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MUSIC, TEXTS, AND MUSICAL IMAGES AT THE COURT OF ANGEVIN NAPLES, BEFORE AND DURING THE SCHISM[1]

Music at Angevin Naples: Chasing Ghosts?

Any study on the subject of Angevin Naples and Music is made extremely difficult by no fewer than three main factors:

1) The lack of polyphonic sources from that geographical area: the only surviving source now nearest Naples is the Frosinone fragment, discovered by Giuliana Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino,[2] which may have originated at the baronial court of Onorato Caetani, Count of Fondi (in lower Lazio, between Rome and Naples), someone very close to the events of the Schism;
2) The severe political instability of the region between 1343 and 1443, which may have affected cultural and musical patronage (see Appendix 1 for a list of rulers of the houses of Anjou and Anjou-Durazzo);
3) The total loss of Neapolitan archival sources, tragically burnt on 30 September 1943 by the occupying German troops as retaliation against the "Quattro Giornate" uprising earlier that month.[3]

1. I am grateful to the many readers who have helped me in several ways (language, content, and bibliography) with this chapter: Bonnie Blackburn, Anthony M. Cummings, Mario Gaglione, Andrea Improta, Francesca Manzari, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, Yolanda Plumley and Paola Vitolo.

2. Giuliana Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino, "Due nuovi frammenti di musica profana del primo Quattrocento nell'Archivio di Stato di Frosinone", *Studi musicali* 24 (1995): 185-208.

3. Had they survived, the registers most relevant for our purposes would have been those of the *Rationes Thesaurarorium*, the Treasury, where notices on the expenses of the *magister capellae* were detailed, and the *Quaderni*, referring to *De Curialatu* and to personnel (including musicians)

The End of the Ars Nova in Italy. The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories, ed. A. Calvia, S. Campagnolo, A. Janke, M. S. Lannutti, J. Nádas (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2020), 253-87. (ISBN 978-88-9290-046-2

Many late-Angevin documents had been removed or destroyed well before the 1943 burning, perhaps when Charles of Durazzo took power in Naples (July 1381), or during the troubled years of the struggle between the Anjous and the Durazzos at the end of the fourteenth century and, soon thereafter, between René of Anjou and the new Aragonese conquerors during the 1420s-1430s.[4] It is possible that, under Alfonso the Magnanimous, who rose to power in 1443 (his *Triunfo all'antica* is featured in the superb marble arch of the Castel Nuovo in Naples), many late Angevin sources (perhaps including musical sources) were moved from Naples to Sicily, then to Aragon and, eventually, destroyed as a type of *damnatio memoriae*. Indeed, a mid-sixteenth-century inventory of the Registers reveals an early gap from 1353 to 1381, that is, from the most important part of the reign of Joanna I (r. 1343-1382). Additional losses occurred in the five successive centuries from 1443 to 1943 (see Appendix 2, for a comparison between two lists of archival registers).

The Cultural Heritage

The common consensus, possibly stimulated by the aura of myth surrounding the "wise and learned" King Robert (r. 1309-1343),[5] is that his rich

attached to the *Hospitio Regis*, i.e., the court. The reference-work is Bartolommeo Capasso, *Inventario cronologico sistematico dei registri angioini conservati presso l'Archivio di Stato di Napoli* (Naples: Rinaldo e Sellitto, 1894); the whole history of this archive is detailed in Stefano Palmieri, "L'Archivio della regia zecca. Formazione, perdite documentarie e ricostruzione", in *L'État Angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIII^e^ e XIV^e^ siècle: Actes du colloque international (Rome-Naples, 7-11 November 1995)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 245 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1998), 417-445; Id., *Degli archivi napolitani. Storia e tradizione* (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 2002); Andreas Kiesewetter, "La cancelleria angioina", in *L'État Angevin*, 361-415.

4. See Nunzio Federigo Faraglia, *Storia della lotta tra Alfonso V. d'Aragona e Renato d'Angiò* (Lanciano: Carabba, 1908); Georges Peyronnet, "I Durazzo e Renato d'Angiò", in *Storia di Napoli*, Vol. 3 (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1969), 335-435; Christian de Mérindol, *Le roi René et la seconde maison d'Anjou* (Paris: Le Leopard d'Or, 1987); Oren Margolis, *The Politics of Culture in Quattrocento Europe: René of Anjou in Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

5. See at least Romolo Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence: Bemporad, 1922-1931); Alessandro Cutolo, *Gli Angioini* (Florence: Nemi, 1934); Émile G. Léonard, *Gli Angioini di Napoli*, trans. Renato Liguori (Milan: Dall'Oglio, 1967); more recently Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon: Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); also useful is the historical outline by David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200-1500. The Struggle for Dominion* (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997). On Angevin art patronage, see at least Caroline Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples: Church Buildings in Angevin Italy, 1266-1343* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2004); *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713. New Approaches*, ed. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Andreas Bräm, *Neapolitanische Bilderbibeln des Trecento. Anjou-Buchmalerei von Robert dem Weisen bis zu Johanna I*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007); Cathleen A. Fleck, *The Clement Bible at the Medieval Court of Naples and Avignon* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Paola Vitolo, "Immagini religiose e rappresentazione del potere nell'arte

patronage of the arts, including music, was unmatched in later periods, at least until the time of Alfonso of Aragon (who may have been as pious and curious as Robert, but less personally involved with music).[6] There would be no more compositions by the king himself ("*magnus cantor et inventor cantus*"),[7] such as the *Credo Regis* in *cantus fractus*;[8] no more dedications of music writings such as Marchetto da Padova's *Pomerium* (with his splendid, biblical allusion to the "ministrorum caterva canentium" surrounding the king and raising their musical voices to heaven);[9] no isorhythmic motets by Vitry and colleagues for him;[10] no double chapel of singers within the Angevin castle (whose list of members has been tentatively reconstructed by Anna Maria Voci and which, according to Samantha Kelly, was "comparable to those of the fifteenth-century courts of Burgundy and France");[11] no longer a household with *hystriones* (performers), or organists, or writers (such as Convenevole

napoletana durante il regno di Giovanna I d'Angiò", *Annali di Storia moderna e contemporanea* 16 (2010): 249-70; on the literary context Francesco Sabatini, "La cultura a Napoli nell'età angioina", in *Storia di Napoli*, Vol. 4.2, 1-315 (then as *Napoli angioina*, Naples: 1975); Nicola De Blasi and Alberto Varvaro, "Napoli e l'Italia meridionale", in *Letteratura italiana*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa, Vol. 7.2, *Storia e Geografia: L'età moderna* (Turin: Einaudi, 1988), 235-325.

6. The standard reference on this is Allan W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). On Alfonso's cultural patronage see most recently Fulvio Delle Donne, *Alfonso il Magnanimo e l'invenzione dell'umanesimo monarchico: Ideologia e strategie di legittimazione alla corte aragonese di Napoli* (Rome: Isime, 2015).

7. This comment comes from Gabrio de' Zamorei, a Parmesan lawyer who followed the Angevins.

8. Marco Gozzi, "Italy to 1300" and "The Trecento", in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 121-35 and 136-60; Marco Gozzi, "Liturgical Music and Liturgical Experience in Early Modern Italy", in *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi and Michael Noone (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 55-78; Marco Gozzi, "I Prototipi del canto fratto: Credo regis e Credo cardinalis", in *Cantus fractus italiano: Un'antologia*, Musica Mensurabilis, 4, ed. Marco Gozzi (Hildesheim: Olms, 2012), 137-54.

9. See Marchetto da Padova, *Lucidarium. Pomerium*, La Tradizione Musicale, 12; Le regole della musica, 3, ed. Marco Della Sciucca, Tiziana Sucato, and Carla Vivarelli (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007).

10. Two such pieces survive; *O canenda / Rex quem metrorum*, on a tenor for St. Louis, and *Flos ortus inter lilia / Celsa cedrus*, for Robert's saintly brother, Louis of Toulouse. On these see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "The Emergence of Ars nova", *Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995): 285-317; Margaret Bent, "Early Papal Motets", in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 5-43; more recently Francesco Zimei, "Musiche per san Ludovico: Roberto d'Angiò, autore e committente, tra Marchetto da Padova e Philippe de Vitry", in *Da Ludovico d'Angiò a san Ludovico di Tolosa: I testi e le immagini*: *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Napoli – S. Maria Capua Vetere, 3-5 Nov. 2016*), ed. Teresa D'Urso, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, and Daniele Solvi (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2017), 367-83.

11. Anna Maria Voci, "La cappella di corte dei primi sovrani angioini di Napoli", *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* (hereafter *ASPN*) 113 (1995): 69-126; Kelly, *The New Solomon*, 69.

da Prato, Gabrio Zamorei and others)[12] praising the king's uncommon musical talent and the important role played by music at his court.[13]

It would be tempting to conclude, therefore, that after 1343 the importance of Naples as a center for music, including cultivation of the so-called Ars Nova, or even Ars Subtilior polyphony, declined. Why, then, turn to the topic? Because, as often is the case in Naples, traces of continuity in artistic and musical practices can be seen later in time, albeit with difficulty (concealed as they are under the weight of such a troubled history). And the "vasto e infermo regno" of Robert's granddaughter Joanna,[14] turbulent and marked by struggle as it was,[15] was nonetheless important for artistic patronage[16] and possibly also for music, as first suggested by Nino Pirrotta in his famous hypothesis regarding the supposed "scuola napoletana", developed by others.[17]

12. Beatrice Pescerelli, "Un omaggio musicale a Roberto d'Angiò", *Studi musicali* 20 (1991): 175-9; Alessandro Tomei, "I Regia *carmina dedicati* a Roberto d'Angiò nella British Library di Londra: Un Manoscritto tra Italia e Provenza", *Arte Medievale* 6 (2016): 201-12.

13. Carla Vivarelli, "'Di una pretesa scuola napoletana': Sowing the Seeds of the Ars Nova at the Court of Robert of Anjou", *The Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007): 272-96.

14. The most comprehensive study is Émile G. Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne I^ère^, reine de Naples*, 3 vols. (Monaco: Imprimerie de Monaco, 1932-1937) (a fourth volume was left incomplete and unpublished); Andreas Kiesewetter, s.v. "Giovanna I d'Angiò, Regina di Sicilia", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 55 (Rome: Treccani, 2000), 456-78; Mario Gaglione, *Donne e potere a Napoli: Le sovrane angioine: Consorti, vicarie e regnanti (1266-1442)* (Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 2009); Elizabeth Casteen, *From She-Wolf to Martyr: The Reign and Disputed Reputation of Johanna I of Naples* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

15. Remember, in this context, the blame Petrarch cast on Naples in his *Familiares* – V.6 and XV.7,9 – after the death, in January 1343, of King Robert: "Morte regis, mutate regni facies". See Andreas Kiesewetter, "Francesco Petrarca e Roberto d'Angiò", *ASPN* 123 (2005): 145-76; Rodney J. Lokaj, "La Cleopatra napoletana: Giovanna d'Angiò nelle "Familiares" di Petrarca", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 177 (2000): 481-521.

16. On Angevin art patronage I limit myself to naming some of the major scholars: Caroline Bruzelius, Tania Michalsky, Nicolas Bock, Cordelia Warr, Janis Elliott, Cathleen A. Fleck, Robert Musto, Samantha Kelly, Andreas Bräm, Corrado Bologna, Francesco Aceto, Pierluigi Leone de Castris, Francesco Abbate, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, Mario Gaglione, Bianca De Divitiis, Paola Vitolo, Francesca Manzari, Andrea Improta, and Vinni Lucherini.

17. The existence of an early musical *scuola napoletana* before the well-known one of the eighteenth-century is currently a disputed topic. After the pioneering contribution by Nino Pirrotta, "Scuole polifoniche italiane durante il secolo XIV: Di una pretesa scuola napoletana", *Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 1 (1953): 11-18, see: Reinhard Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta, ovvero i Francesi in Lombardia", in *In cantu et in sermone. Festschrift for Nino Pirrotta on his 80^th^ Birthday*, ed. Francesco Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Olschki, 1989), 65-74; Vivarelli, "'Di una pretesa scuola napoletana'"; Carla Vivarelli, "'Ars cantus mensurabilis mensurata per modos iuris.' Un trattato napoletano di Ars subtilior?", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VII. "Dolci e nuove note".* Atti del Convegno (Certaldo, December 2005), ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2009), 103-42; Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism", in *Papal Music and Musicians*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 44-92; Jason Stoessel, "The Angevin Struggle for the Kingdom of Naples (c.1378-1411) and the Politics of Repertoire in Mod A: New Hypotheses", *Journal of Music Research*

It is my primary goal to demonstrate the truth of this theory. In order to compensate for the lack of direct documentation I will carefully reexamine the existing secondary literature, taking into account what can be drawn from other types of sources, such as miniatures, poetry, and literary documents. In closing, I will discuss a few polyphonic songs associated with the Angevin court that were composed at the time of the Schism.

