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und Joachim Steinheuer

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The *Ars Subtilior* as an International Style

URI SMILANSKY (LONDON)

Any investigation into the distribution and meaning of style presupposes knowledge of what it is we are looking for, as well as reliable means for finding it. When discussing the *Ars Subtilior* and its impact beyond French borders we find ourselves wanting on both accounts: A satisfactory definition of this style has long evaded scholars. The very coining of the term in 1963 came as an attempt to detoxify the discussion around this music, get rid of the negative connotation of earlier nomenclature, and ground discussions of it on firmer analytical footings.¹ While slowly establishing itself as the most recognizable and widely used tag for this music, it is still not universally accepted as appropriate, and its definition remains problematic. Nevertheless, *Ars Subtilior* is a useful term in referring to the complicated French compositional style of the later 14th and early 15th centuries as distinct from the earlier *Ars Nova* and the slightly younger, simplified and eventually dominant fashion, tagged the »International« or »Burgundian« style. Identifying sources for information about this style is also not straightforward. While we do have theoretical writings concerning it, and a number of more-or-less complete surviving musical collections, the relationship of the former with practice is at times hard to discern, and the apparent narrow area of origin of the latter – and it being outside of France – makes general statements more problematic.² While this period coincides with an exponential increase in the number of surviving composer-ascriptions, many wrote in more than one style, and when other records mentioning them are identified, these are

1 See GÜNTHER, Ursula: Das Ende der ars nova, in: Die Musikforschung 16 (1963), pp. 105–121.

2 For a comparison between special note-shapes and their meanings in theoretical sources and two of the central *Ars Subtilior* manuscripts, see STÖESSEL, Jason: Symbolic Innovation: The Notation of Jacob de Senleches, in: Acta Musicologica 71 (1999) pp. 136–164. For more expanded analyses, see STONE, Anne: Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy: Notation and Style in the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M. 5.24 (PhD. diss. for Harvard University, 1994); TANAY, Dorit: Notating Music, Marking Culture: the Intellectual Context of Rhythmic Notation, 1250–1400 (Musical Studies and Documents 46), Holzgerlingen 1999, and STÖESSEL, Jason: The Captive Scribe: The Context and Culture of Scribal and Notational Process in the Music of the *Ars Subtilior* (PhD. diss. for the University of New England, 2002). For recent thoughts regarding the geographical circumstances of the copying of such manuscripts, see KÜGLE, Karl: Glorious Sounds for a Holy Warrior: New Light on Codex Turin J.II.9, Journal of the American Musicological Society 65 no. 3 (2012) pp. 637–690.

rarely specific enough to shed light on daily musical activities and their style.³ The same is true regarding patrons.⁴

In this contribution, my short survey of the distribution of *Ars Subtilior* materials and the national characteristics pertaining to them will highlight a couple of problematic aspects of the focus on extremity and complexity as a central element of this style. The modern nature of the period-divisions given above, the nomenclature of the latter two styles and the stereotypical dichotomy into complex versus simple makes this particularly pertinent, as these aspects in our inherited historiography are unhelpful in discussing either style as a cultural force. Such narrowing down excludes cultures' ability to inhabit a range of registers, appeals and usages, and to morph to suit each context its circulation brings it into contact with.

By looking at the breadth and distribution of surviving materials with a link to *Ars Subtilior* practices, I will first attempt to challenge the still prevalent notion regarding the appeal of this phenomenon which maintains that it was rather limited, flourishing in a few sophisticated courts with both the means to support highly skilled musicians and a personal stake in projecting French power. The exclusivity this attitude suggests would then be probed further, discussing its common transferal from patron to practitioner, stating that the difficulties apparent in this music can be classified as abstract compositional experimentations that eventually fizzled out, or as a cult of technicalism where performers' showing off got in the way of expression, both reducing its actual sounding appeal.⁵ Settling on the most important source for surviving *Ars Subtilior* music – namely, Italy – I will endeavor to present the effective workings of this style through an analysis of Antonello da Caserta's *Amour m'a le cuer mis*, presenting his use of characteristically *Ars Subtilior* techniques as coalescing into a sophisticated and mature musical language.

I hope to present the wide and complex distribution-patterns of materials relating to the *Ars Subtilior* as evincing a cultural force delighting in complexity, but which resonated far further than concentrating on this aspect may suggest. It emerges as a mutable and adaptable cultural construct that interacts with various host cultures to fit local political and cultural needs. As a result, its value transcends the dazzling creativity of some of its more extreme manifestations.

3 For a wider discussion of problematic elements of our surviving materials, see SMILANSKY, Uri: *Re-thinking Ars Subtilior: Context, Language, Study and Performance* (PhD. diss. for the University of Exeter, 2010), ch. 3.

4 Jean de Berry, for example, was identified as a major *Ars Subtilior* patron at the time of his second wedding in 1389, but an important employer of composers working in the later international style when he established his private chapel at Bourges in 1405. See PLUMLEY, Yolanda: 'An Episode in the South'? *Ars Subtilior* and the Patronage of French Princes, in: *Early Music History* 22 (2003) pp. 103–168, esp. 124–160 for the former and HIGGINS, Paula: *Music and Musicians at the Sainte-Chapelle of the Bourges Palace, 1405–1515*, in: *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia* 3, Turin 1990, pp. 689–701 for the latter.

5 For an historical survey of the changing attitudes to this style, see SMILANSKY (see fn. 3), ch. 1.

Geographic Reach an the Limits of Style

The impetus for coining the term *Ars Subtilior* was the attempted unification under one standalone style-period guise of the kind of French-texted music in which syncopations, proportions, mensuration-changes and special notational features are used. While earlier terms used to refer to this music usually created negative borders for its relevance – the period between the death of Machaut and Dufay's early career – Günther's positive definition framed a near identical time-span through its approximate mirroring of the Great Schism.⁶ Over the years, with the cumulative growth of analysis and the interest in embedding such music in wider cultural contexts, its list of characteristics grew to include also an interest in extended melodic and harmonic behavior, polytextuality, canons, riddles, self-referential texts, visual play and so on, and its temporal borders have also stretched in both directions.⁷ Still, there is no single characteristic without which the *Ars Subtilior* tag is deemed inappropriate, and very few of these characteristics need appear in any one clearly *Ars Subtilior* work. Some are even found in works with which the tag sits rather uncomfortably. I shall return to this below, but some examples may be useful here.

Guillaume de Machaut is taken as the epitome of the French *Ars Nova*, his unified and extensive output being taken as the defining standard for the very workings of that style.⁸ Of all his output, and perhaps unfairly, it is his *Lais* which are considered to be most archaic. Nevertheless, the canonic *S'onques d'ouneusement* (L12/17, *Le lay de confort*) contains, within its typically *Ars Nova* behavior, two mensuration changes and substantial syncopated passages on both the *brevis* and *semibrevis* level. This culminates in strophe 10 with a near constant repetition of a string of 5 perfect *semibreves* displaced by a single *minima* rest.⁹ Very similar isolated rhythmic passages can be found in Johannes Ciconia's *Gloria Suscipe trinitas*, embedded within otherwise very conservative rhyth-

6 See GÜNTHER (see fn. 1).

7 For but a few large scale studies, see, among other, TANAY, Dorit: *Music in the Age of Ockham: the Interrelations between Music, Mathematics, and Philosophy in the Fourteenth Century* (PhD. diss. for the University of California at Berkeley, 1989); STONE (see fn. 2); PLUMLEY, Yolanda: *The Grammar of Fourteenth Century Melody: Tonal Organization and Compositional Process in the Chansons of Guillaume de Machaut and the Ars subtilior*, New York 1996; STOESSEL (see fn. 2) and SMILANSKY (see fn. 3).

