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HUMANISM, PHILIPPE DE VITRY, AND THE ARS NOVA

by

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Abstract

This thesis will demonstrate as conclusively as possible the humanist basis of the Ars Nova, centered in the fourteenth-century French literary tradition. The milieu and works of Philippe de Vitry and his association with well-known influential humanists such as Petrarch will be closely examined.

Since at least the turn of the century historians of art, literature, and philosophy have traced the beginnings of the "Italian" Renaissance and the first stirrings of humanism to the beginning decades of the fourteenth century. It is only recently, however, that musicologists have been able to begin to do the same. Much of the recent research that supports this will be consolidated, and a picture will be presented of a fourteenth-century humanist and composer; an individual who had a profound impact on the music of his time and set the stage for the musical developments of what has been accepted as the actual "Renaissance" in music: Philippe de Vitry.

In 1981, Roy Martin Ellefsen asserted in his doctoral dissertation that, though virtually labeled as such by Petrarch, with whom he was in close contact, Vitry was not, in fact, a humanist. Recent research, however, may prove the opposite and, through the compilation of this information, it will be possible to show the humanist impetus behind Vitry's music and the developments of the Ars Nova.

An initial study of Paul Oskar Kristeller's book *Renaissance Thought,* begins to give some idea that there is, in fact, a French humanist connection. Kristeller asserts in this work that Italian humanism is a hybrid of the "novel interest in classical studies imported from France toward the end of the thirteenth century and the much earlier traditions of Medieval rhetoric." Clearly there is a suggestion of a sort of proto-humanism imported from France around the time that Vitry would have been actively pursuing his scholarly interests. The fact that Petrarch, the consummate early humanist, held Vitry in very high regard also suggests that humanism, or some prototypical form of it, could well be involved in the thought processes that influenced Vitry and others who brought about the musical changes associated with the Ars Nova. This thesis will show a verifiable humanist influence on the music of the early Ars Nova, and that the music of this period was not, as William Manchester says, a "Renaissance laggard," but that its advances and changes were contemporary with the beginnings of the Renaissance in the other arts, and perhaps influential upon them.

Introduction

In his 1981 doctoral dissertation, Roy Martin Ellefsen states, that Philippe de Vitry "cannot be considered a humanist."[1] He writes:

> He may have been literate, sophisticated and multi-talented, but he did not "personify the humanistic spirit par excellence." Whatever stirrings of humanism worked within him had little or no influence of the medieval, contemplative, architectonic aesthetic of his music.[2]

It is intended in this thesis to show, through careful examination of both musical and literary traditions in France during the Middle Ages, that Vitry in fact can be considered a humanist, and that the innovations of the Ars Nova with which he is directly connected can be seen as influenced by, if not an integral part of, early Renaissance humanism.

Perhaps of primary importance will be to form a working definition of humanism. There is evidence readily available that suggests that humanism was not restricted to the Renaissance. Paul Oskar Kristeller,who is drawn on heavily in this work, Jacques Le Goff, Christopher Page, and others plainly show in their texts humanist tendencies at work all the way back to the Carolingian era. A

[1] Roy Martin Ellefsen, "Music and Humanism in the Early Renaissance: Their Relationship and Its Roots in the Rhetorical and Philosophical Traditions" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1981), 213.

[2] Ibid., 213-14.

definition of humanism based on these ideas will be contrasted to Ellefsen's definition.

With humanism defined, it will then be important to examine the state of literary and musical practice in France and Italy in the early fourteenth century. Kristeller defines Renaissance humanism as a combination of French classical literary tradition and Italian rhetorical tradition.[3] Since this study focuses primarily on Vitry and the French Ars Nova, most attention will be paid to the French literary and musical traditions. It is generally accepted, and will be shown here in brief, that France, specifically Paris, was the European cultural leader of the Middle Ages.[4] Italy did not really become a cultural center until the fourteenth century, and even then it can still be shown to be heavily influenced by France. This is not to deny Italy's importance in fourteenth- century European culture. The great achievements of Italian humanists during that time are well documented and do not beg refutation.

One aspect of the medieval timeline on which special emphasis will be placed is the continuity in literary and musical practice that can be seen from the Carolingian era through the Renaissance. This continuity actually extends through the end of the sixteenth century, which, however, is outside the scope of this project. The continuity of medieval music and literature is a unique aspect of the period; it may have led the Ars Nova to be overlooked as a plausible

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[3] Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961), 100.

[4] Ibid., 93.

beginning for the "renaissance" in music that thus far has been seen to take place nearly 100 years later.

The term "renaissance" is a difficult one. So many pro and con arguments can be found for its very existence as an era.[5] The Renaissance in music has been a particularly difficult concept, at least for some scholars, as its generally accepted beginning (c.1433), and its locus of major development in the Netherlands has seemed greatly out of sync with the rest of the developing culture.[6] The great rebirth of Italy, which is the hallmark of the Renaissance as an era, had literary beginnings, most notably with the works of the great Italian humanist writers such as Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.[7] If music can be seen as part of the realm of literature at the beginning of the era, then a greater continuity of musical development appears that moves and progresses at roughly the same pace as the other arts. The intent of this work is to bring that view of music clearly into focus.

For the purpose of this thesis, the Middle Ages will be considered to span from the collapse of Gallo-Roman culture in France to the end of the thirteenth century, and the Renaissance will encompass the time beginning with the great

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[5] Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 3-4.

[6] Howard Mayer Brown, *Music In The Renaissance,* Prentice Hall History of Music Series, ed. by H. Wiley Hitchcock (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1976), 7-66. One writer in particular who has had difficulty with the current view of Renaissance music is the author of this thesis. I am assuming that there are probably others.

[7] Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought,* 10.

literary works of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch (late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries) and continuing to the end of the sixteenth century. These terms are for easy reference to these huge blocks of time only. They do not in any way reflect a notion of *zeitgeist* or the quantum cultural difference between the two suggested by the centuries of misuse these words have suffered. The operative words in this work are continuity and development.

Because showing Vitry to have been a humanist relies heavily on his contact with Petrarch, the early fourteenth-century humanist activities in Italy will be explored next. Since Italian humanism as it has generally come to be viewed was in its infancy at this time, the section describing it will be necessarily brief. It is against this background, however, that Vitry and Petrarch will be cast. A translation of the fourth eclogue from Petrarch's *Bucolicum carmen*, along with its commentary, will be included here to highlight the relationship between these two men. Using a somewhat different and more accurate definition of "humanism" and the great name of Petrarch, it will be shown that Philippe de Vitry, indeed the humanists of France in general, were major players in the literary and musical evolution of early Renaissance Europe.

But what of humanism and "renaissance" in music? How can the innovations of the Ars Nova, specifically in the realm of notation, be shown to be connected to ideas of humanism? For the answer to this question, we will refer back to the French literary tradition and the musical and poetic movements that

arose in France during the "Twelfth-century Renaissance."[8] Music and verse literature, both sacred and secular, Latin and vernacular, are easily shown to have been inseparable in practice. Though this may be obvious when both are present, lyric poetry in the Middle Ages was generally intended to be sung. This is true even when extant versions of a poem include no music.[9] Development in one led to development in the other, and vice versa. Though written tradition was well established in both by the end of the thirteenth century, both were still tightly bound to oral traditions that precede recorded memory. It will be shown how the developments of the Ars Nova facilitate impulses to record more accurately and convey individual expression in music and verse.

This thesis was inspired by three books: *Discarding Images* by Christopher Page, *Music and Humanism in the Early Renaissance: Their Relationship and its Roots in the Rhetorical and Philosophical Traditions* by Roy Martin Ellefsen, and *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains*, by Paul Oskar Kristeller. Page argues against the notion of a "declining Middle Ages" and against notions of a "cathedralist" aesthetic in the Middle Ages.[10] His closing paragraph states:

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[8] Christopher Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 1-42.

[9] Paul Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics,* trans. Philip Bennett (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 84.

[10] Page, *Discarding Images*, 1-42.

> It would appear...that [Claude Palisca] does not regard ...medieval antecedents of his Renaissance materials as any barrier to the claim that there was a major new departure in the Western European way of thinking about music in the 'renaissance'. That is a view I cannot share. The qualities and tones of sixteenth-century humanist reflection upon music theory are certainly different from those which characterize fourteenth-century writings, but the Ars nova treatises are different in their turn from the antecedent literature of the thirteenth century, which is different again from the plainchant theory of the twelfth. In this field we need not only a twelfth-century Renaissance, but a thirteenth- and a fourteenth-century one as well. Indeed, the period 1100-1600 in the musical life of the West is so fertile and inventive that it seems all Renaissance from beginning to end.[11]

What Page is expressing here is nothing new to other fields in the humanities. Kristeller shows that this type of "Renaissance from beginning to end" has been evident in medieval literature for almost a century.[12] In the short time that the author of this thesis has been studying the music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, a certain feeling of continuity of style from one era's music to the next became evident, and validation for this feeling was found in Page. Music history, as it is taught on the macro level, seems to have lagged somewhat behind its literary cousin, as this continuity seems to have been under-explored. Ellefsen touches on these ideas in his dissertation, but just at the point where he could make the necessary historical connection and bring the continuity of music and literary development to light, he backs away and denies Philippe de Vitry

[11] Ibid., 200.

[12] Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 4.

his rightful label of "humanist." Much work has been done since Ellefsen's dissertation, some of which makes it much easier to pursue such a conclusion, not back away from it. This thesis is intended to focus the ideas represented by this recent work, putting Vitry in his rightful spot, and to further the notion of moving the beginning of the musical Renaissance back about one hundred years, if not completely removing the distinction, as Page suggests.

Chapter I:

Toward a Definition of Humanism

Humanism as a Renaissance Characteristic

Humanism can be, and has been, a problematical term. It is most often used in reference to the intellectual movements that have come to characterize the Renaissance. A commonly used Western Civilization textbook uses the term in the following way:

> In its technical sense, humanism was a program of studies which aimed to replace the medieval Scholastic emphasis on logic and metaphysics with a study of language, literature, history, and ethics. Ancient literature was always preferred: the study of the Latin classics was at the core of the curriculum, and, whenever possible, the student was expected to advance to Greek. Humanist teachers argued that Scholastic logic was too arid and irrelevant to the practical concerns of life; instead, they preferred the "humanities," which were meant to make their students virtuous and prepare them for contributing best to the public functions of the state. ...The broader sense of humanism lies in a stress on the "dignity" of man as the most excellent of all God's creatures below the angels.[13]

[13] Robert E.Lerner, Standish Meacham, and Edward McNall Burns, *Western Civilizations: Their History and Their Culture,* 11th ed. (New York: Norton, 1988), 427. A common undergraduate textbook is used for this example in order to illustrate the picture of humanism and the Renaissance being presented to the typical college graduate. I feel that scholarship should, ultimately, be disseminated from the "Ivory Tower," and that it is the conception of any given era by the masses that ultimately matters in a culture's perception of its history.

Previous to this quote, the book's only real mention of humanism *per se* is in reference to the art of the Ancient Greeks, but then only briefly. The text does, however, refute the idea that medieval scholastics were "anti-humanistic," but it does not come out and say that humanism was at all a trait of intellectual life before the Italian Renaissance.[14]

In order to establish the humanism of Philippe de Vitry, it must be shown that humanist activities were being pursued well before the Italian Renaissance. Ellefsen, on the basis of his own definition, denied Vitry was a humanist.[15] The importance of Ellefsen's opinion is not so much relevant to the history of humanism and music itself, as it is specifically relevant to this study. It is Ellefsen's conclusions, based on his own definitions, that are refuted in this thesis. Ellefesen's work is also perceived here as a misconception still commonly held by many music scholars.[16]

Ellefsen, like the text book cited above, equates humanism with the Italian Renaissance:

> ...Humanism is a term of recent origin given to the Renaissance restoration of a characteristic set of ideas and ideals which were developed in ancient Greece and Rome. That restoration presupposed such necessary activities as hunting for, collecting, translating, commenting on, and arguing about the manuscripts that recorded the ancient ideas (i.e., antiquarianism), all of which required and created a new sense of literary criticism and history.

[14] Ibid., 365-66.

[15] Ellefsen, 207-214.

[16] Page, *Discarding Images*, 189-200. Claude Palisca and Leo Schrade are among the scholars who, at the time of Ellefsen's thesis, still held this view.

> *These antiquarian activities were new to the Renaissance,* but their newness must not divert attention from the fact that they were not ends but were means, the real end of which was the retrieval of classical humanist thought.[17]

This definition would suggest that the whole idea of finding and glossing classical texts was new to the Renaissance. Throughout Ellefsen's dissertation, the Renaissance and the Middle Ages are divided along lines codified specifically by Huizinga in *The Waning of the Middle Ages*.[18] Ellefsen describes in detail the humanism of Ancient Greece and Rome, on which all subsequent humanist movements before the modern era are based. When Ellefsen does address the possibility of humanist activity in the Middle Ages, he restricts the scope of this activity to rhetorical practice and interpretations of Roman law.[19] Ellefsen contends that rhetoric is the true basis of humanist literary practice, and is exemplified in Cicero.[20] To further his argument, Ellefsen cites Callicles (c. 400 B.C.) who says that "rhetoric actualizes one's humanity, so much so, in fact, that its opposite, philosophy, leads to effeminacy (which was clearly a sub-human condition)."[21] Rhetorical practice and the study of Roman law during the Middle

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[17] Ellefsen, 88-89. (italics mine).

[18] Ibid., 116-120; J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1949).

[19] Ellefsen, 116.

[20] Ibid., 107.

[21] Ibid., 100; William Smith, ed., *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology by*

Ages, however, was a specialty specifically of Italy, and exerted very little influence over other more characteristically humanist activities that were thriving in France.[22] Ellefsen is describing, therefore, humanism as it relates to the *Italian* Renaissance, as opposed to how it might apply to the cultural transformation of Europe as a whole.

Both the text cited above and Ellefsen's dissertation agree that the humanism of the ancients was one which glorified man as the most important creature in the universe.[23] The key to man's power lay in his ability to persuade through oratory, the skills of which were obtained through an extensive education in rhetoric.[24] Even this ancient humanism, then, found its greatest expression in antiquarianism.

Antiquarianism was by no means "new to the Renaissance." Since about the ninth century, in fact, scholars had been "hunting for, collecting, translating, commenting on, and arguing about the manuscripts that recorded the ancient ideas."[25] Many authors, both before and since Ellefsen's dissertation, such as Jacques Le Goff and Frederick Artz, have called such scholars "humanists."[26]

Various Writers (New York: AMS Press, 1967), 569.

[22] Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought,* 12; Ellefsen, 90.

[23] Lerner, Meacham, Burns, *Western Civilizations,* 427; Ellefsen, 89.

[24] Ellefsen, 107.

[25] Jacques Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages,* trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993), 38.

[26] Ibid.; Frederick B. Artz, *The Mind of the Middle Ages, A.D. 200-1500: An Historical Survey* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 432.

Even Huizinga, whose text has long been supplanted in most fields by more objective studies of the Middle Ages, concedes that "ideas and forms which one had been accustomed to regard as characteristic of the Renaissance proved to have existed as early as the thirteenth century," though little reference at all is made in his work specifically to humanism.[27] Perhaps, then, humanistic movements have existed simultaneously alongside other intellectual or anti-intellectual establishments throughout history, with emphasis on different areas of humanist discipline at various times.

Evidence of Pre-Renaissance Humanism: The French Classical Literary Tradition

Paul Oskar Kristeller states that what has become known as Renaissance humanism developed at the beginning of the fourteenth century from a combination of two main elements: a literary tradition well established in France, and a rhetorical tradition prevalent in Italy.[28] Understanding the influence of this literary tradition will provide a better view of the academic and artistic milieu that produced Philippe de Vitry and strongly influenced Petrarch.

In the period spanning the third through the fifth centuries, when the Roman Empire can be said to be in decline (or perhaps "in transition" from a

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[27] Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages,* 273. Many of the sources used for this thesis, specifically those works by Paul Oskar Kristeller, Sylvia Huot, and F.J.E. Raby, attest to the fact that Huizinga's view of the Late Middle Ages is and has been outdated for some time in fields other than musicology.

[28] Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 100.

more medieval point of view), Spain, Africa, and especially Gaul were becoming "more important than Italy in the intellectual sphere."[29] It was in Gaul that high Gallic-Roman culture survived the longest, despite invasions by the Visigoths and the establishment of the Visigothic Kingdom.[30] Throughout the fourth, and for most of the fifth centuries, Gaul was also a great political center in what was left of the Western Roman Empire. Members of the Gallic aristocracy were still able to pursue lives of leisure, and a well-established educational system still focused on the arts of grammar and rhetoric. High culture existed far longer in Gaul than in other areas of the Western Empire, most of which had already succumbed to invasion and decay.[31] This rich literary activity faded towards the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth. The old Roman-Gallic aristocracy soon met the barbarian fate that had eliminated aristocratic societies in the rest of the Western Roman Empire, and with it the wide-spread literacy that had been enjoyed there for so long.[32]

In order for any secular literary culture to be strong, there must be some sort of literate public beyond the schools or monasteries to support it financially. This public supports the growth, or at least the continuation, of literate culture

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[29] F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 42.

[30] F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages,* Vol. 1 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1934), 65.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

and creativity through its patronage.[33] It was this literate public, the model of which flourished in Gallic Rome, that medieval culture sought to re-developed, beginning with the so-called Carolingian Renaissance.

For about two-hundred years after the disappearance of the Gallic aristocracy, literacy and the preservation of ancient literary culture survived in the hands of only a few educated people.[34] It was not until the reign of Charlemagne that the art of letters experienced anything that could be called a rebirth, and then its intended purpose was mainly administrative.[35] Charlemagne's insistence on a literate administration did, however, set precedents for the future of French literature, and for the ideas of the continuation of the Roman Empire in the European Middle Ages.[36]

Charlemagne set in motion a number of different projects that began the move toward the return of a literary public, a flourishing of Latin poetry, and the rise and eventual domination of the vernacular in literature that progressed throughout the Middle Ages. The study of Roman and to some extent Greek literature has always been a hallmark of the various humanistic movements throughout the Middle Ages.[37] During and after the Carolingian era,

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[33] Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages,* trans. Ralph Manheim, *Bollingen Series* Vol. 74 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958), 255.

[34] Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry*, v. 1, 66.

[35] Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public* , 265.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry,* Vol. 1, 247.

preservation of the ancient texts of Ovid, Virgil, Homer, Plato, and countless others was a primary occupation of scholars.[38] Through the practice of imitation and preservation, those scholars were able to reclaim classic Latin as their own, and understand the principles of grammar and rhetoric that had achieved such a high level in ancient society.[39] These principles could then be applied to the vernacular, thereby making the tasks of both secular and ecclesiastical governing far easier and more efficient. The degree of reverence for this old literature, and the notion that what was written was, regardless of its probability, somehow true, is revealed in the degree to which the budding French *literati* adopted the modes of rhetoric and the ideas of compositional inspiration of the ancient writings, and tried to reconcile much of the subject material with Christian theology. An example of this was found in the abbey of St. Gall during the Carolingian era, as humanist poets resurrected the idea of invoking the Muses in their works for inspiration, placing them along with the Psalmist in inspirational importance.[40]

The imitative Latin styles begun in this era set the precedent for the literary Latin practice of the next three centuries.[41] They also served to establish the relationship between Latin and the vernacular languages. According to Erich

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[38] Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, 247.

[39] Ibid., 259.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry,* Vol. 1, 97; Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics,* 97.

Auerbach, the "restoration of correct Latin in the liturgy and administration is significant...because, especially in the Gallo-Roman regions, it definitively cut the already feeble ties of intelligibility between Latin and the vernacular languages, thus preparing the way for an independent development of the Romance literary languages."[42] At the same time, Charlemagne decreed that old songs of wars and deeds of old kings, previously preserved only through the oral tradition, be committed to writing.[43] This required the Rhine and Frankish vernacular to become a written language, which it had not been up to that time. Charlemagne's decree also included a requirement that a grammar and standardized spelling be established for this language.[44] Latin had been the only written language in the Northern regions, and the establishment of a written vernacular gave the common tongues the potential to acquire learned elements.[45] This potential would not, of course, be fully realized for a number of centuries, but it firmly established an historical tradition of literary supremacy in France.

It was also during the Carolingian era that a conscious sense of continuity with the ancient world first became apparent. On Christmas day, 800, Charlemagne was crowned Emperor by the pope, thus becoming, at least symbolically, the first of the new Roman emperors.

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[42] Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 265.

[43] Ibid., 266.

[44] Ibid., 268-69.

[45] Ibid., 265.

As vigorous as the intellectual activity had been during Charlemagne's reign, it did not provide enough momentum for continued intellectual development on the same scale over the next few centuries.[46] The literary styles generated during this era were mostly imitative of ancient forms, and the public support by means of aristocratic literacy was still generally lacking. The death of Charlemagne effectively ended the heyday of the Carolingian Renaissance.[47]

Literature and other intellectual pursuits in France did not disappear, but did not continue to develop with nearly the same vigor that had characterized the Carolingian era. Manuscripts continued to be copied, and the cathedral schools that would provide the foundation for the intellectual developments in the coming centuries were established. F.J.E. Raby states:

> The work of the Carolingian humanists was continued in the French cathedral schools by giving them all that was the best of the ancients, along with the consecrated wisdom of the [Church] Fathers.[48]

As stated earlier, it seems to be the general assumption that humanism is a phenomenon characteristic of the Italian Renaissance, not of the Middle Ages. Here Raby refers to Carolingian scholars as humanists. It is now beginning to

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[46] Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry,* Vol. 1, 259-300.

[47] Ibid., 259-307.

[48] Ibid., 307.

seem that intellectuals who could be described as humanists existed long before the fourteenth century, specifically in France. Because of their interest in the preservation of ancient texts and the recovery of the Latin language, they definitely fit the description of antiquarians. As literary innovation based on classical models is also considered by many to be a humanist characteristic, the codification of the vernacular into written form should probably suffice to fit that requirement.[49]

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the humanist impetus was again thriving in France. What has come to be known as the "Twelfth-century Renaissance" witnessed a blossoming of the literary arts in France considered unparalleled in history by many scholars.[50]

A great number of changes were occurring in the cathedral schools and among the clergy. In Auerbach's opinion:

> [In the eleventh-century] movement against feudalization and corruption of the Church, against simony, led to the investiture conflict and the related crisis, which in turn provoked the beginnings of political thought in post-Roman Europe. All this agitation was reflected in the great heresies, the idea of a holy war, and the Crusades, which did so much to broaden the cultural and economic horizon. A European Art was born...ultimately [transforming] the vernacular tongues into independent literary languages....[51]

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[49] Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public,* 255-56.