The Reign of Joanna and her Musical Patronage: An Overview

The basic problem is to determine if the troubled reign of Joanna – usually termed the "tragic" or "sorrowful" queen – afforded her sufficient scope for musical patronage. The first nine years after her coronation in August of 1344 were indeed tumultuous, with the dreadful murder in Aversa of her first husband, Andrew of Hungary (September 1345) – in which the queen was allegedly involved[18] – followed by the collapse of her popularity, the successive revenge of her husband's family, and Joanna's remarriage and subsequent exile to Provence in 1348, hosted by Pope Clement VI, Pierre Roger, at his splendid court in Avignon.[19] She repaired there to escape the military campaigns of Louis the Great of Hungary (r. 1347-1352), but also in order to save her reputation with the pontiff and deny any association with the plot against her first husband.

The following fifteen years or more – from the death of Clement VI in 1352 until ca. 1368 – were similarly troubled for Joanna, dominated by the tyranny of her second and unloved husband Louis of Taranto and a new power struggle begun after his death (May 1362),[20] and also by the powerful lead-

Online. A Journal of the Music Council of Australia 5 (2014): http://www.jmro.org.au/index.php/mca2/article/view/95 (accessed June 22, 2019).

18. See the remarks by the chronicler Matteo Villani (in Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. Giovanni Porta [Parma: Guanda, 1995], XIII, 52): "Scellerata et crudele morte del re Andreas [...] Per la morte del detto re Andreas si scompigliò tutto il regno di Puglia". Another Tuscan writer, Giannozzo Sacchetti, brother of the more famous poet, Franco, wrote a canzone excoriating the queen, accusing her of colluding in the murder: "Giovanna, femminella e non reina / non donna ma fancella sconoscente, / ingrata e frodolente, / albergo di lossuria e di resia [...] / Non ti rimorde ancor la gran follia / per te commessa ne' passati mali / che puoser fine al viver d'Andreasso?". See Giannozzo Sacchetti, *Rime*, ed. Tiziana Arvigo (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 2005), IV.

19. See the classic volume by Guillaume Mollat, *Les papes d'Avignon (1305-1378)* (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1912); Bernard Guillemain, *Les papes d'Avignon (1309-1376)* (Paris: Édition du Cerf, 2000); Francesco Cerasoli, "Clemente VI e Giovanna I di Napoli. Documenti inediti dell'Archivio Vaticano (1343-1352)", *ASPN* 21 (1896): 3-41, 227-64, 427-75, and 667-704; and 22 (1897): 3-46.

20. Her third (and penultimate) marriage, to James IV of Majorca (1363-1375), was equally unhappy.

ership of the Florentine Niccolò Acciaiuoli (a former banker and a bibliophile, correspondent of writers such as Petrarch and Boccaccio), who was appointed grand seneschal of the Kingdom of Naples in 1348 (a notable position that he held until his death in 1365).[21] Joanna's reign was also marked by, among other troubles, the continuous threats and intrigues of her enemies (from both the Durazzo and Taranto factions), the rebellions of the barons, the uprising of provinces such as Apulia, the perpetual scarcity of funds, and her ambitious but never-achieved plan of reconquering Sicily.

The queen enjoyed a period of relatively peaceful and independent power from 1368 until 1380, chiefly thanks to her alliance with the Avignonese popes during the Schism. The difficulties she faced at other times notwithstanding, the kingdom was ever abandoned or left without culture. Since King Robert's time the study of law continued to flourish within the local *Studio*, as did those of medicine, science, and theology,[22] though the latter was cultivated primarily within local Dominican, Augustinian, and Franciscan houses.[23] The Franciscan Paupers (the *Fraticelli*) in particular, the most radical subsidiary branch of the order, had been persecuted by the Roman curia during the papacy of John XXII and found safe haven in Naples, where they thrived.

What Naples most lacked, in spite of the efforts made by people like the Acciaiuolis, was the presence of an urban cultural elite similar to that of Florence, grounded in the mercantile wealth, which has proved to be so essential for the cultivation of vernacular poetry and Ars Nova repertory.[24] On the other hand, Queen Joanna's aesthetic interests must have been strongly influenced by French culture.[25] She and her sister (and then rival) Maria of Cal-

21. On Acciaiuoli see Leopoldo Tanfani, *Niccolò Acciaiuoli. Studi storici fatti principalmente sui documenti dell'Archivio fiorentino* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1863); Francesco Paolo Tocco, *Niccolò Acciaiuoli: Vita e politica in Italia alla metà del XIV secolo* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo, 2001); Luciano Gargan, "I libri di Niccolò Acciaioli e la biblioteca della Certosa di Firenze", *Italia Medievale e Umanistica* 53 (2012), 37-116.

22. The local university lacked a fully articulated system of teaching based on the seven liberal arts. The familiar testimony of Boethius's treatise *De institutione musica* (Napoli: Biblioteca Nazionale, V.A.14), with its gorgeous musical miniatures, suggests a rather different conclusion, as do other writings on music theory from the Neapolitan kingdom, a topic to which I will return.

23. See Monti, "L'Età angioina", in *Storia della Università di Napoli* (Naples: Ricciardi, 1924), 19-150; Domenico Ambrasi, "La vita religiosa", in *Storia di Napoli*, Vol. 3, 439-573.

24. On this see Michael P. Long, "Francesco Landini and the Florentine Cultural Élite", *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 83-99; John Nádas, "Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence", in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia* (Bologna, 27 August - 1 September 1987), ed. Angelo Pompilio, 3 vols. (Turin: EDT, 1991), 126-35.

25. She surely took advantage of the presence of the renowned royal library founded by her grandfather Robert (though many books were lost soon after his death). See Luigi Chiappelli, "Una notevole libreria napoletana del '300", *Studi Medievali* 1 (1928): 456-70; Cornelia C. Coulter, "The

abria were raised and educated by their grandmother, the pious Sancia of Majorca (1285-1345), queen consort and a prominent patron in the sacred sphere.[26] The two sisters were also influenced, in a far more mundane sense, by two noblewomen and their acquired relatives, both influential and ambiguous figures at court, Agnese of Périgord (a sister of the famous Cardinal Talleyrand de Périgord) and Catherine of Valois-Courtenay, Empress of Constantinople.[27]

Joanna is described as learned in some chronicles,[28] but, more frequently, writers underlined her fondness (especially in her youth) for courtly pastimes and civic entertainments, such as public dancing, feasts with music, horseback riding, and tournaments. Such a relaxed and festive climate is also echoed in several well-known passages from Giovanni Boccaccio's early writings, compiled in 1327-1341:[29] several *sonetti* from his *Rime*, the *Teseida*, the *Filostrato*, the slightly later *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta*, and *Ninfale d'Ameto* all abound with references to love poems, sweet tunes, and beautiful dances ("di varie feste, di nuovi giuochi, di bellissime danze, d'infiniti strumenti, d'amorose

Library of the Angevin Kings at Naples", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 75 (1944): 141-55; Sabatini, *La cultura a Napoli*, 74-5.

26. See Ronald G. Musto, "Queen Sancia of Naples (1286-1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans", in *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, ed. Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 179-214.

27. There is an intriguing reference to the pervasiveness (and frivolity) of French culture in Naples in the *Llibre de les dones* by the Catalan Francesc Eiximenis (ca. 1388), in which one reads that all noble women at the time "used to warble French songs, as much as the French noble ladies did" ("[...] e abrassar e a basar los homens devant tot hom tot jorn e de cantar frances, guarguolaiant, axi com fan les dones generoses en França, e de parlar de amors"): see Sabatini, *La cultura a Napoli*, 85. I thank Mario Gaglione for drawing my attention to this.

28. See for instance Angelo di Costanzo, *Istoria del Regno di Napoli* (Milan: Società tipografica dei classici italiani, 1805), Vol. 1.7, 53: "fu amatissima da tutti i buoni, e massime nella città di Napoli, ove, mentre ella regnò, fiorirono le armi e le lettere d'ogni disciplina, fu nel vivere modestissima e di bellezza più tosto rappresentava maestà [...] ebbe gran pensiero di tenere Napoli abbondante non solo di cose necessarie al vitto, ma allo splendore ed ornamento della città". For a survey of the historical sources see Bartolommeo Capasso, *Le Fonti della Storia delle Provincie Napolitane dal 568 al 1500* (Naples: Marghieri, 1902), 118-68; and, more recently, Chiara De Caprio, *Scrivere la Storia a Napoli tra Medioevo e Prima Età Moderna* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2013).

29. See Francesco Torraca, "Giovanni Boccaccio a Napoli (1326-1339)", *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 39 (1914): 25-80, 229-67, 409-55, 605-96; Fausto Nicolini, "Figure e Aspetti della Napoli Tre-quattrocentesca: La Madonna di Piedigrotta e Giovanni Boccaccio", *Bollettino dell'Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli* 9-12 (1955-1956), 321-323; Gennaro Maria Monti, "Intorno alla lettera napoletana", in *Nuovi studi angioini* (Trani: Vecchi, 1937), 501-20; Sabatini, *La cultura a Napoli*, 79-83 and 103-15; more recently the two volumes of collected essays *Boccaccio Angioino. Materiali per la storia culturale di Napoli nel Trecento*, ed. Giancarlo Alfano, Teresa D'Urso and Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2012), and *Boccaccio e Napoli. Nuovi materiali per la storia culturale di Napoli nel Trecento*. Atti del Convegno "Boccaccio Angioino. Per il settimo centenario della nascita di Giovanni Boccaccio", ed. Giancarlo Alfano, Emma Grimaldi, Sebastiano Martelli, Andrea Mazzucchi, Matteo Palumbo, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, Carlo Vecce (Florence: Cesati, 2015).

canzoni": *Fiammetta*, Book V), heard throughout the Neapolitan court and other agreeable locations such as the thermal baths. Some years later, Boccaccio would recall the city (now showing to him its darker sides) in his masterwork, the *Decameron*, some of whose tales are set in Naples and Sicily.[30]

Writing about the ceremonies at Joanna's first wedding, the chronicler Domenico da Gravina describes the following:

> The two young, the Duke and the Queen, got across the beautiful town of Naples, always immersed in youthful plays and delights [...] sometimes walking, sometimes riding, cheerful and caring about nothing [...] In the same city the Queen was immersed in her plays, i.e. dance, horse riding or tournaments, joyfully wasting her time and being seduced by her vain youthfulness.[31]

Similarly her second wedding, to Louis, followed by their joint coronation on Pentecost, 27 May 1352, was another major event in Naples, and may be the subject of a famous musical scene ("The Marriage") among the frescoes of the Neapolitan church of Santa Maria Incoronata, painted years later (ca. 1370), in a beautiful post-Giottesque style, by the leading court painter, Roberto d'Oderisio / Odorisio (see Figure 1).[32]

The pervasiveness of French culture in Naples is also attested to by the popularity of chivalric ideals and related literature at court.[33] A telling example is the *Guiron le Courtois* (or *Roman du roi Meliadus*) by Rustichello da Pisa (now London, British Library, Add. 12228, between 1352-1362), illuminated for the court perhaps by Cristoforo Orimina: it bears several drawings of musical interest, including accompanied singing by a minstrel (a *cithara-*

30. The most famous are, respectively, those of Andreuccio da Perugia, II.5, and Lisabetta da Messina, IV.5: See Vittore Branca, *Boccaccio medievale e nuovi studi sul "Decamerone"* (Florence: Sansoni, [1956] 1986[6]); *Boccaccio e la Sicilia*, ed. Giuseppe Manitta (Castiglione di Sicilia: Il Convivio, 2015), and see also below.

31. "Hi juvenes Dux et Regina juvenilibus ludis et solatiis insistentes [...] alternatim prodeuntes, alternatim equitantes per splendidam Urbem Neapolitanam, jucundi, de nullo curantes, semper incedebant [...] dicta regina Johanna juvenilibus inducta colludiis semper chorizando, semper equitando, semper in hastiludiis vacando tota facta est laeta, vana juventute seducta", after Domenico da Gravina, *Chronicon de rebus in Apulia usque ad annum 1350*, ed. Ludovico A. Muratori (Naples: 1890), 14-15; see also Marino Zabbia, "Il 'Chronicon' di Domenico da Gravina. Aspetti e problemi della produzione storiografica notarile nel Mezzogiorno angioino", *Annali dell'Istituto italiano per gli studi storici* 13 (1995-1996): 285-360.

32. See Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, s.v. "Oderisi di Guidone da Gubbio", in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 79 (Rome: Treccani, 2013), http://www.treccani.it/biografico/index.html; accessed June 22, 2019; on the Incoronata church see below.

33. See Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, *I romanzi cavallereschi miniati a Napoli* (Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1979).

player, f. 222v) and other musicians before the royal listeners and courtiers (see Figure 2).

Figure 1. Roberto d'Oderisio, *Il Matrimonio*, frescoes
from the Chiesa dell'Incoronata, Naples (public domain image)

Figure 2. *Singers and players before the royal couple*:
London, British Library, Add. 12228 (ff. 222v-223r) (reproduced by permission)
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The artistic ties between Naples and Florence, two centers linked by trade and bank loans, may have strengthened the influence, on the court of Naples, of both French and Italian elements.[34] We should bear in mind that when Niccolò Acciaiuoli moved to Naples, he brought with him dozens of Florentines, among them colleagues and relatives, arranging marriages and other affairs with Neapolitans.[35] In one of his letters, Acciaiuoli mention several

34. Georges Yver, *Le commerce et les marchands dans l'Italie méridionale au XIII et au XIV siècle* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1903); David Abulafia, "Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy", *Economic History Review* II ser., 33 (1981): 377-388. With regard to music, the French orientation of Florentine music is the subject of the highly influential essay by Michael Long, "Francesco Landini and the Florentine Cultural Élite", *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 83-99.