8 See PLUMLEY (see fn. 7); FULLER, Sarah: *On Sonority in Fourteenth-Century Polyphony: Some preliminary Reflections*, in: *Journal of Music Theory* 30 (1986) pp. 35–70, and IDEM: *Tendencies and Resolution: The Direct Progression in »Ars Nova« Music*, in: *Journal of Music Theory* 36 (Autumn 1992) pp. 229–258. On the question of *Ars Nova* style away from Machaut, see DIERGARTEN, Felix: *Komponieren in den Zeiten Machauts: Die Liedsätze des Codex Ivrea* (Habilitationsschrift, Universität Würzburg, forthcoming).

9 See HOPPIN, Richard H.: *Notational Licences of Guillaume de Machaut*, in: *Musica Disciplina* 14 (1996) pp. 13–27, esp. p. 17, and SMILANSKY, Uri (ed.): *The Lays*, in: Palmer, Barton/Plumley, Yolanda (eds): *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, vol. 7 (forthcoming).

mic, melodic and harmonic language.¹⁰ In assigning the *Ars Subtilior* tag, should we be swayed by the various datings of Ciconia's work to either 1390–1397 or 1410–1412, and our knowledge that Ciconia wrote also works which can only be described as *Ars Subtilior*, while being disparaged by the dating of Machaut's *Lai* to the early 1360s if not late 1350s and his close affiliation with the *Ars Nova*?¹¹ Should we instead look at the characteristics of each piece, judging its relevance solely upon the techniques it displays? If so, how should we treat those works in which such typically *Ars Subtilior* »bursts« stand out from their overall stylistic backgrounds? Even if they are not deemed appropriate for the *Ars Subtilior* tag, it could still be argued that the existence of these passages suggests that practices we affiliate with this style were sufficiently current and accepted to be incorporated into very different compositional languages, and by implication into the expectations and appreciation of both performers and consumer.

Even when we undertake song-classification from an *Ars Subtilior* consensus we are faced with a host of problems: A song such as *Toute clerte* does not fit into any other style of the era, and therefore is considered to be *Ars Subtilior* even though it sports no proportions or notational complexities and only a low level of syncopation. It does appear in the manuscript most closely associated with this style – the Chantilly Codex (henceforth, **Ch**) – but alongside a group of other *Ars Subtilior* songs, it also pops up at the end of the Codex Panciatichi (**FP**), an anthology of Italian music with a number of later layers containing French works.¹² Here, most of the French songs appear without their texts and notated using the simplest means possible. While the sounding result stays the same, we are in a place far removed from the vibrant, showy caricature of this style, where »frenchness« is emphasized and extremes are always sought. Furthermore, this musical stability is by no means typical. Scores of examples have come down to us where voices have been added, removed, replaced, or ornamented, causing the songs to appear more or less complex from what we believe was their original setting. There is every reason to believe that such written adaptations represent only the tip of the iceberg when un-notated changes in performance are considered.¹³

10 See DI BACCO, Giuliano/NÁDAS, John: The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism, in: Sherr, Richard (ed): *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, Oxford 1998, pp. 44–92, esp. 70–77.

11 For the later dating of Ciconia's work, see STROHM, Reinhard: *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, Cambridge 1993, p. 17. For its revision and earlier placement see previous footnote. The *Lai* appears in Machaut manuscript Vg, on which, see EARP, Lawrence: *Introductory Study*, in: Bent, Margaret/Bell, Nicholas (eds): *The Ferrell-Vogue Machaut Manuscript: Facsimile and Introductory Study*, Oxford 2014.

12 For **Ch**, see PLUMLEY, Yolanda/STONE, Anne (eds): *Codex Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, MS 564: Introduction and Facsimile*, Turnhout 2008, where the song can be found on f. 13r. For the **FP** see GALLO, F. Alberto (ed.): *Il codice musicale Panciatichi 26 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, Florence 1981, f. 105v–106.

13 STONE, Anne: *Glimpses of the Unwritten Tradition in Some Ars Subtilior Works*, in: *Musica Disci-*

This flexibility suggests the bare minimum denominator for the relevance of a song includes only its reputation and a skeletal melody, rather than any outstanding technical characteristic. Two instances of a song in what medieval listeners would classify as a single style can, for us, be categorized as *Ars Subtilior* in one case and as in some other style in another. By implication, this can be extended to groups of songs, or the style as a whole. Most telling here are those widely circulating songs dubbed an »international repertory« by Reinhard Strohm.¹⁴ This group includes older songs such as Machaut's *De petit po* and Pierre de Molins' *De ce que foul pense* as well as songs exhibiting more *Ars Subtilior* characteristics such as the anonymous *En discort sont desir* and *Jour a jour la vie*, as well as Johannes Vaillant's *Par maintes foy*. Regardless of their point of origin and original setting, all the songs in this group underwent extensive revisions and appear in very different guises. Thus, *De petit po* appears in a reworked three-part version, but also as a two-, four- and even five-part song, at times devoid of its text.¹⁵ While the original and the simplified versions would not sit comfortably with an *Ars Subtilior* tag, some of the three-part settings appear in the most central sources of such music, and the size and destabilizing quality of the fourth, and sadly unreconstructable fifth voices suggest such affiliation for these settings as more likely. Other songs changed context more radically, receiving liturgical Latin or German *contrafacta* or undergoing instrumental diminution.¹⁶

Even when restricting analysis to the distribution of works that are more consensually accepted into the *Ars Subtilior* fold and the careers of their composers, the examination of textual dedications, correspondences and payrolls have by now yielded a considerable amount of information regarding patronage of this music and its practitioners.¹⁷ These point towards the courts of the French, Iberian and English royal families, as well as those of popes, archbishops, ruling Italian dynasties and other major aristocrats. While still in the uppermost layers of society, a degree of internationality is already evident. Politically, many of these patrons may have been attracted to fashionable cultural im-

plina I (1996) pp. 59–93.

14 See STROHM, Reinhard: The *Ars Nova* Fragments of Ghent, in: *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 34 (1984) pp. 109–131, esp. pp. 118–119.

15 For an analysis of some of the transformations of this song, as well as the *Ars Subtilior* relevance of some of the other in this group, see SMILANSKY (see fn. 3) pp. 248–78.