[50] Page, *Discarding Images,* 194-95.

[51] Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public*, 272.

The cathedral schools of France were burgeoning at this time. France was known throughout Europe as the center of culture and learning. Students came from all over Europe to study in Paris, Chartres, Reims, and other cathedral schools. So many students were being trained in the humanistic arts that there were not enough positions available for them in the Church. Many were able to find employment at the courts of France and England, which increased the literary activity of the secular sphere many fold.[52]

The fact that great intellectual and cultural steps forward were being taken during this period is clear, and these effected the ways in which literature changed and developed. Howard Bloch states that the period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries:

> ...represented one of the few moments of true historical mutation the West has ever known. But unique also because the nature of the transformation which effected virtually every area of social and cultural life was so intimately connected to a profound shift in the status and uses of writing.[53]

Since the Carolingian era, Latin had always been primarily a written language; it was a foreign language that had to be learned. It did, however, have

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[52] Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953), 384.

[53] R. Howard Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 13.

marked regional variations, and was truly a living language.[54] The heritage of the ancient world was most certainly owned by the medieval *literati*, and was ripe for being taken to the next level. Raby says:

> The title 'men of letters' is perhaps the best that could be chosen to describe the French poets of the twelfth century who were brought up mainly in the cathedral schools, but made the art of composition according to their special study and practice.[55]

Eleventh- and twelfth-century poets were men of the world, proud of their learning and of their wit. They called themselves ...servants of the Muses, and spoke of "sacred poets..." It was a second age of rhetoric, in which Ovid was the master.[56]

Each new intellectual surge in the Middle Ages is usually, at least in part, the result of a new influx of ancient material, causing a reexamination of previous interpretations of already known texts and the inclusion of new texts into the literary canon. Manuscripts of Aristotle were being translated from Arabic, and the new influx of knowledge from the Middle East caused scholars to reexamine the ideas of antiquity and the Christian-European relationship to them.[57] Also influential were Neo-Platonic philosophical ideas and the "serious

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[54] Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public*, 269.

[55] Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry*, v. 2, 23.

[56] Ibid., v. 1, 319.

[57] James Harvey Robinson and Henry Winchester Rolfe, *Petrarch: The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 9-10.

study of the ancient historians."[58] As scholars wished resolutely to "understand what antiquity had handed down about the world of nature," the imagination of the poets was directed "to epic themes drawn from remote antiquity."[59] According to Raby, many works on grammar, the art of prose, and verse composition were written during this time. The desire for learning was never greater since Antiquity.[60]

The imitation of classical models and the exploration of classical themes was especially prevalent in the Latin poetic forms. Orpheus and Euridyce, poems on Troy and Trojan themes, pastoral poetry and erotic subjects centering around the character of Flora, and Roman elegies (love poems) inspired by the works of Ovid show the degree to which the literary manner of classical antiquity had been assimilated by medieval poets.[61] This assimilation and the degree to which it had occurred brought about an unprecedented amount of creativity and development of new forms during this age.

The Latin poetic song forms of the conductus and the sequence appear in this era, exemplified in the compositions of the Parisians, Leonin and Perotin.[62]

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[58] Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry*, v. 2, 35.

[59] Ibid., 69.

[60] Ibid., 83.

[61] Joseph Szövérffy, *Secular Latin Lyrics and Minor Poetic Forms of the Middle Ages: A Historical Survey and Literary Repertory from the Tenth to the Early Thirteenth Century*, v. 3 (Concord: Classical Folia Editions, 1994), 21-24.

[62] Ibid., 87.

Philip the Chancellor, also a Parisian, composed many conductus texts as well.[63] The motet makes its first appearance during the twelfth century, as well as that vast amount of Latin poetic work known as Goliardic poetry. [64] The rise of satire in this period is also significant:

> The appearance of Satire usually implies a society which has reached a high state of development, a civilization of towns , and considerable freedom of thought. These conditions were fulfilled in twelfth-century France, and this explains in some sort the reappearance of poetical satire.[65]

Many changes during this era in political and social structures, especially among the aristocracy, influenced existing literary genres and helped to create new ones. Chivalric ideals and courtly behavior were among the many manifestations of these changes. Bloch states:

> ...courtliness appears to have been neither the last ideological stand nor the swan song of a clannish military caste, but the literary code by which it dismantled its most cherished values and ideals: the unrestricted use of force by which it maintained supremacy; the preeminence of the warrior group over each of its members; a disregard for the self-imposed restraints--the inherent social contract--which create the possibility of a state independent of personal ties of dependence.[66]

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[63] Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry*, v. 1, 116.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry*, v. 2, 45.

[66] R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 258.

Bloch also states that "...the organization of family lines coincides with the appropriation of vernacular literary forms."[67] The shrinking of the clan, moving from allegiance between individuals or families (feudalism) and toward centralized monarchies was "movement away from the horizontally and spatially defined kin group toward the notion of dynasty or house."[68]

From this it can be shown that structural changes were, in fact, occurring among the aristocracy in eleventh- and twelfth-century France as feudalism waned and movement toward national centralized monarchical government gained speed, and that these changes effected the literature being produced. This effect is demonstrated most clearly in the rise of vernacular poetic forms. This is one of the most significant aspects of this era.

Sylvia Huot describes this time as a "period of intense poetic activity..." and one which "...saw an enormously varied approach to written vernacular literature in general."[69] Among the most important aspects of this approach is "...the development of written lyric [as] explored through the compilation of chansonniers and through the poetic experiments of numerous poets."[70] According to Paul Zumthor, the texts of these poems and the manuscripts that

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[67] Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 76.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), 106.

[70] Ibid.

contain them address a specific community. In fact, he states that, "In the Middle Ages all poetry is a voice raised against a community, for praise or blame, but always in the community's name."[71] The communities being addressed in this case are usually those which were experiencing the most growth and change; the secular courtly aristocracy and the increasingly powerful bourgeoisie.

Unlike contemporary Latin poetry, the vernacular poetry of the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries was based on a spoken language. The "stability of techniques" found in vernacular composition over time is one of its most "striking features," and represents a development in "response to life in the community," to which it speaks.[72]

During the twelfth century, the courtly public was expanding. It is this kind of more general public that is necessary for the true flourishing of any body of secular literature. From the twelfth century on, "French and Provençal princes and other great lords [were commissioning] not copies of manuscripts, but poems in the vernacular, or at least [allowing] such poems to be dedicated to them."[73] As for the increasingly influential bourgeoisie, since the twelfth century written records had been used in commerce, and had become wide spread in the bill-of-exchange and clearinghouse system.[74] Sometime after 1179, a commerce

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[71] Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, 14.

[72] Ibid., 49.

[73] Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public*, 289.

[74] Ibid., 292.

school had been established at Ghent, representing the beginnings of an educational system not connected with the cathedral schools.[75] Auerbach goes on to state that:

> At an early date the bourgeoisie participated in literary life.... The number of vernacular manuscripts increases appreciably when we come to the thirteenth century; a circle of wealthy connoisseurs who commissioned and collected manuscripts had gradually developed.[76]

Because France led the rest of Europe in the study of grammar and rhetoric in the universities, vernacular poetry "blooms first in France."[77] According to Curtius, the development of French vernacular literature begins in the eleventh century with religious narrative poems (such as the Song of St. Alexis (ca. 1050)). The national heroic epic next began to appear, an example of which is The Song of Roland (ca. 1100). Numerous "Guillaume" epics began to appear after 1150. A new genre of "the courtly romance in verse" developed from those. Its subjects are modeled after those of Virgil, Statius, Dictys, and other ancient authors, as well as Celtic legend. They also demonstrate a "subtle and sophisticated rhetorical technique based in Ovid." [78]

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[75] Ibid., 293.

[76] Ibid., 294.

[77] Curtius, *European Literature*, 384.

[78] Ibid., 383.

> ...The rich development of French poetry in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, then stands in close relationship to the contemporary Latin poetry and poetics which flourished in France... Latin culture and poetry precede, French follows.[79]

The vernacular poets were learned in the *artes* and *auctores* of the twelfth-century cathedral schools.[80] The rise in vernacular poetry corresponds directly to the influx of cathedral school graduates into courtly employment.

> " The feudal structure changes into a system of social strata which become available for non-economic, intellectual interests. The knights especially become an extensive class which, during the periods when it is not occupied with war and feuds, is obliged to look for some intellectual activity." The courtly society of France wants to be entertained, just as the Ionians did in the days of Homer. The heroic epics and romances of chivalry satisfy this demand. Their authors are unbeneficed clerics. They bring their hearers the tales of Troy, Thebes, and Rome, as well as works of Ovid; these they furbish with all the ornamental devices of rhetoric, to which they also cling for modern material, such as the Celtic.. These poets know of the "transference of learning" ...from Athens to Rome, from Rome to France.[81]

Vernacular literature experienced the greatest change over the course of the Middle Ages. Though the Frankish vernacular had been codified and written for the first time during the reign of Charlemagne, the preexisting vernacular repertory was still primarily an oral tradition. Though more and more epics, songs, and poems came to be written down as time progressed, the oral character

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[79] Ibid., 384.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid. The initial quote is by Alfred Weber.

of their tradition continues to dominate through the fourteenth century. Huot states that:

> Undoubtedly the lyric poetry of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was largely an oral tradition. Poets may have composed the texts in writing, and performers may sometimes have kept written copies of their repertory, but there is no evidence that systematic chansonnier compilation began before the mid-thirteenth century.[82]

The oral nature of the texts, especially longer, epic poems and tales, is often demonstrated in beginnings such as, "Listen..." or "You will hear...."[83] Bloch states:

> ...the defining mode of literature was, until the fourteenth century, that of oral recitation. Even those texts of which we possess the (often fragmentary) written traces were themselves intended to be read aloud or sung. What this means is that poetry enjoyed a public, collective stature denied to it in the age of printing.
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> The poetic performance stands as a ratification of the ideals of the community and as a forum for the articulation of responses to shared dilemmas, and thus as an instrument of change.... The relation between the medieval poet and his audience is more dynamic than that of the shaman and his clan.[84]

As the Middle Ages progressed, the focus of the main body of literature shifts from its Latin, sacred orientation, toward a more secular focus in the vernacular. The translation of Latin sources into the French vernacular is

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[82] Huot, *From Song to Book*, 50.

[83] Ibid., 26.

[84] Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 15.

evidence of the similar shift in authoritarian centers, i.e. from ecclesiastical to secular.[85]

Bloch states that medieval culture is a "culture of the book."[86] It is important to qualify this statement, since in many respects, the Middle Ages was actually an oral culture.[87] The "culture of the book" is only the part of the Middle Ages that has survived long enough to speak to the twentieth century. There is evidence that theories of music and poetry were often orally propagated without written record, even as late as the fourteenth century.[88]

It is important, when attempting to understand the literary traditions in France during the Middle Ages, to realize that scholars and others who inhabited the upper echelons of medieval society continued to feel the profound sense of continuity from Roman Antiquity that was begun in the Carolingian era.[89] Substantiation for this belief is easily found throughout medieval literature.

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[85] For more information on Medieval vernacular translation tradition and the interpretive practice of the medieval schools, see Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 225.

[86] Bloch, *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 12.

[87] Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, 18.

[88] Sarah Fuller, "A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The *Ars Nova*," *Journal of Musicology* IV (1986), 23, 44; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "The Emergence of *ars nova*," *Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995), 316; Lori Walters, "Reading the *Rose:* Literacy and the Presentation of the *Roman de la rose* in Medieval Manuscripts," *Romantic Review* v. 85 (1994), 1, 4.

[89] Curtius, *European Literature,* 385.

Some of the best examples come from works such as the prologue to the second extant romance, *Cligès,* by Chrétien de Troyes (c. 1176):

Les fez des anciens savons
Et del siecle qui fu jadis.
Ce nos ont nostre livre apris,
Que Grece ot de chevalerie
Le premier los et de clergie.
Puis vint chevalerie a Rome
Et de la clergie la some,
Qui or est en France venue.
Deus doint qu'ele i soit retenue
Et que li leus li abelisse
Tant que ja mes de France n'isse.

("Through the books which we have, we know the deeds of the ancients and of times long passed. Our books have taught us that Greece had the first fame of chivalry and learning. Then came chivalry to Rome, and the sum of learning, which now is come to France. God grant that it remain there and that it find the place so pleasant that it will never depart from France.")[90]

Another example is found in the anonymous *Floire et Blanchefleur* (around the first half of the fourteenth century).[91] In the first chapter of this manuscript, two major cultural infusions are presented which were perceived as the basis of European civilization: Christianity and the Classical tradition. Floire, a pagan, marries Blanchefleur, a Christian. Floire becomes Christian himself to please his new bride, and as a Christian, becomes king of Hungary and begets

[90] Curtius, *European Literature*, 384-85.

[91] Huot, *From Song to Book*, 19.

Charlemagne. The following summary of this story is found in *From Song to Book* by Sylvia Huot:

> ...The classical tradition is represented by the cup for which Blanchefleur is traded. The cup is decorated with the story of the Trojan War; it once belonged to Aeneas, who gave it to Lavinia. Following this, we are told, the cup remained for some generations in the treasury of the Caesars until it was stolen, passing into the hands of merchants and, ultimately, to Floire himself. Through his possession of this cup, Floire's quest for Blanchefleur parallels that of Aeneas for Lavinia; and just as Aeneas and Lavinia were the ancestors of Romulus, founder of Rome, so Floire and Blanchefleur are the ancestors of Charlemagne, medieval continuator of the Roman Empire. The material presence of this artifact stresses the sense of continuity leading from Troy through Rome and into Medieval Europe....[92]

Italy

It has been shown that humanism was alive and well in France long before the Italian Renaissance, and that the "Twelfth-century Renaissance" in many ways was more innovative and active than the following period that championed itself as "The" Renaissance. Scholars and artists who more than adequately fit the definition of humanist being put forth in this thesis definitely existed at that time. The Renaissance did not generate spontaneously like the medieval notion of flies from a corpse, but developed out of a continuous tradition of scholarship and literary innovation.

[92] Ibid., 19-20.

In the fourteenth century, the humanist tradition is passed from France to Italy.[93] Many of the innovations that were to occur over the next few centuries would center around Italian artistic and literary practice. It was stated in the introduction to this thesis that the Renaissance grew out of the literary traditions in medieval France and the rhetorical traditions of medieval Italy. This rhetorical practice focused on the "practical art of composing documents, letters, and public speeches."[94] Kristeller states:

> It has become clear as a result of recent investigation that the humanists of the Renaissance were the professional successor of the medieval Italian *dictatores,* and inherited from them the various patterns of epistolography and public oratory, all more or less determined by the customs and practical needs of later medieval society. Yet the medieval *dictatores* were no classical scholars and used no classical models for their compositions. It was the novel contribution of the humanists to add the firm belief that in order to write and to speak well it was necessary to study and to imitate the ancients.[95]

Italy was, of course, not without universities. The institutions at Padua, Salerno, and Bologna are only a few examples.[96] Their primary courses of study, unlike France, focussed on formal rhetoric, medicine, and law.[97]

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[93] Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 108.

[94] Ibid., 12.

[95] Ibid., 12-13.

[96] Andrew McCall, *The Medieval Underworld* (New York: Dorset Press, 1979), 141.

[97] Ibid., 35.

It was only after the beginning of the fourteenth century that the teaching of poetry and of the classical authors became firmly established in the Italian schools and universities, to continue without interruption throughout the Renaissance.[98]

Until the thirteenth century, Italy had not been culturally competitive with the North. Her literary, architectural, artistic, and musical cultures are said to have "lagged behind" those of France.[99] Italy's artistic expressions were, in all probability however, appropriate for her divided cultural state. Italy was poised at the beginning of the fourteenth century to receive the classical traditions of France and build upon them by integrating them into its own traditions. It is important to note, however, that Italy did not simply pick up where France left off. Cultural evolution is never that tidy. France remained a major influence on Italian letters, and remained the leader in written musical tradition through the fifteenth century.[100]

The classical and poetic traditions came to Italy by several different routes. Frederick Artz writes that in Italy:

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[98] Ibid., 108.

[99] William Manchester, *A World Lit Only By Fire* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1992), 88. "Lagging behind" is a term used specifically by the above author in reference to music in comparison with other art forms during the Renaissance. This is a term with which this author is not at all comfortable. It is his contention that culture is expressive of the society from which it comes, and lagging or excelling are not necessarily relevant concepts.

[100] Brown, *Music In The Renaissance,* 7-66.

> Until 1200 Latin seems to have met all the writer's needs. The new style [classically based poetic forms and meters] reached Italy from both France and Germany. The southern French dialects were near enough to the Italian dialects for troubadour poetry to be understood by the Italians.... The first Italian poet to show the influence of the troubadours was Sordello, who wrote in Provençal. The first poetry in an Italian dialect appeared in Sicily, to which refuge some of the troubadours driven out of France by the Albigensian Crusade had come as exiles.... The Sicilian poets in the first half of the thirteenth century showed that Italian, which cultivated people regarded as inferior both to Latin and Provençal as a literary language, was really capable of being used as a vehicle of effective literary expression.[101]

This quote demonstrates the effect that French influence had on the Italian vernacular. Dante is known to have been heavily influenced at an early stage in his development as a poet by the troubadours and Provençal poetry.[102] Among his favorite troubadours were Bertran de Born, Giraut de Bornelh, and Arnaut Daniel.[103] In his *Purgatorio*, he praises Daniel highly as the greatest of all French poets, and the work itself is partly written in Provençal.[104] However, the evolution of French vernacular literature was, while primarily advancing the vernacular languages as literary vehicles for serious consideration, also very influential on Latin grammar and usage.

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[101] Artz, *The Mind of the Middle Ages,* 340.

[102] A.G. Ferrers Howell, "Dante and the Troubadours," *Dante: Essays in Commemoration, 1321-1921,* ed. Antonio Cippico, et. al. (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1921), 191.

[103] Thomas Goddard Bergin, *A Diversity of Dante* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969), 87.

[104] Ibid., 95-100; Howell, "Dante and the Troubadours," 206.

It is also stated in Artz's quote that the Southern French dialect was close enough to the Northern Italian dialect that the two regions had comparatively little trouble understanding each other. Indeed, there is evidence of several thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian poets writing in French, and in some cases even preferring it to their own native tongue.[105] This is illustrative of how strong the French influence was on the Italian, even well into the beginnings of the Renaissance.

Humanism: Summary and Definition

Humanism, then, is not a trait of the Italian Renaissance alone. A continuous tradition of humanist study and intellectual development can be traced from Greek antiquity, through the Middle Ages, and continuing through the Renaissance. The Carolingian era, with the recovery of written language and vernacular codification, can perhaps be seen as the beginning of European humanist endeavor. The subjects and areas that received emphasis did change from time to time, and different geographical centers gained leadership in the sciences or humanities at one time or another. It took different forms, assumed different guises, and for a time was neglected by a majority of medieval scholars who preferred the vogue of Scholasticism.[106] But interest in the humanities never

[105] Armando Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture,* ed. and trans. Charles M. Radding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 176-77.

[106] Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, 77.

completely disappeared despite "dark" ages and unfavorable intellectual fashions.

The humanist of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was always to some extent an antiquarian, but did not confine himself to reproduction of the classics. He built upon the styles his culture inherited from antiquity, with an eye toward innovation and relevance to his own age. He strove to understand what the nature of this literary legacy was, and through that legacy sought clues to the secrets of his own mind. The Medieval humanist could have been a man of the court, of the church, or of the university--or all three. He was, particularly in the Middle Ages, dedicated to his faith and his God, yet amazed and thrilled by his own self awareness and the beauty he saw in his species. He loved to speak, to write--to communicate. He loved words and marveled in the power they gave him. He was not always brilliant, but he was always striving for brilliance. He was, above all, human and not ashamed of it.

Chapter II:

Words and Music: The Nature of French Latin and Vernacular Musico-Poetic Practice at the Dawn of Ars Nova

It can be seen in the previous chapter that the French High Middle Ages, dating roughly from the late eleventh century through the mid-thirteenth, was an extraordinarily rich and productive period in medieval culture. The long-established Latin literary tradition was in a period of renewed vigor, and both sacred and secular elements of the tradition were exerting strong influence upon one another.[107] For example, forms such as the sequence and the conductus, which were originally conceived as Latin sacred musico-poetic forms, became accepted also as Latin secular forms.[108]

In both the established Latin tradition and the vernacular tradition, which will be discussed in more detail below, music and poetry were, in essence, inseparable elements of the same art.[109] Some of the poetry produced before and during this era was intended for purely spoken performance, but a great deal of it, Latin and vernacular, sacred and secular, was intended to be sung.[110] In the

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[107] Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200-1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 106.

[108] Szövérffy, *Secular Latin Lyrics and Minor Poetic Forms*, vol 1, 494.

[109] Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics, 84-85;* David Fenwick Wilson, *Music of the Middle Ages: Style and Structure* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 329.

[110] Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, 53, 107-9.

cathedral schools, most notably in Paris, new forms, such as the sequence and the conductus, developed simultaneously as musical and poetic forms. New ways of notating music were also developing in the cathedral schools, as the desire grew to more accurately record the works of such poets as Walther of Châtillon, Peter of Blois, Alain de Lille, and Philip the Chancellor.[111]

The greatest growth and transformation of this period in the arts, however, lies outside the Latin tradition and the universities, in the realm of the vernacular languages. As written language, the vernacular, specifically French and Provençal, was fast gaining literary legitimacy. The effect that the art of the troubadours, the trouvères, and the often mysterious Goliards had on the development of all areas of literature and music was to be, to say the least, profound.[112]

Vernacular Song: Transition from Oral to Written Tradition

The vernacular musico-poetic tradition was somewhat different from the Latin in that works produced in this tradition were practical in nature, and unfettered by scholastic speculation.[113] According to Van der Werf, the vernacular poetry and music of the trouvères, troubadours, and jongleurs was

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[111] Szövérffy, *Secular Latin Lyrics and Minor Poetic Forms,* vol. 1, 499-501.

[112] Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij NV, 1972), 3-21.