35. Especially his cousin Angelo I – chancellor at Naples from 1349 – and his sister Lapa Acciaiuoli, in Buondelmonti. The latter appears in a detail of Andrea Bonaiuti's fresco in the Span-

lesser people as their familiars, some of whom may have been clerics, possibly entrusted with musical responsibilities.[36] Moreover, Niccolò's frequent missions and travels abroad (often to Greece and Sicily, or to Avignon in 1360) represent possible avenues of exchange for music personnel and repertory (one immediately think of dance music, as the Queen was so eager of it);[37] and conceivably, other members of this renowned Tuscan family (e.g., Cardinal Angelo) may have had contacts with composers, or in general with artists and writers.[38] It is thus possible that some musicians, minstrels, or instrumentalists from Tuscany found their way to Naples, and that the Acciaiuoli acted as intermediary for those wishing to travel South. Such was certainly the case, for instance, with Giovanni da Firenze, renamed "Malizia Barattone". A Neapolitan document of December 1360 (written by Niccolò Alunno d'Alife, another learned official at the court),[39] labelled him "huomo buffone" and the queen awarded him a small island in recognition of his talents: namely, pleasing the audience with amusing stories and reciting sonnets transformed into songs, that is, improvised singing such as that shown in the previous figure.[40]

ish Chapel of the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence (1366-1367), next to three other female figures: Queen Joanna, the mystic Bridget of Sweden, and Bridget's daughter St. Catherine of Vadstena. Lapa Acciaiuoli was also the recipient of some interesting letters in the mixed-vernacular language sent from and to Naples: see above footnote 40.

36. Here we find "Don Roberto", "mastro Tolmo", "Francischiello", "Antuono de lo Doçe", "frate Filippo et frate Luca", "Ser Piero", and "misser Francisco"; Ser Piero, for instance, is said to be in need of payment "per ligare lo Missale": see Sabatini, "Volgare 'civile' e volgare cancelleresco", 123.

37. According to Randall Rosenfeld, many *estampie* titles from the very well-known manuscript Lo (London, British Library, Add. 29987) "can be accounted for by Acciaiuoli connections of one sort or another". See "Possible Origins of the *Lo* Dances and their Performance Implications", in *The Sounds and Sight of Performance in Early Music: Essays in Honor of Timothy J. McGee*, ed. Maureen Epp and Brian E. Power (London: Routledge, 2009), 155-84, esp. 179. The famous *Lamento di Tristano* bears strong French influence starting from its title.

38. Angelo II Acciaiuoli (1340-1408) was a major patron of the arts. Cardinal from 1384 and Legate of Naples in 1390 on behalf of Pope Boniface IX, he resided mostly in Rome after becoming Chancellor of the Holy See in 1387, especially after he was appointed Archpriest of St. Peter's at the Vatican in 1404 and Dean of the College of Cardinals in 1405. From 1385 until his death Acciaiuoli was also the commendatory abbot of the Badia in Florence, a Benedictine monastery with an active scriptorium. In fact, he was the owner of a wonderfully notated Missal (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 30), illuminated by Bartolomeo di Fruosino and others in 1404-1405. In a much-discussed hypothesis, Nino Pirrotta proposed to identify the Ars nova composer Paolo da Firenze with an "abbas Pozzoli aretine diocesis" (S. Andrea del Pozzo near Arezzo), named in a notarial document signed in Rome in 1404 by Cardinal Acciaiuoli himself; see Nino Pirrotta and Ettore Li Gotti, "Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino extra moenia", in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, Vol. 3 (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1952), 577-606, esp. 580; Ursula Günther, John Nádas, and John Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence", *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987): 203-46.

39. Dante Marrocco, *Gli "Arcani historici" di Nicolò di Alife: Contributo alla storia angioina* (Naples: Ariello, 1965).

40. Pasquale Stoppelli, "Malizia Barattone (Giovanni di Firenze) autore del 'Pecorone'", *Filolo-*

Further records of payments[41] to minstrels and performers (some of them dating back to the service of King Robert) are scattered throughout the decades of the 1340s-1360s.[42]

Traveling in the opposite direction, from Southern Italy to the north, we see that the second half of the fourteenth century is precisely the time when the tradition of popular singing of Neapolitan and Sicilian love poems spread to northern centers, where they were much appreciated by noble listeners,[43] attracted to such exotic style of singing, and already accustomed to the similar genre of the so-called *veneziane*.[44] This is widely testified to both by writers such as Boccac-

gia e Critica 2 (1977): 1-34; Elena Abramov-van Rijk, "Corresponding Through Music: Three Examples from the Trecento", *Acta Musicologica* 83, no. 1 (2011): 3-37; and Ead., *Parlar cantando. The Practice of Reciting Verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), in which the whole question of the minstrels' repertory is carefully analyzed. I thank Elena Abramov-van Rijk for bringing this case to my attention.

41. We must only rely for this on the prewar research carried out by local scholars such as Bartolommeo Capasso, Nicola Barone and others, but the following are worthy of detailed mention: Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Studi storici fatti sopra 84 registri angioini dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli* (Naples: Rinaldi e Sellitto, 1876); C. Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche tratte da 62 registri angioini dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli* (Naples: Rinaldi e Sellitto, 1877); C. Minieri Riccio, *Saggio di codice diplomatico formato sulle antiche scritture dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli* […], Vol. 2.1 (*1286-1434*) (Naples: Furcheim, 1879); Matteo Camera, *Elucubrazioni Storico-Diplomatiche su Giovanna I^a Regina di Napoli e Carlo III di Durazzo* (Salerno: Tipografia Nazionale, 1889); Matteo Camera, *Annali delle Due Sicilie, dall'origine e fondazione della monarchia fino a tutto il regno dell'augusto sovrano Carlo III*, 2 vols. (Naples: Stamperie e cartiere del Fibreno, 1841-1860); Salvatore De Crescenzo, "Notizie storiche tratte dai documenti angioini conosciuti col nome di Arche", *ASPN* 21 (1896): 95-118, 382-96, 476-93; and Émile Léonard, "Comtes de l'hôtel de Jeanne I^ère, de 1352 à 1369", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 38 (1920): 215-78.

42. Two *hystriones* (theatrical performers), Bernardo and Ganselmo of Montpellier, are listed as *familiarum nostrorum* of the Queen in 1343 (possibly at her first wedding), along with a Goffrido de Melfi *naccarario*, the latter also cited with his wife Alsissime, *eius uxori, familiaribus*, in 1344-45 (Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche*, 26; Sabatini, *La cultura a Napoli*, 256; also quoted by Vivarelli, "'Di una *pretesa scuola napoletana*'", 254); two shawm players (*zaramellatoribus duobus*), Mastro Andrea and Simone di Montefuscolo (near Avellino), are paid in 1352-53, along with a *naccarino* (possibly the same Goffrido de Melfi) (Léonard, "Comtes", 242), and they seem to have formed the typical ensemble for outdoor music, known as *coblas* on the Iberian Peninsula (Maricarmen Gómez Muntané, *La música medieval en España* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2001), 221; in March 1354, a certain Antonella di Ceccio da Nocera, a native female singer (*cantatrix*) in the service of the royal couple, is paid in place of Ciccarello di Montefiascone detto Cieco (De Crescenzo, *Notizie storiche*, 483); in 1345-46 there are payment records to the *tubette* (heralds) Petro Ioannis de Rosa de Sancto Germano and Thomasius de Oppido (Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche*, 51-3), while in 1366 some *menestrelli di* Giannotto Stendardo and, in 1368, a group of the late King Robert's heralds of, are rewarded (respectively, De Crescenzo, *Notizie storiche*, 488, and Léonard, "Comtes", 266).

43. One such nobleman may be Zaninus de Peraga de Padua, best known as a knight and a warlord in Padua under the Carraresi (d.1375), who wrote a three-voice ballata, *Se le lagrime antique*, which survives in the northern Italian fragment Stresa14: see Anne Hallmark, "French influence in northern Italy, c. 1400", in *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 193-225: 201

44. See Nino Pirrotta, "Echi di arie veneziane del primo Quattrocento", in *Poesia e musica e altri*

cio, Sacchetti, Gherardi, Simone Prodenzani da Orvieto, Francesco di Vannozzo or Giannozzo Manetti,[45] and by the physical appearance of such poems in literary anthologies often belonging to Florentine merchants.[46]

More important, a few polyphonic settings of these *siciliane*, recast as Ars Nova ballatas but with specifically south-Italian features (such as binary mensuration, contrapuntal parallelisms, repetition of fragmented texts and syllables, insertion of supernumerary vowel at the beginning of a phrase, and a mournful tone due to the theme of departure or separation), survive anonymously in music sources from the Veneto (R, Man, Pad553, and possibly also PadB and Stresa14),[47] and (possibly) from central-Italy (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 1067, a palimpsest source).[48] This was first identified by Nino Pir-

saggi, ed. Nino Pirrotta (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1994), 47-64; Reinhart Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1350-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 103ff.

45. See Ezio Levi D'Ancona, *Francesco di Vannozzo e la lirica nelle corti lombarde durante la metà del secolo XIV* (Florence: Galletti e Cocci, 1908), 320-34; Santorre Debenedetti, *Il Sollazzo. Contributi alla storia della novella, della poesia musicale e del costume nel Trecento* (Turin: Bocca, 1922); on Boccaccio's *siciliana*, see also Gianluca D'Agostino, "Le ballate del Decameron. Note integrative di analisi metrica e stilistica", *Studi sul Boccaccio* 24 (1996): 123-80; Rosario Coluccia, "Tradizioni auliche e popolari nella poesia del Regno di Napoli in età angioina", *Medioevo romanzo* 2 (1975): 44-153; Rosario Coluccia and Riccardo Gualdo, "Sondaggi sull'eredità del Notaro", *Studi linguistici italiani* 26 (2000): 3-51; and more recently Rosario Coluccia, "Boccaccio angioino tra centro e periferia del Regno", in *Boccaccio e Napoli. Nuovi materiali*, 45-70.

46. There is a lengthy bibliography on this topic, partly summarized by Sabatini, *La cultura a Napoli*; *Mostra di codici romanzi delle biblioteche fiorentine* (Florence: Sansoni, 1957); see also the following surveys: 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*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 55-76; F. Alberto Gallo, "Dal Duecento al Quattrocento", in *Letteratura italiana*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa, Vol. 6: *Teatro, musica, tradizione dei classici* (Turin: Einaudi, 1986), 245-63; Agostino Ziino, "Rime per musica e per danza", in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, Vol. 2: *Il Trecento* (Rome: Salerno, 1993), 455-529; Gianluca D'Agostino, "La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento. Una revisione per dati e problemi", in *"Col dolce suon che da te piove". Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo, in memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), 389-428; the literary tradition of Trecento and Ars nova songs (including the sources of the *siciliane*) has been taken up and studied by Lauren McGuire Jennings, *Senza vestimenta: The Literary Tradition of Trecento Song* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), especially 109-59, where she proved, for instance, the provenance of some sections of the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VII. 1040 (a "zibaldone" belonged to the merchant Amelio Bonaguisi), containing a small collection of Italian lyrics (*siciliane*, *ballate*, *sonetti* and *strambotti*) and French ones (*virelais*, *balletes*, *pastourelles* and other short songs with refrain), from a single original collection of Italian and French lyric poetry, presumably set to music.

47. Man = Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065; Pad553 = Padova, Archivio di Stato, Corporazioni soppresse, Santa Giustina 553; PadB = Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1115; Stresa14 = Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte, 14. See Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Groups and Projects among the Paduan Polyphonic Sources" in *I frammenti musicali padovani tra* Santa giustina *e la diffusione della musica in Europa*, ed. Franco Facchin and Pietro Gnan (Padua: Abbazia Santa Giustina – Biblioteca Universitaria, 2006), 183-214.

48. Fabio Carboni and Agostino Ziino, "Una fonte trecentesca della ballata 'Deh, no me fare lan-

rotta and later confirmed by other scholars.[49] The following is a finding list of such pieces scattered in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771, "Codex Reina" (R):[50]

f. 3:	*De, no me fare languire*	(also in Angelica 1067, and Bologna Covers 36, dated 1369)
…		
[f. 25v:	*El capo biondo e li capilli d'oro*	("henrici"; also in Pit: "Arrigo")]
[ff. 25v-26:	*Chi ama ne la lengua*	("Jacobelus Bianchi")]
f. 26:	*Fenir mia vita me conviene con guay*	(also in Pad553 after *E par che la vita mia*, which in turn is labelled "cieciliana" in Magl1040; also cited by Prodenzani, Sonnet 48:"de Cicilia"; also in Magl1078)
[c. 26v:	*L'ochi mie piangne*	("Jacobelus Bianchi")]
…		
f. 27v:	*Con lagreme sospiro per grave dolya*	(also in Magl1078)
…		
ff. 28v-29:	*Troveraço mercè*	
[f. 29:	*Dona, se 'l cor m'aperçi*]	
f. 29v:	*Dolce lo mio drudo*	(as a canzone attributed to "re Federigho" in Vat.lat. 3793)
…		
f. 37v:	*Ochi, piançete et tu, cor tribulato*	(also in Magl1078)
f. 38:	*Amore a lo to aspetto*	
f. 38v:	*E vantènde, segnor mio, e vatène amore*	
f. 39:	*Strençi li labri, c'àno d'amor melle*	(also in Treviso 43, and cited by Prodenzani, Sonnet 34)
f. 39v:	*Donna fallante, mira lo to aspeto*	

guire'", *Studi medievali*, serie 3, 23 (1982): 303-9; Michael Scott Cuthbert, "'Esperance' and the French Song in Foreign Sources", *Studi musicali* 36 (2007): 3-20. Against the identification of the piece in this source as a *siciliana*, see Oliver Huck, *Die Musik des fruhen Trecento* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), 125. To these sources one must add the Archivio Covers of Bologna, on which see most recently Armando Antonelli, "Tracce di ballate e madrigali a Bologna tra XIV e XV secolo", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VII*, 19-44: at 22-3.