16 *En discort son Desir et Esperance*, with its regular mesuration changes, for example, appears in both the largest collections of Italian and of German instrumental diminutions (the Faenza Codex and Buxheimer Orgelbuch), as well as in a number of sources with the Latin contrafactum *Virginem mire pulchritudinis*. See STROHM (see fn. 11) pp. 122–124. Oswald's German re-texting of *Par maintes foy* is discussed below.

17 See, for example, the discussions in PLUMLEY/STONE (eds.) (see fn. 12), and STONE, Anne (ed.): *Il Codice a. M. 5.24 (ModA)*, Lucca 2005, as well as other writings by the abovementioned, and of scholars such as Bent, Strohm, Carmen-Gomez, Di Bacco, Günther, Nádas, Tomasello, Wathey, and many others.

ports, but at the same time directly opposed French power and busily promoted local vernacular production.

It is very rare for surviving information to describe specific performances and listening habits, to enable a secure coupling between patrons and surviving music manuscripts, or to translate a musician's recorded presence into musical activity, let alone its specific style.¹⁸ Therefore, in the search for evidence relating to cultural patterns, our best option remains the analysis of a wide range of manuscripts containing repertoire linked to the *Ars Subtilior* phenomenon, using the problematizing aspects of adaptation and reworking described above as a window into different assimilation techniques applied to them in various contexts. When looking at manuscripts, we are, of course, at the mercy of random survival patterns.¹⁹ We know of a number of sources we have lost, and can assume many others have left no trace whatsoever.²⁰ For a style with a central notion of »frenchness«, for example, we have extremely little in the way of French sources, and those survive rather fragmentarily.²¹

While not universally accepted, the three sources most closely linked with this phenomenon seem to be intimately linked with Italy.²² This in itself is a comment about the border-crossing character of this style. Chantilly (**Ch**), Modena (**ModA**) and the first French section of Reina (**PR**) contain the lion share of surviving *Ars Subtilior* works. They also comprise the largest number of concordances, with 36 works appearing at least in two of these three sources. Nevertheless, this is far from a closed group, with each manuscript sporting concordances in scores of other sources, creating a web of interrelationships between over 70 manuscripts. Textual concordances would extend this number even further. Furthermore, there exist many works not linked to this main tradition at all, most obviously in the 218 anonymous and unique polyphonic compositions contained in the Cypriot manuscript.²³

18 For a categorization of the problems in our knowledge and examples of each issue, see SMILANSKY (see fn. 3) pp. 84–113.

19 For an analysis of likely lost sources in the Italian context, see CUTHBERT, Michael Scott: *Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex* (PhD. diss. for Harvard University, 2006), esp. pp. 44–76.

20 See, for example, the reconstructed history and surviving partial copy of the Strasbourg manuscript in BORREN, Charles van den: *Le manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg (XVe siècle) brûlé en 1870, et reconstitué d'après une copie partielle d'Edmond de Coussemaker*, Antwerp 1924, or the surviving index of the Trémoille manuscript discussed in BENT, Margaret: *A Note on the Dating of the Trémoille Manuscript*, in: Gillingham, Bryan/Merkley, Paul (eds.): *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, Ottawa 1990, pp. 217–242.

21 In this context, see the importance of the recent discovery of a small collection of potentially French fragmentary leaves in EVERIST, Mark: *A New Source for the Polyphony of the Ars Subtilior*: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises 22069, in: Plumley, Yolanda/Stone, Anne (eds.): *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex* (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms 564), Turnhout 2009, pp. 283–301.

22 See KÜGLE (see fn. 2).

23 See KÜGLE, Karl/DATA, Isabella (eds.): *Il codice J.II.9*, Torino, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria,

A glance through the list of sources with concordances in **Ch**, **ModA** or **PR** reveals creation dates spanning at least from the mid 14th century to the mid 1430s. As can be expected, some hail from France, England and the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, but many others come from German-speaking lands and the Low Countries. The most widely distributed works – including those mentioned above – survive in more than a dozen sources each, with new ones still being discovered.²⁴ For comparison, no known work of the better-documented Italian *Trecento* survives in more than 8 copies.²⁵

This, of course, does not imply any kind of unity. These sources range from presentation anthologies to unofficial copies, probably geared towards practice. Similarly, some sources collected the exceptional, while others present a varied collection, or concentrate on more standard, popular compositions. As already explained, a considerable number of these concordances present re-workings, and of those, many are simplifications rather than elaborations.

It is clear, for example, that Oswald von Wolkenstein prided himself first and foremost in his lyrics, and that what can only be described as his special relationship with mensural notation, did not stretch to the appreciation of abstract complexities.²⁶ His texts are invariably longer than the texts of his models, resulting in a lack of inhibition in changing pre-given rhythms to fit his needs. Still, his *Der Mai mit lieber zal*, which is based on *Par maintes foy*, reducing the setting to two voices, maintains the *sesquitertia* (4:3) proportion found in the older song, using the special note shapes of dragmae and right-flagged semiminimae to denote this rhythm.²⁷ Furthermore, this is not a slavish reproduction of the proportional changes of his model: Oswald occasionally removed proportional groups, but at other locations added or extended *sesquitertia* passages not present in his model. This suggests that, at the very least, this song became so popular, that its notational and sounding complexities were accepted as integral parts of its essence. As a result, they kept their appeal to practitioners and audiences way beyond the traditional borderlines of the *Ars Subtilior* phenomenon.²⁸ At the other interpretative extreme, such cases can be taken as indicative of wider musical culture. Following the lead of the Berke-

Lucca 1999, and previous footnote.

24 See, for example, the recent announcements of further concordances for *Je languir* and *Or sus vous dormes trop* on behalf of the »Musical Life of the late Middle Ages in the Austrian Region (1340–1520) project« at <https://musikleben.wordpress.com/category/vienna-fragments/>

25 See CUTHBERT (see fn. 19) pp. 64–70.

26 See, for example, LEWON, Marc: Oswald von Wolkenstein: Die mehrstimmigen Lieder, in: Müller, Ulrich/Springeth, Margarete (eds): Oswald von Wolkenstein: Leben – Werk – Rezeption, Berlin/New York 2011, pp. 168–191.

27 See DELBONO, Francesco (ed.): Oswald von Wolkenstein: Handschrift A, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex Vindobonensis 2777, Graz, 1977, f. 19–20.

28 While cultural context has, of course, entirely changed, for a more recent example of how abundant *sesquitertia* proportion needs not stand in the way of a song's popularity or reproduction by untrained singers, see *Naughty Boy* and Emeli Sandé's 2012 single *Wonder*.

ley Treatise's author – who suggests *sesquitertia* proportion to be a standard technical requirement that needs no special attention – one may suggest that, while uncommon, such devices were part of Oswald's (and his scribes') musical landscape.²⁹ This would make their use here unusual but less remarkable, but would also suggest a much wider relevance of techniques usually associated with narrow definitions of the *Ars Subtilior* and perhaps to the notion of this style as a whole.

Regardless of practical manifestations, the impressive range and distribution of sources with some connection to *Ars Subtilior* materials demonstrates the appeal of at least the notion of imported French music, status-enhancing through its subtlety, if not necessarily always for the complex characteristics that attract modern readers to this repertory.