[113] Hendrik van der Werf, "The Trouvère Chansons as Creations of a Notationless Musical Culture," *Current Musicology* 1 (1965): 61-68.

based in a notationless oral culture. The songs and poems were transmitted from one performer to the next, generally by rote. Melodies, to a greater extent than the texts, were not meant to be exact, and rhythm within the melody would generally follow the stresses of the syllable within the text. One might assume that this provided much greater rhythmic variety than the current learned notational practices could accommodate. Even as the primarily monophonic songs of the vernacular began to be notated and eventually bound in manuscript collections, the notation was rhythmically nondescript, allowing for free metric interpretation.[114] All of the sources mention, in passing or more often in detail, that the existing body of medieval literature was intended to be read aloud or in some way performed. This is particularly the case in the realm of vernacular lyric poetry. Huot states:

> ...[during] the earlier period of lyric [manuscript] compilation, most people still encountered the song as a performance piece and had not yet begun to look upon the trouvère tradition as an object of study and codification... like the *Roman de la rose*, emphasis is on performance of songs. By 1300, trouvère songs were being supplanted by newer *formes fixes*, themselves evidence of a more systematic approach to lyric versification and a desire to stabilize the text. The treatment of lyric insertions in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century narratives, such as *Roman du castelain de Coucier,* the *Dit de la panthere d'amours,* further reflects this consciousness of the vernacular as a written literary tradition.[115]

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid., 53.

This viewpoint serves to demonstrate one aspect of the transition from oral toward written tradition: the vernacular poem/song was still a performance piece. Hendrik Van der Werf explains the nature of vernacular song and reveals not only the true orality of its nature, but also the chain of events leading to its establishment as a written tradition identical to, and eventually supplanting, the Latin song tradition. Among the attributes of the oral culture, Van der Werf points out the variance in individual chansons from manuscript to manuscript:

> A trouvère chanson is often preserved in more than one manuscript, but the melody of the chanson is seldom identical in all sources. In some cases the versions differ only slightly, whereas in others there does not seem to be any relationship between them, even though the text demonstrates that we deal with the same chanson. Nevertheless, there is usually no doubt about the common parentage of the preserved melodies even if the discrepancies are considerable.

He concludes that:

> ...the different versions of a chanson present that chanson as it was performed by different jongleurs who had learned the chanson by rote either directly or indirectly from the trouvère himself. In other words, the chansons were in the first place disseminated by oral tradition and not by copies made from the trouvère's autograph. Only towards the end of the trouvère era did the chansons become "collectors' items.

Van der Werf affirms the separation of music theory and practice in the following excerpt:

> The chansons in fixed form, the French motets, and the Spanish cantigas stem from the world of *learned* musicians, whereas the

> chansons of the trouvères originated and circulated in a notationless musical culture in which notation and theory exercised little or no influence, but in which the rules of rhetoric were well-known and faithfully observed.[116]

As the thirteenth century progressed and secular literacy, at least in the courts, was becoming the rule rather than the exception, vernacular traditions moved more and more toward becoming written traditions, making practical use of relevant academic musical theories. There was an increasingly active exchange of ideas between the written (Latin) and oral (vernacular) traditions throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and one example of this is the practice of *contrafactum*. Preexisting Latin songs were frequently co-opted and set with vernacular texts.[117] This also happened in the reverse. Huot states that this practice reflects the "fluidity of the oral tradition."[118] By the late thirteenth century, the vernacular *formes fixes* had gained a great deal of acceptance and had become standard poetical and musical forms.

As the vernacular continued to make significant inroads into learned literary circles, old forms that had been exclusively Latin were being supplanted by new ones that included vernacular texts. The new musical and poetic form that supplanted the conductus was the polytextual motet, with lines of verse often being sung in Latin and French simultaneously. Musically, the motet in its

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[116] Ibid., 61-68.

[117] Huot, *From Song to Book*, 52.

[118] Ibid.

earliest form was identical to the conductus.[119] The simultaneous declamation of a Latin and a vernacular text, sung over a melisma of plainchant in the tenor, signify the degree to which the vernacular was becoming equal in importance to Latin, and becoming more familiar in written form.

For all of its literary advances, and the growing desire and enthusiasm for writing down as much of the culture as possible, the Middle Ages maintained an essentially oral nature, even in learned circles. There is some evidence to suggest that even certain aspects of music theory were passed down on an oral basis up through the fourteenth century. The existence of Vitry's *Ars Nova* is such evidence; the existing treatise has been shown by Sarah Fuller to be a compilation of Vitry's students' lecture notes.[120] The change, therefore, from an oral culture to a culture of the book was not by any means achieved quickly. Literacy still remained out of reach of the general populace, and would for centuries to come.

As the literate public grew, however, and as the vernacular became a literate language, individual authors and compilers of manuscripts that would actually put their names to their works became more and more prevalent. As music was such an integral part of the poetry, it became more imperative that these individuals be able to record their music, as well as their texts, as

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[119] Carl Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1957), 100.

[120] Sarah Fuller, "A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? *The Ars Nova*," *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1986): 23-50.

accurately as possible. The need for new, more rhythmically accurate notation was growing. Treatises from the latter half of the thirteenth century, by Franco of Cologne and others on new ways of notating metric value in music bear witness to this desire. Evidence for such a need for accuracy is also seen in the manuscript examples of the *Guillaume de Dole* of Jean Renart and Machaut's *Remede de fortune.*[121] Especially in the case of the latter, the manuscript compilation was overseen by the author, showing that this new sense of individualism and ownership of one's own art was indeed increasing. This was something not nearly so prevalent in the earlier eras of the Middle Ages. The further back one looks, the less frequently one encounters individual authors signing their names to their works. There was more of a sense of community property in the earlier periods.[122]

The multi-media illuminated manuscript, such as the *Roman de la rose* and the *Roman de Fauvel,* was a sort of ultimate production and achievement of the High Middle Ages.[123] Contained in these works was a poetic, visual, and musical tour de force type of presentation that could be read aloud as entertainment, or enjoyed silently by the literate individual owner and collector.[124] It is in these manuscripts that the Latin and vernacular traditions

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[121] Boulton, *The Song in the Story,* 272.

[122] van der Werf, "The Trouvère Chansons," 61-68.

[123] Boulton, *The Song in the Story, 1.*

[124] Ibid., 8.

truly come together, and the new notation of the *Ars Nova* makes its first appearance in a practical, collector's setting: that of the *Roman de Fauvel*.[125]

The Power of the Sung Poem

The act of melodic declamation of lyric poetry was accorded a special power that mere spoken declamation and written word was not. Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amours* presents a very clear picture of the power and mystique that a sung text possessed, and the potential danger that it presented to the performer. Sylvia Huot sums this scenario up very eloquently:

> ...The lover explains that, like the cock crowing at midnight and the ass braying in hunger, he has desperate need to express himself [in song]. But, like the wolf that is struck dumb when caught off guard by a man, he has lost his voice, so that [his verse is not intended as singing but as narration]. Writing is already the solution to one classic lyric dilemma. The lover who is too shy to address his lady need not wait for her to hear one of his songs: he can write to her. Moreover, the lover continues, singing is dangerous business. Playing with the lyric topos of immanent death, he cites the cricket, so distracted by the pleasures of singing that it allows itself to be killed, and the swan, which sings beautifully and then dies.... The lyric death of the swan and the nightingale are a death of self-absorption that is ultimately equivalent to the death of Narcissus.[126]

Melody, then, can be seen to have been endowed with special powers to move not only its audience, but the performer as well. This is a power above and beyond that of mere recitation. The close allegiance between poetry and song, so

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[125] Edward H. Roesner, Francois Avril and Nancy Freeman Regalado, *Introduction to Le roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, fonds français 146* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990), 30.

[126] Huot, *From Song to Book*, 141.

close in fact that in many cases they are one, in form and importance, shows music of the Middle Ages to be a carrier of literary style. A conclusion that can be drawn, then, is that a notation that allows for the freest realization of a poem/song, yet true to the original intent of the author/composer, would be ideal and necessary for the poetic advancements beginning to appear in the works of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch.

It is well known that the poetry of classical antiquity, especially that of ancient Greece, was often sung. The epic poems of Homer, the plays of Euripides, and so forth all contain references to melodic declamation of the texts. Even though the sound of ancient music left the Middle Ages no clue as to its nature, the spirit of melodic declamation of poetic text, be they small forms or epic poems, was definitely alive and well throughout the Middle Ages.[127] In this sense, then, medieval music can be seen to have a continuity with ancient practice; a continuity necessary for inclusion in the activities of a true humanist.

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[127] Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 6.

Chapter III:

The Humanism of Philippe de Vitry

Philippe de Vitry: A Brief Biography

Philippe de Vitry was a leading intellectual of the early fourteenth century, and as such is perhaps the most important figure in the development of the Ars Nova.[128] His work encompassed the budding humanist ideas of his period, and these ideas were of great importance to his musical and theoretical output.

Little is known about the personal life of Philippe de Vitry. We know he was born in Paris on October 31, 1291, and died in Paris on June 9, 1361.[129] He "enjoyed a considerable reputation as a man of learning, a mathematician, a poet, and a musician," having studied at the Sorbonne, where he was appointed *magister artium.*[130] Vitry served in many positions, both courtly and ecclesiastical. His earliest court appointment was as secretary to the French king Charles IV "le Bel." (reigned 1322-1328).[131] He spent most of his time in the realm of secular politics, as he also served as advisor not only to Charles IV, but his successors

[128] Ernest H. Sanders, "Vitry, Philippe de," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 20:22.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Roesner, et al., Introduction to *Le roman de Fauvel*, 39.

[131] Sanders, "Vitry, Philippe de," 22.

Philippe VI, and Jean II. He was also employed as notary and *maître des requêtes* to the royal household, and participated in numerous diplomatic missions, a number of them to the papal court at Avignon.[132] Vitry also served in many ecclesiastical positions, most important of which was his appointment as Bishop of Meaux in 1351.[133]

Vitry was highly regarded by his contemporaries as a mathematician, poet, musician, historian, and philosopher.

> ...Petrarch called him 'ever the keenest and most ardent seeker of truth, so great a philosopher of our age', as well as 'the unparalleled poet of France'; Pierre Bersuire described him as 'a man of outstanding intelligence, and an extraordinary scholar of moral philosophy and ancient history, and an expert in all the mathematical disciplines'; and Jehan des Murs dedicated his *Opus quadripartitum numerorum* to Vitry as 'the one person in the world more estimable than this work.'
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> Tributes to his prowess as a musician are as numerous as they are effusive. Leo Hebraeus, one of the most famous astronomers and mathematicians of the time, called him the leading expert in the science of music; Jean de le Mote referred to him as among the 'mondains dieux d'armonie'; Jean de Savoie addressed him as the 'eminent prince of musicians, outstanding heir to Orpheus, whose name should live for ever'; and in the *Quatuor principalia* he is described as 'the flower of the entire musical world'.[134]

[132] Ibid.

[133] Roesner, et al., *Le roman de Fauvel*, 39.

[134] Sanders, "Vitry, Philippe de," 22.

Judging from the praise showered upon him by his contemporaries, Vitry can be seen to have been a man of many talents, both in the realm of the *quadrivium* (mathematics, moral philosophy, and theoretic music), and of the *trivium* as an eminent poet and practical musician. The praise of Leo Hebreus in particular testifies to Vitry's talent in the former realm, and the praise of those in his "circle," specifically Pierre Bersuire and Jean de la Mote, give examples of how he was perceived by his contemporaries in humanistic studies. A picture of Vitry as at least a prototype for the 'Renaissance Man' begins to make itself clearer.

The actual quality of the work produced is difficult, at best, to judge now. Unfortunately, only a fraction of his purported musical output survives.[135] Until recently, it was thought to exist mostly in the form of motets preserved in the *Roman de Fauvel*. Doubt has been cast upon the authorship of these pieces, though, narrowing the number of works truly attributable to Vitry even further.[136] The most important musical/theoretical work that until recently was attributed directly to Vitry is the treatise on *musica practica* entitled *Ars nova* (c. 1322-23).[137] As stated above, recent research has shown that this treatise is more than likely a compilation of his students' lecture notes.[138]

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[135] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "The Emergence of *ars nova*," *The Journal of Musicology* 13, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 285-317.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Roesner, et al. *Le roman de Fauvel*, 39.

[138] Fuller, "A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? *The Ars Nova*," 23-50.

Vitry was a poet of both Latin and vernacular verse, and in this endeavor he enjoyed a fine reputation.[139] It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that Petrarch and others sang his praises. Like his music, however, most of his poetry has not survived. The best known of his extant works are the *Chapel des Fleurs de lys*, a poem without surviving music, which extols "science, faith, and chivalry in conjunction with a crusade planned for 1335," and the *Dit de Franc Gontier,* "a courtier's praise of pastoral life."[140] There are several other works as well dealing with themes of classical antiquity.[141]

Vitry and Petrarch

The most direct line that can be drawn between Vitry and his association with early humanism is his relationship with Francesco Petrarch. Petrarch is considered perhaps the greatest of early Renaissance humanists.[142] His writings "are the first to reveal a human soul, with its struggles, its sufferings, and its contradictions," that is to say the first to explore human motive and psychological process.[143] He strove to recover the Latin language of antiquity,

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[139] Ellefsen, 208.

[140] Ibid., 209.

[141] E. Pognon, "Du nouveau sur Philippe de Vitry et ses amis," *Humanisme et renaissance* 6, vol. 6 (1939): 48-55. An example of such a work is the motet *O creator/Phimillies/Jacet/Quam.*

[142] Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch: The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters,* 227-29.

[143] Ibid., 17

and restore proper grammar and usage. By Petrarch's accounts, the noble tongue of ancient Rome had been replaced by the familiarized, bastardized Latin of the Middle Ages.[144]

Though Petrarch is now best remembered for his vernacular poetry, he considered his Latin works to be his most significant and had expected to be remembered by them.[145] That, of course, has not been the case, which can be interpreted as a significant comment on the rise in importance of the vernacular languages, and the nature of the era which he helped to begin.

Though Paris is perhaps most widely recognized as a center of musical and intellectual activity in the Middle Ages, especially from the twelfth century onward, the city in which great minds of France and Italy met with unique results was Avignon in Southern France. The primary reason for Avignon's importance during the fourteenth century is, of course, that it had become the seat of the pope and papal Curia.[146] Since the end of the eleventh century it was not unusual for popes to reside outside of Rome.[147] Avignon, however, became

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[144] Francesco Petrarca, *Letters on Familiar Matters: Rerum familiarium libri IX - XVI,* trans. Aldo S. Bernardo (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 193-203.

[145] Francesco Petrarca, *Bucolicum Carmen,* trans. Thomas G. Bergin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), xii-xiii.

[146] Andrew Tomasello, *Musical Culture in Papal Avignon (1309-1403),* Studies in Musicology, No. 75, ed. George Buelow (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 3-5.

[147] Ibid., 1.

the site of a particularly prolonged and controversial stay by the pope and Curia, that lasted from 1309 until 1417, the official end of the so-called Great Schism.[148]

Wherever the pope resided, whether it was in Rome or abroad, people would gather. Economies would soar, intellectual and artistic activities would increase many fold, and population growth would often exceed a given host city's ability to accommodate it.[149] Such was the case at Avignon, and it was here that Philippe de Vitry served as diplomat to the three consecutive kings of France, and held various clerical positions within the Curia.[150]

"The court at Avignon was the meeting place of a group of intellectuals who shared poetic and classical interests [which has been called] 'the circle of Philippe de Vitry.'"[151] Included in this circle were such poets and intellectuals as Jean de La Mote, Jean Campion, Pierre Bersuire, Petrarch, and, of course Vitry himself.[152] A favorite discussion topic for this highly literate circle was the mythology of Classical Greece and Rome, and its literary applications.[153] It is fairly certain that it was in Avignon that Vitry and Petrarch had most of their contact.[154] Petrarch is known to have spent a good deal of time living at

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[148] Lerner, Meacham, Burns, *Western Civilizations,* 391.

[149] Tomasello, *Musical Culture in Papal Avignon,* 1-3.

[150] Sanders, "Vitry, Philippe de," 22.

[151] Ellefsen, 209.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid.

[154] Tomasello, *Musical Culture in Papal Avignon,* 14-16.

Valcluse. Valcluse was a small rural town just outside Avignon, which was a place he despised, [155]

The correspondence between Vitry and Petrarch sheds more light on the relationship between these two men. The two known letters that survive are both from Petrarch to Vitry. Both were written when Vitry was an older man, around 53 years of age, but they reveal a familiarity that is highly indicative of a long and close friendship. Of the two letters published in the *Rerum familiarium libri*, the one that sheds the most light on Vitry's relationship with Petrarch is number thirteen from book IX.[156] This letter is actually a rebuke from Petrarch to Vitry for not wanting to leave France and referring to the travels of a mutual friend to Italy as an "exile." Petrarch had long been in France, and had never much cared for it.[157] This is more likely a manifestation of his Italian, or more likely Roman, patriotism than for any lack of respect for the intellectual achievements of France. In Book XX, letter number two, he complains to Neri Morando of Forlì that "the Roman empire is everywhere more prosperous than in the north."[158] His bias against France is usually stated in reference to his true hatred for Avignon. Nowhere in this letter does he condemn any other aspect of

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[155] Robinson, *Petrarch,* 119.

[156] Petrarca, *Letters on Familiar Matters*, 35-44.

[157] Robert Coogan, *Babylon on the Rhone: A Translation of Letters by Dante, Petrarch, and Catherine of Sienna on the Avignon Papacy* (Potomac: Studia Humanitatis, 1983), 49-100.

[158] Petrarca, *Letters on Familiar Matters,* 128.

France, except when referring to the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Pope in Avignon. He ardently desired the pope to return to Rome, and "restore the empire."[159]

In his letters, Petrarch describes Vitry as he used to be (according to Petrarch), and who he wishes him to be once again. It is apparent that Petrarch had known Vitry for a long time. He refers to Vitry as one "who [has] always been a very dedicated and eager seeker of the truth," and "a great philosopher of our age who rejects the prejudices of the raving multitude."[160] In this latter statement, it seems that Petrarch may be referring to the Scholastics and dialecticians for whom he had so much contempt. If this is in fact the case, then Vitry must have been involved in the literary studies of which Petrarch was so fond, and on which he was to have such a profound influence. He also describes Vitry as a man with a "wealth of learning and virtues."[161] By referring to those "with no consolation in their virtue and no assistance from letters" as being unlike Vitry, Petrarch suggests that Vitry had "assistance from letters," and that he and Petrarch were of a similar mind.

Perhaps one of the most telling sections of this letter is the portion in which Petrarch reminds Vitry of the travels and wanderlust of his younger days:

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[159] Ibid.

[160] See Appendix A, lines 10-11.

[161] See Appendix A, line 25.

> ...You would never have spoken that way when I first knew you. Your extraordinary passion and ardor for examining secrets and mysteries, in which you seemed second to none, has cooled. Is there, then, no middle path between restless curiosity and extreme sluggishness? Once India used to appear not too distant to you. At one time with eager mind, you used to take measure of Thoprobanes and whatever unknown places exist in the Eastern Ocean. At other times, you used to sigh for Ultima Thule hidden on unknown shores, after the Orkneys, Ireland, and whatever lands the Mediterranean washes lost their appeal for you because of their very proximity. Why, indeed, is it surprising if the earth seemed too small for the mind of a very learned man who turns with indefatigable eagerness toward that celestial pole continually rotating above us guided by an icy rudder, or toward that other pole which -- if the Antipodes exist -- men clearly behold in the southern region, or finally toward the oblique path of the sun and toward the fixed and wandering stars?... In my opinion, *you seem to have forgotten that man who, when asked where he was from, answered that he was a citizen of the world* .[162]

If Vitry, assuming his younger self is "that man," was ever asked this last question and answered in such a manner, he indeed gave an answer befitting a true humanist.

Toward the end of this letter, Petrarch entices Vitry with the sights and experiences that their mutual "exiled" friend will be seeing and having. He lists the glories of ancient Rome still visible in the ruins all over Italy. He enumerates the wonders of the Holy Land and the regions around the Mediterranean that once made it a Roman lake. Of this friend, he says,

> ...Consider how much more happily and more worldly he will be upon his return, how much more eminent not only to others but

[162] Petrarca, *Letters on Familiar Matters,* 36-37, emphasis added.

> even to himself, since he will have seen so much with his own eyes and will have seasoned French urbanity with Italian dignity![163]

This is an enticement by which only a humanist mind would be tempted. Petrarch clearly felt that Vitry would find these images appealing. The "French urbanity [seasoned] with Italian dignity" also fits Kristeller's description of the ingredients of Renaissance Humanism, though in more poetic terms.[164]

As stated above, one of Petrarch's humanist endeavors was to recover the Latin language from its medieval deterioration. Ellefsen takes issue at one point in his dissertation with the medieval quality of Vitry's Latin, and claims that his lack of classical usage is sign that Vitry cannot be called a humanist. It is important to note that Petrarch's Latin was, however much he tried to correct it, also still the Latin of the Middle Ages.[165] His contemporaries and those who wrote commentaries on his works continued much of the medieval usage and non-classical spelling against which Petrarch was reacting. He did more to set in motion the move toward re-classicalization of Latin than to bring it around to his ideal immediately within his lifetime.

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[163] See Appendix A, lines 315-16.

[164] Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought,* 108.

[165] Leonard Forster, *The Icy Fire: Five Studies in European Petrarchism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 32-33.

Another trait of the Renaissance humanist is a reaction against the scholastic method. Regarding Petrarch's views of contemporary scholarship, James Harvey Robinson states:

> [Petrarch] disliked dialectics, the most esteemed branch of study in the medieval schools; he utterly disregarded Scotus and Aquinas, and cared not for nominalism or realism, preferring to derive his religious doctrines from the Scriptures and the half-forgotten church Fathers, his partiality for whom, especially for Augustine and Ambrose, is evident from his numerous references to their works. His neglect of the Schoolmen is equally patent. Lastly, he dared to assert that Aristotle, although a distinguished scholar, was not superior to many of the ancients, and was inferior at least to Plato. He ventured to advance the opinion that not only was Aristotle's style bad, but his views upon many subjects were quite worthless.[166]

In this quote, the first clue to Vitry's scholarly status, particularly in the eyes of Petrarch, can be found. Vitry was for a time a "schoolman," when he was attending, and then instructing at the Sorbonne.[167] That Petrarch would have sung Vitry's praises to any extent, and that he would have pursued a correspondence with Vitry suggests a respect and a degree of approval for the line of study in which Vitry was involved.

As an interesting aside and insight into the lesser position held by the vernacular languages in relation to Latin, Petrarch closes his first extant letter to Vitry as follows:

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[166] Robinson, *Petrarch,* 37.

[167] Sanders, "Vitry, Philippe de," 22.

> There was no excuse for [your childish complaints] except that they were written in the vernacular, showing that you followed not your own judgment but that of the rabble whose opinion was always blind and base.[168]

Evidently the vernacular was still not looked upon as a means of expression on the same par with Latin, regardless of the inroads it had made into literate culture.