49. Nino Pirrotta, "Musica polifonica per un testo attribuito a Federico II", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento II* (Certaldo: Centro di Studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1968), 97-108 (reprinted in Id., *Musica tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* [Turin: Einaudi, 1984], 142-53); Id., "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition", in *Words and Music: The Scholar's View A Medley Of Problems And Solutions Compiled In Honor Of A. Tillman Merritt By Sundry Hands*, ed. Laurence Berman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1972), 271-91; Id., "Rhapsodic Elements in North-Italian Polyphony of the 14th Century", *Musica Disciplina* 37 (1983): 83-99; Id., "Echi di arie veneziane"; F. Alberto Gallo, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del Quattrocento: Due "*siciliane*" del Trecento", *Annales Musicologiques* 7 (1977): 43-50; Giuseppe Donato, "Contributo alla storia delle siciliane", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento IV* (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1978), 183-203.

50. On which see John Nádas, "The Reina Codex Revisited", lastly in Id., *Arte psallentes. Studies in Music of the Tre- and Quattrocento*, (Lucca: Libreria Musicale italiana, 2017), 17-54. The scholar noted that two specific scribes (labelled U and S) proved to be particularly involved with the copying of the *siciliana*-genre.

Some lesser composers (such as "Henricus/Arrigo", or "Jacobello Bianco") may have paid attention to this genre because of its appealing popularizing traits, come out from the realm of unwritten music. One more important than others, namely the enigmatic Antonellus / Anthonello (Marot) da Caserta –certainly Southern Italian in origin, although he made his career in the North (most likely at Visconti Pavia) as a distinguished "Ars subtilior" composer and possibly as Abbot –, provided three or four examples of such *siciliane* (all two-part, simple ballatas and all mainly from the Mancini codex).[51]

Following Pirrotta's theory, Pedro Memelsdorff has drawn special attention to one ballata from the above-listed group, *Ochi piangete*, whose text contains a reference to a *donna real*, who he suggests may just be the late Queen Joanna (implying that the song was composed upon or soon after her death in 1382).[52]

Clearly, the whole topic of the Trecento *siciliane* would need more investigation than is possible to do here. It is certain that a tradition of popularizing songs aimed at being sung was well rooted in Trecento Naples, varying from mournful love songs, to more political poems,[53] through to the gay serenades, here also called "mattinate".[54]

51. These are: *A pianger l'ochi mey* (also in PadB and in the fragment Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, Biblioteca musicalis, B.3.5), *Or tolta pur me sey*, and *Madonna io me ramento*, to which Pirrotta also tentatively added *Con dogliosi martire* (which is copied in the literary source Magl1078 in the same section of the other two *siciliane*). From the same source Pirrotta added to the list also *Poy che morir mi convien* by Johannes Ciconia. On Antonello in the Mancini codex see Nino Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca. III: Il repertorio musicale", *Musica Disciplina* 5 (1951): 115-42; John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, eds., *The Lucca Codex, Codice Mancini* (Lucca: LIM, 1990); John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, "Two Newly Discovered Leaves from the Lucca Codex", *Studi musicali* 34 (2005): 3-23; Ursula Günther and Anne Stone, s.v. "Antonello da Caserta", in *New Grove*[2] online. Coincidentally, one "Antonello" is listed among the *valets de chambre* of Queen Joanna from 1356 to 1368 (Léonard, "Comtes", 240).

52. Pedro Memelsdorff, "'Occhi piangete'. Note sull'Ars nova a Napoli", in *Boccaccio Angioino*, 369-86. The whole lines read as follows: "da poi che 'l mi conviene / et con dolorosa pene / da la donna real esser privato. / Oi me, privato". It comes to my mind that the word "reale" was also used by Simone Prodenzani (*Saporetto*, sonnet 47) just in conjunction with the singing of a Sicilian repertory: "Quella sera cantaro ei madriale, / Canzon del Cieco, a modo peruscino, / Rondel franceschi de fra Bartolino, / Strambotti de Cicilia a la reale". See John Nádas, "A Cautious reading of Simone Prodenzani's 'Il Saporetto'", *Recercare* 10 (1998): 23-38.

53. See for instance those cited by Rosario Coluccia, "Tradizioni auliche e popolari nella poesia del Regno di Napoli in età angioina", 114-115.

54. An early literary reference to such popular singing (from a petition in the Neapolitan court registry addressed to the "Reggente e giudici della Curia Vicaria di Napoli", of 22 June 1335, after Camera, *Annali delle Due Sicilie*, Vol. 2, 413, and Sabatini, *La cultura a Napoli*, 194), says (only the English translation is given here): "The Neapolitan notary Jacovello Fusco is fined because he harasses a married woman, Giovannella di Gennaro, at all times, by singing, or having others sing outside her house, explicit and outrageous songs, also called in the vernacular matinate, in the street". As Antonio Calvia pointed out during the conference, this particular meaning of "mattinata" is explained in the *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* (ed. Salvatore Battaglia), as "omaggio reso all'amata al mattino [...] intonando canti d'amore", with many examples from writers of the

Despite the scant information regarding secular music, more can be said in the realm of liturgical music at the court, where in fact, personnel in the sacred sphere are more frequently cited, though often referred to as a body, instead of identifying individuals by any specific names or tasks: in 1356 a *fra* Pietro and in 1368 a *fra* Ugo are cited, possibly as chapel singers, but without further details;[55] in 1352, "*fra* Antonio da Pettorano *ordinis minoris Cappellano Domini nostri Pape*", is appointed to the chapel dedicated to the soul of King Robert within the Cathedral;[56] in 1353 "*fra* Nicola *e fra* Corrado di Calabria *dell'ordine dei Minori*" are paid for purchasing a Breviary;[57] and in 1346 the "*presbiter* Sergio Gayto de Amalfi" had been similarly appointed to preside over religious services in the chapel for the late Andrew of Hungary ("*ad celebrandum divina in cappella Sancti Ludovici intus Maiorem Ecclesiam*").[58]

Soon after, and even during, her most troubled period, Queen Joanna made many endeavors, in the name of charity and devotion, to enrich several institutions, especially the Franciscan Paupers. This was surely to fulfill her personal vows, but also perfectly in line with her ancestors' customs, as the Anjou family boasted two revered Franciscan saints among its members, St. Louis (the French King Louis IX, r. 1214-1270)[59] and Bishop Louis of Toulouse (1274-1297, canonized April 7 1317).[60] Consequently, three of the city's

Due- and Trecento. With regard to the *serenate*, many famous such "serenate col calascione", referring to the plucked instrument typical of the Baroque Neapolitan tradition, begin with the word *fenesta* (window, *finestra* in Italian) – *Fenesta vascia, Fenesta ca lucivi, Fenesta cu' sta nova gelusia*, etc. – hinting at the beloved leaning out of the window to listen to the songs performed for her in the street. It appears that they became a kind of well-defined genre of accompanied love songs, within the tradition of the much later *canzone napoletana*, in great vogue at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

55. Léonard, "Comtes", 239.

56. Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche*, 156; Vinni Lucherini, *La Cattedrale di Napoli. Storia, architettura, storiografia di un monumento medievale* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2009).

57. De Crescenzo, *Notizie storiche*, 483.

58. Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche*, 31; and Vinni Lucherini, "Celebrare e cancellare la memoria dinastica nella Napoli angioina: Le tombe del principe Andrea d'Ungheria e della regina Giovanna I", *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 21 (2015): 76-91.

59. Jacques Le Goff, *San Luigi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1996); Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis. Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: 2008). A Neapolitan edict of 1406 by King Ladislaus decrees that his calendar feast will take place in August and be celebrated throughout the kingdom. The rhymed office *Ludovicus decus regnantium* was composed by the Dominican Arnaut du Prat: for the institution of this feast on 11 August 1279 see Marcy J. Epstein, "'Ludovicus Decus Regnantium': Perspectives on the Rhymed Office", *Speculum* 32 (1978): 283-334. Some scholars, however, believe that Ladislaus's edict referred to Louis (Ludovico) of Toulouse due to the fact that some Angevin documents confuse the two names.

60. The famous altarpiece commissioned from Simone Martini – now at the Capodimonte Museum – and a chapel within the Neapolitan Duomo were dedicated to him. See Edith Pasztor, *Per la Storia di San Ludovico d'Angiò* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1955); Julian Gardner, "St Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*

main churches were Franciscan: Santa Chiara, Santa Maria la Nova, and San Lorenzo Maggiore.[61]

She favored the Dominicans too: one immediately thinks of the famous *scriptorium* of San Domenico maggiore, where music was also highly appreciated;[62] but there were also the convent of San Pietro a Castello, near the Castel dell'Ovo, and the venerable institution of San Gregorio Armeno (still in existence today), whose musical activity – well-attested to since the seventeenth century – surely began well before that time.[63]

The Queen also endorsed the Benedictine convent of SS. Severino and Sossio,[64] as well as the Augustinians, whose *magistri* were notoriously associated with the Parisian *Studium* (one of them was the music theorist Petrus de Sancto Dionysio, active in Naples at about the same time as Marchetto).[65] Of the Augustinian order was the grand church and monastery (with library) of S. Giovanni a Carbonara, founded in 1343, outside of which a wide avenue (*Largo Carbonara*) hosted the most spectacular tournaments (the same which had horrified such a witness as Petrarch). In addition, the city hosted the Carthusians at San Martino, the Celestines,[66] the church and hospital of *Santa Casa dell'Annunziata*[67] and even

39 (1976): 12-33; Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266-1414, e un riesame dell'arte nell'età fridericiana* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 1969), 161-7; Vinni Lucherini, "La cappella di San Ludovico nella cattedrale di Napoli", *Zeitschrift für Kungstgeschichte* 20, 1 (2007): 1-22; *Da Ludovico d'Angiò a san Ludovico di Tolosa: I testi e le immagini*: *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio* cit.

61. Only the former and the latter still retain their original early Trecento style: Santa Chiara was founded by King Robert and Queen Consort Sancia with a complex of two monasteries, libraries, and buildings all around it, like a self-contained *insula*; while San Lorenzo was erected, in the purest French Gothic style, in the same place where the local parliament (formed by the representatives of the so-called *Sedili* or *Seggi*) normally gathered. See *La chiesa e il convento di Santa Chiara*, ed. Francesco Aceto, Stefano d'Ovidio, and Elisabetta Scirocco (Salerno: Laveglia and Carlone, 2014); *Le chiese di San Lorenzo e San Domenico. Gli Ordini mendicanti a Napoli*, ed. Serena Romano and Nicolas Bock (Naples: Electa, 2005); Mario Gaglione, "Sancia di Maiorca e la *dotazione del monastero* di S. Chiara in Napoli nel 1342", *Rassegna storica salernitana* 27 (2010): 149-87; Rosalba Di Meglio, *Il convento francescano di S. Lorenzo di Napoli* (Salerno: Carlone, 2003).

62. As the Dominican friar had normally to be "bonus cantor, pulcerrime miniator et scriptor" in one and the same person. See Andrea Improta, *"Arma nostra sunt libri". Manoscritti e incunaboli miniati dalla biblioteca di San Domenico Maggiore di Napoli* (Florence: Nerbini, 2015); Andrea Improta, "Da Cristoforo Orimina alla bottega del Maestro della Crocifissione del messale di Avignone: Il Breviario 407 della Biblioteca Casanatense", *Napoli nobilissima* 5 (2014): 81-8.

63. Nicola Spinosa, Aldo Pinto, and Adriana Valerio, *San Gregorio Armeno: storia, architettura, arte e tradizioni* (Naples: Fridericiana Editrice Universitaria, 2013); Carla Vetere, *Le pergamene di S. Gregorio Armeno di Napoli (1267-1306)* (Salerno: Laveglia and Carlone, 2006).

64. See another important *scriptorium*, see Rosaria Pilone, *Antico inventario delle pergamene del Monastero dei SS. Severino e Sossio*, 4 vols. (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1999).

65. See Vivarelli, "'Di una pretesa scuola napoletana'".

66. Church and monastery of San Pietro a Majella – founded by Pietro Angelerio/Pope Celestine V, and currently housing the Neapolitan *Conservatorio di musica* – plus the church of Ascensione a Chiaia.

