Arms, A Saint and

Imperial sedendo fra più stelle:
The Illuminator of Mod A

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

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2 Instead of the drab brown Common Nightingale (*Luscinia megarhynchos*), the illuminator drew what appears to be the European Goldfinch (*Carduelis carduelis*). His Common Cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*) bears the characteristic spotted plumage and long tail, but its beak and feet resemble those of a parrot.
“Love” and honor his beloved, he painted a little cupid. Elsewhere, the connections between song texts and our illuminator’s figures are more symbolic. For Egidius’s *Francois sunt nobles* he painted his only historiated initial showing Jubal or Tubalcaín listening intently to the sounds that a pair of proportionally weighted hammers produced when struck on an anvil. Although it might relate to the song’s call for the French nation to rule through its noble character, I believe he intended this well-known allegory for the biblical invention of music to appear at the very start of the manuscript as it was originally conceived.\(^3\) Below the initial at the beginning of Egardus’s *Gloria*, he also painted a haloed saint in Franciscan habit carrying lilies to represent Saint Anthony of Padua. He paid special attention to *Imperial sedendo fra piu stelle*. In the margin of this ceremonial madrigal he painted the gold-winged Saracen crest employed by the Carrara lords of Padua. When it came to the initial “I” for this song, he was more cryptic, painting in it a group of seven stars on a midnight-blue background.

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

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

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

gatherings II and III (Mod A_{II-III}) and its implications for our understanding of Mod A_{II-IV} will be the focus of this article.\footnote{On Mod A_{I/V} see Pedro Memelsdorff, “What’s in a Sign? The ♮ and the Copying Process of a Medieval Manuscript: The Codex Modena, Biblioteca Estense, z.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568),” Studi Musicali 30 (2001): 255–79; Stone, The Manuscript Modena, 49–60 and 108–9. For a persuasive argument that connects Matheus de Perusio’s motet \textit{Ave sancta mundi / Agnus dei} from Mod A_{I/V} with Alexander V and the final sessions of the Council of Pisa, see Benjamin Brand, “Viator ducens ad celestia: Eucharistic Piety, Papal Politics, and an Early Fifteenth-Century Motet,” Journal of Musicology 20, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 250–84.}

In her recent study accompanying the color facsimile of Mod A, Anne Stone argues that current knowledge of the biographies and internal evidence from the works of composers named in Mod A_{II-IV} “suggest that the unique Italian repertory was composed ca. 1400–1410 in Lombardy and in the ambitus of the Pisan Pope.”\footnote{Stone, The Manuscript Modena, 83.} By Italian repertory Stone refers to music by composers connected to the Visconti of Milan/Pavia and Pietro Filargo during his episcopate of Milan and his pontificate as Alexander V (1409–1410).\footnote{On Filargo, see Nerio Malvezzi, “Alessandro V. Papa a Bologna,” Atti e memorie della reale deputazione de storia patria per la provincie di Romagna, Series 3, 9 (1891): 362–79, and 10 (1892): 39–55.} Stone questions whether Mod A_{II-IV} was indeed copied for Filargo, suggesting that it “merely collects repertory that can be associated with him,” and leaving the provenance of the manuscript “in the realm of the speculative.”\footnote{Stone, The Manuscript Modena, 90.} Stone thus acknowledges the problematic nature of music manuscript studies that rely on repertory for determining a source’s origin.


\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{Stone, The Manuscript Modena, 83.}
  \item \footnote{Stone, The Manuscript Modena, 90.}
a reading of the images in the context of late medieval representation, especially of heraldic and astrological symbols. Images frequently have special social, political, and religious connotations linked to a particular locale. To decipher these meanings and to reveal the cultural identity of the illuminator, I analyze evidence from art history, contemporary documents, literature, and musical settings. I also offer a limited critical assessment of the transmission of works in Mod A singled out for special treatment by the illuminator and a discussion of the identity of the composer of *Imperial sedendo*.