Vitry's Role in *Il bucolicum Carmen*

The fourth eclogue from Petrarch's *Il bucolicum carmen* has long been considered strong evidence of Vitry's association and friendship with Petrarch.[169] Upon close examination, however, this poem becomes somewhat problematic. Unlike the rest of the eclogues in the work, Petrarch left no letter clarifying the meaning and allegory of the fourth.[170] The only clarification available has been from various commentators who lived close to Petrarch's time. The eclogue in question is entitled, "Daedalus."[171]

In order to understand the possible interpretations of this poem, it is particularly important to become familiar with the eclogue form itself. The most

[168] See Appendix A, lines 318-320.

[169] Petrarca, *Bucolicum carmen,* 223.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid., 48-57. The translation by Thomas Bergin can be found in Appendix B at the end of this thesis.

concise definition of the eclogue can be found in *Merriam Webster's Encyclopedia of Literature.* The following definition is excerpted from the entry:

> A short, usually pastoral, poem in the form of a dialogue or soliloquy. The eclogue first appeared as a specifically pastoral form in the idylls of the Greek poet Theocritus (c. 310-250 BC), generally recognized as the inventor of pastoral poetry. The Roman poet Virgil (70-19 BC) adopted the form for his 10 *Eclogues,* also known as *Bucolics*. The eclogue was revived during the Renaissance by the Italians Dante, Petrarch, Giovanni Boccaccio, and Battista Spagnoli.[172]

Further information on the *Bucolics* of Virgil are found in *Benét's Readers Encyclopedia:*

> [The *Bucolics* are] then pastoral poems by Vergil (*sic*), also known as the *Eclogues*.... Though based on the idylls of Theocritus, the *Bucolics* are sophisticated tours de force and subtle allegories of contemporary events and persons. As Vergil's first notable achievement, they mark the beginning of his writing career and his entry into the literary circle of Augustus and Maecenas.[173]

Haman and Holman's *A Handbook to Literature* describes the eclogue and the bucolic as "...pastoral writing that deals with rural life in a manner rather formal and fanciful."[174] The idea that an eclogue is "formal" is important to arguments that will be presented below.

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[172] *Merriam Webster's Encyclopedia of Literature* (Springfield, Massachusetts: Merriam Webster, Inc., 1995), 363.

[173] *Benét's Readers Encyclopedia* 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 136-37.

[174] William Harmon and C. Hugh Holman, *A Handbook to Literature.* 7th edition (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1996), 71-72.

As the fourth eclogue opens, Gallus is speaking to Tyrrhenus, and trying to find out who gave Tyrrhenus his lyre. Tyrrhenus confirms Gallus's guess that it was Daedalus. Gallus then wants to know in what land Tyrrhenus was given the lyre, and wishes he had been there himself, as Daedalus might have given it to him instead. Tyrrhenus suggests that even if Daedalus had given him a lyre, it would not have been the same one. Though he admits he would be satisfied with a similar lyre, Gallus attempts to buy Tyrrhenus' lyre from him, offering him goats and sheepskins. Tyrrhenus, however, will not sell. He says that Gallus's desire for the lyre has come late in his life, and he should be content with his lot. Gallus doesn't much like this answer, and the poem ends with Gallus proclaiming the fortune of Tyrrhenus.

All of the commentators of "Daedelus" agree that Gallus is Philippe de Vitry and Tyrrhenus is Petrarch himself.[175] It is stated in the commentaries that Gallus is Philippe de Vitry, the only reason given for which is that he is French-born, and therefore of "Gaul" ("One from Gaul" being a translation from Latin of the word "Gallus").[176] Bergin casts some doubt on this, however. In the notes to his translation he states:

> To Rossetti and Tatham cardinal Bernard d'Aube seemed a more likely candidate; to him Petrarch addressed three letters (Ep. Met.

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[175] Francesco Petrarca, *Il bucolicum carmen e i suoi commenti inediti,* ed. Antonio Avena (Padua: Societa Cooperativa Tipografica, 1906), 264. See Appendix C for a full list of commentators and translations of the Latin commentaries on "Daedelus."

[176] See commentators, Appendix C.

> 2.2, 3,4), all dealing with literary matters and the last two sharply polemical. "The main thesis of this Eclogue," Thatham writes, "is the very point Petrarch presses upon his correspondent in the third letter -- that poetry is a natural gift, which must be cultivated in youth and cannot be pursued as a pastime in a man's declining years." Mattucci (p. 113) makes the suggestion that Gallus may stand for "all that crowd of versifiers and poetasters" who, in Petrarch's words, "profaned, prostituted, and vulgarized poetry" (*Fam.* 13.6). It is clear that the debate in this eclogue takes place between the talented and the untalented. Still, the meaning of the name Gallus cannot be overlooked.[177]

Further investigation into the name of "Gallus" revealed that there no fewer than eight different Galluses of any fame or infamy mentioned in classical literature. Of those eight, the only two that would seem to have any commonality with the topic of this eclogue are Gaius Cornelius Gallus (b. 69 b.c.e of Gallic parentage) and Gallus Caesar (Flavius Claudius Constantius) who reigned in Antioch from 351 to 354, common era.[178] The former is the only one who is described as a poet. At the time of his death, his works included four books of love-elegies, which were "widely read" by his contemporaries.[179] He was a poet, general, and friend of Augustus and Virgil. He is said to have saved Virgil's farm for him. After a number of military exploits in Egypt, Octavian "made him the first *praefectus* of the new province...."[180] He celebrated his

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[177] Petrarca, *Bucolicum Carmen,* Bergin, ed., 223-34.

[178] N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, ed., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 457.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid.

achievements "in a boastful trilingual inscription at Philae dated 15 Apr. 29, and in inscriptions of the pyramids, and set up statues of himself all over Egypt."[181] For this, among other reasons, he was recalled by Augustus, who formally renounced his friendship with him. After moves to prosecute him were made, he committed suicide.[182] He is mentioned in the *Roman de la rose* as one who ought to be consulted in the treatment of love in poetry.[183]

If the Gallus of Eclogue IV is Vitry, and he is so called for more reasons than that he is French, then this is the most logical choice. Vitry was many things, chiefly among which was a poet.[184] Gaius Gallus was also chiefly a poet, among other things, and was a close friend of Virgil. Petrarch had avidly read Virgil since he was a child. Along with Cicero's rhetorical works, it was the only work to be rescued from the fire into which Petrarch's father threw his son's books. His father felt his son spent too much time reading the Roman poets and not enough time with his law studies at Montpelier.[185] Petrarch came to identify closely with Virgil, and may have been comparing his friendship with Vitry to Virgil's with Gaius Gallus.

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[181] Ibid.

[182] Robinson, *Petrarch,* 231, 347.

[183] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le roman de la rose: Édition d'après les manuscrits BN 12786 et BN 378,* Lettres Gothiques, trans. Armand Strubel (Paris: Liabrairie Général Française, 1992).

[184] See Appendix A, line 206.

[185] B.L. Ullman, "Some Aspects of the Origin of Italian Humanism," *Philological Quarterly,* 20 (July 1941), 220.

An interesting insight into the possible meaning of "Gallus" can be found in a twelfth-century Latin *Bestiary*. The definition found in this book could be particularly relevant to anyone being called Gallus who was, like Vitry, in the employ of the Church and a musician or poet, In this *Bestiary*, Gallus is the cock. His singing eases the frightened mind, and rises the devoted mind to prayer. That one called Gallus might be a man of the Church is also suggested in that "...by testifying devotedly after the cock-crow Peter washed away the sin of the Church, which he had incurred by denying Christ before it crowed."[186]

If Thomas Bergin is to be believed, and Eclogue IV is indeed a conversation between the talented and the untalented, then the name of Gallus might be taken from Gallus Caesar.

> Born in Etruria (c. 325) he was the half-brother of Julian. His lonely upbringing left him harsh and tactless, and his reign at Antioch is described as oppressive and bloody. He put down revolts in Palestine and in Isauria, but was recalled by Constantius II and executed near Pola (354).[187]

For this Gallus to be the one whose name Petrarch is using in Eclogue IV is a stretch at best, but it has been mentioned as he is the only truly talentless Gallus who might conceivably wish to take Tyrrhenus's lyre. If this were the case, however, it would seem that Gallus Caesar would have probably killed

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[186] *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts,"* trans. and ed. by T.H. White (New York: Capricorn Books, 1960), 150-51.

[187] *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 457.

Tyrrhenus and taken the lyre anyway. Of the two, the former Gallus is clearly the better choice for this eclogue.

Tyrrhenus is generally agreed to be Petrarch.[188] In Greek tradition Tyrrhenus was a son of Atys of Lydia. In his time a great famine afflicted the land. According to Herodotus, he was responsible for saving the Lydians from famine by encouraging them to invent and play games. After eighteen years when the famine still had not ended, his father, the king, divided his nation and sent one-half of the people to seek a new land overseas under Tyrrhenus's leadership. The land they colonized was Umbria in Italy.[189]

In the fourth eclogue, Petrarch clearly considers himself to be the leader of the Italian "Tyrrhenians." It is possible that Petrarch could have considered the above-mentioned famine to be the paucity of contemporary poetry as he saw it, and he could have considered himself to be leading the Tyrrhenians, or Italian poets, out of the land of literary famine, beginning anew in Italy.[190]

As for the other classically derived characters in this eclogue, Daedalus, for whom this eclogue is named, is generally understood by the commentators (see Appendix C) to be God or Christ.

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[188] See Appendix C.

[189] Catherine B Avery, and Jotham Johnson, ed., *The New Century Classical Handbook* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1962), 1130-31.

[190] Thomas M.Greene, "Petrarch and the Humanist Hermeneutic," *Modern Critical Views: Petrarch,* ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989), 106.

> [Daedalus was] a legendary artist, craftsman, and inventor of archaic times. He has a significant name, for artful works were called daidala. ...Daedalus was ...considered the inventor of carpentry and of such things as the saw, the axe, the plumb-line, the auger, and glue. He also invented the mast and the yards of boats. As tangible evidence of his skill a folding chair was shown in the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis. His skill in metalwork was attested by the golden honeycomb in the temple of Aphrodite on Eryx. A multitude of archaic temples and archaic statues, especially wooden ones in Greece and Italy, were believed to be by his hand. He first made figures which had open eyes, walked, and moved their arms from their sides, whereas earlier works had their feet closed and their arms fixed to their sides. Several later archaic artists were considered pupils of Daedalus, and a demos of the *phyle* Cecropis in Attica was named the Daedalids.[191]

The reasons for Daedalus to signify the divine should be clear. The allegory of artistic creation and development of "figures with open eyes" which "walked and moved their arms from their sides," can perhaps be connected to the creation of men by God. The carpentry symbolism could signify the profession of the young Jesus. Most importantly, however, is that Daedalus was considered the greatest of artists. This is an appropriate metaphor for God who would grant the powers of artistic creation to Tyrrhenus.

As should be evident, the lyre about which the discussion takes place represents the art of poetry/music, and the goatskins which Gallus offers Tyrrhenus are the fruits of his livelihood as a shepherd.[192] The allegory of shepherds may be significant here, especially as it refers to Vitry. The Latin for

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[191] *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 309-10.

[192] See Appendix C, First Commentary, lines 81-84.

shepherd is *pastor*; a word which is also used to refer to a cleric, which Vitry most certainly was at the time that this poem was written.[193]

If the arguments against the generally agreed upon identity of Gallus are to be believed, it would seem unlikely that this eclogue could be about Vitry. But through an investigation of the available evidence, albeit circumstantial in many cases, it is conceivable that Gallus's identification as Philippe de Vitry may be maintained. Part of Bergin's problem with Gallus as Vitry lies in the apparent poetic incompetence of the shepherd. To Bergin, it seems unlikely that one proclaimed by Petrarch to be the "unparalleled poet of France" would be so envious of him. Though it is true that poetry as a hobby for those in their "declining years" was something against which Petrarch railed quite vehemently, it does not appear that he indulges in such railings in this poem.[194] Upon closer inspection, it would seem that Bergin has read more into this eclogue than actually exists. It would appear, in fact, that Gallus is rather talented, though perhaps modest. He seeks to emulate Tyrrhenus; to write as well as he, not to simply pass his time writing simple poems or songs. In lines 77 through 88, Gallus seems to feel that such simple works are all he is capable of, and wishes to posses the high art of Tyrrhenus. Gallus also does admit to possessing some talent, as is evidenced in lines 49 through 52, "...Because

[193] P.G.W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 1306.

[194] Petrarca, *Bucolicum carmen,* 224.

Daedalus knows me and erstwhile has shown me signs of affection... .” This can be seen to indicate that Gallus is not the untalented rube that Bergin sees.

There is another indication that makes it very possible that Gallus could be Vitry. In line 129, Tyrrhenus says that Gallus is seeking to master the lyre late in life, when “...the flower of youth has faded.” This eclogue was composed in 1347. Vitry would have fit the above description, as he would have been about 56 years old at the time. The letters from Petrarch to Vitry discussed above were also written between 1347 and 1351, the year in which Vitry was appointed Bishop of Meaux. Especially in the first letter (see Appendix A, lines 19-24), Petrarch frequently chides Vitry about his age. This is completely in keeping with the tone of the eclogue, another possible pointer to Vitry as Gallus.

It is most certainly a matter of speculation, but Vitry could have been very modest about his talents, and reticent to actually disseminate his poetic work. Most of the praises sung about Vitry’s poetry come from those who have been shown to have been in his “circle” in Avignon.[195] The remains of his poetic output exist only in the few motets that have survived, most of which are in the *Roman de Fauvel*. Even these are only attributed to him, their actual authorship remaining unknown.[196] Unlike his peers, Petrarch and Machaut chiefly, Vitry did not make any compilation of his own work that we know of. It is possible, then, that Vitry may not have thought himself as talented or worthy of praise as

[195] Sanders, “Vitry, Philippe de,” 22.

[196] Leech-Wilkinson, “The Emergence of *ars nova*,” 285-317.

his comrades, and this eclogue is a friendly jest about Vitry's modesty by Petrarch, a man whom any poet of that period, no matter how great, would have admired.

That the eclogue could be a friendly jibe at all is entirely possible. In a letter to his brother Gherardo, the subject of his first eclogue, Petrarch remarks that he sent a copy to him not knowing whether it would "give (him) pleasure or impede (his) pleasure."[197] This statement, then, can be seen to show that the eclogues were for the "pleasure," one way or the other, of their subjects. This would allow a friendly jest at the expense of one of them to be entirely appropriate to the genre.

Though much of the available evidence is admittedly circumstantial, with the statements of the early commentators and the corroboration of elements in the eclogue itself with Vitry's life and possible circumstances, it can be safely assumed that Gallus is, in fact, Philippe de Vitry. The "Circle of Philippe de Vitry" also was quite probably one of the first creative circles of early Renaissance humanists.

[197] Petrarca, Francesco, *Letters on Familiar Matters: Rerum familiarium libri IX - XVI,* Aldo S. Bernardo, trans., (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), X. 4, p. 71.

Roy Martin Ellefsen and Vitry's Humanism

In Ellefsen's dissertation, many aspects of Vitry's reputation, circle, and career are listed that point quite clearly to his humanism.[198] Ellefsen then goes on categorically to deny Vitry his humanism. In his invective against Vitry's progressive intellectual bent, Ellefsen first discusses what was known about Vitry; the poems known to be attributable to him, including a poem in the form of a Latin *partitura*, his Latin usage, and his performance in his notary position.

> As impressive as the foregoing evidence seems at first appearance, it fails to make a case for labelling Philippe a humanist. The Latin *partitura* is a rather silly discussion from the troubadour-love tradition filled with the veiled allusions and contemplative devices, beloved of *la seconde rhetorique.* His Latin was good, but quite inferior to Petrarch's. While he did function as a notary, *ars dictaminis* in France lacked both the classical rhetorical content and the influence of Roman law which characterized its *cesalpine* counterpart...[199]

Ellefsen continues to point out Vitry's humanist bent, which is portrayed in his dissertation more as a hobby than a serious mind set. He goes on to say that "Vitry's interests superficially resembled those of the *quattrocento literati,* but had neither the spirit, cohesion, nor content of mature Italian humanism."[200] It is the last part of this sentence that shows the weakness of Ellefsen's argument. He

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[198] Ellefsen, 207-11.

[199] Ibid., 211-12.

[200] Ibid., 212.

is, in essence, saying that Vitry cannot possibly be a humanist because he is not an *Italian* humanist, and further, that he is not a *mature* Italian humanist. Petrarch was not a mature Italian humanist, because Italian humanism was in its infancy when Petrarch was active, and yet he is considered the *first* great Italian humanist.[201] It has been shown that Vitry's interests and areas of expertise were many and varied. He wrote poetry (included in the definition of which is music) which, though very identifiable as medieval, contained many classical references and constructs.[202] The content of the treatise *Ars Nova* is of a very practical nature -- also a characteristic of a humanist mind at work.

Vitry's brand of humanism may not have been as progressive or as Italianate as Petrarch's, but it was certainly more forward thinking than many of his immediate predecessors and contemporaries.[203] That he should be so esteemed by Petrarch and so many others for his creative and literary skills, as well as his mathematical and philosophical prowess should be more than enough to plant Vitry squarely in the humanist camp.

As a final rebuttal to Ellefsen, issue must be taken with the following statement:

> Interestingly Petrarch never referred to Philippe as a musician, nor to his music. Petrarch had another much closer friend at Avignon,

[201] Robinson, *Petrarch,* 227-239.

[202] Pognon, "Du nouveau sur Philippe de Vitry et ses amis," 48-55.

[203] Jacob of Liége, "Pomerium," in *Source Readings in Music History Volume I: Antiquity and The Middle Ages,* ed. Oliver Strunk (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1965), 180.

> also a French musician, whom he addressed affectionately as Socrates. In the many surviving letters from Petrarch to Socrates music is never mentioned. Music is also conspicuously absent from Bersuire's encomium of Vitry all of which may indicate that his literate friends considered music an inferior talent.[204]

As has been pointed out above, music in the Middle Ages was inseparable from poetry. It is very possible that Petrarch's definition of poetry, and Bersuire's for that matter, included music, especially *musical practica*, in which Vitry's work was widely praised.[205] There may have been no need to mention music separately, and it most certainly could not have been considered an inferior practice in that circle of literate men.

In light of the information presented here, the conclusion must be drawn that Vitry was, in fact, a humanist. He was certainly a French humanist, and still deeply rooted in the Middle Ages, but also very forward-thinking and practical for his time. His Latin may not have been as good as Petrarch's, but then he had many more and different activities and interests in which he was involved than did Petrarch, as an ecclesiastic and a statesman. Eclogue IV has often been linked with Vitry, and the available information, combined with a good amount educated guessing, seems to reenforce the connection between the two. For Petrarch to sing Vitry's praises as a poet and major talent of France in a letter, and then portray him as a talentless rube in an eclogue may seem illogical at first. When Petrarch's extant letters to subjects of his other eclogues are taken into

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[204] Ellefsen, 213.

[205] Sanders, "Vitry, Philippe de," 22.

consideration, however, it becomes apparent that these poems were meant to be taken as a friendly roast among poets, much like Elgar's *Enigma Variations*.

It would appear, then, that based on the available evidence--the praises sung about him by his contemporaries, his multi-talented nature, an apparent close friendship and mutual admiration with Petrarch--and correlated with the definition of humanism posited at the beginning of this thesis, that Philippe de Vitry was, in fact, a humanist.

Chapter IV:

The Ars Nova as Humanist Phenomenon

It has long been established that the Ars Nova had sweeping consequences for the notation of music.[206] In this section, the specific innovations as recorded by Philippe de Vitry and his students in the seminal treatise *Ars Nova* will be examined, and the influence of humanism on these developments will be explored. Intent is almost impossible to prove, but the results of these innovations and the comments of those contemporary to those innovations can provide clues as to what that intent might have been. The following section will shed light on the intent behind these sweeping developments, and how they were used and received.

The Ars Nova

The two most important innovations of the Ars Nova as codified in the *Ars Nova* (c. 1322-3) are 1) the recognition of the *semibrevis minima* or *minima,* and 2) the recognition of the equality of imperfect and perfect mensuration.[207] The musical notational systems of the previous century, up to and including the work of Franco of Cologne, allowed only for the value of a semibreve (if a semibreve was even recognized) to be determined in the context of other note forms or

[206] Dom Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham, ed., *Ars Nova and Renaissance,* vol. 3 of *New Oxford History of Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 1-30.

[207] Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 338-340.

ligatures. Franconian notation was the first to allow for duple division of the breve, though one still needed to consider the semibreves in context.[208] In the late thirteenth century, Petrus de Cruce modified Franconian notation to allow for smaller divisions of the semibreve than previously achieved, but they were not clearly specified within the notation, making accurate reproduction ambiguous.[209] The *Ars Nova* effectively put an end to such ambiguity, allowing for smaller divisions and the duple division of the breve and semibreve, as well as introducing options for the clarification of meter via symbols representing tempus and prolation.[210] Red notation was also introduced in Vitry's work as a tool for shifting between ternary and duple division of the breve or semibreve within a melodic phrase. Red notation also provided a means of notating transposition of a given line or phrase to the octave.[211]

None of this is to say, however, that the notation of the *Ars Nova* was free from ambiguity. Many practices, such as rhythmic alteration and imperfection of one note by another, were held over from the previous era.[212] The notation itself made the elimination of such ambiguities possible, however.

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[208] Dom Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham, ed., *Early Medieval Music Up To 1300,* vol. 2 of *New Oxford History of Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 379-83; 399-402.

[209] Ibid., 338.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Philippe de Vitry, "Ars Nova," trans. by Leon Plantinga, *Journal of Music Theory* 2 (1961): 217.

[212] Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 325-337.

The most important manuscript representing the dawn of Ars Nova notation is the *Roman de Fauvel*.[213] It is also "...an extraordinary and vivid witness to the history, society, and creative life of France during the last two years of the volatile reign of Philippe IV...and the rules of the first two of his sons Louis X and Philippe V."[214] This spans the time between 1312 and 1322. This popular and relatively widely disseminated work is also significant as a literary compendium. The first and second books were originally composed by Gervès du Bus, like Vitry, a notary in the French royal court in 1310 and 1314 respectively. His poems were then radically reworked between 1316 and 1318 by Chaillou de Pesstain. Chaillou revised and expanded the satiric poem, and inserted 169 musical interpolations, some of which were inserted into Gervès's text, others into Chaillou's additions. The practice of insertion was well established in many thirteenth-century manuscripts, such as *Gillaume de Dole*, but *Fauvel* is remarkable for the coherence achieved by Chaillou.[215]

> [Chaillou's] "*addicions*" were composed with skill and sophistication, using materials that often have great historical significance and considerable artistic originality. They can be shown to manifest a considerable degree of internal unity, despite the varied elements of which they are comprised; they sustain and develop the central moral and political themes put forth in the original *Fauvel*.[216]

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[213] Ibid., 328-330, 332.