67. A "refugium pauperorum et receptaculum infirmorum", and a major Neapolitan institution, to become an important musical center in the Renaissance: see Giambattista D'Addosio, *Ori-*

lesser Orders, such as the Hospital Brothers of St. Anthony of Vienne, who founded the church of Sant'Antonio Abate a Foria.[68]

Outside the city walls, towards the marina of *Mergellina*, there was the church of *Santa Maria de Pedegripta or Piererotta* (today Piedigrotta), then governed by the family Brancaccio, loyal to the queen and known throughout the centuries for a very popular musical feast, the "festa di Piedigrotta" of 7-8 September. From 1313 this church hosted a special ceremony for the feast of the Annunciation, and documents from 1343 report that Joanna and her husband Andrew rode there to attend Vespers ("equitavit ad ecclesiam S. Marie de Pedegripta, in qua Vesperas audivit"), and to worship the wooden statue of the Virgin Mary, still in existence and much revered today.[69]

These devotional efforts are also reflected in a remarkable production of books, including choir books. There are several such witnesses from the local Franciscan institutions, dating from the thirteenth through the fourteenth centuries, and the same is true for the Dominicans. As for the court, during the first half of the century several expenditures are recorded for religious books and miniatures,[70] and such practice was retained by Joanna, who had a special interest in illuminated bibles, particularly those embellished by the court artist Cristoforo Orimina.[71] His masterpiece is the Anjou Bible, also

gine, vicende storiche e progressi della R. santa Casa dell'Annunziata di Napoli (Ospizio dei Trovatelli) (Naples: Antonio Cons, 1883); Maria Adele Ambrosio, *Itinerari storico-musicali a Napoli tra i secoli XVI e XVII: Girolamini, Tesoro di San Gennaro, Annunziata, Real Cappella di Palazzo* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2014), 75-96; Salvatore Marino, *L'Archivio dell'Annunziata di Napoli. Inventari e documenti (secoli XII-XIX)* (Salerno: Laveglia & Carlone), 2015.

68. Mario Gaglione, "Sulla fondazione della chiesa e dell'ospedale di S. Antonio Abate in Napoli", *Scrinia. Rivista di archivistica, paleografia, diplomatica e scienze storiche* 4 (2007): 89-104. A once-massive antiphonary in four volumes and a gradual were copied for that church, whose fragments are now housed at Udine, Archivio Capitolare (MSS 20, 24, 28, 30, and 26): Andrea Improta, "Aggiunte alla miniatura napoletana del Trecento: i corali dell'Archivio Capitolare di Udine", *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 17 (2013): 113-21.

69. Extensive bibliography on that: see most recently Stefano D'Ovidio, "La Madonna di Piedigrotta tra storia e leggenda", *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 74 (2006-2007): 47-91; and Stefano D'Ovidio, "Boccaccio, Virgilio e la Madonna di Piedigrotta", in *Boccaccio Angioino*, 329-46. Other much-venerated Marian icons were (and still are) those in the Benedictine monastery of Montevergine (the so-called "Madonna Schiavona", with the Anjou *fleur-de-lys* as background, ca. 1310), the Black Madonna of the Carmelite sanctuary of Santa Maria del Carmine Maggiore, and that in the monastery of Santa Maria della Neve at Casaluce (near Aversa), founded in 1360 by the noble Raimondo del Balzo ("gran Camerario"), then entrusted to the Celestines. Nanà Corsicato, *Santuari, luoghi di culto, religiosità popolare: Il culto mariano nella Napoli d'oggi* (Naples: Liguori, 2006).

70. On this topic see Isabelle Heullant-Donat, "Quelques réflexions autour de la cour angevine comme milieu culturel au XIV^{e} siècle", in *L'État Angevin*, 173-91.

71. Bologna, *I pittori della corte angioina di Napoli*, 270ff.; Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, "Cristophoro Orimina: An Illuminator at the Angevin Court of Naples", in *The Anjou Bible: A Royal Manuscript Revealed: Naples 1340*, Corpus van Verluchte Handschriften, 18; Low Countries Series,

known as the Leuven Bible (or Andrew of Hungary's Bible, and the Alife Bible, after its last owner, Niccolò d'Alife, a secretary to the queen and possible patron of the arts and music).[72]

Orimina's *studiolo* was responsible for many other beautifully illuminated books, such as the so-called "Psalter of Genève" (Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, *olim* Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Comites Latentes 15, copied in Naples, 1335-1350), particularly replete with delightful images of people making music and dancing, monks singing, and in general demonstrating the joy of life at the court of Naples even during that stormy period, as told by Boccaccio (see Figure 3):

a.

b.

Figure 3. a) Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, *olim* Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Comites Latentes 15, ff. 29v-30r; b) f. 69r, monks singing (reproduced by permission)

13, ed. Lieve Watteeuw and Jan Van Der Stock (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 113-26; Bräm, *Neapolitanische Bilderbibeln des Trecento*; Francesca Manzari, "Un nuovo foglio smembrato della bottega Orimina", in *Storie di artisti storie di libri: L'Editore che inseguiva la bellezza. Scritti in onore di Franco Cosimo Panini* (Rome: Donzelli, 2008), 293-312.

72. King Robert originally gave this precious book to Joanna and Andrew as an engagement gift ca. 1340; its extraordinarily decorations were created by the Orimina workshop. It has been recently published in a luxurious facsimile edition (*The Anjou Bible*) and discussed at the international conference "Miniatures and Music at the Court of Anjou Naples ca. 1340", Leuven, 1-2 November 2010.

The Queen's Chapel And Chaplains

Since King Robert's time, the highest-ranked officers (especially the great seneschal and the *maestri razionali*)[73] were charged with oversight of the household. They carried out this task very closely with the three figures leading the chapel's clerks (at times called the *Oratorio*), namely: the royal confessor (a bishop, often a teacher of theology), the master chaplain, who was also head of the royal library and treasurer, and the royal almoner, who administered, along with Franciscan friars or nuns, the "libéralités du roi" for poor people.[74] These men were usually supported by substitutes (*cappellani maggiori*, *protocappellani*, and so on), and this explains why the surviving documents often record some paired appointees (the same situation still holds true under the Aragonese). For example, Petrus de Morech/Moreriis, "regalis magister capellae" and treasurer of the Royal Cathedral of Saint Nicholas of Bari, and Petrus de Baudet, "magister capelle elemosinarius et librorum custos", both Frenchmen, kept their place through the reign of Robert and the beginning of that of Joanna during the 1340s. In 1352-53 Baudet was followed in his role by fra Riccardo de Archis (that is from Rocca d'Arce near Cassino), a faithful man of Queen Joanna. Their authority also extended over all the kingdom's chapels called "regie", first that of S. Nicholas of Bari, which housed the royal treasure and many relics.

Thorough Ecclesiastical studies and surviving writings of local historians[75] have left us fairly well-informed regarding the names of Joanna's *magistri capelle*, confessors, and religious advisors, usually bishops and Franciscans.[76]

73. Andreas Kiesewetter, "I grandi ufficiali e le periferie del regno", in *Les grands officiers dans les territoires angevins. I grandi ufficiali nei territori angioini*, ed. Riccardo Rao (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2016), 123-52.

74. Giuseppe Carafa, *De Capella regis utriusque Siciliae et aliorum principum, libero unus* (Rome: De Rubeis, 1749): "Et saepe Magistri Regalis Capellae erant et Regum Confessarii"; and "tria haec officia praestantissima, Confessarii, Consiliarii et Magistri regalis Capellae, saepe coniuncta simul fuisse".

75. A list of such studies includes Bartolomeo Chioccarello, *Antistutum praeclarissimae Neapolitanae Ecclesiae catalogus* (Naples: 1643); Carafa, *De Capella regis*; Nicola Capece Galeota, *Cenni storici sul clero della Real Cappella Palatina di Napoli* (Naples: tip. v. Donnaromita 13, 1854), along with other titles listed by Domenico Mallardo, *Storia Antica della Chiesa di Napoli. Le Fonti* (Naples: D'Auria, 1987). See also Nicola Barone, "Notizie storiche tratte dai Registri di Cancelleria di Carlo III di Durazzo", *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 12 (1897): 195, Minieri Riccio, *Notizie storiche*, 32; and Vivarelli, "'Di una pretesa scuola napoletana'", 278n16.

76. Andrea of Valleregia or "Regali valle" (1344-1365); magister Matteo Guiliand from Provence, alias "de Aquaputida" (the sulphureous, mephitic baths near the present Mirabella Eclano, one of his feudal possessions), also bishop of Telese (1346) and "confessor and consiliarius Reginae" (along with his brothers, Filippo and Tuerulo Guiliand, who were also said to be close to the queen); "fra Petrus de Aquila"; "fra Giovanni da Gallinaro" OFM, "magistrum Cappelle nostre secrete" in 1348, also bishop of Gravina in Apulia and among the longest serving advisors of Joan-

However, their mention here, though useful from the standpoint of local history, offers no new information on music or musicians employed by the queen. Other chaplains and familiars of the queen (without implying they were also singers) are listed by Léonard.[77] Only in May 1383 – that is, after the queen's death – do we have a clear reference to a "chaplain-singer of the royal chapel".[78]

Also interesting – although only partly related to the main subject of this paper – are the sources in which local religious ceremonies and services are detailed. This is the case, for example, of the so-called *Costituzioni Orsiniane*, named after the Neapolitan Archbishop Giovanni Orsini[79] who, in 1337, had codified the rituals for Easter and the patronal feast of S. Gennaro, including the chants to be sung during the processions.[80]

To return to the subject of Joanna's devotion – which intersects with that of the ecclesiastical institutions – the Church of the Incoronata (also *Spina corona* or *Coronespinae*), was one of her great personal achievements.[81] She founded it around 1352-1368 to hold a precious relic, a thorn from Christ's

na; a Gugliemo (but other sources give "Pietro") bishop Marsicano, "cappellano maggiore" in 1348; the bishop of Vico Equense (perhaps Cesario Pianola or Giacomo da Sora OFM, 1348); Giacomo Sersale OP (1352), bishop of Scala; in 1370 the "Venerabilis vir Frater Nicolaus Cicci Tange de Adria, Ordinis Fratrum minorum, Magister Cappelle Reginalis" is said to have deceased; and in March 1383 a "Marco di Montefalcone, dell'ordine dei Minori, Professore in sacra pagina" is paid by the new King Charles III of Durazzo as chapel master.

77. A "Messer Niccolò / Cola di Porta" in 1353; *Presbitero* Corrado as *Diaconus capelle*, and a Benedetto in 1356; "Francesco de Surrento" in 1366. See Léonard, "Comtes", 253. A Cistercian monk, "Mathieu de monastère Saint Jehan, who enjoyed preferments from the queen in 1363, is also cited by Andrew Wathey, "The Peace of 1360-1369 and Anglo-French Musical Relations", *Early Music History* 9 (1990): 129-74, esp. 148. That this is monk is the same person as the composer Matheus de Sancto Johanne is hotly disputed.

78. This is the priest "Bertrando de Tommaso di Napoli"; see Barone, *Notizie storiche*, 197.

79. He died in 1357; his career is recounted by Chioccarello, *Antistutum*, 221ff.

80. Interestingly enough, such *Costituzioni* will be reused in 1443 by Bishop Gaspare di Diano, in order to greet the arrival of Alfonso of Aragon in the city. A Spanish document similar to the Neapolitan source is the *Liber processionarius* (Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, 118), discussed by Gómez Muntané, *La música medieval en España*, 86-7. In a related document titled *Comitus liber qui continet praescriptiones Caeremoniarum in Choro et in aliis functionibus*, from a late-fourteenth-century manuscript housed in the Archivio Capitolare of Naples (perhaps from a confraternal service?), we find instructions on how a processional litany should be sung and divided between the *schola cantorum* and the rest of the clerics; just after that (f. 37), we find a troped *Kyrie eleyson Qui precioso sanguine mundum eripuisti de maledicti fauce draconis* which appears to be written in black mensural notation, suggesting that some form of counterpoint may have been improvised on it. Description in Ambrasi, "La vita religiosa", 548 (I have been unable to trace the original).

81. The church was entrusted to the Carthusians. See most recently Paola Vitolo, *La chiesa della Regina. Giovanna I d'Angiò, l'Incoronata di Napoli e Roberto di Oderisio* (Rome: Viella, 2008); Ead., "*Familiaris domesticus et magister noster*. Roberto d'Oderisio e l'istituto della *familiaritas* nella Napoli angioina", *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* 45 (2007): 13-34; Mario Gaglione, "Giovanna I d'Angiò e l'Incoronata", *Nuova rivista storica* 93 (2009), 271-82.

crown of thorns, which she had been given between 1364 and 1367 by her relative Charles V, King of France – also the owner of a renowned library[82] – and formerly held in the royal reliquary in Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. The bearer of the donation was the French Pierre de Viellers, Cistercian Abbot of Santa Maria di Realvalle near Scafati, another institution much favored by the Anjou.[83] It is likely that the same rhymed Offices composed by St. Louis to honor the relics (those for the feast on 11 August *in translatione coronae Domini*, or the *Suscepio coronae*, 1239)[84] were adopted and performed at the *Incoronata* church. This too was entirely in line with the usages of the Anjou, as the "liturgy of the thorn" or "the spine" appears to have been imported from France by Charles II of Anjou around 1296-1303, who gave another such relic to the Basilica of S. Nicholas of Bari.[85]

It is also possible that the story of King Charles's present to Joanna is the subject of a miniature from another well-known, but recently re-evaluated book, the Psaltery and Book of Hours of Joanna (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1921, f. 218), compiled around 1365-1368:[86] another French artefact, considered one of the earliest examples of this genre of book, where we find – in addition to the usual images of the two Angevin St. Louis – several items of musical interest, and possibly even some portraits of Joanna's private (Franciscan?) chaplains, though admittedly this type of representation is stereotypical (see Figure 4):

82. Joanna's mother, Mary of Valois, was the sister of Charles' grandfather, King Philip VI, hence Joanna called Charles of Valois *frater*.