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

**The Illuminator of Mod A**

Early investigators linked the style of the illumination in Mod A to the school of Nicolo` di Giacomo di Nascimbene (*fl.*1349–1403) in Bologna. In 1994 Stone cast doubt on the geographical specificity of these conclusions, noting Bolognese elements in the work of one of Nicolò’s
followers, the anonymously styled Novella Master, active in Padua. The considerable progress in the past thirty years in identifying illuminators around the turn of the fifteenth century has necessitated a wholesale reevaluation of earlier scholarship. In the most recent discussion of Mod A’s decoration, Federica Toniolo argues that the illuminator’s miniatures show affinities with the style of several master illuminators active in Bologna or the surrounding Emilia region, including the Master of 1411, the Master of the Brussels Initials, the Master of the Giordano Orsini Missal, and the Master of the De civitate Dei. To assess the relationship of the work of Mod A’s illuminator with other examples of book painting from the early fifteenth century, we have to consider the interrelation of various elements of book decoration: how the initials, miniatures, and other decorations, such as stylized acanthus leaves or drolleries, unite to form a whole. I am indebted to Toniolo’s magisterial study, but I also bring my own readings of the evidence at hand in search of the cultural identity of our illuminator.

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

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15 See Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani: Secoli ix–xvi, ed. Bollati.

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


FIGURE 1. Master of 1411, frontispiece from Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, ms. 641, fol. 1r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna
limbs move beneath them. Saint Anthony and the little cupid in Mod A have the same ashen skin tones (a slightly greyish complexion) as the figures in the Matricola frontispiece. Shared stylistic features suggest that the same artist, or an artist directly influenced by the Master of 1411, is behind both (fig. 2).

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

Figure 2a–b. (Continued)
our illuminator’s late gothic style, the approach of Master of the Giordano Orsini Missal to human form looks toward the International Gothic, exhibiting, for example, an attention to capturing folds of cloth and the use of stylized gestures in representing human figures. Although in miniatures by the Master of the De civitate Dei the figures are similarly ashen, his decorative foliage demonstrates a greater subtlety of shading and relief-like effects than that of the illuminator of Mod A.

Clearly, we have to look at the illuminator of Mod A in the context of other sources from around the turn of the fifteenth century.

A distinctive feature of Mod A is its painted gothic “ribbon” initials, a type occasionally found in manuscripts from Lombardy, the Veneto, and the Emilia. Of the three manuscripts that Toniolo singles out for their ribbon initials’ stylistic vicinity to those in Mod A, a manuscript that I shall call Estense Psalter A most closely resembles the overall decorative program of the illuminator of Mod A. Of the several artists discernible in this Olivetan psalter from the abbey of San Michele

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


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


Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms. z.Q.1.2 = Lat. 1015. Toniolo states that this source’s initials are very close to that of Mod A (see fols. 45r, 118v); Toniolo, “L’immagine di Tubalcain-Iubal,” 164.
The art historians have identified two illuminators working in a so-called Paduan style: one also responsible for illuminating most of a *Psalterium secundum ritum fratrum Montis Oliveti* (Psalter according the rite of the Olivetans) that I shall call Estense Psalter B; and another whose work also survives in a Paduan Antiphonal and another psalter in the Estense Library. But the Master of 1411 is also present in Estense Psalter A. Most recently Massimo Medica has demonstrated plausible stylistic parallels between the *Matricola* frontispiece and various figures in the initials of Estense Psalter A.

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

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

This

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25 Fava and Salmi, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca estense*, 53–57. Several illuminated initials feature Olivetan monks in their distinctive white robes (see fols. 58r, 104v and 105v).
26 Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms. a.R.1.1 = Lat. 1017.
28 Medica, “Miniatura e committenza,” 76.
29 The Saint John the Baptist initial is reproduced in ibid., 74.
31 These psalters were among the 348 manuscripts that Tommaso Obizzi del Cataio willed to the Este family following his death in 1803, although the collection did not arrive in the Estense Ducal Library until 1817; see Anna Rosa Venturi, “La raccolta libraria di Tommaso Obizzi, corollario delle sue collezioni eclettiche,” in *Gli Estensi e il Cataio: Aspetti del collezionismo tra sette e ottocento*, ed. Elena Corradini (Modena; Milan: Università degli Studi di Modena e Reggio Emilia; F. Motti, 2007), 101–15.
and an additional payment by Paduan monks strongly suggest that this psalter was destined for the Olivetan monastery of Santa Maria della Riviera near Padua.\textsuperscript{33}