[214] Roesner et al., *Le roman de Fauvel*, 3.

[215] Ibid.

[216] Ibid., 7.

Among the topics dealt with allegorically in the text are the Avignon papacy, Philippe IV's harsh dealings with the Templars, the dissent and civil unrest sparked by Philippe IV's ministers' military and fiscal policies, and much more.[217] The manuscript is also notable for its unparalleled bilingualism. Latin and French texts are used together, at times simultaneously, on every level of the work.[218]

Regarding the music, the editors of the recent facsimile state:

> [The] musical pieces were drawn from virtually the entire repertory available to a musician in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, from plainchant and the by-then "classic" corpus of Notre-Dame polyphony to works conceived in the *ars nova,* which was emerging at the very time *Fauvel* was being written and revised. There are 34 polyphonic works, all motets of one kind or another, and an important body of vernacular courtly lyric compositions, including four lais and a number of pieces in the *formes fixes.* While some of the compositions known from earlier sources were taken over into MS fr. 146 [the ms. used for this edition] without change, many were significantly recast: old texts were provided with new musical settings, old pieces were transformed from one genre to another or revised in detail, and works were "fauvelized" - made explicitly appropriate to the *roman* through the addition of new text and, sometimes, new music. And there are also many unica; indeed, virtually the entire repertory of French monophonic song is unique to this manuscript. A significant number of works may have been composed specifically for inclusion in Chaillou's edition of *Fauvel.* Several pieces are topical, with subjects ranging from the assassination of the Emperor Henry VII in 1313 to the coronation of Philippe V in 1317. Thus, embedded in its edition of *Fauvel* MS fr. 146 contains a musical anthology of the greatest importance; indeed, it is the most

[217] Ibid., 3.

[218] Ibid., 17.

> significant musical source to survive from the first half of the fourteenth century in France.[219]

The bulk of the vernacular *formes fixes* included in *Fauvel* are those that later would "become standardized by Machaut, Foissart, and Deschamps.[220] The Latin repertory includes motets and conductus, some of which have been attributed to Philippe de Vitry. Others are known to be by Philippe the Chancellor, Walther of Châtillon, and Adam of St. Victor. The Ars Nova motets included here, most of which are attributed to Vitry, "constitute some of the earliest examples of the political and celebratory motet known."[221] The motet in the thirteenth century had been used for moral and philosophical debate, and liturgical purposes, as well as for a sort of musical/theoretical laboratory.[222]

The first century-and-a-half of mensural notational development is therefore represented in the *Roman de Fauvel.* There is also "evidence of a first attempt towards the differentiation of small values, namely, the addition (by a later scribe) of a downward or an upward stem for values larger or smaller than the normal semibreve..." in pre-existing pieces written in Petronian notation. [223] These attempts met with limited degrees of success. The editors of *Le roman de*

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[219] Ibid., 3.

[220] Ibid., 17.

[221] Ibid., 24.

[222] Ibid.

[223] Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 338.

Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain sum up the notation in *Fauvel* as follows:

> The notation of the *Fauvel* collection is grounded in the rhythmic and orthographical practice codified in Franco of Cologne's *Ars cantor mensurabilis* ... . It makes full use, nevertheless, of the many devices developed by subsequent generations of musicians to accommodate the rapidly expanding rhythmic language. This expansion included a tremendous increase in the rhythmic vocabulary, with the availability of many more values -- both larger and smaller -- than had been previously recognized, and the addition of duple measure alongside the traditional ternary organization of rhythm. ...These developments in the handling of rhythm were accompanied by fundamental changes in the nature of the rhythmic system itself, as the long-established tradition of thinking about rhythm in "modal" terms was supplanted during the first half of the fourteenth century by an unequivocal system of relationships among individual, clearly defined rhythmic values.[224]

Humanist Aspects of the Ars Nova Innovations

The innovations of the Ars Nova represent a fusion of scholastic and humanist activities and the birth of the renaissance spirit in music. Apel quotes the *Speculum musice* (c. 1325) of Jacques de Liège (CS II, 417 b) and then comments as follows:

> The old masters always made the first [*semibrevis*] shorter, the second longer, a rhythm full of strength and harmonizing with nature which is always stronger at the end than at the beginning. The modern musicians, however, maintain that this is not obligatory and that it may be done in the opposite way, namely, with the first being longer than the second, as they actually do it

[224] Roesner et al., *Le roman de Fauvel*, 30.

> nowadays.... They also say that it is not necessary for art always to follow nature.
>
> These words are, indeed, a very apt description of that fundamental change by which European music for the first time ceased to aim at being the image of divine law and nature, and began to turn to emotionalism and refinement as sources of artistic inspiration.[225]

This break with the past was not unprecedented, as Johannes de Grocheio, a leading music theorist in the late thirteenth century, had publicly rejected the concepts of *musica mundana* and *musica humana.*[226] But the explosion of notational experimentation that focused on practical application that is the hallmark of the Ars Nova was, indeed, a first.

It has been shown that Philippe de Vitry, the major figure of the ars ova, was indeed a humanist . That he was so closely involved in the codification of new notational practices, then, suggests humanist influence on the *Ars Nova*. Upon examination of the uses for this new notation, which could not have been unknown at that time, humanist elements do begin to show themselves.

A hallmark of the Renaissance, and the brand of humanism associated with it, is the rise of the individual author that stamps his name upon his creations.[227] This type of individual is typified in the fourteenth century by

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[225] Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music* , 339.

[226] Page, *Discarding Images,* 17.

[227] H.W.Janson, *History of Art,* revised and expanded by Anthony F. Janson, 5th ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995), 408.

Petrarch. This type of man was not unknown in previous ages, but was simply less prevalent. The individual author of the Renaissance, however, was more concerned than his counterparts of the past with the preservation of every detail of his creation. In language this had always been possible. As witnessed in the realm of pre-fourteenth-century vernacular song, however, this had not yet been musically possible. Pitches could be notated, but the rhythms, especially in the troubadour and trouvère traditions, were usually left to the performer to improvise based on the text.[228] It was now possible in the fourteenth century to notate rhythmic nuance to match speech patterns at an unprecedented level. These rhythmic patterns could then also be applied to more theoretically-based Latin forms, such as the motet. In other words, the Ars Nova advances enabled high musical culture to acquire the rhythmic variation previously available mainly to vernacular sung poetry and music in the oral traditions, and enabled the vernacular songs to be notated with the same degree of accuracy previously only accorded the "high" Latin forms. The rise of the *formes fixes* in the thirteenth century and the inclusion of vernacular texts in the previously Latin-only motet demonstrates the gains in respectability made by vernacular traditions. Therefore it may be postulated that the rise of vernacular poetry, which so characterized the Renaissance and renaissance humanism, was facilitated simultaneously in music by the developments of the *Ars Nova*. This humanistic achievement was spearheaded by the work of Philippe de Vitry, who was the

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[228] van der Werf, "The Trouvère Chansons," 64-65.

paradigm of *Fauvel's* audience. He was one of the most erudite and widely respected of the *literati*: a musician, poet, diplomat, ecclesiastic and royal administrator and mathematician. His travels and appointments to Avignon, and his intellectual associations there, further enabled him effectively to disseminate his theories In short, Philippe de Vitry was the very definition of a true Renaissance man.

The Ars Subtilior: Unforseen Developments

The Ars Nova has been linked in the past not with the Renaissance, but with a "waning" Middle Ages.[229] This may be, in part, due to a misinterpretation of subsequent musical practices spurred by the new notational freedom afforded composers by the Ars Nova. The so-called Ars Subtilior, which came into being at the end of the fourteenth century, has been accused of the cerebralism and obscurity of a dying scholastic culture.[230] What may be seen here, however, might be the logical result of the new-found rhythmic freedom. The Ars Subtilior may represent a period of notation-based composition; that is, composition that rises not so much from a composer's conception of melody, but from a desire to push the limits of the available notation in order to see what it

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[229] Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, 356. I would like to make clear that this section on the Ars Subtilior is only intended to present some possibilities for explaining the spirit of this fascinating musical movement, in light of the literarily-based view of music developed in the rest of this thesis. It is also hoped that it may spur further research in this area. It is not in any way meant to present known facts, except where noted.

[230] Hughes and Abraham, ed., *New Oxford History of Music Volume 3*, 141-42.

will do, and if anyone can actually play the results.[231] This possible notational game-playing may have, unfortunately, clouded the view for music historians of the underlying spirit of the new notation. It must be noted that even within style periods, especially after the Renaissance, theoretically rigorous genres, such as Palestrina-style polyphony, can coexist with more "emotionally" based genres, like that of Baroque monody. The Ars Subtilior, in relation to its style period, represents just such a situation.

Conclusion

Based on the definition of humanism formulated in the first section of this thesis, it has been shown that Philippe de Vitry does, in fact, fit the humanist description. Evidence is found for this among the praises lavished upon him by his contemporaries, not least among these was Francesco Petrarch. Petrarch's praise of Vitry and close association with him serve to strengthen that argument. In the process of examining Petrarch's relationship with Vitry, it has been shown that, based on Petrarch's letters to Vitry and the descriptions of Vitry by other contemporaries, the fourth eclogue from Petrarch's *Il bucolicum carmen* is most likely indeed about Vitry.

It has also been shown how the *Ars Nova*, as codified by Vitry and his students, demonstrates qualities that make it a strong candidate for the era that marks the

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[231] Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, 403.

beginnings of the Renaissance in music. The connection between music and poetry was strongly established. The mark of the renaissance humanist, indeed any humanist, is the focus on poetry and literary endeavors. Music was an inseparable part of these endeavors, and as such was integral in the birth of the Renaissance in literature, begun in earnest by Petrarch. The equality afforded for Latin and vernacular poetic styles by the notation of the Ars Nova served to further the ability of the vernacular to make inroads into the more learned styles. This in turn facilitated the development of the new humanist literary practices, which eventually reached their zenith in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy.

Appendices

Introduction

The following appendices provide English translations of the extant letters from Petrarch to Philippe de Vitry, the fourth eclogue of Petrarch in its original Latin and in English translation, and the extant commentary on that eclogue in the original Latin and in English translation. The translations of the letters are reprinted from Petrarch's *Letters on Familiar Matters: Rerum familiarium libri,* IX-XVI, translated by Aldo S. Bernardo (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982). The eclogue in Latin and the English translation are reprinted from Petrarch's *Bucolicum Carmen,* translated by Thomas G. Bergin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974). The author is most grateful to Johns Hopkins University Press and Yale University Press for granting permission for reprinting these texts. The English translations of the eclogue commentaries are done by the author.

Appendix A

Rerum Familiarum IX, 13.

To Philippe de Vitry, musician, rebuking the ineptness of those persons so restricted to one corner of the world as to consider even a glorious absence undesirable.

My friendly words will strike friendly ears as true rather than flattering, as sincere rather than elegant. Great is the frankness of friendship, great its security. Whoever loves much fears nothing; or rather great love fears and notices everything, especially what it suspects might offend the loved one. Indeed Seneca observed about his own friend that "I do not love him, lest I offend him." Nothing less do I wish than to offend you. But never let it be said that you may be offended by the truth, you who have always been a very dedicated and eager seeker of the truth. I hope you will rather take delight in it, and with the strength of your virtue find a remedy for the frailty of your mind, so that, as a great philosopher of our age who rejects the prejudices of the raving multitude, you may at length speak not only as a man but as a true philosopher. What, I ask, remains to man that might be called not eternal, but lasting, when old age penetrates even the mind? With reason and with experience as my teacher, with even a famous historian as witness, I have learned that "all that is born dies, all that grows ages." But I considered the human spirit exempt from the inevitable fate of mortal things, as something not earthly but celestial and as something formed of eternal substance that rises on high by its own strength and by the wings of its own nature, so to speak, and despises death, which creeps

and rages along the ground. What I had read in the poet about some ancient peoples in Italy whose "sluggish old age does not weaken their strength of mind" I once applied more extensively to the entire human race. You compel me to doubt this opinion. For you seem, O distinguished sir - I shall state clearly what I mean - you seem to me, I say, to have aged not so much in body as in mind. But if this could happen to you amidst such wealth of learning and virtues, what are we to think will happen to those naked and defenseless ones with no consolation in their virtue and no assistance from letters, suited to nothing other than increasing the numbers of the multitude, born only to eat food, as Horace so aptly said? You will not deny that the mind can also die if it can grow old, since without doubt old age is the last part of life and a descent, as it were, to death. Once we concede this, you see what follows: both the sweetness of life as a whole and the hope of immortality are snatched away. It was this hope alone that kept me from grieving at being a man, subject on the one hand to temporal death and on the other to a more noble destiny, and, as faith teaches us as well as nature, destined ultimately to live with both the eternal and blessed life. I am well aware that you are wondering where my words are leading with such long digressions. If I really know you and your mind, you already understand what I am saying, or am about to say, since by this time your conscience is taunting you.

As you know,the famous clergyman Gui, bishop of Porto, apostolic legate to the Holy See, is here. Already I can picture your expression; a modest blush spreading over your face. You did not realize that I would examine your letter,

which is in his possession. Had you suspected this, you would never have spoken so weakly, so humbly and, forgive my strong words, so effeminately, if not out of respect for me, at least out of respect for the Muses who are my guests. If these do not now arm themselves with their verses, the reason is not patience but rather lack of time. I ask you, what do you say to this? Examine the meaning of your words with me; I am dealing with you, as they say, with evidence in hand. You make accusations against this common lord of ours; you sting and you blame, you deplore with an excessively intolerable irresolution, not his absence but - as you call it - his exile, and you disgrace with an unfortunate word his truly sacred pilgrimage, which could not be more glorious. Surely this is that old age which I lament in you, my friend, you would never have spoken that way when I first knew you. Your extraordinary passion and ardor for examining secrets and mysteries, in which you seemed second to none, has, cooled. Is there, then, no middle path between restless curiosity and extreme sluggishness? Once India used to appear not too distant to you. At one time with eager mind, you used to take measure of Thoprobanes and whatever unknown places exist in the Eastern Ocean. At other times, you used to sigh for Ultima Thule hidden on unknown shores, after the Orkneys, Ireland, and whatever lands the Mediterranean washes lost their appeal for you because of their very proximity. Why, indeed, is it surprising if the earth seemed too small for the mind of a very learned man who turns with indefatigable eagerness toward that celestial pole continually rotating above us guided by an icy rudder, or toward that other pole

which - if the Antipodes exist - men dearly behold in the southern region, or finally toward the oblique path of the sun and toward the fixed and wandering stars? Is there anything that passage of time does not destroy? To be in Italy may seem to you a wretched exile, whereas to be far from it might more likely resemble an exile but for the fact that any soil is a strong man's fatherland, with your permission, I would like to suggest that the Parisian Petit-Pont and its arch, not quite in the shape of a tortoise shell, is too appealing to you; the murmur of the Seine flowing under it delights your hearing too much; finally the dust of France lies too heavily on your shoes. In my opinion, you seem to have forgotten that man who, when asked where he was from, answered that he was a citizen of the world. You are so thoroughly French that you call leaving France for any reason whatsoever an exile. I do not deny that the appeal of our native land is implanted in us, and I do know that illustrious men were by no means destitute of this feeling. I read in Livy, the historian, that Camillus, restorer of Rome and of the empire, equal to any of the most powerful leaders, was silent in his Ardean exile, confessing that he was tormented by the memory of, and by the desire for, his native land; I read in the poetry of Virgil that Diomedes attributed to the gods' envy the fact that he would not again see his Calydon; I read that at Ovid deplored his absence from his native land, not in a few words but in a complete volume; and I read that Cicero endured his exile with so little manliness that the eloquence of Cicero seemed to lack Ciceronian talent. Besides all this, I know that characteristic of irresolute and weak souls, when honorable reasons are lacking,

is an inability to break their fetters and rise above them, or to subordinate the pleasures of the eyes to virtue, which is pleasure of the mind. There are a great number of foreign and Roman generals and philosophers who spent their lives in constant travels to increase either their military or intellectual reputation; but because I recall more willingly what is closer to my profession, I shall mention some of the philosophers. When Plato left Athens - where, if it is proper to say so, he was worshiped as a terrestrial god - he first went to Egypt, then to Italy, How great a hardship for a man accustomed to a sedentary life! But through all the difficulties of his journey, he used his desire for learning as a vehicle. Then there is the famous trip of Democritus, and the more famous one of Pythagoras, who never returned home once he had left, being more inflamed with the love of truth than of country; accordingly he traveled throughout Egypt, as Cicero narrates, visited the Persian magi, traversed countless foreign lands on foot, and crossed many seas, If you wish to know the ultimate destination of his travels, it was Italy herself where he lived the last twenty years of his life in the very place where you lament a single year's stay by our friend as a tearful exile and truly wasted time. Rouse yourself, rouse yourself, I beg you, awaken your sleeping mind and lift your fallen spirit! You will see the extent to which you are victimized by a cloud of vulgar opinions, when you say those things which I wish I had not read. His is not an exile, as you think, but an honorable sojourn, praiseworthy and dignified, an occasion for everlasting fame with minimal effort. At present, it is difficult to persuade you of this since you think nothing

splendid or agreeable, as I see it, except Paris and those few clods of your small field to which you have devoted your mind. But when you become once again your old self and with the multitude excluded, begin to judge for yourself and have confidence in yourself, I shall renew my confidence in you. Give me back my old companion and the old Philippe. By my being silent, truth will do the pleading. Now this quarrel of mine is not with you but with another Philippe, your enemy. Therefore, be forgiving if you perhaps read something said more freely than the contemporary custom for flattery allows. As Brutus says in a letter to Cicero: "To speak eloquently is indeed beneficial to those who know not what is or is not to be feared."

Let us return to your exiled friend, about whom you are so disturbed and anxious. I wish you could see him, more magnificent than usual, advancing with head held high through Italian cities. I wish you could see the concourse of people and rulers attending him with honor; I wish you could hear the joyful voices of those who everywhere applaud and support him. You would be ashamed of your cowardly words, and would not call him an exile, but more accurately the author of peace and tranquility and the savior of the state. Since the causes of war between the kingdoms of Hungary and Sicily gushed from deep wells of hatred, dragging a large portion of Europe into danger, and since deadly insurrections had to be suppressed by timely assistance in order to be quelled, no one else could be found for so important a task. If you consider this judgment of the pope, this opinion of the College of Cardinals, this public hope

and this joy to be wretched and painful for him, I know not what you would call happy and fortunate. But I beg you, tell me in the name of reason, which ought to control your feelings, what leisure can you compare to this task, what pleasures to these causes, what repose to these labors? Let the epicurean multitude proclaim what it will; I prefer such a noble mission to all delights and pleasures which sleep or food, ambition or passion might offer. For all virtue, all glory, all noble delights are difficult to attain; by descending, a person arrives at obscene pleasures, by ascending, at honorable ones. Therefore, do not deplore the truly enviable fortune of this man; instead, consider yourself an exile and lament it, since you have so distanced yourself from the contemplation of his glory. Even now I might mourn and pity in equal measure your misfortune and your exile, were it not that in pitying him you silently judged your own situation to be happy. On the other hand, I fear to pity one who is happy lest this be useless compassion, unless perhaps it is in fact the greatest mercy to have compassion on someone who is falsely joyful. What is more, if you have become sedentary before your time, nonetheless be just and allow this man, whom I know for certain you love with your entire mind, to have preferred to an inert immobility this magnificent journey. He is at the prime of life, possessing a strong body, a famous lineage, a lofty talent, and a burning desire for knowledge. Driven by these goads, he left the Seine and the Rhone, and even visited unknown regions. Daring to spurn his teacher, his playmate and his

nurse, he attempted manly pursuits, following the distinguished, although difficult, path of unbending virtue.

Lest you think that only philosophers undertook such journeys and that, therefore, this man born of royal blood must be distinguished from their humble condition, I shall cite examples which are even more illustrious. Scipio was twenty-four when his courage belied his age and he set out for Spain against four strong Carthaginian armies and against an equal number of outstanding commanders. After his return laden with countless victories and happy in the praises he had earned, he could have been content to remain at home as a famous private citizen. But since Hannibal was thundering through Italy, he preferred to cross over into Africa against the will of the Senate - which might amaze you - and against the judgment of Fabius Maximus, both tremendous obstacles. As victor in the midst of extremely difficult circumstances, he followed his own calling to greater glory in order to return with security rather than riches for his country, and with a surname for himself; for he went as Cornelius and returned as Africanus. Hannibal himself, whose journey was troublesome and almost fatal for us, left home as a boy in his eagerness to acquire fame and to extend his empire, and returned an old man. What of Alexander of Macedonia, who never did return home? What of Pompey the Great, whose travels throughout his entire life left scarcely a corner of the world unexplored? What of Julius Caesar and his ten-year journey through Gaul, Germany, and Britain? You know from histories, as your ancestors knew from their defeats, how glorious it

was for him, how frightful for you. It is well known that his next march lasting four years, briefer in time but greater in importance and extensiveness, led him to the height of power in the midst of innumerable worldwide upheavals, so that even after the fall of the empire its name still lives on. Neoptolemus went to Troy, scorning the entreaties and tears of his grandfather. Had he obeyed them, his father and his country would have remained unavenged. Ulysses too went to Troy, and even further, crossing lands and seas; nor did he stop before he had founded a city bearing his name on a most distant western shore. At home he had an aged father, a young son, a youthful wife beset by suitors, while he fought with Circe's poisonous cups, the sirens' song, the violent Cyclops, sea monsters, and tempests. This man, famous for his wanderings, put aside his affections, neglected his throne, and scorned his responsibilities. Rather than grow old at home, he preferred to age between Scylla and Charybdis, among the black whirlpools of Avemus and in the midst of such difficult circumstances and locations as to weary even the reader's mind. He did all this for no other reason than to return one day to his country more learned in his old age. And truly, if experience makes men learned, if it is the mother of the arts, what skill or what praiseworthy achievement might a person expect who remained the perpetual keeper of his paternal home? It is proper for the good peasant to remain in his own country, to understand the quality of his land, the behavior of his cattle, the quality of his waters and his trees, the success of his crops, the advantages of the seasons, the changes in the weather, and finally his rakes, hoes, and ploughs. But

it is characteristic of a noble spirit that aspires to lofty goals to have seen many lands and the customs of many men, and to have assimilated them. What you have read in Apuleius is very true: "Not unjustly did the divine father of ancient Greek poetry, wishing to present a man of utmost wisdom, sing that the greatest virtues were achieved by the person who had witnessed the downfall of many cities and known many peoples." In imitation of this, you know the many cities and shores to which our poet led his Aeneas.

