fleurs-de-lys* that are depicted on the topmost ball.[648] Finally, the inverse V pattern is repeated three times, each time at a higher pitch level, which corresponds to the levels of *palle* rising to the topmost ball, which holds the three *fleurs-de-lys*.[649]

Figure 7.1 The Medici arms © 2009 Oren neu dag. Reproduced with the permission of Oren neu dag under the Creative Commons ShareAlike 2.0 License.

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[646] David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: J.M. Dent, 1982), 30.

[647] Technically, then, the canzona was composed for Giovanni de' Medici, who became Pope Leo X in 1513.

[648] Though their origin is unclear, the Medici's use of the lily may reflect its use by the city of Florence, who adopted the lily as a canting charge. See Pastoureau, "La fleur de lis," 165.

[649] Allan Atlas, "Heinrich Isaac's *Palle, palle*: a new interpretation," *Analecta musicologica* 14 (1974): 21-22.

The second heraldic piece composed for Leo X is the motet *Gaude, felix Florentia* by Andreas de Silva. As in *Palle, palle*, the cantus firmus of *Gaude, felix Florentia* is newly composed and is a graphic representation of *palle* on the Medici arms.[650] It is significant that both pieces containing graphic representations of the Medici arms in their notation should have been composed for the same person, and suggests that both composers thought that Leo X (who was noted for his musicial abilities) believed that the Pope would have been able to identify and understand these motives in the cantus firmus. Though the pieces for Leo X are separated from the repertoire of heraldic madrigals by at least one hundred years, it is possible that this repertoire had some influence on the composition of motets for Leo X. Even if they did not, the idea of combining heraldry and music, whether through textual reference or graphic representation seems to have remained in the general musical consciousness for quite some time.

Like heraldry itself, the purpose of the heraldic madrigal is to convey ideas of power, lineage and individual identity through a popular and highly stylized medium. We do not know the exact contexts in which all heraldic madrigals were performed, but those sung at weddings and political ceremonies must be considered part of the general heraldic decoration that was so prevalent at this type of event in the Middle Ages. Apart from being used as a shortcut for dating manuscripts and building up composer biographies, the existence and popularity of the heraldic madrigal repertoire can tell us more generally about the values associated with music during the trecento. That music was seen to be a powerful medium for propaganda is obvious; what is perhaps less evident is the presence of women in many of these madrigals, either as patrons or dedicatees, and suggests that some genres of music were considered more suitable for women. Through a study of the heraldic madrigal as an independent genre, we see that it was often a vehicle for musical and textual experimentation, and that because of links to heraldry, this genre can be associated with a variety of other expressive media, including fresco painting, manuscript illumination and poetry.

In conclusion, then, I would just like to reiterate the goals I had in preparing this thesis. My aim was to present a study of the repertoire of heraldic madrigals of the trecento from a

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[650] Richard Sherr, "The Medici coat of arms in a motet for Leo X," *Early Music* 15, no. 1 (1987): 32-33. The representation of the *palle* is somewhat more complex in this piece. For a diagram of the relationships between notation and arms, see page 32 of Sherr's article.

unique perspective, and one dictated by the nature of the repertoire. This perspective is informed by various disciplines, including heraldry, musicology, art history and literature. It is my hope that the interdisciplinary exploration of this repertoire, which has often been exploited but little understood, has contributed to our knowledge of trecento music and its role in fourteenth-century politics and society in northern Italy.

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Appendix 1

Summary of heraldry and paraheraldry cited in trecento madrigals

Visconti heraldry and paraheraldry

Biscia: the charge on the Visconti family shield, consisting of a blue viper with a human figure in its mouth

Leopard: part of the paraheraldic badge of Bernabò Visconti. The leopard is in the couched position, wearing a helmet and surrounded by flames.

Soufrir m'estuet: the incipit of both Bernabò Visconti's mottoes (*Soufrir m'estuet in Gotrisach, Soufrir m'estuet in Sanderlich*).

Dove set against a radiant sun: part of the badge of Giangalezzo Visconti, consisting of a blue sky against which are set a radiant sun and a dove in flight.

A bon droit: the motto of Giangaleazzo Visconti which sometimes accompanied his badge. This motto was also used by his daughter Valentina.

Knot: a paraheraldic badge associated with Visconti weddings, especially those of Galeazzo II Visconti and Giangaleazzo.