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

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Payments to Giacomo da Padova (Bologna, Biblioteca dell’Archiginnasio, Raccolta Malvezzi de’ Medici, vol. 51: Notizie antiche spettanti al monasterio di S. Michele in Bosco)}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
Date & Payment Note \\
\hline
1 April 1407 & A di 1 Aprile 1407 per miniare il Salterio della Riviera Lire 1 e 13 soldi (fol. 3v) \\
9 April 1407 & A di 9 aprile 1407 a Giacomo miniatore parte di suo salario Lire 14 (fol. 3v) \\
25 August 1409 & Adi 25 agosto 1409 a d. Giacomo da Padoa per il frati di Padova per Salterio Lire 33.15 (fol. 4r) \\
1404 (1407?) & 1404. Sicome altro m. Giacomo miniava un libro corale che lo chiamavano Salterio (fol. 38r) \\
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\end{tabular}
\end{table}

and the additional payment by Paduan monks strongly suggest that this psalter was destined for the Olivetan monastery of Santa Maria della Riviera near Padua.\textsuperscript{33}


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

\textsuperscript{34} Carteggio di Paolo Guinigi, ed. Luigi Fumi and Eugenio Lazzareschi, Memorie e documenti della storia di Lucca, 16, 1; Regesti del R. Archivio di Stato in Lucca, 3, 1 (Lucca: Giusti, 1925), 329 (no. 891), available online http://www.archiviodistatoilucca.it/file admin/template/allegati/biblioteca/fumi_lazzareschi.pdf. On 29 October Viviani again recommends “Dompno Iacomo miniatore” to Guigini and indicates the monk was prepared to take up the lord’s employment offer (il quale...volentieri delibera vivere et morire sotto l’ombra della V[signoria] et pertanto ve[llo] racomando per amore di Dio); Carteggio di Paolo Guinigi, ed. Fumi and Lazzareschi, 372 (no. 1051).
renowned Master of the Brussels Initials,\textsuperscript{35} which is implausible based on recent research.\textsuperscript{36} Mariani Canova argues that Giacomo da Padova might be one of the illuminators painting in the so-called Paduan style in either Estense Psalter A or B.\textsuperscript{37}

Curiously the Master of 1411 demonstrates an excellent knowledge of the heraldry of the Carrara, the family that had ruled Padua up to 1405. On the far right in his \textit{Matricola} frontispiece (fig. 1), two shields lean against a nearby column: the one in front bears the classic form of the Carrara arms, the red oxcart; the one behind it bears Medici arms.\textsuperscript{38} The Carrara arms are accurately drawn and immediately recognizable. The Master of 1411’s accurate depiction and prominent placement of the Carrara arms suggest that he had recalled the insignia of power adorning the banners and buildings of Padua prior to January 1406, when the house of Carrara fell and the citizens of Padua became the subjects of Venice. Documentary evidence shows that the new Venetian authorities had all insignia of Carrara power removed from Padua’s civic buildings and strictly prohibited any display of the symbols of the former lords of Padua in Venice’s territories.\textsuperscript{39}
The earliest evidence for the Master of 1411’s activity in Bologna comes from a leaf inserted into a book that belonged to the Smiths’ Guild in Bologna in 1404. The presence of the arms of Pope Boniface IX, Baldassare Cossa (later John XXIII), and the commune of Bologna confirm the date in the edict found below the Master of 1411’s illumination: Cossa, as papal legate, had effectively brought Bologna under his rule by November 1403 and Boniface was dead by October 1404. By 1404, Francesco II Novello da Carrara had plunged Padua headlong into a devastating and unwinnable war against Venice. We cannot know for sure, but for a promising illuminator from an Olivetan house in Padua (perhaps Santa Maria della Riviera in nearby Polverara) a move to a sister house and its famed scriptorium at Bologna around this time may have offered an escape from the war-torn Padua. That two prominent guilds of Bologna—the Smiths in 1404 and the Drapers in 1411—called upon the Master of 1411 suggests that he had a considerable reputation.

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

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41 Medica, “Miniatura e committenza,” 71.