You who are now the sole French poet, have pity on this Ulysses or Aeneas of yours, who has been a testing ground for your talent and material for your pen, because he has seen something other than Paris. You do not realize what a pleasing spectacle it was, and will be, for him to see with his own eyes what he imagined in his mind. We know what the Emperor Hadrian used to do. Those places that through reading or reputation he considered famous, he quite eagerly wished to see personally; nor did the weight of empire hinder him from doing so. As Cicero says in the *Tusculans*, "If those men who have seen the mouth of the Pontus and the narrows through which passed that ship named 'Argo, because in it sailed the glorious Argives seeking the golden fleece of a ram,' or if those who saw the ocean's mouth 'where the greedy water divides Europe and Libya' think they have accomplished something," what must our bishop think who has seen the Italian Alps, once shattered by Phoenician fire and vinegar? With unimpeded vision, he took measure of the broad, smiling fields of Cisalpine Gaul and of Milan, a city illustrious and flourishing and founded by your

ancestors, as writings through many centuries prove; he took measure of Brescia and Verona and in their midst Lake Garda - the former being extraordinary creations of men, the latter of nature. From there he went on to Padua, founded by the Trojan Antenor. He next visited that wonderful, beautiful, and greatest city of all on the Venetian shores, then little Treviso girded by rivers and pleasant with summer delights, which he chose as his residence, not so much for his own convenience as to provide for the comfort and needs of foreign visitors. Next he went beyond Aquileia to quell northern insurrections; crossing the Noric Alps he traveled far and wide throughout Germany and reached the Danube, once the boundary of the empire, equal to the Nile, proud with its thousand springs and seething with dreadful whirlpools. Having recently returned amidst great praise, he has this very day transferred the body of St. Anthony the Minor amid the devotion of an immense throng that was the sole reason for his somewhat protracted sojourn in Padua. Tomorrow he will resume his journey so that, just as he saw the roaring of the Adriatic, he will witness the Tyrrhenian tempests. First he will cross the Po, king of rivers - unless he views the Seine as such; he will then proceed to Ravenna, said to be the most ancient of cities, then to Rimini and Perugia, a most powerful city; and passing through others on the way he will finally arrive at the capital and mistress of the world, Rome. Whoever as not seen it admires others thoughtlessly. If the good fortune of the Romans at times rendered the appearance of the city more splendid, the year of the Jubilee will render it more sacred than ever before. Even though you call him an exile, he

appears to me a most fortunate traveler. He will cross the thresholds of the apostolic churches and he will tread upon ground dark with the holy blood of martyrs; or he will view a likeness of the Lord's face preserved on a woman's veil or depicted on the walls of the mother of churches; he will gaze at the spot where Christ appeared to the fugitive Peter and see on the hard stone his footsteps which all nations will worship eternally; he will enter the Holy of Holies, a shrine filled with heavenly grace; he will admire the Vatican and the cave of Calixtus built from saints' bones; he will look at the Savior's cradle and a relic of His circumcision, and a wonderfully shining vessel of the virgin's milk; he will see Agnes's ring and meditate upon the miracle of conquered lust; he will contemplate the maimed head of the Baptist, Lawrence's grill, and Stephen's remains, which were brought from elsewhere so that both of them might rest peacefully in a single tomb; he will behold where Peter was crucified, where from Paul’s spilt blood sprang forth fountains of pure water, where a stream of olive oil emptied into the Tiber when the Lord was born, where the foundations of a magnificent church were laid on the traces of a summer snowfall, where mighty temples collapsed at the Virgin Birth, where Simon in a fall from heaven disgraced the innocent rock; and he will be shown Silvester's hiding place and the site of Constantine's vision as well as the divinely prescribed cure for his incurable malady, and countless other things. A part of these I once included in two lengthy letters to a friend, and later rendered in verse.

If ever his mind descends to the earthly from the heavenly, he will notice the palaces, although in ruins, of Roman leaders and emperors, the palaces of the Scipios, Caesars, Fabii, and the remains of others which have no limit or number; he will marvel at the Seven Hills, enclosed by a single wall and once the ruler of all the earth, the mountains and the seas, and the broad highways once too narrow for lines of prisoners; he will see the triumphal arches laden with plunder from subjugated kings and people; he will climb the Capitoline, head and citadel of all lands, where once existed a shrine to Jove; now it is Ara Coeli where, as they say, the Christ child appeared to Caesar Augustus. Indeed this is what he will see; but you, every time you contemplate the fields of St-Germain and the hill of Ste-Geneviève, will think you have seen all that the sun shines upon from its rising to its setting, happy in your illusion, if indeed there can be any happiness in error. Upon his departure from Rome - to tell you all - he intends to visit the Etruscan cities - Viterbo, which lies in a green valley surrounded by icy and tepid springs; Orvieto, remarkable because of its recent monument and located on the summit of a wide, steep plateau; Siena too, emulous of Rome because of its nursing she-wolf and seven hills, whose beauty exceeds that of any city built on high (nor in my judgment does the charm of any French city rival hers); nearby Florence, the work of Roman generals, about which I shall say nothing for now so that love of country will not make you mistrustful of me, or me of you. From there, after crossing the Apennines once again, he intends to return here, passing through learned Bologna in order to convene a solemn

council of the prelates in his legation; and so he will at last arrive in Milan and bearing left will cross the Apennines for the third time to see Genoa, truly deserving a visit, for no city is more fearless, and could today more rightfully be called a city of kings, if civil harmony existed there; then around the Gulf of Liguria, sunnier than all others, through forests of cedar and palm, over the fragrant and resounding shore he will reach the borders of Italy in order to return to France. These are not signs of a hurried mind affected by boredom. You can see how he is traveling in a circuitous manner, how delight at his arrival is obvious in many places, how his noble mind is refreshed by the sight of a variety of things. Thus, your exiled friend has reason for great joy in having seen many great and memorable things, in having everywhere exalted his illustrious name with his presence, something which usually diminishes fame. In this too Italy has cause for rejoicing since in the midst of the clouds of our age she has been calmed by him as though by a lucky star. This land which, from the beginning of history, as you yourself well know, was always praised above other lands according to the testimony of every author, has now found in our day a great supporter where it was not expecting one. Believe me, upon his return you will marvel at his discussions of Italian affairs. For this reason if you long impatiently for such a father, if you lament your loneliness and the rust growing on your mind because of excessive neglect, I can forgive human weakness. If because of him, however, you envy us, or because of us you envy him, then indeed you deserve to be gnawed by a satirist's tooth, since another's joy torments you. Accordingly,

whatever is, is short-lived. Next summer will bring you victory, restoring to you the one it will take away from us. Nonetheless no amount of time will eradicate his image from our hearts. And consider how much more happily and more worldly he will be upon his return, how much more eminent not only to others but even to himself, since he will have seen so much with his own eyes and will have seasoned French urbanity with Italian dignity! Ashamed of your childish complaints, you will turn that elegant eloquence of yours into applause. There was no excuse for them except that they were written in the vernacular, showing that you followed not your own judgment but that of the rabble whose opinion was always blind and base.

Farewell, enjoy good health, and remember me. The physician Marco, compatriot of Virgil, sends greetings.

Padua, 15 February.

Rerum Familiarum XI, 14.

To Philippe de Vitry, Bishop-elect of Meaux, his uncertainty as to whether to congratulate or pity him.

Should I congratulate you or feel pity for you, dearest and illustrious father? For I see the greatest toil imposed upon you when you most needed repose, and the weighty responsibilities and anxieties of the bishopric following upon your sweet concerns for study and your pleasant leisure. Alas, how often did Caesar Augustus, to limit myself to a single yet noble example, at your very age consider renouncing the empire in order to diminish his labor! This attested by his letter addressed to the Senate in which he pleads for permission to spend a private and tranquil old age; this he did not doubt could be honorably spent far from that lofty responsibility. Though honored, tranquil, and freer than anyone I know, you willingly submitted to toil and voluntary servitude in accepting an episcopate full of knotty and entangled cares that grow incessantly beneath the scythe. Because of your great and noble spirit, you have put the public welfare ahead of your own peace and pleasure, which were truly deserved. I therefore applaud your decision and sympathize with your fate. Above all, I urge you to pursue with tireless persistence what you have reluctantly assumed, so as to earn glory on earth but a more enduring reward in heaven. With nothing more to say, I decided to write you this in haste while the messenger waits, especially so that you might know my whereabouts. My fate has forced me to return to the shores

of the Rhone, and I wish to see you before I begin once again to roam. Live happily and farewell, and remember me.

Avignon, 23 October.

Appendix B

Eclogue #4, "Daedelus," from *Il bucolicum carmen*

Quarte egloge titulus est: Dedalus
Collocutores Gallus et Tirrenus.

GAL. Tale quis ingenium, tanti quis muneris usum?
Ut niveum compegit ebur, nervosque loquentes
Addidit ac numeros! Dic, o Tirrene, quis ille?
Dedalus? Anne alius dextre successor et artis?

TIR. Dedalus ipse fuit, nec falleris omine, Galle,
Artificum stupor eternus, quem docta potensque
Miratur natura virum; michi maximus ille
Argutam dedit hanc citharam plectrumque modosque.

GAL. Cuius amor meriti? cuius pulcherrima merces?

TIR. Nullius. Nam sponte meum quesivit amorem,
Dignus quem silve, quem grex, quem pastor adoret.

GAL. Qua tamen hec regione tibi sors obvia venit?

TIR. Est nemus aerium, trabibus quo frigida quernis
Submovet umbra diem; non illic aura, nec estus,
Non gregis aut hominum vernos permit ungula flores;
Fontibus aversis circum duo flumina surgunt,
Hoc secat Etruscos, petit illud gurgite Romam:
Hic, quasi venturi presagus, tristia mecum
Plurima volvebam, flebam quoque; vidit ab alto
Dedalus annosas inter sonsidere fagos;
Accessit, citharamque ferens: - puer, accipe, dixit;
Hac casus solare tuos, hac falle laborem. -
GAL. Infelix! ubi tunc aberam? Fortasse fuisset
Hec fortuna alij; citharam michi Dedalus illam;
Novit enim egregie, atque interdum visus amare est.
TIR. Hanc minime; sed forte aliam, nam milia multa
Ille habet et large partitur munera in omnes,
Galle; sed, ante diu quam presens silva vireret,
Hec fuerat promissa michi. Namque anxia partu
Mater anelanti Lucinam voce rogabat,
Et mestum, ignarus lucis, iam limen adibam;
Attulit ecce pium fors Dedalon; haud mora, mixto
Vagitu gemituque gravi concussus, apertas
Substitit ante fores; deque obstetricibus uni:

- Si puer est, citharam dibimus; si nata, monile,
Dixerat, ac speculum; - subitoque evanuit. Inde
Polliciti reijtque memor, factoque beavit.

GAL. Utilis invidie species imitatio fervens,
Incutiensque animo stimulos, Tirrene, fatebor.
Ardeo nunc similem citharam, nisi forsitan ista
(Quod malim) caruisse velis. Sunt vellera nobis
Mollia, sunt hedi; pretium, vel grande licebit,
Ipse rei parve statuas. Parebitur ultro.

TIR. Grande rei parve? Cithare solatia nescis;
Rem magnam (sit nota) voces: fastidia mulcet,
Lassatos animos refovet, solatur amicos,
Gaudia restituit, pellit de pectore luctum,
Exiccat lacrimas, compescit flebile murmur,
Spes revehit, frangitque metus, vultumque serenat.

GAL. Quid pretio maiore vetat vel magna pacisci?

TIR. Non michi setigeri quantumvis pascitur usquam
Villigerique gregis, nedum leve vellus et hedi
Sit pretium cithare; non si tibi gurgite latos
Ambiat Hermus agros, rutilisque oblimet arenis.
Quid michi divitie? quid rerum mutus acervus?
Nostras cernis opes: Hec est, qua crebra rebellis

Prelia fortune mundique prementia vincla
Pauperiemque levo; rigidas hac sepe per Alpes,
Perque nemus vacuum, perque atra silentia noctis
Fisus eo; plaudunt volucres et concava saxa,
Interea tristes fugiunt per nubila cure.

GAL. Laude sitim cumulas; fer opem, optatoque potiri,
Te duce, contingat; vivam memor emoriarque.

TIR. Sera animum que cura subit? Brevis ecce iuvente
Flos cecidit. Tunc tempus erat! Iam discere turpe est
Quod pulcrum didicisse foret. Sic volvitur etas,
Omnia sic volvit fugiens, ac nescia freni.
Sorte tua contentus abi, citharamque relinque;
Est quibus a teneris tractata suaviter annis.

GAL. Posceris auxilium; tu consulis? Incipe rebus
Mecum; verba alijs, quos possunt verba movere.
Poscimus hanc avide; toto nil pulcrius orbe est.

TIR. Pulcra movent oculos, sed prosunt apta fruenti;
In partesque venit pudor atque modestia voti.

GAL. O felix, o care deis, Tirrene, supernis!

Translation

The speakers are Gallus and Tyrrhenus.

GAL. Tell me, who was the genius, who with a craft so artful
Fashioned its snow-white ivory and to it attached the speaking
Cords and the musical numbers? Disclose who it was, Tyrrhenus;
Daedalus? Or a disciple like him in his art and his talent?
TYR. Daedalus, even he. Your guess is the right one, Gallus.
Craftsman supreme of all time, whose manhood amazes Nature,
Mighty and wise though she be. From that most excellent master
I have received the bow and the pick and the notes of my music.
GAL. What did you do to deserve it? What service won you such a guerdon?
TYR. Nothing at all. Instead it was he who sought out my friendship,
He who is rightly adored by the woods and the flocks and the shepherds.
GAL Say in what land did you win such gracious favor of fortune?
TYR. High in the clouds stands a woodland. Oak groves with their cooling shadows
Darken the light of heaven. No breeze stirs, no ray of sunshine
Penetrates. Spring flowers bloom, untrodden by man or his cattle.
Bordering it rise two rivers, each from a different source springing;
One flows through Tuscan meadows, the other seeks Rome as it courses.
There once, as if I could see the future, I sat, brooding sadly
Over my sorrows and weeping, when from his station above me
Daedalus marked me despairing under the

age-old beeches.
Bearing his lyre he drew near me. "Take this, my lad," so he bade me;
"Let it console your cares and beguile your long days of labor."
GAL. Why wasn't *I* there? Alas! Such good fortune might have befallen
Me in your stead. Because Daedalus knows me and erstwhile has shown me
Signs of affection. That lyre he'd have given to me, I am certain.
TYR. This one he would not, I think; another perhaps; he has many -
Thousands in truth - and with all men he readily shares his bounty.
This one, however, he'd promised to me long ago, ere the present
Forest was verdant. My mother was lying in anguish of birthpangs,
Gasping, imploring the aid of Lucina, and I was approaching,
All unaware, the threshold of grief when a merciful fortune
Brought the kind Daedalus to us. Moved by her piteous accents
Mingled with my first outcries, straightway he stood at our open
Doorway. Addressing then one of the midwives he spoke as follows:
"If it's a boy we shall give him a lyre, and if it's a girl-child
She'll have a necklace and mirror." And saying these words he vanished.
Afterwards, true to his pledge, he returned and so made me happy.
GAL. Let it be granted, Tyrrhenus, the fever of emulation,
Spurring our spirits onward, is not a bad kind of envy;
Frankly I burn to possess a similar lyre, though I'd rather,
If you would let me, have yours. Look here: I have goats and sheepskins,
Downy and soft. Fix yourself the price you would

take for that little
Object, and high though it be I'll pay - and add something to it.
TYR. So for this "little" thing you'd pay a great price? Nay, you know not
What it is worth or you'd call it a great thing. In troubles it soothes us,
Raises our weary spirits, affords our friends consolation,
Rids our hearts of their sorrows, making them once more joyful,
Dries up our tears and appeases all our complaints and even
Banishes fear, bringing hope to our hearts and calm to our faces.
GAL. Well then, why not for this great thing consider a price somewhat higher?
TYR. Far from exchanging my lyre for a pair of goats or a sheepskin
I would not take a whole herd, no matter in what pasture nourished,
Whether fleece-bearing or shaggy of hide - nor even if Hermus
Flooded your ample fields with its pebbles of gold. As for riches,
What do I care for them? An accumulation of voiceless
Things! Nay my wealth is my lyre. By its virtue alone I am free of
Fortune's incessant onslaughts and poverty - all of the fetters
Fastened on me by the world. With my music I traverse full often
Wasteland and woods and ascend barren crags and fearlessly wander
Through the dark silence of night, while the birds and the caverns applaud me.
All of my cares, as I sing, fall away and are lost in the shadows.
GAL. Tributes like those rouse my thirst. Pray help; let it be by your favor
I may obtain my desire. In life and in death I'll be grateful.
TYR. Late to your heart come such longings. The flower

of youth has faded -
That would have been the right season. In truth it's
a sorry lesson,
Learning a good thing too late to avail us. But such
is Time's nature,
Ever in flight and bearing all with him, heedless
of bridle.
Go, be content with your lot; leave the lyre to its
rightful owners;
Those who from tender years have drawn from its
strings sweet music.
GAL. Asking for help I am given only advice. Nay,
I beg you,
Deeds I would have. Save your words for those who
may find them persuasive.
Give me the lyre. For me the whole world holds
nothing more pleasing.
TYR. Pleasing things draw the eye; things fitting are best
for the user;
Further I'd say: one's desires should be subject
to some moderation.
GAL. Lucky Tyrrhenus, so favored and cherished by
Heaven's Immortals!

Appendix C

Eclogue #4 Comentary

Cod. 33 Plut. 52 Laurenziana
Anonymous

Modern source of text: Francesco Petrarca. ***Il bucolicum carmen e i suoi commenti inediti.*** **Antonio Avena, ed. Padua: Societa Cooperativa Tipografica, 1906.**

Argumentum huius egloge tale est: Fuit quidam gallicus nomine filippus vitrinj, musicus eximius et vir licteratus et ditissimus et amicus ipsius vatis franciscj petracce; qui filippus, cum invideret dicto vatj propter excellentiam sue eloquentie (quod sepe maximis viris accidit) et cum coneretur aut prosis aut metris se adequarj facundie et ingenij ipsius celeberimi franciscj, frustra conatus, admirabatur de inpotentia sui et de excellentia ipsius vatis et, sepissime secum loquens, admirative dicebat: <<O quam bene loqueris! o quam mirabiliter et facunde! et ego in hoc nil possum! edoce, queso, comodo loqueris; da michj artem huius eloquij et tibi dabo quod voles, vel aurum, vel argentum; ostende quando ingenium tuum maneat>>. cuj ipse vates respondebat hanc excellentiam sola ex dei gratia procedere, nec emi nec vendj potest, sed

solumodo donum dej nature esse. et hoc pro argumento sufficiat.