Della Scala heraldry and paraheraldry

Ladder with four rungs: the canting charge of the Della Scala family (*scala* = ladder). This appears on a white shield.

Mastiff with golden wings: the shared crest of the Della Scala family.

Phoenix: the paraheraldic badge of Antonio Della Scala

Carrara heraldry and paraheraldry

Chariot with four wheels: the canting charge of the Carrara family (*carro* = chariot). The chariot is red, and appears on a white shield.

Saracen with golden wings: the shared crest of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara and his son, Francesco il Novello.
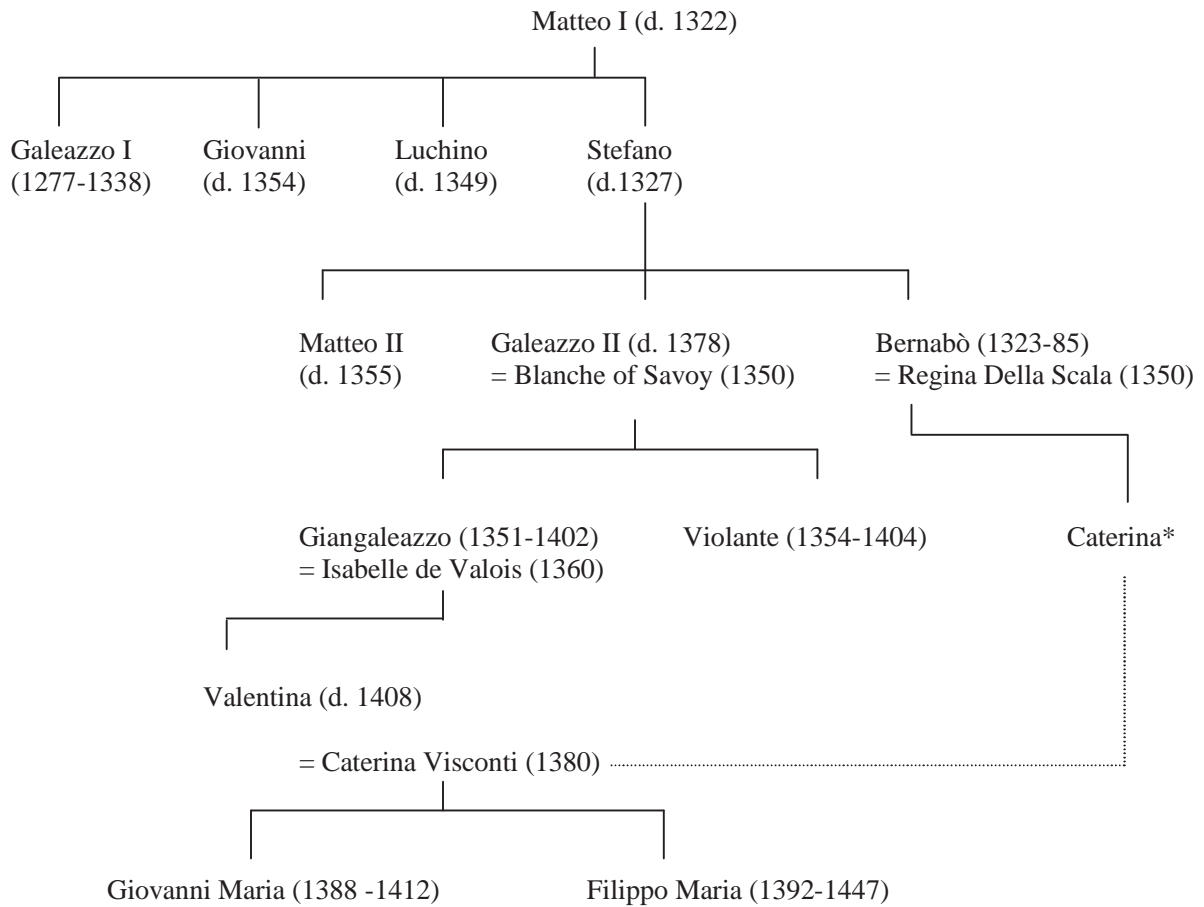
Appendix 2