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

43 Medica had proposed that the Master of 1411 was the Bolognese illuminator Giovanni di fra’ Silvestro, also active in Siena, in Medica, “Maestro del 1411,” 477. The same author subsequently proved that Giovanni di fra’ Silvestro was instead the Master of the Brussels Initials, in Medica, “Un nome per il ‘Maestro delle Iniziali di Bruxelles’,” 11–22.
Yet, due to the relative paucity of stylistic evidence in Mod A, an art-historical approach alone cannot confirm that its illuminator was the Master of 1411. Mod A contains only four painted figures, making comparison with other manuscripts problematic. Despite the abundance of ribbon initials, our illuminator decorates his initials sparingly with stylized foliage or drolleries, again rendering comparison with the more luxurious examples difficult. Nonetheless, the similarity between the figural style of the illuminator of Mod A and the Master of 1411’s frontispiece and miniatures in Estense Psalter A, between the ribbon initials in Mod A and Estense Psalter A, and between the late medieval Bolognese style of illumination and Mod A’s decorative style seem to point to a common origin. Consequently, San Michele in Bosco in Bologna emerges as a highly plausible context for Mod A’s decoration.

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

44 Jonathan Alexander cautions that “perhaps some of the divisions commonly made on grounds of quality… might be interpreted rather as differences caused by more or less haste, more or less care, or more or less money available from the patron to pay for materials and time.” J. J. G. Alexander, Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 127–29. Scale is also an issue: historiated initials in Estense Psalter A are 7 to 8 centimeters tall. In Mod the largest initial on fol. 11r is only 3 centimeters tall.
45 Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium, ed. Albano Sorbelli, vol. iii, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, xviii, pt 1 (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1900), 536.
47 If we consider that Estense Psalter A contains 68 large initials and accept that it was the “salterio della Riviera” commissioned in 1407, the 877 days between the commission of the manuscript’s illumination and the final payment presumably upon its completion suggests it took on average not more (and most likely less) than 13 days to complete a large initial. These calculations do not take into account any smaller initials or the two large border decorations in this psalter. Since Mod A’s initials and decorations are more modest in their size and decoration, it is feasible that the illumination of one historiated and several smaller initials could have been hastily completed in just two weeks.
in the following six months, but not later than the end of March 1411 when the papal curia departed Bologna for Rome.\footnote{Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium, ed. Sorbelli, 537. John XXIII was in Rome by 12 April 1411; see Noël Valois, La France et le Grand Schisme d’Occident, 4 vols. (Paris: Alfonse Picard et fils, 1896–1902), 4:138.}

That several songs copied onto spare staves at the bottom of pages in Mod A\textsubscript{II–III} lack painted initials shows that the illuminated gatherings passed back into the hands of Scribe II–IV. As best we can tell, Scribe II–IV had copied most compositions into Mod A\textsubscript{II–III} prior to handing it over to our illuminator. The illuminator generally avoids staves and music copied by Scribe II–IV, but occasionally he paints over part of a clef (fols. 12r, 30r), a staff (fol. 18r), an ascription (fol. 28v, 8th staff), a ligature (fol. 11r), or even an accidental sign (fol. 19v). Several songs entered into the bottom two or three staves of a page use small gothic ink initials in place of illuminated initials. Their music notation also contains subtle differences of ink quality and pen size compared to the compositions already entered above.\footnote{Those pieces entered at the bottom of pages with a slightly narrower pen or different ink and accompanied by gothic ink initials include Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo’s Sol me trafic ‘l cor (fol. 13v), the anonymous A qui fortune (folks. 19v–20r), Johannes Ciconia’s Quod jactatur and the anonymous Tres doulz regart (fol. 30v). Jacob de Senleches’s Fusions de ci (fol. 14v) is also among the late entries into Mod A\textsubscript{II–IV}, but it lacks initials. Hors suis je bien (folks. 12v–13r) is also added at the bottom of a page and uses gothic ink initials, but the size of its notes and ink is no different from the rest of the page. Also see Stone, The Manuscript Modena, 37.} Both pieces of evidence suggest that Scribe II–IV added these compositions after our illuminator had finished his work in a subsequent copying phase. This also suggests that Scribe II–IV was responsible for these gothic ink initials.\footnote{Ibid., 29, assumes Scribe II–IV wrote the small gothic ink initials.} Due to the professional quality of the unique filigree that adorns the contratenor’s gothic “C” on fol. 11r, I suspect that our illuminator chose to paint ribbon initials because Scribe II–IV had already added gothic ink initials to some lower voices of compositions beforehand.