Et notandum est quod hec egloga intitulatur <<dedalus>> et collocutores sunt Gallus, qui pro ipso filippo accipitur quia gallicum, idest de gallia erat: tirenus, quia pro ipso vate accipitur; et tirenus nuncupatur quia italicus. Nam mare tirenum est quod ytaliam cingit, vel circuit. ergo incipjt gallus loquj ipsi francisco, dicens: *Tale quis, ingenium,* idest quis seu dedit tibj tale ingenium? *quis,* seu dedit, *tibi usum tantj numerjs,* seu istius facundie? *ut,* idest qualiter, idest quam bene, *compegit,* idest coniunxit niveum ebur, idest demtes, qui pars omnis sunt et a pronuntiandum necessarij! et dedit seu nervos loquaces, seu lingua et alia necessaria ad organandum vocem, pronuntiandam, explicandam? - *addidit ac numeros,* idest mensuras carminum, ac pedes et tempora silabarum? hec omnia supra dicta referunt ad ipsam citheram. infrascripta ubj ait: <<*Argutam dedit citeram*>> dico <<*thirene quis ille?*>> interogative legendum est. quis, ille fuit, qui tibj hanc artem seu citeram dedit? -*dedalus,* idest an fuit? dedalus dedisset ej hanc artem; et quia dedalus subtilissimus vir et ingeniosus et ultra omnes, suo tempore viventes, -*an ne alius successor destre artis,* idest successor artis et dextre dedalj, seu dedit tibj artem, vel hanc citeram? a que supradicta Respondet tirenus: *dedalus hic fuit,* seu qui nichi hanc citeram vel ingenium dedit, seu deus ipse, a quo omnia bona, omnia mirabilia et ingenia procedunt. - *Nec falleris omine,* idest decipieris tuo augurio, o galle. - hoc quia gallus ex improviso dixit: *dedalus anne alius?* sed cum <<dedalus>> dixit, Intellexit hanc doctrinam franciscj petrarce processisse ab aliquo docto viro erudito, qui docuisset ipsum

franciscum. - sed et ipse franciscus eum dicit: *dedalus ipse fuit,* intelligit deum, vel naturam, omnium rerum magistram; ideo dedalus ipse fuit, seu qui michi hanc citeram dedit; *dedalus,* dico, *eternus stupor artificum,* seu deus qui omnia mirabilia creat et maxima ingenia istruit; quem, seu dedalum vel deum virum, ex deo factus homo, docta et natura miratur, idest cum amiratione intuetur, quia contra naturam est deum fieri hominem. - *ille maximus,* seu dedalus vel deus, dedit michi hanc argutam, idest sonoram citteram, idest poeticam iscientiam et philosoficam facundiam et loquendij et scribendj et versificandj atque pronuntiandij. idest dicit *plectrum,* idest linguam in loquendo; *modosque,* idest artem et pedes et sillabas mensuratas in versificando. - *cuius amor?* Interogat gallus: *cuius merilj fuit ipsa pulcerima merces?* quasi dicat: quod meritum fecisti ut ipse deus, vel dedalus daret tibj hanc et pulcerimam mercem, idest hoc premium? cuius seu meritj fuit? quasi, ut quid meruisti ut tantum premium haberes, aut unde processit hic tantus amor, ut ille cantibus traderet? -*nullius.* Respondet ipse tirenus: *nullius,* seu meritj mej hic amor et hec merces fuit, sed sola ex eius gratia et caritate processit; et ideo dicit: *nam sponte meum quesivit amorem.* Nam ipse deus sola ex misericordia et pietate sua dona maxima homini tribuit et eum ad ardorem caritatis sue deducit et trait. - *dignus,* seu ille dedalus, idest deus, *quem silve,* idest homines, civitates adorent; - *quem pastor,* idest omnis rex et princeps et rector atque dominus adoret; nam propter silvas intelligit civitates et domos, propter greges populi, propter pastores reges intelliguntur. - *qua tamen:* hic loquitur gallus, interogans tyrenum qua regione hoc ei accidit: *qua*

regione, idest in qua provincia (mundi pars) sors, idest hoc bonum et felix, vel hoc donum tibi obviam venit? idest in qua regione tibi hoc tam maximum bonum contingit? - *Est nemus hoc loco:* Respondet tirenus, ostendens de qua regione natus sit et quod in ipso suo natale a deo, vel ab ipsa natura hoc donum ei datum sit. Et sciendum est quod ipse Franciscus petrarca ex parentibus florentinis genitus est florentie; sed pater eius, propter discordias inter cives deditiose cum expulsus esset, aretio natus est in contrata que nuncupatur <<orto>> vulgariter, sed latine ortus, ideo describit regionem in qua natus est et non civitatem, nec locum; et sic incipit: *Est nemus aerium,* idest quercijs seu de quercubus, *submovet diem,* idest propter altitudinem ipsarum. - *non illie aura* seu est, *nec estus* propter demsitatem arborum umbrantium; *non ungula gregis,* idest animalium, *aut hominum* seu ungula, idest planta premit vernos flores. hoc dicit quia locus solitarius est de quo loquitur; sciendum quod nisi duo flumina circum surgunt adversis, idest contrarijs vel oppositis, fontibus in ipso territorio aretino, in ipso appennino; in quo altera ex parte fons est, ex quo oritur tiberis fluvius, qui petens romam, ad hostiam pervectus, mari se asociat; Altera vero ex parte ipsius montis fons est, ex quo arnus fluvius tuscie ortum habet. ideo dicit: duo flumina circum surgunt., circum circa ipsum montem nemorosum, in ipso appennino situatum, non multum distantem ab ipsa aretina civitate; surgunt adversis fontibus. - *Hoc,* seu flumen, secat, idest dividit etruscos, seu Arnus, - *illud,* seu tybris, petit romam grugite seu suo. - *hic,* idest in hoc loco, seu aretio, *ego quasi Presagus venturj,* idest sortis, mee (mec?), volvebam mecum plurima

tristia; nam laboriose omnis homo natalj suo ad lucem mestus et prorans venit, quod est singnum future vite mest et flebilis et angoribus plene. - *flebam quoque,* sicut de more est nascentium. - *dedalus,* idest deus ipse, vidit seu me ab alto, idest ab ipsa sublimitate celi considere, idest manere inter annosas fagos, idest inter domos antiquas ipsius civitatis aretine, en qua ipse franciscus natus est. hoc loco sequitur oppinionem illorum qui in nativitate dicunt constare bona et mala vita hominum; nam in nativitate dicit dedalum ei dedisse citteram, seu eloquentie facundiam ab ipso datam fuisse. - *accissit* seu dedalus et, ferns ipsam citteram, dixit michi: *o puer, accipe; hac citera solare tuos casus et tuos labores,* seu te delectando, ipsa exercitando tuo ingenio. - *Infelix!* Respondet gallus: *Infelix! ego ubi tinc aberam* eo tempore? ille dedit tibi hanc; fortasse hec fortuna, tam blanda et tam prospera fuisset alij, idest alteri? quasi dicat: forsam contigisset michi hanc habere citeram, si ibi tunc fuissem ubi tu eras! ideo dicit, dedalus michi seu dedisset illam citteram, seu, si illie affuissem! novit enim egregie ipse, seu dedalus, idest ipse deus eloquentie; novit seu me egregie, quia dedit michi licteraturam et licteratum egregie reddidit, idest wxtra gregem me docuit. ideo subiungit: *atque interdum visus amare est* seu me, ideo forsam affuisset, tunc ille michi citeram dedisset. - *hanc minime:* Respondet tirenus quod, quamvis gallus ibidem fuisset, non eamdem citeram ie dedisset, nam naturaliter ipsi tireno hec citera a deo data, insita erat; ideo respondens dicit: seu citeram hanc minime, idest non tibi dedisset, quamvis adfuisset; sed forte aliam seu citeram dedisset, idest alium modum loquendj et poetandi, sed non eumdem. - *nam milia multa*

seu harum citerarum, idest innumerabiles modos loquendi ille habet, seu dedalus, idest deus vel natura. - *sed ant diu quam presens silva vireret,* idest ante quam civitas aretina et hec domus essent facte, hec seu citera fuerat promissa michi; quasi ab eterno promissum fuit in dej comspectu me hanc citeram optinere debere, nam sic et statutum erat in ipsa dej potentia atque previdentia; ita hanc habere non poteras, sed forte aliam natura. - *maler,* seu mea, *partu,* seu com vellet me parere, rogabat lucinam, idest deam partus anelantj voce; et *ingnarus,* seu ego, *iam adibam mestum limen;* idest ortus natalis mei apropinquabatur, quo a mundi lucem anxie et meste plorando pergitur et in ipsa vita non sine multis angustijs degit homo. *Ecce,* seu dim ex utero exire conatum, fors (idest fortuna, vel casus seu dispositio mea) attulit dealon, idest gratiam dei. - *baud (band?) mora,* idest sine mora, concussus, seu dedalus, vagitu seu meo misto gravi gemitu seu matris mee (nam cum parit mulier dolet ipsa et infans vagit) - *dedalus,* dico, *concussus substitit ante foras* actas, seu domus patris et matris mee. (que pro: et) dixerat uni de ostetricubus, seu de astantibus puerperio vel partuj; dixerat, dico: *si puer est, citeram dabimus; si nata,* seu si filia est, dabimus *monile, ac speculum; subitoque evanuit* - que pro: et - *inde redijt, memor pollicitj,* idest rei promisse, idest dedit michi quod promiserat et beavit facto, idest promisso spiritu. Respondet Gallus dicens: *species...* hoc, seu munus, fuit species utilis invidie: Nam cum decore, utilitate, honore et gloria invidiam illorum incidis, quia vellent te imitarj et, cum nequeant, invident. imitatio fervens, seu hec species muneris fuit imitatio fervens; nam ardenter procedendum est cum eximia

virtutis exultatione, intuensque stimulos animo. - *ipsa,* seu talis species muneris incutit stimulos, idest addit calcaria animo, ut ardenter, studiose ingenium animi excerceat. - *tyrene,* idest, *o tyrene, Fatebor.* - *Ardeo,* idest ardenter cupio nunc cytheram similem seu istj; alteram, dico citeram similem tue cupio; ubi forsam velis caruisse, malim, idest magis velim; quasi dicat: libenter vellem alteram, si velles eam vendere, aut pro pretio dare. ideo dicit: *sunt vellera,* idest divite multe; sunt *edi,* idest greges et armenta. - vel pro: et. - *licebit,* idest licitum erit ipse statuas grande pretium rei parve; quasi dicat: si vis hanc citeram vendere, que perparva res est, tatue tu, puer, mei pretium; quantum vis grande parabitur ultro, idest tibi dabo quod petes. - *grande?* Respondet tirenus dicens: *grande rej parve?* (et hec est responsio interogativa ed indignativa) quasi dicat: ut statuam grande, seu pretium rej parve, seu huic citere, que non michi res parva videtur? ideo dicit: rej parve, seu huic citere, que non michi res parva videtur? ideo dicit: *nescis sollatia cithere,* seu huius. rem magnam voces, seu ipsam citteram, sit nota. - *fastidia,* seu mentis, mulcet seu ipsa cittera; *refovet laxalos,* idest fessos animos; - *solatur amicos; gaudia restituit, pellit de pectore luctim; exiccat lacrimas non pescit* (sic) *flebile murmur, spes revebit, frangitque metus, vultumque serenat.* - Respondet gallus: *quid vetat?* vel quod etiam pacisci magna maiore pretio? cytheram tuam suta *(sic)* maximam iudicas; statue pretium maximum ad libitum tuj, quia multam *(sic)* magnum est quod non possit emi pretium. ad quod tyrenus: *non michi sit pretium cythere,* idest *quantum vis setygerj,* idest porcorum, et velligeri, idest pecudum, *gregis.* quasi dicat: sit quantumcumque vis, idest quantum immaginare potes

gregis setigerj et velligerj pasci usquam, idest per totum orbem; idest tote divitie que in orbe sunt non essent michi pretium cythare. - *nedum,* idest quanto magis non sit michi pretium leve vellus et edi! Hoc dicit quia gallus superius promiserat sibi pro pretio citare et vellera et edos, dum dixit: *sunt nobis mollia vellera et edi.* quasi dicat: si non darem cytheram meam pro omnibus gregibus et porcorum et pecudum qui pascuntur per totum orrbem, tanto magis non darem eam pro parte tuorum edorum et vellerum, idest pro tuarum parte divitiarum, quia non darem pro toto mundi thesauro. ideo subiungit: *non michi sit pretium cythere,* seu *hermus,* idest fluvius ille lidie qui arenas aureas ducit. - *ambiat,* idest circumdet tibi latos agros; seu suo oblimet, idest impinguet, seu ipsos agros tuos, rutilis arenis, idest aureis. quasi dicat: si hermus in agris tuis funderet omnes arenas aureas quas trahyt et totum hoc aureum michi dares, non tibi darem cytheram meam. - *Quid michi?* Verit sermonem suum autor ad ipsas munci divitias spernendas et ad ipsas animi virtutes colendas que semper prosunt, cum ille alie divitie sepe nocue sint. - *Quid michi divitie,* seu profuissent? - *quid mutus acervus rerum,* idest multe divitie cumulate, que mute sunt et inarrate? quasi dicat: nichil profuissent. - *nostras cernis opes,* idest cernis et audis quante sint et quam maxime sint. - *hec est,* seu cythera, *qua,* idest cum qua, ego *levio* (pro: allevio) crebra, idest assidua, prelia rebellis fortune, idest contrarie fortune et averse; et levo vincula mundi prementa, cupiditates et voluntates mundanarum rerum que premunt mentes hominum et ingenia et in infima. - et *levo* michi *pauperiem,* que non michi gravis est propter dulcedinem cytare mee. - *hac,* idest

securus et confidentis eo, idest ambulo, per rigidas alpes, idest per atria maiorum regum et tyrannorum et nichil timeo quia honoratus in omnibus locis sum; et eo fisus, seu confidens et securus per vacuum nemus, idest per loca solitaria, et hihil timeo; quibus in locis predatores et latrones solent timerj, sed ego securus hac sollitatia sine cura eo et per atra, idest per loca solitaria, et nihil timeo; quibus in locis predatores et latrones solent timerj, sed ego securus hac sollitatia sine cura eo et per atra, idest per oscura silentia noctis. - *plaudunt volucres,* seu audiunt me canere; nam de more avium, cum audiunt dulciter modulare, gaudent et letantur adtente ad modulationem vocis. - *et concava saxa,* seu audiunt me canere; nam quis bene canit, reboant concava saxa, et vocem eandem remictunt; que vox reboata echo nuncupatur. - *Inerea,* seu dum plaudunt volucres et concava, tristes cure seu mee, fugiunt per nubila, evanescunt. - *laude:* alloquitur Gallus dicens: tu, o tyrene, cumulas, acervas sitim, idest cupiditatem et desiderium adiscendi et capescendi hanc cytheram; laude, seu cum audio te ita tam egregie laudare. - *fer opem,* idest edoce me cythariçare et canere sicut et contingat, te duce, idest te ente magistro, idest me potiri optato, idest parve rei optate. - *vivam memor et memoriarque,* idest memor huius benefitij. - ad quod Respondet: *Cura,* idest Voluntas, *que subit animum,* seu tibi? idest cura (quam in hoc habes, flagitando hanc cyteram, idest poesim) sera seu est, idest tarda; quia iam iuventus preterit, in qua tunc tempus adiscendi erat; ideo dicit: - *ecce brevis flos invente cecidit; tunc tempus erat,* seu querendi hanc cytheram, vel simile, idest ipsam scientiam poetandi, quam nunc cupis. - *iam discere turpe est,* seu in senectute, quod

didiciscj foret pulcrum in ipsa iuventa. - *sic volvitur etas,* seu iuventus in sectute, et fugiens, seu etas, sic volvit omnia usque ad finem; nam post infantam succedit pueritia, deinde iuventus et sic successive uswque ad decrepitatem, vel usque ad mortem. Nam alij in ipsa pueritia moriuntur, alij in ipsa iuventute etc. - *ac nescia frenj,* seu etas discurrens sine freno, sine quiete omnia solvit. - *sorte tua contentus abj,* idest recede ab hac Voluntate et cupiditate et esto contentus tua sorte, seu quam tibj concessit natura, seu fortuna tua, et relinque citteram, sue hanc quam petis. - *relinque citeram* illis quibus, idest a quibus, suaviter est tractata, idest culta a teneris annis, seu ad tempore iuventutis usque in senectutem. - ad que supradicta respondet Gallus: *poscitur auxilium,* idest posco te ad auxilium et tu consulis? quasi dicat: ego posco te ad auxilium, et tu consulis? qusi dicat: fac quod peto et doce me, et dimicte consilia. ideo dicit: *Incipe mecom rebus,* idest incipe mecum cum auxilio et fac quod peto. - *verba alijs,* idest da verba et consilia alijs quos verba possunt movere, idest qui verbis contentari possunt, nam verba non dant michi quod peto. - *poscimus hanc,* seu cytheram avide, idest desiderose; nil pulcrius est quam bene et facunde loqui. de qua respondet tirenus: omnes, quando gallo non optare quod ingenio suo convenit, nam multis placent que conditionibus et ingenijs eorum non conveniunt. ideo dicit *pulcra movent oculos,* seu hominum, sed acta fruentj prosunt. quasi dicat: multa diversimode placent; sed solumodo ea aptant se, cupienti prosunt, idest effectum habent. - *in partesque venit pudor ac modestia votj:* hoc st, si equis cupit vel scire, vel habere aliqua et, cum ipse sit discretionis temperantia sedat hanc voluntatem; ita pudor et

210 modestia venit in partes, idest loco utj idest rei cupite, quia ipse pudor et ipsa modestia detrahijt animum ab hac interpetrata voluntate. Gallus, cernens hoc verum esse, aquiescit et breviter sic fatur: *O tyrene felix, o deis care supernis!* quasi dica: tu, o tyrene, felix es et havitus carus apud deum, qui tantam gratiam concessit.

Translation of Cod. 33 Plut. 52 Laurenziana

The subject of this eclogue is thus: There was a certain Frenchman named Philippe de Vitry, an extraordinary *musicus,* a "liberally educated man of letters," most splendid, and a friend of the poet Francesco Petrarch. This Philippe, however, was envious because of Petrarch's excellent eloquence (which often happens to this greatest man), and although he would have tried, either in prose or meters, himself to be made an equal to the natural quality and eloquence of Francesco; it was a vain effort. He was amazed with his own inability and with the poet's excellence, and he is speaking with him admiringly and saying, "Oh, how well you speak! How more wonderfully and eloquently! And I in this am able to do nothing! Teach me, I beg, the proper measure with which you speak; give to me the art of this eloquence and I will give you whatever you wish; either gold or silver; demonstrate when your talent would remain." To this the poet responded that this excellence proceeds from God's grace alone; is it able neither to be purchased or sold, but it is a gift only of God and Nature. And this will suffice before the argument.

Designating this eclogue entitled "Daedalus," are the conversants Gallus, who from before is accepted as Philippe himself because (as a Frenchman), he was from France, and Tyrrhenus, who from before is accepted as the poet himself, and is so named because he is an Italian. The sea *is* Tyrrhenus, which surrounds Italy, or circles it. Therefore Gallus begins to speak to Francesco saying: *Tale quis, ingenium,* i.e, who, or whoever else, gave you such genius; *quis,*

or whoever else gave, *tibi usum tantj numeris,* or whoever gave you this eloquence? *Ut,* i.e., in what manner, or how well, *compegit,* i.e., he united the snowy-white ivories, i.e. teeth, which are part of everything and are of necessity for pronunciation! And whoever gave the talkative strings of a musical instrument, whoever gave the tongue and all that is necessary to [what] I might call "organdum," speaking in public, or arranging?

Additit ac numeros, i.e. song-measure, and also the *pedes* and time of the syllables. This above all was spoken; they reply to the cithara herself. Below the script where it says *Argutam dedit citeram*, I say "Tyrrhenus, what is that?" The interrogative is being read. Who was it that gave you this art, or this lyre? That is, Daedalus - or was it? Daedalus could have given him this art; because Daedalus was the finest and most ingenious man above all living at that time.

An ne alius successor destre artis, i.e. a disciple in the art and skill of Daedalus, or whoever gave you this art or this lyre. For above the word Tyrrhenus responds: *Daedalus hic fuit,* perhaps nothing at all gave this lyre or genius, or perhaps God himself did, from whom all good, all wonder, and all genius comes. *Nec falleris omine,* i.e. you will deceive yourself to the prophet, O Gallus. This [is] because Gallus said unexpectedly, *dedalus anne alius?* But with "Daedalus" he said he understood this knowledge of the French to have advanced Petrarch from some direction, being taught by the learned man, who might have taught Francesco himself. But Francesco says to him, *dedalus ipse fuit,* he understands God, or Nature to be the mistress of all things. Therefore,

Dedalus himself was, or God was, the one who creates all wonderful things and builds the greatest genius. Which, if Daedalus, or God, or man, was made a man by God, he is teaching and nature is amazed; i.e. perhaps he is considered admirable, because God [strikes] man against nature. *Ille maximus,* if it was Daedalus or God, I might prove he gave this to me, i.e. the sonorous lyre, i.e. poetry, science and eloquent philosophy and speaking and writing and versifying and pronouncing. i.e. he says *plectrum,* that is in spoken language, *modesque,* i.e. the art and *pedes* and syllabic measure in versification.

Cuius amor? Gallus asks, *cuius merilj fuit ipsa pulcerima merces?* as if to say; "what merit have you attained, that God himself, or Daedalus, would have given you this and such a beautiful reward, i.e this premium? What merit was it? As if he who deserved such a premium might have had, or from whence proceeded, this; such a love. How would those of song have surrendered? -*Nullius,* Tyrrhenus responded: *nulius,* as if my merit was this love and this premium, but thanks and affection proceed from Him alone; and therefore he said: *nam sponte meum quesivit amorem.* for God alone, from His mercy and pity, bestows the greatest gift to men and he leads and draws him toward the flames of [His] affection. *Dignus,* as if Daedalus, i.e. God, *quem silve,* i.e. men, might have spoken to the states; *quem pastor,* i.e. he might have spoken to every king and prince and ruler and also God; however because the forest knows states (cities) and homes, because the bands of people, because shepherds and kings are understood. *Qua tamen:* this was spoken by Gallus: he is asking Tyrrhenus in

what region this happened to him: *qua regione,* i.e. what province (part of the world) fate, that is where did this good fortune, or this gift available to you, happen? I.e. in what region did so great a good reach you? *Est nemus hoc loco:* Tyrrhenus responded, holding out from that region in which he might have been born and in which he himself is born, from God or from Nature herself might this gift have been given to him. And it is known that Francesco Petrarch of Florence is begotten of Florentine parents. But his father, because of trouble between citizens, and thus surrendering, was expelled; he is born in turmoil in Arezo, now named "Orto" more commonly, but in Latin "*Ortus,*" because he describes the region in which he was born and not the city, nor the place; and thus he begins: *Est nemus aerium,* i.e. of an oak or of oaks,*submovet diem* that is because of the altitudes of the mountains themselves. *Non ille aura,* whatever it is, *nec estus,* because of letting the shade trees grow: *non ungula gregis,* i.e. animals, *aut hominem,* if a claw, that is a sprout presses the spring flowers. He says this because the location alone is that of which he speaks; this location is known by the two rivers which surround it, rising "adversely," that is contrary, or opposite, by a fountain in the territory of Arezo, in Appenninus itself, in which another fountain is located, from which the Tiber river was rising. The Tiber, which led toward the hosts attacking Rome, might join the sea. The fountain is another truth from part of the mountain itself; from Tuscany, in which the Arnus River has its origin. Therefore he said: Two rivers rise around it; they circle around that mountain full of foliage, which is situated in Appenninus itself, not a great

distance from the city of Arezo; they rise against the fountains. *Hoc*, i.e. the river, divided, i.e. it divided the Etruscans, or whoever is the Arnus. *Illud,* i.e. the Tiber, which seeks to engulf Rome. *Hic*, i.e. it is in this place, if it is Arezo, *ego quasi Presagus venturij,* i.e., regarding my fate, that I was pondering the many sadnesses, for every man in his birth comes laboriously towards daylight, the sign of which is a vine (staff?), fearfully, wretchedly, and full of anguish. *Flebum quoque,* just as birth is from delay. *Daedalus,* i.e. God himself, sees if I rise from myself, i.e. to consider the lofty heavens, i.e. to stay many years among the trees; trees, i.e. between the ancient houses of the city of Arezo itself - look how Francesco himself is born. This place follows the opinions of those who in birth say to stand fast against the good and bad life of men, for in birth he said Daedalus is to have given him the lyre, i.e. he is to have been given eloquent philosophy from him. *Accissit* or Daedalus, and bearing the lyre itself, said to me: *o puer, accipe; hac citera solare tuos casus et tuos labores,* if I amuse you, she herself exercised you genius. -*Infelix!* responded Gallus: *Infelix! ego ubi tinc aberam* at that time? He that gave you this; perhaps this fortune - such flattery and such fortune is to have been for another, i.e. the other? As if he said: perhaps it was for me to have been touched and to have this lyre, or if I were to have been where you were! Therefore he said, if Daedalus was to have given that lyre to me, or, if that would have been! In fact, he himself renews excellence, i.e. Daedalus, i.e. the god of eloquence himself; if he renews excellence in me; he gave me the alphabet and surrendered learned excellence, i.e. except the

excellence he taught me. Therefore, he attacked: *atque interdum visus amare est*, if to me, perhaps he could have been, then that one might have given the lyre to me. *Hanc minime:* Tyrrhenus responded that, however much Gallus could have been in the same manner, he might not have been given the lyre in the same way, for it was more natural that Tyrrhenus himself had been given the lyre by God, he was introduced; therefore he responds saying: whatever is this little lyre, i.e. it could not have been given to you, however much it should have been; but by chance if the lyre could have been given to another, i.e. another measure of speech and poetry, but not to him likewise. *Nam milia multa* i.e. those lyras, i.e. innumerable measures of speech that he has, whoever is Daedalus, i.e. God or Nature. - *sed ant diu quam presens silva vireret,* i.e. contrary to how the citizenship of Arezo and this home might have been made, i.e. if the promised lyre had been given to me; as if the eternal promise was in the sight of God to choose to give me this lyre, for thus the providence and strength of God himself was in it - i.e. the law; thus he is not able to have this nature, but by chance another nature. *Mater* but of mine, *partu,* if he will pluck it to prepare for me, he was asking the light-bearer, i.e. the goddess of birth, Anelanti, (who is the voice); and *ingnarus,* i.e. "I", *iam adibam mestum limen;* i.e. I was being drawn near the origin of my birth, man lives anxiously and *meste* (sic) He lamented *pergitur* (sic) and not without the great narrowness in life itself. *Ecce,* i.e. to go out from the womb, chance (i.e. fortune, or whatever befalls the order of my speech) is carried from Daedalus, i.e. the thanks of God. *Baud* (sic) *mora,* i.e. without delay, by shaking,

i.e. Daedalus, he is whimpering - whatever is my *misto* (sic), i.e. the weighty sigh of my mother (for with it a woman gives birth and feels pain, and the infant whimpers). *Dedalus,* I say, *concussus substitit ante foras;* is going, i.e. the house of my father and mother. (for that: and) he had said that one of the midwives, i.e. of the distances of childbirth or birth; he had said, I say: *si puer est, citheram dabimus; si nata,*i.e. his daughter, we will give *monile, ac speculum; subitaque evanuit* - (for that: and) *inde redijt, memor pollicitj,* i.e., for the king to promise, i.e. he gave to me that which he had set forth and blessed, I made it, i.e., I sent for the spirit. Gallus responded, saying: *species...* this, i.e. the duty, is the useful form he was envying: For with adornment, usefulness, honor, glory, and the envy of those who will choose to imitate you whom they are unable to imitate, they will envy. *Imitatio fervens* i.e. this was a form of duty, imitation is seething. For blazing will be proceeded by exaltation, with the exception of virtue, and contemplating stimuli for the spirit. *Ipsa* if such duty inspires stimuli, i.e. she approaches stimulating the spirit, how it blazes, so that the studious genius of the soul might be trained.