The Politics of Style

Let us briefly consider some patterns in the geo-political dissemination and relevance of these manuscripts. It is clear that such an overview is by necessity grossly over-simplistic, especially as the specific contents and particular circumstances cannot be analyzed here. The actual picture is much more complex. In this kind of endeavor, it is tempting to consider linguistic or political units as culturally uniform. This could not be further from the truth in this period. As but one example, Gaston Fébus of Foix has long been considered a central patron of *Ars Subtilior* music.³⁰ The French vassalage of his county, though, did not constrain his cultural affiliations. He also held lands from the English and Aragonese crowns, and for some possessions he claimed no overlord but God.³¹ The strength of local languages and dialects in Gaston's court led Froissart to feel the need to comment on the quality of the count's French. He was politically independent, and (apart from an early Prussian Crusade) all his military actions were targeted on French rivals. Similarly, many musicians of the time developed international careers, or at the very least, were sent to the minstrel schools during lent and advent.³² While a degree of adaptation to a new context must have occurred, it is also likely that these were important conduits of exchange and circulation of materials.³³ Furthermore, the competing reli-

29 See ELLSWORTH, Oliver B. (ed. and trans.): *The Berkeley Manuscript*, University of California, Music Library, MS. 744 (olim Phillipps 4450), *A New Critical Text and Translation*, Lincoln 1984.

30 For a recent summation of his cultural activities see PLUMLEY, Yolanda/SMILANSKY, Uri: Béarn, in: Wallace, David (ed.): *Europe: a Literary History, 1348–1418*, vol. 1, ch. 10, Oxford (forthcoming).

31 See VERNIER, Richard: *Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix, 1331–1391*, Woodbridge 2008, pp. 2–14.

32 See, for example, the careers of Noyon, Sancto Johanne and Watignies, considered, among others in PLUMLEY (see fn. 4). On the travels of Aragonese musicians to the minstrel schools, see GÓMEZ-MANTUÉ, Maricarmen: *Minstrel Schools in the late Middle Ages*, in: *Early Music* 17 (1990) pp. 213–216.

33 For adaptation, see, for example, Mattheus de Sancto Johanne's comments in his *Are post libamina* /

gious courts of the time acted within a parallel political and linguistic world, often subverting secular division based on linguistic and feudal parameters. The Pisan pope Alexander V, for example, was born Pietro Filargo in Crete, grew up in Italy and England, studied at the universities of both Oxford and Paris, and served as bishop, then cardinal in northern Italy following close ties with Giangalleazzo Visconti before his accession. As part of his political activities, he traveled extensively, spending a number of years in Prague.³⁴ He remains the most likely figure to have commissioned **ModA**, employed two composers with *Ars Subtilior* credentials, and is mentioned in two more compositions by composers who wrote mainly in other styles, but also mastered this one. These four composers add to the eclectic picture, as while Matteo da Perugia is only documented in Italy, Filargo's other composer-employee, Hymbertus de Salinis, was a northerner who spent some of his career in the royal court of Portugal. A similar pattern appears also with the musical references, with Zacara da Teramo enjoying a purely Italian career, while Johannes Ciconia emigrating from the Low Countries to establish himself in Italy. Yet another international movement was the involvement of the universities in putting in place the theoretical basis on which the Schism could be ended.³⁵ At least until 1403, and perhaps until the Council of Pisa, the University of Paris had preeminence in this movement, resulting in yet another conduit for projecting French authority. These activities led to the summoning of the councils of Pisa and Constance, which, as this volume suggests, were pivotal junctions for cultural exchange and circulation.

Returning to manuscripts relevant to the *Ars Subtilior*, it has already been mentioned that the problem of manuscript survival makes it hard to comment on this style's reception-history in a number of important areas, including France itself. We know that French materials were accepted, occasionally sought out, parts of the high-end culture in both the Iberian Peninsula and British Isles, but the dearth of surviving sources of secular polyphony flaunts analysis of their precise manifestations. Exposure to such materials can most easily be explained through close dynastic links with France. A slightly more subtle view, though, could differentiate the warmer reception of French culture in the Iberian Peninsula and the more complex attitudes to it in England.

The former may well have stemmed from personal tastes, that is, the reverberation of the near obsessive appreciation and import of such materials by John I of Aragon (27 December 1350 – 19 May 1396) and his French queen Yolanda of Bar (c. 1365 – 3 July 1431). Some of this interest was specifically related to the works of Machaut, but their requests for new French sources and musicians, regular borrowing and lending of musi-

Nunc surgunt in populo, discussed in WATHEY, Andrew: The Peace of 1360–1369 and Anglo-French Musical Relations, in: *Early Music History* 9 (1990) pp. 129–174, esp. pp. 149–150.

³⁴ See summary of his career and musical links in STONE (see fn. 17) pp. 83–90.

³⁵ See SWANSON, Robert Norman: *Universities, Academies and the Great Schism*, Cambridge 1979. For an analysis of the relationships between *Ars Subtilior* techniques and contemporary academic analysis, see TANAY (see fn. 7).

cal personnel with various French courts, and the treatment of their own musicians suggests they kept their tastes very much up to date.³⁶ Maintaining a (mostly) warm relationship with their neighbor while supporting also a strong, more text-based local tradition, such tastes were not politically damaging. In England, the centrality of French to the aristocratic classes ever since the Norman Conquest was complicated, but not always undermined, by the vicissitudes of the Hundred Years War.³⁷ English military successes made French cultural products readily available through subjugation, imprisoned French nobles and their retinues living in England, and constant negotiations and ceremonies were held between the sides. Most important in this regard were the capture, imprisonment and surrounding diplomacy of John II of France and a number of his sons (and their accompanying retinues) following the battle of Poitiers at the beginning of this period³⁸, and the taking of Paris, the acquisition of the Louvre library by John, Duke of Bedford, and the imprisonment of Charles of Orléans later on.³⁹ To this should be added Richard II's conciliatory stance towards France, and choice of a French princess for his second wife.⁴⁰ Still, when comparing Aragonese and English royal attitudes, and by extension their resonances in their respective realms, one notices the role of both personality and background in shaping wider attitude. While good links with a powerful neighbor in the face of internal unrest would have made political sense for John, and the raising of the status of her native culture bolster Yolanda's position in her new surroundings, their relationship with French music can be summarized as a genuine interest on a background of a mostly cordial relationship with France. In England, impersonal politics seem to play a larger role, taking place on a background of strife between the two realms. While the notion of »frenchness« still had its appeal to aristocrats with land interests and dynastic

36 On Machaut see ALBERNI, Anna: *El Roman de Cardenois i l'empremta de Guillaume de Machaut en la poesia catalana medieval*, in: *Romania* 130 (2012) pp. 74–108. For later practitioners, see GÓMEZ-MANTUÉ, Maricarmen: *La Música En La Casa Real Catalano-Aragonesa Durante Los Años 1336–1432*, Barcelona 1979, PLUMLEY (see fn. 4), esp. pp. 108–110 and MELE, Gianpaolo: *I cantatori della cappella di Giovanni I, il cacciatore, re d'Aragona*, in: *Anuario Musical* 41 (1986) pp. 63–104.