83. See Maria Letizia De Sanctis, "L'Abbazia di Santa Maria di Realvalle: una fondazione cistercense di Carlo I d'Angiò", *Arte medievale* 7, 1 (1993): 153-96.

84. See Epstein, "Ludovicus decus regnantium"; Cecilia Gaposchkin, "Philip the Fair, the Dominicans, and the Liturgical Office for Louis IX", *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13 (2004): 33-61.

85. Chiara Mercuri, *Corona di Cristo, corona di re. La monarchia francese e la corona di spine nel Medioevo* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2004); P. Gerardo Cioffari, "La Sacra spina. Il dono di Carlo II e la liturgia parigina in San Nicola", *Nicolaus. Studi Storici* 15, no. 2 (2004-2005): 5-128. Interesting remarks on Charles II Anjou and music can be found in Pietro Giannone, *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli*, Vol. 3 (Haya: Gosse, 1753), 136: "Avea ciò il re Carlo appreso da' Francesi e massimamente da' suoi Angioni e conforme nella recitazione dell'ufficio, e nelle altre cose concernenti il culto di detta chiesa, così in questa volle imitare l'usanza della Francia [...] si dilettava ancor egli di cantare con gli altri nel Coro".

86. See on this Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, "L'Offiziolo di Giovanna I d'Angiò e un'inedita immagine di Brigida", in *Santa Brigida, Napoli, l'Italia. Atti del convegno di studi italo-svedese (Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 10-11 maggio 2006)* (Naples: Arte Tipografica, 2009), 221-40; Francesca Manzari, "Le Psautier et Livre d'Heures de Jeanne I d'Anjou. Pratiques Françaises de dévotion et exaltation dynastique à la cour de Naples", *Art de l'Enluminure* 32 (2010): 2-73; Vitolo, "Immagini religiose".

a. b.

c. d.

Figure 4. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1921 ("Psaltery and Book of Hours of Joanna"), reproduced by permission. a) f. 96v, King David tuning bells and a positive organ, Psalm 80; b) f. 113r, Chaplains (Franciscans?) singing plainchant, Psalm 97; c) f. 218r: The King of France, Charles V in Sainte Chapelle, Paris, during a special liturgy in the presence of the Great Reliquary; d) f. 237v, Ora nona: the Queen and her ladies attending the service

The presence of King David tuning the bells (Figure 4a) is also a musical and figurative *topos*, but in the eyes of the French it had immediate resonance, as King Louis was thought of as the new David.[87]

The church of the *Incoronata*, thereafter, held a special importance for Joanna and was thought of as a second "Palatine chapel", after that of Castel Nuovo (still another was that in Castel dell'Ovo); it remained the main location for coronations, royal weddings, tournaments, feasts with music, and banquets, throughout the Aragonese period as well. Music must have often sounded in and out of its walls, as can be guessed by looking at some more remains of its early-fifteenth-century frescoes (see Figure 5):

87. See Edward H. Roesner, "Labouring in the Midst of Wolves: Reading a Group of *Fauvel* Motets", *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 169-244, esp. 209.

Figure 5. Detail from the frescoes in the nave of the church of Santa Maria Incoronata, Naples, "Saint Ladislaus going to the church to be crowned": polyphonic singing upon the book (public domain image)

A French 'legion'

During the late 1360s Joanna's already strong devotion was strengthened even more after her meetings with the mystic Bridget of Sweden, who came to Naples in 1365-1367 and again in the early 1370s. I have already mentioned that a visual testimony of their meetings is a scene from the famous fresco by Andrea Bonaiuti in Santa Maria Novella in Florence.[88] The saintly nun also visited the most important places of worship (with holy relics) spread throughout the kingdom[89] and, while in Naples, she carried on a strong action of convert others that deeply influenced the queen.[90]

This fact, as well as her new friendship with the French popes Urban V (Guillaume de Grimoard, r. 1362-1370)[91] and Gregory XI (Pierre Roger de Beaufort, r. 1370-1378),[92] prompted Joanna to make further donations to local churches and monasteries, among which, as mentioned above, were Carthusians houses. In fact, the Certosa of San Martino (which had been given several *Privilegi* during the 1350s) was solemnly blessed on 26 February 1368, in the presence of the most illustrious prelates, among them the Archbishop

88. On this see Claudia Vultaggio, "I 'sodalizi napoletani' di Santa Brigida di Svezia", in *Santa Brigida, Napoli, l'Italia*, 105-30.

89. Places visited included Monte Sant'Angelo in Apulia, and shrines of St. Nicholas of Bari, St. Thomas at Ortona, St. Andrew at Amalfi, and St. Matthew at Salerno.

90. Chioccarello, *Antistutum*, 236ff.

91. Francesco Cerasoli, "Urbano V e Giovanna I di Napoli. Documenti inediti dell'Archivio segreto Vaticano", *ASPN* 20 (1895): 72-94, 171-205, 359-94, 558-645.

92. F. Cerasoli, "Gregorio XI e Giovanna I di Napoli. Documenti inediti dell'Archivio Vaticano", *ASPN* 23 (1898): 471-501, 671-701; 24 (1899): 3-24, 307-28, 403-27; 25 (1900): 3-26.

of Naples, Bernard du Bosquet / Bosqueto; the Prior Giovanni Grilli; and Cardinal Guillaume d'Aigrefeuille I, then Papal Legate in Naples and charged with important missions in Southern Italy. The presence of so many dignitaries may have solicited a similarly solemn musical performance.[93] An interesting and still little-known illuminated Gradual (fragments of which are housed at the Biblioteca Giovardiana of Veroli, near Frosinone), may have been used for that Carthusian ceremony of 1368.[94] The appearance in it of the liturgy for St. Martin and its many visual references to his legends (especially that of the saint cutting his cloak in half to share with the beggar, also found in the Leuven Bible), hints once again at transalpine culture.

The presence of this sort of French legion of prelates in Angevin Naples needs no explanation or particular comment here, but to note that they were little loved by the Neapolitans. Such a subject may be relevant for music patronage, as it certainly is for art patronage, although further investigation is required. We know, for instance, that Cardinal Aigrefeuille had at least four singers among his *familiares*[95] and, as he was the new Papal Legate in Naples, he may have brought them there.Four subsequent archbishops of Naples were French: Bertrand de Meissenier, alias 'Inardo' (1358-1362), also an inquisitor; Pierre Ameilh (1363-1365), who was involved with the affair of the failed wedding between Joanna, Duchess of Durazzo, and the soldier and crusader Aimon of Geneva (brother of Cardinal Robert, a cousin of the king of France, and the future antipope);[96] the above-mentioned Bernard du Bosquet/

93. An old chronicle of the Carthusians (*Storia critico-cronologica diplomatica del patriarca S. Brunone* [Naples: Orsino, 1777], Vol. 6, 322) recalls "solennissima la sacra cerimonia […] per la maestà delle funzioni riuscir non poteva meglio né meglio sontuosa né più divota".

94. See Francesca Manzari, "Miniatori napoletani e dell'Italia centrale del Trecento nei frammenti di corali certosini raccolti da Vittorio Giovardi", *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 14 (2010): 116-38. I wish to thank Professors Perriccioli Saggese and Manzari for drawing my attention to this and other iconographic sources mentioned in this chapter.

95. See Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "Verso uno 'stile internazionale' della musica nelle cappelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378-1417)", in *Collectanea I Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta*, ed. Adalbert Roth (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 7-74, esp. 42; Giuliano Di Bacco, "Documenti Vaticani per la storia della musica durante il grande scisma (1378-1417)", *Quaderni Storici* 32 (1997): 361-86; John Nádas, "The Internationalization of the Italian Papal Chapels in the Early Quattrocento", in *Cappelle musicali fra corte, stato e chiesa nell'Italia del Rinascimento. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Camaiore, 21-23 Ottobre 2005)*, ed. Franco Piperno, Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, and Andrea Chegai (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 247-69.

96. As told, the duchess eventually married (in 1366) the other suitor, Louis of Navarre; once widowed in April 1378, she remarried to Robert IV of Artois (they are both buried in a beautiful tomb inside the church of San Lorenzo, Naples): see Eustachio Rogadeo, "Il primo matrimonio di Giovanna duchessa di Durazzo", in *Rassegna pugliese di scienze, lettere ed arti* 19 (1902): 98-106, 134-41, and 179-87; Kenneth M. Setton, "Archbishop Pierre d'Ameil in Naples and the Affair of Aimon III of Geneva (1363-1364)", *Speculum* 28, 4 (1953): 643-91; Domenico Ambrasi, "Tre arci-

Bosqueto (1365-1368), who resigned after being elected cardinal; and after him Bernard de Rodes/de Rutena (1368-1379), recipient of the so-called *Revelations* by the mystic Bridget, later communicated to Joanna.

Bosqueto, *doctor in utroque iure*, had himself been a singer in Bordeaux, and once in Naples he supervised the above-mentioned ceremony of San Martino, in which music may have had a major role. He must have been a bibliophile as well; on his way back to Avignon as cardinal, in 1368, he is credited with bringing with him still another Neapolitan liturgical book, the Missal 138 of the Bibliotheque Municipale at Avignon, which shares features with the above-mentioned Book of Hours of Joanna. Once in France, this Missal received additional entries reflecting the new Avignonese climate, so to speak, among which is an interesting text of a *Missa pro tempore scismatis*.[97]

This climate of reconciliation with the popes surely had an impact on music. In March 1368 there was a splendid ceremony at Rome – at which Peter I of Lusignan, King of Cyprus (1328-1369, r. 1358-1369), was also present, surely with his famous retinue of musicians and possibly with his secretary Philippe de Mézières[98] – at which Joanna was awarded the famous golden rose, as a sign of gratitude by Pope Urban V, who had just made the first attempt to restore the curia to Rome (16 October 1367 - 5 September 1370).[99] The bestowal of the golden rose was always a grand public event, and this particular one was the first bestowal on a woman.

On the other hand, we do not know how friendly the learned but austere Benedictine Pope Grimoard was toward Ars Nova polyphony. He had a chapel of singers, and possibly founded schools of music; but he also reduced the size of the papal household (breeding resentment among the wealthiest clerics), and there are witnesses to his musical tastes that deserve a closer look.

vescovi napoletani di nazionalità francese: Ayglier, Pierre Amiel, Guillaume de' Guasconi", *Campania Sacra* 1 (1970): 7-30; Henri Bresc, *La correspondence de Pierre Ameilh, Archevêque de Naples puis d'Embrun (1363-1369)* (Paris: CNRS, 1972).

97. See Francesca Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei Papi. 1310-1410* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini ed., 2006); Cathleen A. Fleck, "Seeking Legitimacy: Art and Manuscripts for the Popes in Avignon from 1378 to 1417", in *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378-1417)*, ed. Joëlle Rollo-Kostner and Thomas M. Izbicki (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 239-302; on Avignon and Music see Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon 1309-1403*, UMI Studies in Musicology, 75 (Ann Arbor, MI: 1983); on the cultural context, the classic Alfred Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domains d'Anjou-Province de 1380 à 1435* (Paris: Droz, 1941).

98. Mézières is known as the author (and possibly the composer) of the Feast of the Presentation of our Lady, sanctioned by Pope Gregory XI in 1371-1372: see Richard W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); Tomasello, *Music and Ritual*, 34; Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 19.

99. The pope left the uninhabitable Vatican palace and went back to the safety of Avignon, despite a prophecy by Bridget of Sweden, who had foreseen his death (which occurred shortly thereafter, on 19 December 1370).