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

\textit{Contextualizing Imperial sedendo}

The illuminator added to \textit{Imperial sedendo} a uniquely decorated initial and a marginal crest (Mod A, fols. 29v–30r; see fig. 3). This madrigal is one of only seven Italian-texted songs found in Mod A\textsubscript{II–IV}. 
Imperial sedendo fra piu stelle
Dal ciel disces’ un carro d’onor digno
Socto signor d’ogn’altro ma beningno

Le rote sue guidavan quactro dompne
Iustitia e temperanc con forteçça
[Et am prudentia con cotanta alteçça]*

Nel meç’ un sarayn con l’ale d’oro
Tene ’l fabricator de so thexoro.

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

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

The red oxcart was the armorial emblem of the Carrara, the family whom the commune of Padua entrusted with the task of leading and protecting the city after 1318.\textsuperscript{54} Following murderous mid-century dynastic struggles, Francesco Il Vecchio da Carrara ruled Padua during a period
**Figure 3.** *Imperial sedendo*, Mod A, fol. 30r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena. Imaging by DIAMM
of great prosperity, fostering the pictorial, literary, and musical arts in a display of the family's power and wealth.\textsuperscript{55} Backed by Venice, Giangaleazzo Visconti brought the rule of Il Vecchio to an abrupt end in 1388. Il Vecchio abdicated in favor of his son Francesco II Novello da Carrara, who, unable to face the Visconti–Venetian threat, escaped into exile. After less than two years II Novello seized back Padua from the Visconti. The next fifteen years (1390–1405) were seldom peaceful, and finally Venice annexed Padua, ousting the Carrara. No wonder that for II Novello the study of arms took precedence over the study of letters.\textsuperscript{56} Nevertheless, he and members of his family continued to devote considerable resources to the arts during this last period of Carrara rule in Padua.

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


\textsuperscript{58} Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, ms. XX 437. Based upon the colophon on fol. 85r, Griffante dates this copy to 1427; Caterina Griffante, \textit{Il trattato de Curru carrariensis di Francesco de Caronellis} (Venice: Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1983), 55n145. Griffante provides an edition of the prologue and \textit{somnium} of Caronelli’s treatise. The treatise proper, the \textit{Carrass ethologicus}, remains unedited.

\textsuperscript{59} Élisabeth Pellegrin, \textit{La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan, au XVe siècle} (Paris: Service des Publications du CNRS, 1955), 216. The manuscripts confiscated from
Figure 4. The Carrara Arms in the Paris *De carru carrariensis*, fol. 9v. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
associates the theological and cardinal virtues with the Carrara arms (fig. 4). Each wheel (*rota*) of the red oxcart is associated with one of the four cardinal virtues, fortitude (*fortitudinis*), prudence (*prudentie*), temperance (*temperancie*) and justice (*iusticie*), thus providing a visual analogue to the textual allegory of *Inperial sedendo*. The theological virtues also appear: hope (*spes*) on the rear axel, faith (*fides*) on the front axel, and—fittingly for the virtue that rules all other virtues—charity (*charitas*) in the driver’s seat.\(^{60}\)

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

If *Inperial sedendo* was composed in late 1401, as Pierluigi Petrobelli proposed, then it might indeed mark the influence of the newly arrived Johannes Ciconia on its composer.\(^{64}\) Conversely, Sarah Carleton Latta’s recent re-dating of *Inperial* to between 1376 and 1378 suggests that the

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

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


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

EXAMPLE 1. (a) *Imperial sedendo* (after Mod A), mm. 68–81, compared with selected portions from songs of Johannes Ciconia (b, c)
EXAMPLE 2. (a) *Imperial sedendo* (after Mod A), mm. 104–21, compared with (b) Johannes Ciconia’s *O rosa bella*, mm. 57–62
style of its older composer influenced Ciconia as seems to be the case in a handful of Ciconia’s songs composed in a diverse range of styles before his arrival in Padua in 1401. Petrobelli observed the textual correspondences between the madrigal and descriptions of Carrara festivities during the fall of 1401, although he mistakenly associated the text of Imperial with the troup of the imperial colors at Trent and not the magnificent entry of the emperor into Padua in early November 1401, after which Francesco II Novello da Carrara was reinvested as imperial captain.