37 See HARDY, Duncan: *The Hundred Years War and the 'Creation' of National Identity and the Written English Vernacular: A Reassessment*, in: *Marginalia* 17 (2013) pp. 18–31; STALEY, Lynn: *Languages of Power in the Age of Richard II*, University Park 2005.

38 For their musical implications, see WATHEY (see fn. 33).

39 See STRATFORD, Jenny: *The early royal collections and the Royal Library to 1461*, in: Hellinga, Lotte/Trapp, J. B. (eds.): *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume III 1400–1557*, Cambridge 1999, ch. 11, and PEARSALL, Derek: *The Literary Milieu of Charles of Orléans and the Duke of Suffolk, and the Authorship of the Fairfax Sequence*, in: Arn, Mary-Jo (ed.): *Charles d'Orléans in England, 1415–1440*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 145–157. For more directly musical contributions, see LEACH, Elizabeth Eva: *Learning French by Singing in 14th-Century England*, in: *Early Music* 33 (2005) pp. 253–270, or PLUMLEY, Yolanda/CONNOLLY, Margaret: *Crossing the Channel: French Lyrics in England in the early Fifteenth Century*, in: Ainsworth, Peter/Croenen, Godfried (eds): *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris circa 1400*, Leuven 2006, pp. 311–332.

40 See PALMER, John Joseph Norman: *England, France, and Christendom, 1377–99*, London 1972.

pretensions there (up to and including Richard), the complicated relationship with those who did not share these interests, or who experienced the French only as the enemy, and the political need to be seen to be different from the French court occasionally residing in England made wholesale cultural import less straightforward.

In Cyprus, our inability to identify the composers of the music in our single surviving source makes it hard to ascertain circulation patterns and influences.⁴¹ Whether it was copied in Cyprus or Italy, the choice of musical style demonstrates the currency of the time. While intermingling and external influences ebbed and flowed, Cyprus' French ruling dynasty's attempted wholesale import of their native culture as a substitute for local production also explains the wide range of registers found in this source.⁴² Unlike other contexts, where subtle French imports were used as one of a number of cultural registers, the imported culture in Cyprus looked to its foreign source for all aspects of musical culture, including the light and less complex.

A number of simplifications of *Ars Subtilior* materials have already been mentioned in the context of the German-speaking countries, where the majority of such instances are found. While we do have copies of fully-fledged *Ars Subtilior* works also from this vast region, the strong emphasis on text-based monophony seemed to have narrowed the integration possibilities of this style within the general cultural landscape.⁴³ As a generalization, doing so seemed to have required various forms of adaptation. While the political landscape did not necessarily require much acknowledgment, interaction or affiliation with notions of French power, the intrinsic foreignness of French materials was still considered an attractive cultural import. The manifested foreignness of their sounding musical result, though, was perhaps a step too far in most instances. Still, the keen appropriation of these materials hints away from the exclusivity of a small social and intellectual elite where unintelligible otherness could be seen as a badge of honor, and towards a wider resonance of French culture within larger swathes of society. We find retextings in

41 On this source, see GÜNTHER, Ursula/FINSCHER, Ludwig (eds.): *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino J.II.9*, in: *Report of the International Musicological Congress, Paphos 20–25 March, 1992*, Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1995; KÜGLE/DATA (see fn. 23) and SIMARD, Andrée Giselle: *The Manuscript Torino J.II.9: A Late Medieval Perspective on Musical Life and Culture at the Court of the Lusignan Kings at Nicosia* (diss. for the University of Akron, 2005). For a recent identification of it as Italian in origin, see KÜGLE (see fn. 2).

42 For an overview of Cypriot musical history, see SAMSON, Jim/DEMETRIOU, Nicoletta (eds.): *Music in Cyprus*, Ashgate 2015, esp. pp. 7–10 for cultural mixing in the Middle Ages.

43 It should be remembered that some strong French dynastic relationships play a role also for the Luxembourg dynasty, especially in relation to the upbringing and first marriage of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV. *Ars Subtilior* sources from this area include, among others, the lost Strasbourg manuscript, and Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, U. Fr. 1. m. 298. See BORREN (see fn. 20) and BREWER, Charles Everett: *The Historical Context of Polyphony in Medieval Hungary: An Examination of Four Fragmentary Sources*, in: *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1990) pp. 5–21 respectively.

both German and Latin, as well as textless transmission and voice reduction. The substantial number of two-part French songs found in Prague, Universitni Knihovna, XI.e.9 (Pr) presented with only their incipit, for example, may first suggest a total disconnect from their original French musical language, despite the 9 concordances between it and the Ch-ModA-PR group. A closer look, though, shows that exactly the same treatment was given the similar number of Germanic songs included in this source, even to the monophonic songs copied, where a larger concentration on text could have been expected. The two linguistic groups are intermixed without any apparent differentiation. Furthermore, this is clearly not a presentation copy, suggesting that what is going on here is a change in manuscript-type and musical function rather than necessarily a loss of musical language. The compiler may have expected the texts to be provided externally, suggesting easy access to such materials. Alternatively, the collection may have been intended for instrumental performance, perhaps in some functional context. If this is the case, what we have can be seen as the building blocks for further arrangement, ripe for the incorporation of diminutions or the improvisation of a third voice according to changing performance needs. In either case, the inclusion of so much imported French repertoire is a striking indication of its popularity, especially in comparison to the Italian insertions. Only two Italian songs have been included, and of those, one sports a French incipit.

The Italian context itself is an interesting example of the unforeseen consequences of cultural circulation. According to our current state of knowledge, one may well claim that without the enthusiastic adaptation and collection of *Ars Subtilior* music in Italy, we may not even have been aware that this style ever existed, as most of the relevant large collections and many smaller sources and fragments hail from there.⁴⁴ The specific cultural landscape there enabled the imported style to develop a discreet sense of expressivity for Italian composers, to which I will dedicate the remainder of this contribution.

Ars Subtilior in Italy - A Case Study

Like the Western powers already mentioned, Italian politics also featured important dynastic links with France, perhaps most clearly in the Kingdom of Naples and the Visconti court.⁴⁵ Stretching between Rome and Avignon, the North-Italian states felt the brunt of French involvement in Schismatic politics, be it directed towards Rome or Naples. Giangaleazzo Visconti's expansionist tendencies as relating to land-possession and title-accumulation were matched also by an attempt to establish Pavia as a cultural center by

44 See KÜGLE (see fn. 2).

45 See BOÜARD, Michel de: *Les origines des guerres d'Italie: La France et l'Italie au temps du Grand Schisme d'Occident*, Paris 1936.

poaching talent from all quarters.⁴⁶ Still, Italy already had its own polyphonic, virtuosic and confident musical culture capable of as much subtlety and freedom as the *Ars Subtilior*, and which could and did fulfill also the highest-end needs of cultural production.