For instance, there are two long letters to him from Petrarch,[100] in which the poet asserts the superiority of Italian culture over French, condemning the French cardinals for their frivolity, their obsession with Beaune wines, and for their *transalpine melodiae*. This letter was well received by the pope, but obviously it displeased the French party. Furthermore, Petrarch's allusion to music would be repeated in an interesting passage from a letter to him from Coluccio Salutati (2 January 1369), in which he warns the poet of an imminent counterattack by the French, who had totally rejected his reasoning and "Speaking of music, do not doubt their superiority, since, as they say, Italians cannot sing but, rather, they bleat".[101]

Joanna's reign – a full decade, from 1368 to 1378 – can be seen as a period of relatively peaceful and independent power, if not her true apogee. This was thanks to her strong alliance with the new Pope Gregory XI, her friendship with St. Catherine of Siena,[102] the good offices of Archbishop Bernard de Rodes and other prelates. But her success was also the result of the loyalty of a local political establishment: Chancellor Niccolò Spinelli di Giovinazzo (ca. 1320-1396), also a seneschal of Provence and papal nuncio;[103] the *Conte camerlengo* Jacopo Arcucci, Lord of Capri and a queen's secretary in 1374-1381; the *maestro razionale* (a tax officer) Marino di Diano; and Antonio della Ratta, Count of Caserta, another traveler between Naples and Avignon (and one with a key role in the events soon after the Schism), thought by some to have been patron of the other mysterious composer Philipoctus / Philippus / Philippot / Filippotto de Caserta.[104]

100. *Sen.* VII.1 "Nihil omnino sub astris Italie comparandum", June 1366, and *Sen.* IX.1 "In exitu Israel de Aegypto", January 1368, that is, before and after the time in Avignon.

101. See Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario*, ed. Francesco Novati, 4 vols. (Rome: 1891-1911), Vol. 1, 74: "iam in musicis se indubium palmam arbitrantur habere, qui italos non canere, sed, ut eorum verbis utar, *capricare* confirment".

102. Joanna encouraged Pope Gregory XI not only to return to Rome (he finally entered the city on 17 January 1377), but also to call for a crusade to the Holy Land, possibly with the help of the Anjou rulers (who were, after all, "kings of Jerusalem"). The hope for a Crusade must be the context for the motet *Pictagore per dogmata / O terra sancta / Rosa vernans caritatis*, in which the pope is directly named, and the tenor of which is taken from a chant for St. Louis of Toulouse; *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568)*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 39, ed. Ursula Günther (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965); *Motets of French Provenance*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 5, ed. Frank Ll. Harrison (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1965). See also Bent, "Early Papal Motets".

103. As such, he had a large number of French (and German) familiars; eventually he entered the Pavian-Milanese court of Giangaleazzo Visconti: see Giacinto Romano, *Niccolò Spinelli di Giovinazzo, Diplomatico del Secolo XIV* (Naples: Pierro e Veraldi, 1902).

104. On Philipoctus de Caserta see Nigel Wilkins, "Some Notes on Philipoctus de Caserta", *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 8 (1964): 82-99; Strohm, *Filippotto da Caserta*; Id., *The Rise of European Music*, 58-60. Ursula Günther ("Zur Biographie einiger Komponisen der Ars Subtilior", *Archiv für*

Meanwhile, the circulation of this transalpine repertory (and some Italian Ars Nova songs as well) must have increased throughout the kingdom, chiefly among the local theorists. One witness to this is fra Nicholaus de Aversa of the Celestines (possibly Niccolò d'Adenulfo, prior of the monastery of S. Pietro a Majella in Aversa), who was – according to the anonymous *Ars cantus mensurabilis mensurata per modos iuris* (1375-1397?)[105] – the author of a Credo and some lost "cantilenis [...] sic et omnes generaliter artem gallorum imitantes".[106]

Likewise, Philipoctus de Caserta's *Tractatus figurarum* (Treatise on note-shapes) – one of the two music treatises attributed to him – was meant for Italian musicians already trained in the French style and wishing to practice its notational novelties, much as the (few) Italian poets of the Anjou court, already accustomed to reading writing and French, wished to compete with their French counterparts.[107]

The Schism and the Last Years of Joanna's Reign

One Neapolitan writer wishing to compete with the French opposition party was Giovanni Moccia, a secretary of Cardinal Jacopo Orsini at Avignon from 1367 to 1378 and later chancellor of the kingdom. He served as one of the queen's counselors in 1378-1380, that is, when she was already fully

Musikwissenschaft 21 [1964]: 182), has suggested that he might be identified with the papal chaplain "Philippus Roberti", listed as chaplain in the service of Robert of Geneva from 1373 to 1384 (also in Fondi in September 1379), whereas one source of his treatises (Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS 54.1: Pavia 1391) ascribes the writings to "Magistri Phillipoti Andree". Most recently see Carla Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi di Filippotto e Antonello da Caserta tràdite nel codice Estense α.M.5.24*, Diverse voci, 6 (Pisa: ETS, 2005); Yolanda Plumley, "Citation and Allusion in the Late Ars Nova: The Case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* Songs", *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 287-363; Yolanda Plumley, "Playing the Citation Game in the Late 14th-Century Chanson", *Early Music* 31 (2003): 20-39; Giuliano Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri. Sulla tradizione di un trattato trecentesco di contrappunto* (Lucca: LIM, 1996), esp. 137ff.; Giuliano Di Bacco, "Original and Borrowed, Authorship and Authority. Remarks on the Circulation of Philipoctus de Caserta's Theoretical Legacy", in *A Late Medieval Song-Book and its Context. Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 329-64.

105. See the edition by C. Matthew Balensuela, Greek and Latin Music Theory, 10 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

106. Vivarelli, "Ars cantus mensurabilis", esp. 122-34. Another candidate is "magistro Nicolao de Aversa" reimbursed, in 1353, for his purchase of cloths for twelve poor men (Léonard, "Comtes", 268; De Crescenzo, "Notizie storiche", 482), who must be one and the same as the Augustinian friar "Nicolaus de Aversa" cited by Vivarelli, "Ars cantus mensurabilis", 129.

107. See the edition by Philippe E. Schreur, Greek and Latin Music Theory, 6 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

involved with the matter of the Schism.[108] Joanna endorsed the 1378 counter-election of Clement VII – and took sides against the previously and legitimately elected[109] Bartolomeo Prignano (Urban VI), a Neapolitan (former dean of the local university and then archbishop of Bari), hence a subject of Queen Joanna. She was thus perhaps under the influence of her French-oriented advisors,[110] namely the chancellor Spinelli, the Count della Ratta, Cardinal Orsini, and his secretary Moccia, who appears to have been one of Urban's sharpest detractors.

Choosing a side was a fatal decision that eventually cost the queen her power as well as her life.[111] Robert of Geneva (Clement VII) was elected in Fondi – where Count Onorato Caetani had offered protection to the Sacred College – on 20 September 1378, and Joanna ratified this appointment two months later in Naples, then again in an elaborate ceremony at the Castel dell'Ovo on 28 May 1379. In June, the Roman Pope Urban removed Bernard de Rodes and installed the arrogant Ludovico Bozzuto as the new Archbishop of Naples and, shortly thereafter, excommunicated the queen (April 1380). At the end of June 1380, she adopted the French Prince Louis, Duke of Anjou, as her heir, through the mediation of Antipope Clement.[112] However,

108. In 1382 Moccia became pontifical secretary at Avignon. A pioneering study on him by Benedetto Croce, then Coville, *La vie intellectuelle*; Id., *Gontier et Pierre Col et l'humanisme en France au temps de Charles VI* (Paris: Droz, 1934); most recently Angelo Piacentini, "Un letterato napoletano alla curia di Avignone: G. Moccia", in *Renaissance bourguignonne et Renaissance italienne: modèles, concurrences*, ed. Jean-Marie Cauchies (Neuchâtel: 2015), 23-40. His Latin odes, epigrams and epistles are found in Paris, BnF, lat. 8410.

109. Urban VI was legitimately elected despite the facts that six cardinals had remained in Avignon and did not participate, and that the election was under external pressure from a huge crowd of Romans surrounding the Vatican and demanding a Roman – or at least Italian pope – ("Romano lo volemo, o al manco Italiano"). However, the same 13 cardinals out of 16, almost all French (plus one Englishman, three Italians and one Catalan, that is Pedro de Luna), who elected him, then had defected and repudiated him at Anagni, early in August: the fiercest among them were the French Jean de la Grange, Gérard du Puy, Pierre Flandrin and Robert of Geneva himself, while the three Italians (Jacopo Orsini, Pietro Corsini and Simone da Borsano) were more oriented toward a Council.

110. Cardinal Orsini, along with the Count of Fondi, and surely also the head of the Franciscan Leonardo de Rossi da Giffoni. See the chronicle *Giornale* [or *Diurnale*] *dell'Istorie* [...] *del Duca di Monteleone* (ed. Naples: 1770, 17): "Alli 23 di Maggio 1379 [*recte* 1378] Messer Nicola Spinello di Giovenazzo [...] convitò la Regina alla sua casa a Nido ed in quel giorno fu fatto consiglio di fare un altro Papa [...] Alli 23 di giugno venne il conte di Fondi in Napoli con messer Nicola e si concertò farsi il papa a Fondi e per questo effetto mandarono Messer Nicola e il conte di Caserta per condurre il cardinale di Ginevra". The *Chronicon Siculum incerti authori ab anno 340 ad annum 1396*, ed. G. de Blasiis (Naples: 1887) states that Cardinal Orsini came to Naples on July 30-31 to talk with the queen and to persuade her the election of Prignano had been a fraud.

111. Émile Léonard, "La captivité et la mort de Jeanne I[ère] de Naples", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 41 (1924): 43-77.

112. See Alice V. Clark, "Music for Louis of Anjou", in *Borderline Areas in Fourteenth and Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. Karl Kügle and Lorenz Welker (Münster: American Institute of Musicol-

by mid-June 1381 Urban had crowned her rival Charles of Durazzo ruler of Naples; Charles entered the city in July and shortly thereafter imprisoned the queen. Before her submission, she had appealed for rescue to the new French king, Charles VI, who had guaranteed a military campaign that would be led by Louis of Anjou. Unfortunately, Louis delayed the start of his campaign, and by the time he and his troops eventually left the Milanese court on their way south in June of 1382, Joanna had already died in captivity.

A Neapolitan ballade?

Table 1 is an attempt to arrange nine "Franco-Neapolitan" compositions temporally surrounding the outbreak of the Schism, to form a web of compositions – all in praise of patrons – with political and propagandistic intent.[113] Of these, only those in the first and last column can be tentatively said to be "Neapolitan", that is, presumably composed or performed in the city: the former in favor of the French party (pro-Pope Clement), the latter in support of the Neapolitan party (pro-Pope Urban). The two central columns list songs of the "Avignon repertory", music from the orbit of the papal and French princely courts during the late 1370s-early 1380s.

Reasons of space compel me to focus only on the first piece in the Table, the ballade *Par les bons Gédéon et Sanson delivré* by Philippot.[114] This lyrical and sophisticated song – based on a text that, in broad (scriptural) terms, as with several others, deplores the Schism and hints at vices such as anger, prejudice, and arrogance as its main causes, while paying homage to the "vray pape" Clement VII – was almost certainly first heard in southern Italy: either in Fondi, where Clement was in fact elected, or in Naples, at Castel dell'Ovo, in May 1379, at the ceremony of his recognition, before an audience that included the entire royal family and other noble guests.

ogy, 2009), 15-32; Yolanda Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'? Ars Subtilior and the Patronage of French Princes", *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 103-68.

113. This subject is touched on in a chapter from Elizabeth Randell Upton, *Music and Performance in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 77-96; see also Stoessel, *The Angevin Struggle*, and of course the landmark study by Di Bacco and Nádas, "The Papal Chapels".

114. The primary editions are: Willi Apel, ed., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth-Century*, Vol. 1, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 53 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1971), 154-7; Gordon Greene, ed., *French Secular Music. Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 564. Second Part*, Vol. 2, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 19 (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1982), 70-3. A comparison of the two transcriptions has been made by Marina Toffetti, "La ballade 'Par les bon Gedeon' di Filippotto da Caserta nelle edizioni di Willi Apel e di Gordon K. Greene", in *Edizioni moderne di musica antica. Sei letture critiche*, ed. Marina Toffetti (Lucca: LIM, 1997), 121-57; the ballade has been edited more recently by Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 120-2.

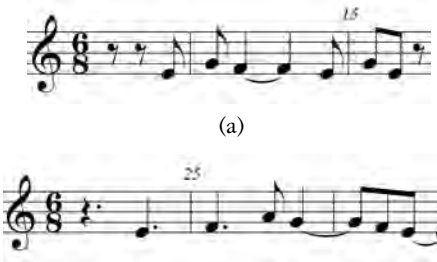
Table 1

INCIPIT, SOURCES,[a] DATING AND REMARKS	CONTEXT
1) *Par les bons Gédéon et Sanson delivré*, ballade, Philippot de Caserta Ch, 45v; ModA, 31r; T.III.2, 5v ("antipape") In honor of Clement VII, possibly at his election in Fondi (20 September 1378), or at Naples soon after (20 November), or on 10 May 1379 at the ceremony of recognition of the pope ("et qua fo la gran festa") in the Castel dell'Ovo. The text celebrates the pontificate of Clement and deplores the Schism ("Ire, devision et partialité [...] sunt cause de la sisme [...]"). Pirrotta: "the oldest of his ballades and Italian in style and mensuration (temp. imp. prol. min = quaternaria), with simple, short-range syncopations"; Strohm: "belongs to the group in minor prolation with angular melodies, like the very similar *Il est nulz hons*".	Election of the Antipope Clement VII (1378) and Joanna's recognition at Naples (1378-1379, until her imprisonment and death, 1382)
2) *Leonarde pater inclite*, Anon. motet (motet-voice) Egidi (fragment), 1v, only C1 For election as cardinal (16 December 1378) of Leonardo Rossi da Giffoni, formerly minister general of the Franciscans since 1373 (replaced by Angelo da Spoleto). His election was strongly supported by Joanna, with lavish banquet and festivities; Leonardo had been Joanna's counselor since 1374. Summonte: "Clemente fu con suoi cardinali realmente alloggiato con continui conviti e feste e, a richiesta della Regina, creò Cardinale Leonardo di Gifoni, Generale dei frati minori". Leonardo was publicly humiliated and arrested at the behest of Pope Urban in Naples 1381, then released. See Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet", 108; Di Bacco and Nádas, *The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources*, 67.	
3) *Gaudeat et exultet / Papam querentes*, Anon. motet Basel71 (fragment) Election of Clement. Avignon, 1379?	The "Avignon repertory" for Clement
4) *Inclite flos orti Gebennensis*, Latin ballade, Matheus de Sancto Johanne ModA, 15r; Ch, 41r: "Mayhuet de Joan" 1378? 1381-1382? Text praises Robert of Geneva (tenor: "pro papa Clemente"), but possibly also refers to Amadeus VI Count of Savoy. The composer was in the service of Robert of Geneva from 1371-1378, then in the chapel of Louis of Anjou in 1378, and papal chaplain at Avignon 1382-1391. Some Italian stylistic traits.	
5) *Courtois et sages*, ballata, Mag. Egidius [ModA, 35r; R, 54r] Possibly the Augustinian Egidius de Aurelianis text honors Clement and names him in an acrostic.	