Heraldic Madrigal Summary

Composer	Incipit	Date	Sources	Patron/Dedicatee	Heraldry/Paraheraldry
Jacopo da Bologna	*Nel bel giardino*	1350	**Fc** 1v **FP** 63v **Pit** 7v-8r **PR** 5r **SL** 43v-44r **Sq** 9v-10r	Mastino II Della Scala, Bernabò Visconti, Regina Della Scala	*biscia*
Jacopo da Bologna	*Posando sopra un' acqua*	1350	**FP** 65v **Pit** 6v-7r **PR** 9r **Sq** 10v-11r	Mastino II Della Scala, Bernabò Visconti, Regina Della Scala	*biscia*
Jacopo da Bologna	*Sotto l'imperio*	1350	**FP** 71v-72r **Pit** 1v-2r **PR** 1v-2r **SL** 45v-46r **Sq** 7v-8r	Mastino II Della Scala, Bernabò Visconti, Regina Della Scala	*biscia*
Giovanni da Cascia	*Donna già fu' leggiadra*	1350	**FP** 56v-57r **SL** 20v-21r **Sq** 4v-5r	Mastino II Della Scala, Bernabò Visconti and Regina Della Scala	*biscia*
Niccolò del Proposto	*La fiera testa*	1350-1385	**Sq** 95v	Bernabò Visconti	*biscia*, leopard, flames
Jacopo da Bologna	*Aquila altera/ Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio*	1360	**Fa** 72v-73r **FP** 91v-92r **Pit** 2v-3r **SL** 48v-49r **Sq** 8v-9r	Giangaleazzo Visconti and Isabelle de Valois	sun, eagle, dove?
Anon.	*La nobil scala*	1359-1375	**PR** 40v-41r	Cansignorio Della Scala	*scala*
Donato da Cascia	*D'or pomo incominciò*	1368?	**Sq** 74v-75r	Unknown, possibly Cansignorio Della Scala	golden shield, axe, *gi*?
Bartolino da Padova?	*Inperiale sedendo*	1376-1388	**Lu** 90v-92r **Mod A** 29v-30r **Pit** 47v-48r **PR** 22v-23r; 13r **Sq** 109v-110r	Francesco I da Carrara	chariot, Saracen

Composer	Incipit	Date	Sources	Patron/ Dedicatee	Heraldry/ Paraheraldry
Donato da Cascia	*Dal cielo scese*	1378	**SL** 21v-22r **Sq** 78v-79r	Antonio Della Scala	phoenix
Bartolino da Padova	*Le aurate chiome*	1380	**PR** 20v **SL** 31v-32r **Sq** 107v-108r	Giangaleazzo Visconti	knot
Bartolino da Padova	*Alba colomba*	1388?	**Lo** 12v-13r **PR** 14v-15r **SL** 9v-10r **Sq** 105v-106r	Giangaleazzo Visconti	dove
Bartolino da Padova	*La fiera testa*	1388-1390?	**Pit** 40v-41r **SL** 8v-9r **Sq** 104v-105r	Bernabò Visconti?	*biscia*, leopard, flames
Antonello da Caserta	*Del glorioso titolo*	1395	**Lu** 66v-67v	Giangaleazzo Visconti	sun, *vertù*
Bartolino da Padova	*La douce cere*	1390s?	**FP** 108v – 109r **Lo** 15v **Lu** 20r (T only) **Pit** 41v – 42r **PR** 13v – 14r **SL** 7v – 8r **Sq** 101v – 102r **Bux** 16r – 17r **Fa** 71v – 72r	Francesco II da Carrara?	shield, lion, motto
Johannes Ciconia	*Una panthera*	1399	**Lu** 82v – 83v	Giangaleazzo Visconti, City of Lucca	panther
Johannes Ciconia	*Per quella strada*	1401-1405	**Lu** 84v – 85	Francesco II da Carrara	chariot
Anon.	*Di vertù vidi*	1412-1447	Trento, Biblioteca dei Padri Francescani No. 60	Filippo Maria Visconti	peregrine, sun, *vertù*

Appendix 3

The Visconti, 1287 - 1447

Matteo I (d. 1322)

Galeazzo I (1277-1338)   Giovanni (d. 1354)   Luchino (d. 1349)   Stefano (d.1327)

Matteo II (d. 1355)   Galeazzo II (d. 1378) = Blanche of Savoy (1350)   Bernabò (1323-85) = Regina Della Scala (1350)

Giangaleazzo (1351-1402) = Isabelle de Valois (1360)   Violante (1354-1404)   Caterina*

Valentina (d. 1408)

= Caterina Visconti (1380)

Giovanni Maria (1388 -1412)   Filippo Maria (1392-1447)

*Giangaleazzo Visconti married his cousin Caterina in 1380.