With florid polyphony already accessible to audiences, performers and composers, what form would the French musical import take? Some sources seem to suggest a tokenistic acknowledgement of the popularity of French materials through their textless (and at times simplified) inclusion as fillers of leftover manuscript space.⁴⁷ In other cases, interest in the possibilities afforded by the French style and notational system were evidently intense and extreme.⁴⁸ In order to maintain a distinction between the styles, Italian musical practitioners who adopted *Ars Subtilior* practices in parallel with their indigenous tradition tended to push the limits of the cultural import in exactly those directions less amenable to their native style.

Interestingly, this only rarely translated into experimentalism, and when it did, this seemed to be the attitude of composers who only rarely dabbled with the *Ars Subtilior* style, such as Zacara da Teramo and Johannes Ciconia. The majority of the relatively large surviving corpus of Italian *Ars Subtilior* music mirrors French production by offering works with varying levels of difficulty and complexity. A large group of songs uses a more or less stable selection of stylistic features, as well as linguistic and structural conventions in a difficult and creative but technically non-extreme way.⁴⁹ These include extensive use of syncopation, but no proportions more complicated than various forms of *sesquitertia*, bringing to mind, again, the comments of the Berkeley Treatise theorist mentioned above. This suggests Italian composers' treatment of the *Ars Subtilior* as a fully formed expressive language by which they could use different means to express comparable sentiments to those found in the *Trecento* style. Further support for this notion can be found in the fact that while some composers chose one or the other style as a specialism, others wrote in both styles in more or less equal amounts, or at least demonstrated proficiency in this style as an alternative to their supposedly native habits.

Let us take the example of Antonello da Caserta. 7 Italian and 8 French songs survive with ascriptions to him.⁵⁰ While three-part *Trecento* composition is not rare, all but one of his Italian songs have the more traditional two voices. In those, all voices are texted in

46 See BUENO DE MESQUITE, D. B.: Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan (1351–1402): A study in the political career of an Italian despot, Cambridge 1941, reprint 2011.

47 See FP discussed above, or Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, it. 568, described in REANEY, Gilbert: The Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Italien 568 (Pit), in: *Musica Disciplina* 14 (1960) pp. 33–63.

48 This is most obvious in Ch and ModA discussed above.

49 See analysis of Antonello da Caserta's *Amour m'a le cuer mis* below.

50 It is perhaps telling that the editions of his music are still separated according to the linguistic divide. For the Italian works, see MARROCCO, W. Thomas (ed.): *Italian Secular Music*, in: *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* 10, Monaco 1977, and for a recent edition and discussion of his French works, see VIVARELLI, Carla: *Le composizioni francesi di Filippotto e Antonello da Caserta tradite nel*

the typical Italianate fashion, and sport a clear sentence structure with syllabic declamation peppered with melismas marking the ends of phrases, and at times also their beginning or even an important element within them. Counterpoint is also typically sparse, with more frequent use of perfect intervals and structural unison cadences. This does not make them simpler or in any way inferior in status. On the contrary: of all his songs, the two overtly political works, interpreted as celebrating Giangaleazzo Visconti's coronation as Duke of Milan and the wedding of his niece and ward, Lucia Visconti, are both Italian compositions.⁵¹ The former – *Del glorioso titolo* – displays complicated syncopations, extended proportional passages in *sesquialtera* (3:2) and *sesquiterita*, and five notated division-changes in each voice (occurring simultaneously), all using the Italian notational system. Indeed, the Italian division system could not only mirror (to a large degree) the French mensuration system, but incorporated the additional flexibility of a larger number of divisions to choose from and the inbuilt proportional relationship between some binary and ternary groupings. As it became standard practice in some Italian genres to insert a division change in new form-parts (and the proportional relationships being rather common), division changes – and proportional changes at that – were better established in the Italian style than in the French. It has long been assumed that many of the special note-shapes characterizing the *Ars Subtilior* were adapted from the Italian notational system, if not universally, at least by composers with links there.⁵²

Looking at the way Antonello used the same kind of devices in the French *Ars Subtilior* context, one finds a rather different approach, with the change in language and emphasis allowing the composer to move away from some of the dominant expectations holding sway over his native style. To demonstrate this, I will here offer a close analysis of the technical structure of one of his songs and its expressive effect within the setting of the text.

Amour m'a le cuer mis survives uniquely in **ModA** (f. 32v–33) where it is presented with no residual strophes.⁵³ The underlaid text is as typical an *Amour courtois* text as one can wish for, using no special vocabulary or grammar, and incorporating no acrostic or other structural complication. It comprises a list of ailments set to the repeating musical A section, followed by a central assertion at the beginning of the musical B, and an accusation of Courtly Love as its source leading towards the refrain.⁵⁴

codice estense a M. 5.24: edizione critica e studio introduttivo, Modena, 2005. Another French song and Latin hymn may also be by him, but their partial and faded ascriptions leave that open to interpretation.

51 See discussion in NÁDAS, John Louis/ZIINO, Agostino (eds): *The Lucca Codex: Codice Mancini*, Lucca 1990, pp. 36–40.

52 STONE (see fn. 2), for a counter-argument in the case of Senleches, see STOESSEL: *Symbolic Innovation* (see fn. 2).

53 On this tendency in this source, see STONE (see fn. 17) pp. 42–43.

54 I would like to thank Fabrice Fitch and Marc Lewon for their help with the translation of this text.

Amour m'a le cuer mis en tel martire	Love so torments my heart
que mayntes fois le jour mon corps tressue,	that many times a day my body is covered in sweat
et souvent fois pense et souvent sospire,	and often am I lost in thought and often I sigh,
souvent me cangie la colour et se mue,	often my face changes its hue and alters;
en tel estat ma vie est tenue;	in this state my life is trapped;
pour ce n'est il pas del tout a sejour	for he knows no true peace
<i>celli qui est surpris de fin amour.</i>	<i>who is captured by Courtly Love.</i>

While the music contains some complex syncopation, three kinds of coloration, and the proportions *dupla* (2:1), two kinds of *sesquialtera* and *sesquitertia*, transcribing it is relatively straightforward. The unusual use of fractions for proportional signification in the cantus is self-explanatory and does not require a canon instruction.⁵⁵ Context can explain the three different ways in which the simultaneous *sesquitertia* section is shown in the three voices. The cantus incorporates a number of proportional changes signified by the aforementioned fractions, so it made sense to carry on with this signification system also for this change. The tenor only changes for short stretches and progresses relatively slowly and regularly, making it easier to visually comprehend the entire proportional section. This, combined with the unsurprising inverse interpretation of red semibreves within the *Tempus perfectum prolatio minor* mensuration (3/4), can perhaps explain why relatively standard shapes were used, even if not with their most common meaning. The contratenor has a longer proportional section than the tenor and moves more quickly, which requires a clearer sign of separation from its surroundings, and one that does not require the ability to visualize the entire section. Red-hollow notation answers all these needs. Stone remarks that even the erasures in the copying of this voice were done in order to ease its reading and avoid ambiguity.⁵⁶ I would go further and say that the erasure in the cantus also has a similar origin. Without this erasure, red coloration would have to simultaneously signify shortening in the cantus and lengthening in the tenor.⁵⁷ The scribe

55 Busse-Berger suggests that this technique is »probably found for the first time« in this song. Her cautious tone is understandable, as it appears also in the two compositions by Cordier added to the Chantilly Codex and in a number of songs in the Cypriot Codex. See BUSSE-BERGER, Anna Maria: The Origin and Early History of Proportion Signs, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (autumn, 1988) pp. 403–433, esp. p. 403. This usage seems to be a practical reaction to the problem of a lack of standardization in the use of proportion signs. Goscalch uses similar fractions in his *En nul estat* (Ch, f. 39v), but for signifying mensuration change rather than proportion.