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

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


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

At least one early twentieth-century historian, Ezio Levi, took Mod A’s ascription to Datalo at face value. He proposed that the composer of *Imperial* was Domenico Datalo, first herald to the *signoria* at Venice and organist at San Marco’s from 1369 until his death in 1375. Levi also mentions a certain Datalo di nome Marco, prior at the church of S. Cassiano, Venice, in 1420. A Bartolomeo Datalo is documented as a priest at the same church in 1426; see *Delle memorie venete antiche profane ed ecclesiastiche raccolte*, ed. Giambattista Galliccioli (Venice: Domenico Fracasso, 1795), 7:39. This date seems too late and does not mention the priest’s connection to Padua, order or musical abilities. That either Datalo is a Carmelite is unlikely.

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### TABLE 2.
Sources of *Imperial* sedendo

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

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71 Ezio Levi, *Francesco di Vannozzo e la lirica nelle corti lombarde durante la seconda metà del secolo XIV* (Florence: Tipografia Galletti e Cocci, 1908), 315. Levi also mentions a certain *Datalo di nome Marco*, prior at the church of S. Cassiano, Venice, in 1420. A Bartolomeo Datalo is documented as a priest at the same church in 1426; see *Delle memorie venete antiche profane ed ecclesiastiche raccolte*, ed. Giambattista Galliccioli (Venice: Domenico Fracasso, 1795), 7:39. This date seems too late and does not mention the priest’s connection to Padua, order or musical abilities. That either Datalo is a Carmelite is unlikely.
a patronymic, and does not explain the toponym “de padua” in Mod A. But he recognizes that “dactalus” latinizes a common north Italian name, Datalo or Datolo. Scribe II–IV often goes to some lengths when ascribing songs to particular individuals. From his ascriptions we learn that Egidius and Corrado da Pistoia are Augustinian Hermits, Bartolomeo da Bologna a Benedictine monk. The ascription of *Inperial sedendo* (fol. 21r) to “frater carmelitus” resonates with Bartolino’s portrait in the Squarcialupi Codex where he is painted wearing the habit of a Carmelite monk. Rather than being sloppy in his ascriptions, Scribe II–IV displays a familiarity with his contemporaries, which suggests that “datalus” is not an error, but the proper name of the composer of *Imperial sedendo*. 

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

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72 Datalo is also Venetian for *dattero*, the fruit of the date palm.

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

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

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

76 I do not consider the embellished instrumental version in the Faenza Codex here.

77 Another unique, plausible reading in Mod A occurs in the upper voice at measure 91. Lucca, Pit, and the Squarcialupi Codex all share another reading, with a third, more elaborate reading found in Reina.
significance of *Imperial sedendo* rests, however, in how the illuminator of Mod A chose to decorate it using symbols of Paduan culture, despite the likelihood that this copy of *Imperial* was prepared outside Padua and after the fall of the Carrara.

**Mod A**II–III illuminator’s knowledge of Paduan culture

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

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

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

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80 Sixteenth-century commemorative medallions sometimes present the Carrara coat of arms in a face-on perspective. See figure 9 in Giovanni Gorini, “Le medaglie carraresi: genesi e fortuna,” in *Padova Carrarese: Atti del convegno, Padova, Reggia dei Carraresi, 11-12 Dicembre 2003*, ed. Oddone Longo (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2005), 347. For bringing my attention to the cultural and artistic significance of the Carrara medallions and coins, I am most grateful to Dr Inés Villela-Petit, Conservatrice du patrimoine, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
part of one or more constellations). Based on early fifteenth-century star maps and astrological cycles of zodiacal or parazodiacal constellations, the group of stars on fol. 30r can be connected to two closely related constellations: Ursa Minor (the Little Bear) and the asterism formed by the seven brightest stars of Ursa Major (the Great Bear). Based on early fifteenth-century star maps and astrological cycles of zodiacal or parazodiacal constellations, the group of stars on fol. 30r can be connected to two closely related constellations: Ursa Minor (the Little Bear) and the asterism formed by the seven brightest stars of Ursa Major (the Great Bear). Both these star groups were known in Latin antiquity as the Plaustra (the ox-carts). The Anglophone world knows them as the Little and Big Dipper or the Wains. Even today, Italians call them Il carro piccolo (the little ox-cart) and Il carro grande (the great ox-cart). In his Liber introductorius Michael Scot notes that the seven brightest stars of Ursa Major and the constellation of Ursa Minor are both named Carrus. The earliest surviving illustrated copy of Scot’s influential handbook on astrology was created in Padua ca. 1340, suggesting it was well known in there. I have already noted that the word carrus is used in Carronelli’s De carru carrariensis and elsewhere to refer to the Carrara arms. The lexicographical link between