[a] Basel71 = Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, F.IX.71 (fragment); Ch = Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564; Egidi = Montefiore dell'Aso, Biblioteca-Archivio di Francesco Egidi, s.n. (lost); Fountains = London, British Library, Add. 40011 B (fragments); Gr224 = Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Kript. Lat. 224 (*olim* Collocazione provvisoria 197); ModA = Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24; Pit = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568; R = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 ("Codex Reina"); T.III.2 = Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2.

INCIPIT, SOURCES, DATING AND REMARKS	CONTEXT
6) *Par le grant senz d'Adriane la sage*, ballade, Philippot de Caserta Ch, 37v; Pit, 125v-126 Naples, Avignon, or Milan: a) for election of Louis as Joanna's heir (Naples, 28-29 June 1380); b) after Joanna's imprisonment (2 September 1381) and naming Louis as her rescuer; or c) for his coronation as king of Naples (Avignon, 3 March 1382); d) in summer 1382, when he visited the Milanese court. ("lis" = "Lois", against "Theseus" = Carlo Durazzo; "Adriane" = Joanna)	Neapolitan campaign of Louis I of Anjou: adopted as heir by Joanna (1380), elected king of Naples (1382-1384), then rescuer of the Queen
7) *En atendant souffrir m'estuet*, ballade, Philippot de Caserta ModA, 20; Ch, 33v: "Jo Galiot"; R, 84v; Gr224/Dartmouth, 3v It belongs to the trio of interrelated *En attendant* songs (also by Galiot and Senleches); it cites the motto of Bernabò Visconti and it is cited in Ciconia's virelai *Sus une fontayne*. Perhaps composed after the 1382 meeting in Milan of Louis of Anjou and Bernabò Visconti.	
8) *Los, pris, honeur et avis*, Anon. ballade (Matheus de S. Johanne?) R, 60v Acrostic "Loys de France et de Valois", and describes Louis' escutcheon when invested with the title duke of Calabria, 1382.	
9) *Alme pater, pastor vere*, Fragmentary motet, 2 vv., Anon. (perhaps H. Dezier?) Fountains (fragments), 14v For Urban VI, during the siege of hiscastle at Nocera ("Luceria Christianorum") by the king's troops, January-June 1385. The text contains "captivates", "neapolitani nobiles non fuerunt nobiles", "ingrata tua patria", "intra suos muros casus duros flebiles diu pati". It refers to Urban's quarrels with the court of Naples in 1385; he brought five cardinals with him as prisoners because they had plotted against him. Poem possibly written by the English Benedectine Cardinal Adam Easton, who was one of the captives, and the only one freed, and then involved with the rhymed text of a newly instituted Office of the Visitation of the B.V.M. in 1389, set to music by "Henricus desiderii – Dezier – de Latunna": perhaps Dezier had been in Naples too as a familiar of Easton, and he may have composed the motet *Alme pater* as well.	Coronation of Charles III of Durazzo (1381) – endorsement of pope Urban VI and his arrival at Naples (1383) – then strained relationship between the two, initially when the Pope is in Aversa, then when in Nocera
a) Unspecified ceremonial Music ("con grande festa") for Charles' coronation in Naples and then for his wife Margherita and son Ladislaus (11 September and 25 November 1381) [no source] b) Unspecified liturgical Music for Christmas 1383 devised by the pope when in Naples [no source] Summonte, IV, 484: "Nella vigilia di Natale 1383, il Papa calò con suoi cardinali nell'Arcivescovado, e fur cantate le Vespere della sollennità; e nella seguente mattina, cantò la Messa nella Cappella maggiore [...] E perché li progressi che faceva Luigi in Puglia richiedeano che Carlo andasse a resisterli, per ciò il Papa nel primo di gennaro del 1384 cantò la messa in presenza del re e della Regina dove concorse tuta la città".	

We are still groping in the dark as to the identity, career, and whereabouts of its composer Philippot (Philippus Roberti? Phillipoti Andree?), as no documentary evidence concerning him (including evidence for the very seductive hypothesis of his employment at the Francophile court of Giangaleazzo Visconti)[115] has yet come to light, despite the research done.[116] And the chronology of his songs is disputed, too. The commonly held opinion (Pirrotta, Reinhard Strohm, Vivarelli) is that *Par les bons Gédéon* belongs to a slightly earlier group of his chansons with elements of Italian style and mensuration (pieces in minor prolation = *quaternaria*, with simple, short-range syncopations). There is also no evidence that this song is in intertextual dialogue with other songs of his or those of other composers (*En attendant* and its legacy).[117] Reinhard Strohm found that its "angular melodies" recall "the very similar *Il est nulz homs*" (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564 [Ch], f. 38v). Admittedly, it stands far from the smoother counterpoint of *De ma doulour* (Ch, f. 32; ModA, f. 26v), and, in my opinion, it has no trace of some of Philippot's more distinctive hallmarks as shown in Example 1(a) and (b).



(a)

(b)

Example 1. a) Philippot de Caserta, *De ma dolour*, cantus, mm. 14-15;
b) *En attendant souffrir*, cantus, mm. 24-26

Finally, it seems to me that its conventional text does not reach the same degree of literariness (in terms of precise allusions and allegories) of both *Par le grant senz d'Adriane* (= Queen Joanna) and *En attendant*. As for its author, anyone in the circle of the "*premier humanism français*"[118] – Muret, Col, Montreil, Moccia himself, or others – could have been the poet.

115. This is in addition, of course, to the presence of Bernabò Visconti's motto in *En attendant*. The entire issue has been reconsidered by Plumley, "Citation and Allusion", and Yolanda Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta", in *Johannes Ciconia, musician de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 131-68.

116. A summary of bibliographical sources is also given by Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*.

117. Plumley, "Citation and Allusion"; Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'".

118. Coville, *Gontier et Pierre Col*.

Given all that, I am inclined to reject the counter-reasoning of Plumley, who believes that Philipoctus' ballades *Par les bons Gédéon*, *Par le grant senz d'Adriane*, and *En attendant* may date from the same period, as all appear to evoke the alliance formed between Clement VII, Louis d'Anjou, Bernabò Visconti, and Count Amadeus of Savoy (a close friend of both the brothers Aimon and Robert of Geneva)[119] in early 1382 to rescue the Neapolitan kingdom (on that, see the songs listed in Table 1's third column).

Finally, I propose this possible scenario for the performance of *Par les bons Gédéon*. The Castel dell'Ovo's solemn ceremony of acknowledgment of Pope Clement on 28 May 1379 ("et qua fo la gran festa")[120] was suddenly interrupted by the shouts of the enraged Neapolitans. The populace had in fact risen up against Clement (calling him "Papa di Carnevale") and in favor of Urban ("Viva, viva Papa Urbano"), this furious and vengeful Neapolitan who, in the meantime, had already sent his trusted men to suppress the uprising. They then attacked Bernard de Rodes's archiepiscopal palace and, after that, all the nearby palaces and churches in which the *oltremontani* gathered and lived.

At this point Clement himself and his curia were forced to flee and to leave *Partenope* behind them, possibly along with their familiars and musicians: Philippot, but maybe also Matheus de Sancto Johanne, if his Latin ballade *Inclite flos orti* was really composed – as believed by Di Bacco and Nádas and as confirmed by some Italian traits of its style (above all, the lyricism of its cantus line) – before Robert of Geneva's departure.[121]

I believe that this attack on the *oltremontani* can be taken as the real "end of the Ars nova" in late-medieval Naples. Admittedly, there would be later

119. Some Italian music has been recently linked to this count; see Marco Gozzi and Michele-Manganelli, "Un nuovo frammento italiano del Trecento: Il Manoscritto M 50 della Biblioteca Michele Manganelli", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VIII. Beyond 50 Years of Ars Nova Studies at Certaldo (1959-2009)*, ed. Marco Gozzi, Agostino Ziino, and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2014), 183-216.

120. The description can also be found in the *Diurnale* […] *del Duca di Monteleone*, 18: "Alli 28 di Maggio venne Papa Clemente a Napoli al Castello dell'Uovo con tutto il Collegio, e discese con le galere sotto l'arco del Castello, dove era realmente parato e coverto sotto e sopra di drappi, e da canto il talamo ad alto colla seggia trionfale, dove il Papa sedeva, e là era M. Odo e la Regina, M. Roberto d'Artois e la Duchessa sua Moglie e due sorelle, Madama Margherita e Madama Agnesa, e Donne e Cavalieri assai, e tutti baciorono il piede al Papa […]".

121. Existing editions are: Ursula Günther, *Zehn datierbare Kompositionen der Ars Nova* (Hamburg: University of Hamburg, 1959; Willi Apel, ed., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century*, Vol. 3, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, 53 (Rome-Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 200; *French Secular Music: Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 564*, nos. 51-100. Yolanda Plumley believes it unlikely that Matheus was with Clement in Italy at the time of the latter's election, given that in November 1378 the musician belonged to Louis of Anjou's household; see also Di Bacco and Nádas, "The Papal Chapels".

opportunities for revivals of French culture in the city, as can be seen in Appendix 1.[122]

It is possible that, through systematic research on these periods, searching French archives as well, new information on a disputed "Neapolitan" Ars Nova will finally come to light.

APPENDIX 1

THE ANJOU AND ANJOU-DURAZZO RULERS

- Robert the Wise (r. 1309-1343)
- Joanna I of Naples (r. 1343-1382: in exile 1348-1352 and imprisoned 1381-1382)
- Charles III of Durazzo (r. 1381-1386)
- Louis I of Anjou, rival claimant and adopted as heir by Joanna (r. 1382-1384)
- Ladislaus of Durazzo, son of Charles III (child king from 1386 with his mother as regent, coronation in 1390, r. until 1414)
- Louis II of Anjou, son of Louis I, rival claimant (r. 1389-1399)
- Joanna II, second daughter of Charles III (r. 1414-1435)
- Louis III of Anjou, rival claimant, adopted as heir by Joanna II (r. 1417-1426)
- René of Anjou (r. 1435-1442, effective 1438-1442, until his defeat by Alfonso V of Aragon)

APPENDIX 2

A COMPARISON OF TWO LISTS OF REGISTERS FROM CAPASSO, [«INVENTARIO CRONOLOGICO SISTEMATICO DEI REGISTRI ANGIOINI»]

A 1568 inventory listing 436 volumes of Registers includes:
- 51 for the reign of Charles I
- 151 for the reign of Charles II

122. Most significantly during the decade 1390-1399 during the reign of Louis II of Anjou; then from 1417 to 1426, when Louis III of Anjou was adopted as heir by Queen Joanna II; and, finally, from 1435 to 1442, during the reign René of Anjou and his wife Isabella of Lorraine.

- 182 for the reigns of Robert the Wise and Charles the Illustrious, Duke of Calabria
- 32 for the reign of Joanna I (only for the years 1343-1352)
- 3 for the reign of Charles III of Durazzo
- 9 for the reign of Ladislaus
- 4 for the reign of Joanna II

A 1854 inventory lists 378 volumes, distributed thusly:
- 49 for the reign of Charles I
- 136 for the reign of Charles II
- 147 for the reigns of Robert the Wise and Charles the Illustrious, Duke of Calabria
- 25 for the reign of Joanna I (only for the years 1343-1352)
- 3 for the reign of Charles III of Durazzo
- 11 for the reign of Ladislaus
- 7 for the reign of Joanna II

ABSTRACT

A survey on music at the time of Joanna I, Queen of Naples (1343-1382), is offered here (probably for the first time), relying mainly on miniatures, poetry and documents from secondary literature, in an attempt to compensate for the lack of direct documentation, due to the well-known loss of archival sources. Special attention is given to the liturgy and the continuity of the local liturgical practice since the time of King Robert and during the troubled reign of her niece Joanna, up to the outbreak of the Schism, an event in which she – and her entourage including musicians – were fatally involved.

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