56 See STONE (see fn. 2) p. 111–112.

57 For a piece in which this does occur, but where such games seem to be its prime objective, see Coradus de Pistorio's *Veri almi pastoris* (ModA, f. 36v), and Bartholomeus de Bononia's *Arte psallentes*

clearly decided that an unusual non-proportional interpretation of coloration is more understandable than a proportional one, and changed the reading of the cantus to accommodate the use in the tenor.

In the transcription below a couple of errors were corrected in the contratenor: »a)« marks where an E is written as a *semibrevis* in the manuscript, and »b)« marks the location of an F-D *cum opposita proprietate* ligature in the source. All these notes are transcribed as *minime*. All four locations are easily rectified through context or by examining the musical rhyme in the refrain. The transcription uses »r.« to indicate red coloration, »r.h.« to indicate red-hollow coloration, and »b.h.« to show black-hollow coloration. All three last until the appearance of an »*«.

The transcription is then presented a second time, condensed onto a single page in order to make it easier to form an overall impression of the song. In this version, dissonant melodic and harmonic behavior, the location of proportions, syncopations, imitations, and cadences are highlighted. This graphic representation of the techniques used, makes it immediately clear that no bar passes without Antonello using some kind of typically *Ars Subtilior* effect. This in itself suggests that the techniques involved were considered – at least by him – essential in composing such an extended song as this one (performance of this one strophe takes up to four minutes). Furthermore, it quickly becomes evident that his use of *Ars Subtilior* techniques is carefully planned, following repeating patterns, manipulated each time to form expectations only to frustrate them later and thus attract attention to specific points in the text.

(**ModA**, f. 37v–38). On such visual effects and their interpretation and wider effects, see SMILANSKY (see fn. 3) pp. 185–190, and SMILANSKY, Uri: A Labyrinth of Spaces: Page, Performance and Music in Late Medieval French Culture, in: Andrews, Francis (ed.): *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages*, Donington 2011, pp. 130–147.

1. A - - mour m'a le cuer mis en
2. Et sou - vent fois pense et sou -

tel mar-ti - re Que
-vent sos-pi - re Sou - - - - -

que mayn-tes fois le jour mon corps tres-su -
vent me can - gie la co - lour et se mu -

a) a)

0

se - - - jour

8

8

b.h. 3 3 3 # *

Cel - li qui est sour- - -

8

8

- - pris de fin

8

8

9 6 3 3 3 3

A - - - mour.

8

8

The overall harmonic language of this song is remarkably consonant and follows normal cadence-locations. While it is not the *finalis* D sonority that opens the piece, a beginning on A in a D-Dorian composition can hardly be seen as exceptional.⁵⁸ The degree of harmonic control is seen in the setting of the first line of text (marked out with a red dash above), which, while containing some complex syncopation, involves only three very short and passing dissonances in the lower voices. Two of these are part of the cadential formula at the line's end, where harmonic friction is expected. Most of the song follows the expectation created by this consonant beginning, with a relatively low degree of harmonic friction inserted in the proportional sections. Still, there are important exceptions, and harmonic and melodic dissonance will have an important structural role to play further on, as surprising inflections destabilize what would otherwise be normal sonorities.

The setting of the first line of text is propelled by the use of syncopation in the cantus. This technique offers no resting point for the voice, but is not so extravagant as to attract attention away from the text. Four *breves* of syncopation culminate with an avoided E cadence (by the cantus) that forces the music on into two D cadences (the first avoided by the tenor and contratenor) establishing the modality of the song. Rather than progressing straight on into the next line of text, the form-part is extended by the insertion of a long melisma on the first syllable of the next line, thus separating the two. To keep the ear interested throughout this long insertion, we are introduced to the first proportion in the piece, coupled with a simultaneous ascent in the range of all three voices. The cantus attempts a destabilizing »offbeat« cadence on G, which is ignored by the other voices but completed when reiterated. On the way we are introduced to some tension-generating *ficta*, with the tenor playing a B-flat after a protracted B in the cantus, and the cantus retaliating with an F-sharp while the tenor is still holding a B-flat. The G cadence should, by right, have signaled the end of the melisma, so in order to extend it further, a new proportion has to be introduced, leading the listener back to a D cadence and the continuation of the text. Even before arriving at the second line of text we have been introduced to most of the main building-blocks of this song and to their basic constellations: texted syncopated sections followed by melismatic proportional ones, with the avoidance and reiteration of cadences and the insertion of harmonic tension on a consonant backdrop playing an important part. Still, it is not yet clear what role will be played by each technique in the development of the song, and one important motif is still missing. Both these elements receive due attention in the setting of the second line of text.

Following the lead of the song's beginning, another text-carrying syncopated passage is presented, creating a musical association between the two texted sections. This spills into a new idea: quick, successive entrances incorporating all voices and using similar rhythmic materials. The build-up this creates (heightened by two more avoided cadences on E and F) leads on to the expected proportional melisma. The regularity in the sentence structure works well with the list-character of the first four lines of text (covered by the

58 See PLUMLEY (see fn. 7).

repeated A-section). Still, at this point there is a danger of sliding into a repetitive comfort-zone of clearly separated sections and sounds. In order to avoid this and keep the audience interested, Antonello not only establishes the newly proposed F sonority with a polyphonic cadential progression, but goes on to shatter the sound-expectation by using an inflection to produce an augmented rather than a pure fifth at the cadence location. With this shock-tactic, Antonello both signals the up-and-coming end of the form part and creates enough tension to propel the music on until the final cadence arrives.

The modal location of the cantus in the *ouvert* cadence is not particularly surprising, but the sonority created avoids the more usual perfection, and the ensuing leading sonority does not direct the ear to any recognizable modal center. Instead, it introduces a sonority that is foreign to the mode, leaving the listener with an unresolved, unfulfilled feeling. The first full cadence to appear is on the seventh *brevis* of the repetition (after 20 *breves* without a full cadence if one also counts the end of the first A section), binding together the second and third line of text following the poem's syntax. The *clos* ending starts with the same note-combination as the *ouvert*, but without the double inflection, immediately suggesting a change of direction, which duly arrives with the cadence on the next *brevis*. By this time, the repeated sentence structure has been heard four times creating an expectation for the music to follow.