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

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

Figure 6. Zodiac, Cupola ceiling of the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo, Florence. © Photo SCALA, Florence
5–7 reveal different medieval conventions for representing constellations. In the azimuthal projections of the northern sky in Reinhard’s and Dürer’s map, the configuration of stars mirrors the earth-bound representation that appears on the ceiling of the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo.  


Strangely, the San Lorenzo map shows Ursa Minor with its feet toward Ursa Major. Both bears are more commonly shown back-to-back just as in Reinhard’s and Dürer’s maps.
Figure 8 compares the seven brightest stars of Ursa Major in these star maps with the initial of *Imperial*. To facilitate comparison the San Lorenzo Ursa Major has been reversed and all star map constellations have been rotated to match the initial in Mod A. In Figure 8 different types of dotted lines connect equivalent stars across each representation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

89 Classical authors, no doubt providing a model for medieval poets, associate *Plaustrum* or its alternative name *Sarracum* with Boötes. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.446–47; Juvenal, *Satires* 1.5.23; Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6.73–75 (where *temo* is a synecdoche for *plaustrum*). Also see André Le Boeuffe, *Les noms latins d’astres et de constellations* (Paris: Société d’édition “Les belles lettres”, 1977), 82–89.
traveling along the Milky Way.\textsuperscript{90} Moreover, that this same oxcart travels “from fair stars where serenity is fixed” may be yet another reference to the fixed North Pole Star in Ursa Minor, although it might simply refer to the medieval belief in the incorruptibility of celestial bodies.

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

This confirms that the group of stars in the initial of \textit{Imperial} cannot represent the constellation of Auriga (the Charioteer) as Petrobelli proposed.\textsuperscript{93} First, the complex constellation of Auriga in no way resembles


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

\textsuperscript{93} Ibid., 97. \textit{Auriga} is also called \textit{Agitator} in the middle ages.
the group of stars in this initial. The common representations of this constellation feature a quadrilateral group of stars forming the shoulders and feet of the charioteer surmounted by a further star representing his head, and two or more stars out each side for arms. Reinhard of Salzburg numbers twelve stars in this constellation. Petrobelli might have based his assumption on Auriga’s namesake Erichthonius, who was credited in Ancient Greek mythology with inventing the quadriga, the four-horse chariot. But the Italian carro and the Latin carrus or plaustrum does not mean chariot but oxcart. All three words can in turn signify a specific constellation, a heraldic symbol, and the ruling house of Padua.

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

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

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96 A representative example from late fourteenth-century Padua showing Saint Francis with stigmata can be found in the historiated initial in Caronelli’s De carru carrariensis in Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, lat. 6468, fol. 10r.
97 For further details on the iconography of Saint Anthony of Padua in north Italy, see George Kaftal and Fabio Bisogni, Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), coll. 74–77.
Padua, patterns of transmission indicate that his Gloria was well known in the northeast corner of Italy (table 3). The Udine manuscript is part of a complex of northeastern Italian fragments, which include the flyleaves from MSS 63 and 98 in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Cividale de Friuli that several music historians have connected to the general council that Pope Gregory XII convened at Cividale in 1409.\(^9\) The Paduan source of Egardus’s Gloria belongs to a complex of musical fragments copied by Rolandus de Casali, a Benedictine monk documented between the years 1396 and 1448 at the Abbey of Santa Giustina in Padua.\(^1\) The