Appendix 4

The Della Scala of Verona, 1311 - 1387

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        ┌─────────────────┬──────────────────┬─────────────────┐
Bartolomeo I (d. 1304)   Alboino (d. 1311)   Cangrande (1291-1329)   Alberto I
                                                                      (d. 1301)
    ┌───────────┐
Alberto II (d. 1352)   Mastino II (1308-51)
                       = Taddea da Carrara (1328)
        ┌───────────┬───────────────┬─────────────────────┐
Cangrande II     Alboino        Cansignorio          Beatrice (called Regina) (1331-84)
(1332-59)        (1343-75)      = Agnese di          = Bernabò Visconti (1350)
                                Durrazzo (1363)
                        ┌───────────────┐
                Bartolomeo II       Antonio (1362-88)
                (d. 1381)           = Samaritana da Polenta (1378)
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237
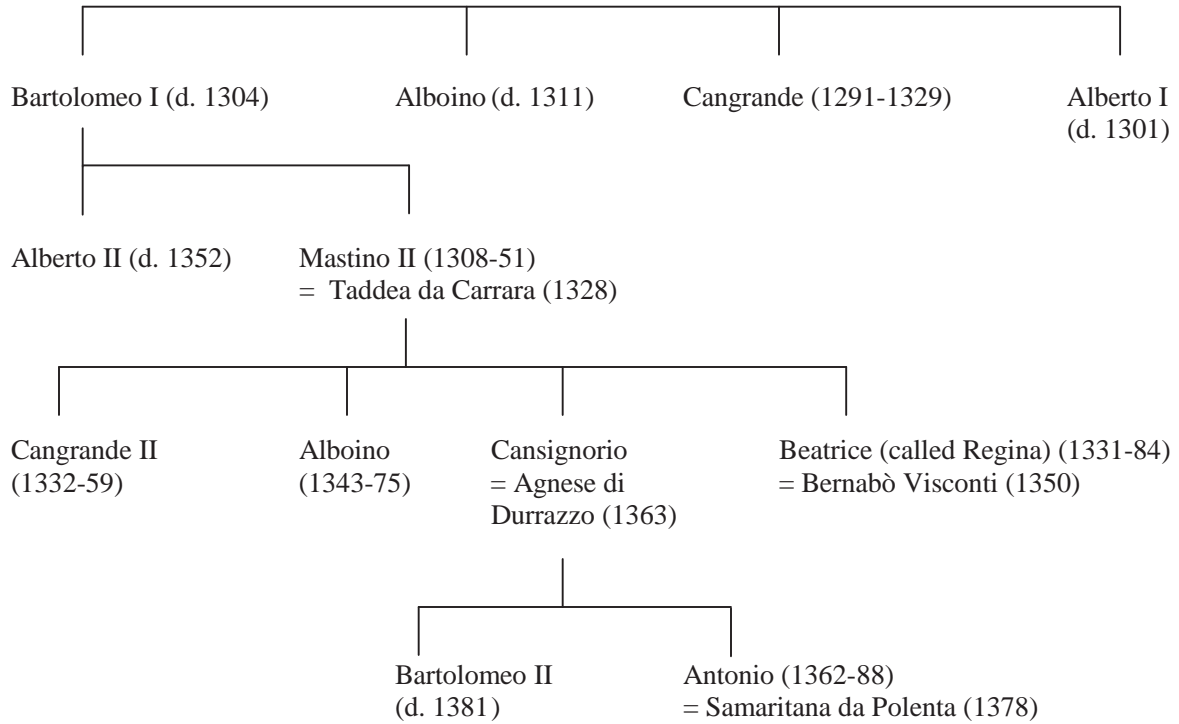
Appendix 5

The Carrara of Padua, 1356 -1405

Francesco il Vecchio (1325-93) = Fina Buzzacarini (d. 1378)

Francesco Novello (1359-1406) = Taddea d'Este (1377)	Gigliola = Wenceslaus, Duke of Saxony (1367) = Hermann, count of Cilli (1388)	Caterina = Stefan Frankapan, count of Veglia (1372)	Lieta = Frederick, count of Ortenburg (1382)

Gigliola (c. 1379-1416)	Francesco III (1383-1406)	Giacomo (c. 1385-1406)	Niccolò (d. infant)	Marsilio (1386-1435)	Ubertino (1390-1407)	Valpurga (d. 1405)

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