The setting of the two text-lines of the B section break the habit, as the expected musical structure of the fifth line is spliced by the sixth. The sixth line of text exactly follows the form of the second (and fourth) lines in the A part: a syncopated section followed by motivic imitation that leads to a proportion. This leads the listener to associate the relevant texts, explaining what the lack of true peace in line 6 entails, but also to link together the remaining, non-proportional melisma of the B part with the section's first text-line, which has no appended melisma of its own. This structural syncopation attracts attention to these two lines of text, which contain the core ideas of this poem – the lover's entrapment and never-ending search for peace or solace. Further attention is attracted to the beginning of the B part by the use of new techniques and materials. The first five *breves* connect the B part to the end of the A part by referring to the harmonic surprise which was so prominent in that section's end. The new harmonic surprise (a shift from a c-sharp/e/g-sharp leading sonority to a wholly unexpected F/c/c' perfection, further undermined by the contratenor sounding its lowest note) is combined with melodic surprises. Both cantus and contratenor use unusual melodic progressions including a major seventh, diminished fourth, and augmented fourths and a fifth. The transition from the second *brevis* to the third (where the cantus leaps a diminished fourth upwards and the contratenor an augmented fifth downwards) is further emphasized by a move from the melodic highpoint of the tenor to the melodic highpoint of the cantus. It is also marked by the first appearance of *semiminime* in this song's cantus (indistinguishable in transcription from the quick notes in the A section, which were *minime* written in *dupla* proportion). The tension created by these surprises is resolved by a double cadence on A (the tenor and contratenor aborting the first attempt), to which no melisma is appended.

Instead, the sixth line of text is reached immediately, complete with the expected sentence structure described above. To avoid too mechanical a repetition, Antonello not only incorporates a new proportion, but creates a new effect by involving all voices in the change. This simple device is perhaps the most audibly clear effect in the piece (at least from a modern listener's point of view), demonstrating that even within the *Ars Subtilior*, effectiveness does not necessarily rely on complication. The *sesquitertia* section is further characterized by being the only part of the song to contain a quick succession of fulfilled cadences. The remainder of the melisma releases the accumulated tension with a less structured collection of recognized effects, making the transition from D to the expected *ouvert* cadence on E at the end of the section. A second appearance of *semiminime* strengthens the link of this melisma with the beginning of the B section.⁵⁹ While constantly referring back to methods and expectations created in the A section, the B part reconfigures them in a more eventful manner, creating a link with the preceding material but assigning greater importance to the B section's text.

It is expected that the refrain will bring together all the musical and technical ideas presented in the song. Antonello duly obliges, but surprises the listener with the order and content of his refrain. From a beginning on a relatively weak G the listener is led directly into another strong *ficta* dissonance (F/A/f-sharp) that heralds the arrival of yet another kind of proportion. The immediacy of these techniques' arrival goes against all the expectations created thus far in the song. The G cadence at the end of the proportion is avoided by the lower voices, leading instead into a short imitative section, punctuated by another two more subtle *ficta* dissonances – G/B-flat/e and F/A/c-sharp. As with all previous *ficta* clashes, it is again the role of the contratenor to add the offending inflection, or not to follow the cadential expectation. The subsequent D cadence is once more aborted, leading on to another syncopated section. While beginning in the middle of a poetic line, the musical techniques used from this point on to the end of the song mirror those used for full lines at the beginning of the song. The return to the more comfortable musical sentence structure highlights the last three words of the text to which it is set – *de fin amours* – thus enhancing the courtly character of the love dealt with in the text and drawing attention to the circular effect of beginning and ending the text with the same word, which encompasses its entire contents. The first cadence reached within this structure is on G, showing that there is still some way to go before arriving at the *finalis*, followed by a longer imitative section which leads through avoided cadences on E and D towards F, where the striking inflected F/c-sharp/f cadence from the A section is repeated, heralding the expected musical rhyme and *clos* cadence. In a last nod towards the

59 The use of *semiminime* instead of proportion in both these sections may be practical rather than structural, as only a short sequence appears each time (see parallels in the discussion of *sesquitertia* above). Be that as it may, both the resulting visual input and the short, ornamental melodic gestures (rather than a structural proportional change) create visually discernable and musically audible links between the two lines.

role of *ficta* and dissonance in the ambiguities of this work, the location of the *ouvert* cadence in the repetition is inflected only in the cantus, creating another F/A/c-sharp clash before the final cadence.

The analysis above is far from exhaustive. Its perhaps disproportionate length, though, was excused in order to demonstrate that in Antonello's usage (and, by extension, that of his compatriots), *Ars Subtilior* technique were used in a controlled and structural manner in support of the expression of his texts. Their combination into longer musical sentences create large-scale expectations which can then be manipulated as the work develops, coming together to form an expressive language. While the sonorities used are at times unusual, the dissonances operate within the realm of *ficta* and can therefore be understood (without diminishing from their structural and audible importance) as separate from the underlying consonant counterpoint. None of the uses of proportion, syncopation or notation are in any way extreme in this song, and do not move far beyond those present in his Italian compositions. The French style is used as a mature expressive style paralleling the Italian one. The main difference between them is the underlying set of technical, structural and audible expectations underpinning each style and the degree to which they can be manipulated. In this respect, the Italian wholesale adoption of *Ars Subtilior* practices can be seen as an effort to widen the expressive compositional pallet while maintaining the distinctiveness of their homegrown style. While some, like Ciconia or Zacara da Teramo, only switched style to explore its extremes, Antonello and others developed a bi-lingual attitude that did not impose stereotypes or constrict creativity in either style.



In this whistle-stop tour I hope to have shown that while the history of the analysis of French music of the late 14th and early 15th centuries may at first glance think it unlikely, versions of what we now call the *Ars Subtilior* resonated throughout Europe as the primary status-giving musical import of the time, taking different forms according to the tastes and needs of each host-culture. Its resonance, therefore, transcended the realm of the specialist. Our dual definition of this style – both temporal and technical – complicates such analyses, as it is hard to distinguish between *Ars Subtilior* and simply French circulation. This separation, though, is likely to have been meaningless to medieval consumers and reflects more on modern historiography than on the materials studied.

It is clear that the *Ars Subtilior* is not unique in adopting such a role. It can be argued that »Frenchness« has been a badge of literary and musical sophistication ever since the time of the Troubadours, through the *Ars Antiqua*, and on to the so-called *International* style in the 15th century. Similar positions were then adopted by Petrarch's poetry and the Italian humanism in the 16th century, or for that matter, by German romanticism in the 19th.

While in some areas of Central and Eastern Europe its technical sophistication was immaterial to its status-giving qualities, its musical distinctiveness made it possible for the *Ars Subtilior* to compete and be of relevance also in contexts where local production developed in not too dissimilar directions. A duplication of the same process of fashionable adaptation of the distinctively foreign can then be seen with the *Contenance Angloise* following the gathering celebrated here.

Importantly, wherever this phenomenon reached, and regardless of whether its features were stripped back or taken on and complicated further, it seems it was always regarded as a functioning and effective musical language with a wide range of expressive possibilities. Its strangeness and foreignness to us should be accepted as the results of 600 years of training in and analysis of other aesthetics, the blame for which we cannot place at the door of the music itself.