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


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

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

One further piece of circumstantial evidence shows that polyphonic music for the cult of Saint Anthony was already a concern in early fifteenth-century Padua. Rolandus de Casali copied a unique polyphonic setting of Julian of Speyer’s hymn for Saint Anthony of Padua,
Though only a single upper voice and tenor survive, the anonymous setting exhibits many of the hallmarks of Ciconia’s motet style cultivated in Padua. Surely it was composed for the saint’s cult in Padua. The transmission of Egardus’s Gloria in northeast Italy and the illuminator’s choice to decorate its Mod A version with a miniature of the saint indicates that Egardus’s Gloria was used for the cult of Saint Anthony in Padua.

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

In pictorial allegories of the seven liberal arts, Trecento illuminators regularly portray Jubal–Tubalcaín in front of another allegory, Lady Music, who is shown as a young finely dressed woman playing a portative organ or lute. Two notable examples of this double iconography originate from the workshop of Nicколо da Bologna. The same allegory appears in the famous frontispiece (fol. 1r) of Pit, a collection of Trecento song...
contemporaneous with Mod A. But Michael Long has recently shown that the biblical figure of Jubal–Tubalcain represented the art of music in its own right. With only limited space before the indented first staff of fol. 11r in Mod A, the illuminator chose to paint an initial historiated with Jubal–Tubalcain to symbolize the musical craft behind the compositions on the following pages.

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

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

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113 See table 2 above. This frontispiece can be viewed online at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France’s Gallica website: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84490281/f29.image.r, and in Brown, “St. Augustine, Lady Music, and the Gittern in Fourteenth-Century Italy,” 61.
115 The only other place the first staff is indented is on fol. 31r, at the beginning of gathering IV, but there we find only a large red initial.
116 This statistic excludes the palimpsest on fol. 16r containing Matheus de Perusio’s *Pres du soloil*. Stone tentatively connects *Pres du soloil* with a device that Filippo Maria Visconti adopted no earlier than 1426; Stone, *The Manuscript Modena*, 102–107.
117 Ibid., 27.
118 Ibid.
with musical notation. Indeed it would be unusual for a late medieval illuminator to work on anything but loose bifolia.\textsuperscript{119} Finally, gatherings II–IV are externally non-contingent. No music begins on the verso of one gathering and ends of the recto of the following gathering, which makes it difficult to be certain about the intended sequence of gatherings.\textsuperscript{120} This does not prove that Mod A\textsubscript{II-IV} lacked foliation prior to illumination. But the compositions copied across openings within a gathering and sequential leaf letters within gatherings prove that Mod A\textsubscript{II-IV} did not require foliation at this stage. As for additional evidence for completed gatherings lacking original foliation, we need look no further than Mod A\textsubscript{I/V}.\textsuperscript{121}

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

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

The patterns of transmission in Mod A\textsubscript{II-IV} suggest that this manuscript is one or two removes from hypearchetypes used by scribes in the Veneto, relying at times instead on exemplars that might have been transmitted northwards from Rome.\textsuperscript{122} Even without a stemmatic analysis of the transmission of Mod A’s works, my discussion of Imperial sedendo


\textsuperscript{120} Gatherings I and II are now contingent: Scribe I/V copied the end of the Contratenor of Matheus de Perusio’s \textit{Dame que j’aym sour toutes} onto the bottom of fol. 11r.

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

gives some sense of the distance between Mod A and putative Paduan exemplars. Additionally, although Scribe II–IV displays some interest in the works of Johannes Ciconia, it appears that he could lay his hands only on two of Ciconia’s works, *Sus un’fontayne* and *Quod jactatur*, both possibly from the last decade of the fourteenth century. Ciconia’s music containing explicit textual references to Paduan and, after 1406, Venetian institutions and public figures from the period 1401–1412 when the composer was *custos* and singer in Padua cathedral are absent from Mod A. 

Perhaps access to Ciconia’s compositions was restricted while the composer was still living, but this seems not to be the case when we look at the frequency with which they appear in the Paduan fragments and the Lucca manuscript. In short, these additional considerations make it improbable that Mod AII–IV was created in pre- or post-1406 Padua.

**Conclusions**

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

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

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

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**ABSTRACT**

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

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