Tyrene, i.e., *o tyrene, Fatebor. - Ardeo,* i.e. as it blazed, I now desire a lyre similar to that; I say, I desire another lyre similar to yours; whereas it is perhaps high-priced, which I might prefer, i.e. more sheepskins; as if he said: I will give you another sheepskin with pleasure, if he can sell him sheepskins, or for him to give it for a price. Therefore he says: *sunt vellera,* i.e. divide the many; they are *edi,* i.e. flocks and herds. - or for: and. -*licebit,* i.e. he himself will be allowed the stature,

the great price of small things; as if he said, if it is right to sell this lyre, which is for little things, your stature is my price; how much great strength will be there beyond that, i.e. I will give to you what (*petes) - grande?* Tyrrhenus responded, saying: *grande rej parve?* (and this is the interrogative and indignant response) as if he said: How is that great stature the price of a small thing, if it is for this lyre, which is not seen to me to be a small thing? Therefore he says: *nescis sollata cithere,* because of this. You are called great things, because of the lyre itself, you are becoming great. *Fastidia,* because the mind is soothed by the lyre itself; *refovet laxalos,* i.e. the hungry spirits; - *solatur amicos; gaudia restituit, pellit de pectore luctim; exicat lacrimas non pescit* (sic) *flebile murmur, spes revebit, frangitque metus, vultumque serenat.* Gallus responded: *quid vetat?* or that even I made a bargain at such a great, great, price? That lyre of yours *suta* (sic) you judge the most; Ask the highest price you please. It is many a great man that is unable to buy it at that price. To that Tyrrhenus says: *non michi sit pretium cythere,* i.e. *quantum vis setygerj,* i.e. of pigs, and hides, i.e. the heard, *gregis:* As if he said: however strong he might be, i.e. however much are you able to imagine the bristly flocks and hides that graze anywhere; i.e. throughout the entire globe; i.e. the entire wealth which is on the earth cannot be the price for my lyre. *Nedum,* i.e. when more might not be my price for light fleece and that which is to be explained. This he says, is how Gallus had been promised the lyre for the price of fleece and food, then he said: *sunt nobis mollia vellera et edi.* As if he said: He was not being given that lyre of mine for all the herds and swine and flocks which are grazing

throughout the whole globe, so much more was not being given to them for part of your *edorum* (sic) and hides, i.e. for part of your divisions, which was not being given for the whole earth's treasure. Therefore it is joined under: *non michi sit pretium cythere,* because *hermus,* i.e. the river of Lydia which leads the sands and bridles the winds. *Ambiat,* i.e. wrapped around your burning fields; because it is covered with its own mud, i.e. it is pressed upon, because your fields themselves, the glowing sands, i.e. bridles. As if he said: if Hermus was being poured in your fields, all the sands and bridles that drag, and all these bridles were being given to me, my lyre was not being given to you. -*Quid michi?* The author raises their conversation toward the rejection of the division of his world and toward his own virtuous spirit itself (*colendas*) which are always useful, that with other divisions are often *nocue* (sic). *Quid michi divitie,* because they were useful. *Quid mutus acervus rerum,* i.e. many divisions accumulate, which changes and is not purchased? As if he said: nothing that was useful. *Nostras cernis opes,* i.e. you separate and hear how great they are and how many they are. *Hec est,* because the lyre, *qua,* i.e. with which, I *levio* (pro: to lighten) thick, i.e. a prayer, (*prelia*) rebellious fortune, i.e. contrary and adverse fortune; and I lift the chains of the world's oppression, the desires and inclinations of the world's citizens; the things which oppress the minds of men and genius, and in lowness. And *levo* of my *pauperiem*, which is not serious to me because of my lyre's pleasantness. *Hac*, i.e. Tyrrhenus' security and confidence, i.e. I walk through unbending mountains, i.e. through the atriums of major kings and tyrants and I fear

nothing, I am he who is honored in all places; and it is trusting, because I am confident and secure through the empty grove, i.e. the solitary place, and I fear nothing; for men are accustomed to fearing bandits and predators in that place, but I am secure in this solitude, and through the atriums Tyrrhenus is without care, i.e. through the dark, silent nights. *Plaudunt volucres,* because they hear me singing; then from foolish birds, from which they hear the sweeter singing, they rejoice and are made joyful by the handling and modulation of the voices. *Et concava saxa,* because they hear me singing; then what he sings well, resounds on the hollow rocks, and their voices likewise resound back; that voice sounding back being named the echo. *I nerea*, because then they applaud and are hollow, the sad remedy is because of me, and they flee through the gloom; they vanish. Laude: addressed by Gallus, he is saying: You, o Tyrrhenus, the heaps of *acervas sitim* (sic), i.e. the ardent desire to further learn and strive on this lyre; because with this lyre I hear you to praise thus so excellently. *Fer opam,* i.e. teach me the lyre and singing and just as one might touch it, you will teach me, i.e. you- the master of things i.e. *potiri* (sic) me selectively, i.e. the small things that I wish. *Vivam memor et memoriarque,* i.e. he is mindful of this kindness. Towards which Tyrrhenus responded: *Cura*, i.e. a wish, *que subit animum,* because it is to you? i.e. the concern (how in this, you have demanded this lyre, i.e. poetry) is because there is an obstacle, i.e. it is slowness; by which now you will prize youth, in which time was then *adiscendi* (sic); therefore he says: *ecce brevis flos invente cecidit; tunc tempus erat,* because this lyre will be asked for, or similarly, i.e.

the science of poetry itself, which you now desire. *-iam discere turpe est,* because it is in old age which Gallus learned that he might have been beautiful in life itself. *-sic volvitur etas,* because in cutting off youth, and fleeing, because life is always thus pondered through to the end; for after infancy comes boyhood, then youth, and thus advancing continuously to very old age, or continuously to death. For others die in boyhood itself, others in youth, etc.; *ac nescia frenj,* if life is being lived without restraint, without resting, all will pay. *Sorte tua contentus abj,* i.e. retreat from this desire and accept your lot, because how nature ceases to work for you, because of your fortune, and give up the lyre, because of how deadly it is. *Relinque citeram* that of which, i.e. from which, it is more pleasant to touch, i.e. the lyre is cultivated from the years of youth continuously into old age. To that speech above Gallus responded: *poscitur auxilium,* i.e. I beg you to help and to council me; as if he said: do what I ask strive for, and teach and council me. Therefore he says: *Incipe mecom rebus,* i.e. begin to help me and do what I seek. *Verba alijs,* i.e. give the words and the other council which is moved by words, i.e. that for which words are able to strive, but words alone do not give me what I seek. *Poscimus hanc,* because of the greed for the lyre, i.e. the desire for the lyre; there is no beauty in how I spoke so well and eloquently. To which Tyrrhenus responded: Everything, when Gallus is wont to choose what his genius assembles, for many please not to come together for their genius. Therefore he says *pulcra movent oculos,* because of men, but they are capable of the act of enjoying. As if he said: They please in many different ways; but he is lonely

whom they adopt, desiring the benefit, i.e. they have the accomplishment. *-in partesque venit pudor ac modestra votij:* i.e. if he wishes to know of horses, or to have some, then he himself might be accused of the arranged separation of this freedom; thus shame and modesty come in parts, i.e. how the place in a man that desires things, and from which comes shame and modesty themselves, are dragged from the spirit of this free interpretation. Gallus, understanding this to be true, acquiesced and thus briefly admits: *O tyrene felix, o deis care supernis!* as if to say: you, o Tyrrhenus, you are fortunate and near God, who grants such great thanks.

Cod. Vat. Pal. 1729
Francesco Piendibeni da Montepulciano

Modern source of text: Francesco Petrarca. ***Il bucolicum carmen e i suoi commenti inediti.*** **Antonio Avena, ed. Padua: Societa Cooperativa Tipografica, 1906.**

In hac iiij egloga, cuius titulus est <<Gallus>> autor intendit talem conclusionem probare quod nullus audeat aliquam scientiam sequi nisi a natura habuerit naturalem inclinationem. Et ad istam conclusionem probandam introducit duos pastores ad conloquendum, quorum unum gallum vocat, alium Tirrenum. Gallus est unus famulus francigena Musicus, qui Petrarcham infestabat assiduo ut poesym rhethoricam edoceret. Tirhenus autor est, qui thirhenus erat a thirrheno mari. Gallus autem admiratus eloquentiam petrarce, idest Tirrheni quam scire desiderabat, dicit: O tirrhene quis doctor te docuit? fuit dedalus, vel alius?

Gallus: hic fuit phylippus de Vitriaco clarissimus musicus, petrarce summe notus, ad quem epistulam scripsit prosaycam, que incipit: <<amicas aures>>. (I)

nervos: linguam et carmina - Dedalus. yhesus cristus, quia ex divina gratia et bonitate inclinanatis nature poesym didicit que aliter haberi nequit. Nam ut ait Cicero pro Archia poeta: <<Ceterarum artium studia industria et exercitatione haberi possunt; Sola poesys, nisi divinitus data sit, haberi non potest.>> - Est nemus: hic facit topographyam describens locum sue originis native: Petrarcha ex florentinis perentibus natus pulsis a Florentia, ut ipse in quadam epistula, ea tempestate qua meliorem partem maior expulit et in Aretio

natus est in contrata que dicitur l'orto. - secat: Arnus. - illud: Tiber. - Hic: in Aretio. - citharamque: eloquentiam. - silva: Aretij. - Lucinam: deam pastorum; et interpretatur humiditas cingulum castitatis et pudicitie, quo puelle conservantur in gloria virginitatis mentis et corporis (I).

Rem magnam: effectus eloquentie poetice. - Ermus: fluvius est secundum quosdam Lidie; aliqui dicunt ex dorylao phrygio natum eumque illam a Caria dividere, demum campos Smirne aureas arenas fecundare. - oblimet: limum aureum faciat circum. - umbra: cupiditates rerum mundanarum. - rigidas: inter homines indoctos et silvestres et duros. - nemus: sapientie loca. - volucres: eloquentie viri. - saxa: indocti homines. - modestia: temperantia desiderij; nam pudor et modestia et temerantia debent venire in partem voti, ut ad illa dirigamus appetitum, que congruant licet placeant.

Translation of Cod. Vat. Pal. 1729
Francesco Piendibeni da Montepulciano

In this fourth eclogue, the title of which is "Gallus," the author intends to prove in conclusion that no one should dare to pusue any knowledge unless he has a natural inclination toward it. And from that conclusion, here about to be tested, he introduces two opposed shepherds who will speek about it. One is called Gallus, the other Tyrrhenus. Gallus is one French-born servant of music (poetry) who was troubling Petrarch with his prayers that he might be educated in the art of poetry and rhetoric. Tyrrhenus is the author, who was from Tyrrhenus near the sea. Gallus, however, an admirer of Petrarch's eloquence, i.e. that of Tyrrhenus for which he was longing, says: "O Tyrrhenus, what teacher teaches you? Did Daedelus, or all of them?"

Gallus: this was Philippe de Vitry, the brightest musician, and most well known to Petrarch, who wrote him a letter in prose which begins, "Friendly ears."

Nervos: language and song.

Daedalus: Jesus Christ, because poetry disseminates from divine grace and a natural inclination toward goodness, and is unable to be had otherwise. Then, as Cicero affirmed for Archias the Poet: "The diligent studies of the rest of the arts can be attained by practice; the art of poetry alone cannot be attained unless it is a gift from heaven."

Est nemus: this makes a map describing a place of origin: Petrarch of the Florentines (his birth father) was exiled from Florence, when these *quadam* (sic) in a letter. He was expelled, and [Francesco Petrarch] was born in Arezo in *contrata* (sic), which is [now] said *l'orto.*

Secat: Arnus.

Illud: Tiber.

Hic: in Arezo.

Citharamque: eloquence.

Silva: of Arezo.

Lucinam: the goddess of shepherds; and it is explained *humiditas* (sic) the girdle of moral purity and vitue, so that the manner of the maiden is preservedin the glory of virginity of the mind and of the body (I).

Rem magnam: a poetically eloquent accomplishment.

Ermus: the second river is sometimes Lydia: some of those born in Phrygia spoke from Dorylaeum, that one and him, to be separate from Caria, to make the fields and golden sands of Smirna fruitful.

Oblimet: he made golden mud all around.

Umbra: desires for things of the world.

Rigidas: between ignorant men and the uncultivated forests.

Nemus: places of wisdom.

Volucres: men of eloquence.

Saxa: unlearned men.

Modestia: the desire for temperance; then modesty and moderation and temperence ought to live in a portion of prayer, as that which we arrange toward the passions, which correspond, satisfy, and are perpetual.

Commentary on Piendibeni

Modern source of text: Francesco Petrarca. ***Il bucolicum carmen e i suoi commenti inediti.*** **Antonio Avena, ed. Padua: Societa Cooperativa Tipografica, 1906.**

[N] - cod. V, E, 48; Bilioteca Nazionale di Napoli
[Cs] - cod. D. II. 14; Biblioteca Casnatense
[M] - cod. 18 classe XII; Marciana di Venizia
[C] or [Cr] - cod. 64 or 369; Corsiniana di Roma
[B] - col. N. 1636; Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna
[E] - cod. a.w.s. 12; Estense di Modena
[L] - 12, Pl. 90; Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana di Firenze
[V] - cod. Vat. latino 1697

(I) [CB] Quarte egloge titulus est <<dedalus>> ab illo summo architecto et fabro, de quo fabula est apud ovidium 1'8° *meth.* per quem cristus intelliguitur, qui fuit homo supra naturam, Sapientie et virtutum et artium omnium doctor. Collocutores sunt Gallus (qui accipitur pro quodam milite sene nomine philippo, qui et artifex fuit et desiderabat artem poeticam discere) cognominatus a gallia, Thirrenus a theriena, idest Italia. Et accipitur pro domino francissco habente Cytharam, idest artem poeticam. Et disputant isti duo cur potius apud Italicos ars poetica viguerit, concludentes in hoc nos italicos fuisse felices. prohibet autem thirenus ipsi gallo, seu magistro cenobio poete florentino, ne amplius intromittat se de arte poetica, quia indignus est propter garrulitatem. Et hoc ostendit dominus franciscus contra ipsum gallum, seu magistrum cenobium in duobus operibus suis: Nam primo scripsit contra ipsum opus illud quod incipit: <<Quid tibi cum musis, garrule miserrime galle? Item scripsit librum

invectivarum contra gallum. Nam ipse gallus scripsit de mente sua librum de laudibus gallorum contra italicos. Et ostendit dominus franciscus qualiter itali omnes provincias plus virtute quam viribus submiserunt.

[Cr] Intentio poite est in hac egloga laudare Itlaicos in scientia poetica felices et doctos cum alie partes mundi preter Greciam immunes fuerint scientie poetice. Et collocutores sunt Gallus et tirrenus. per Gallum intelligit quendam francigenam in scientia musice valde doctum, qui philippus faunius dictus est; qui cum autor iste apud Galliam moraretur, tota die infestabat ut ipsum Rectoricam doceret. Per tirrenum intellige nostrum poetam, et sunt nomina fictitia. A tirreno rege dicta est tussia tirrena et a Gallia dictus est Gallus. -[Cs] per gallum intellige quendam francigenam in scientia musica valde doctum. Et iste Philippus favius dicebatur.

[N] Sciendum quod petrarca ente in avinione unus francigena quasi senex musicus voluit effici poeta, sed non potuit et interogavit petrarcam quomodo ipse acquiseverat poesim suam. appellatur iste franciena gallus quia fuit de gallia; petrarca vero tirrenus, quia quo ad nativitatem ortus fuit in aretio in orti contrata, quo ad consanguineos de florentia, unde tirrenus; et de tuscia prope quam est mare tirrenum. et vocatur autem iste gallus martinus lupi de frandia. - appellatur *dedalus:* deus intelligitur pro *de:* dans pro *da;* alijs pro *lus.* - intitulatur autem dedalus, idest deus dans aliis, quia fit denominatio a digniorj, quoniam

omne datum opitimum et omne donum perfectum de sursum est. dicitur quod dedalus, idest deus, dedit sibi citheram solidam eburni cim septem cordis intus cavam et resonabilem mediante plectro. pro cithera intelligitur poesis solida, idest clara et fulgens de ebore, idest de veris et sententiis fortibus plena. pro septem cordis intellige vij musas que meito in poesi fulgida inferuntur; dicitur quod est intus cavata, quia vere oppiniones et sentenie intus permanent et existunt; dicitur quod est resonabilis quoniam fama poete et poesis resonat et refulget. Opinio autem magistri angeli cole doctoris facundissimi est quod dedalus intelligatur pro ratione, que improprie appellatur intellectus quoniam intellectus reponitur in celestibus, qua ratione homo differt a brutis animalibus. pro plectro vero intelligitur ipsum ingenium, quo mediante, vera sententia trahitur de poesi.

[V] *Gallus:* idest dominus Filippus de Veterno, musicus.

(I) [N] *virum:* deum incarnatum. - *lucinam:* idest dea sucis, quia perducit de non esse ad esse; idest virginem mariam que est summa lux. - *citharam:* poesim. monile: coronam pudicitie. - *vellera:* divitie. - *volucres:* predones valentes. - *saxa:* homines grossi qui dicunt id quod narrare audiunt. ideo dicit concava quia resonant. - *Non gregis:* idest per aretium non transeunt multi equi, nec homines; de monte exit arnus qui it per tusciam et tibris per Romam. mons est ille ubi petramala est et non est aretij. magister Cola dici quod aretium est in uno monte in quo est tortona, qui mons est coniunctus cum petramala; de quo

monte exeunt duo flumina, in quo est una silva que vacatur fontamala, in qua stetit Petrarca et in qua dedalus, idest deus vel ratio, didit poesim et in qua silva sunt altas trabes, idest noviles; capiendo vero ratione pro ipso, didalus capitur pro anima.

Translation of Commentary on Piendibeni

(I) [CB] The title of the fourth eclogue is "Daedalus," and is from that high architect and artisan, from which this story is near to Ovid 1'8º *Metamorphoses*. It is through this which Christ is understood, who was man over nature; the teacher of all wisdom and virtue and art. The conversants are Gallus (who has been accepted before as Philippe, a soldier without a name, who was an amateur desiring to learn the art of poetry), given the name of Gaul, and Tyrrhenus from Tyrrhenia, i.e. Italy. Francesco is received before God having the lyre, i.e. the art of poetry. And the two argue closely around why the Italian art of poetry will be vigorous, and consequently our Italians are fortunate in this. Tyrrhenus restrains Gallus, however (if Tyrrhenus is the master *cenobio* (sic) poet of Florence, in him who is truly great of the poetic art), who is unworthy and near babbling. And God shows Francisco this against Gallus, if the master *cenobium* (sic) in both his works. For first he writes against the work itself which begins, "*Quid tibi cum musis, garrule miserrime galle?*" Likewise he write a book of invectives against Gallus. For Gallus himself is in the mind to write his book of praises for the French against the Italians. And God shows Francesco all the provinces of Italy, which men lament beneath, to be better.

[Cr] The intention of the poem in this eclogue is to praise the Italians, fortunate in the poetic science, and it was teaching that the other Greek parts of the world will have been devoid of the poetic science. And the conversants are

Gallus and Tyrrhenus. For Gallus knows, however, that the French were taught well in the science of music, of which Philippe is said *fanius* (sic); that he might have been dallying with that author near Gaul, and was attacking how rhetoric was taught the entire day. For Tyrrhenus knows our poet, and these are fictitious names. For Tyrrhenus was speaking for the rule of Tyrrhenia, and Gallus for Gaul. -[Cs] For Gallus knows, however, that the French were taught well in the science of music. And Philippe himself was favorably spoken of.

[N] It is known that Petrach knew in Avignon one Frenchman. The old *musicus* would wish to be made a poet, but was unable and asked Petrarch in what way he himself was receiving his poetry. He named this Frenchman Gallus, who was of Gaul; Petrarch is really Tyrrhenus, who by birth was descended from Florentine kindred and born in Arezo; hence Tyrrhenus; And the sea is near Tyrrhenia from Etruria. And he called, however, that one Gallus *martinus* (sic) of the land of France. Regarding *dedalus:* God is known before *de: dans* (sic) before *da;* the other before *lus.* It is entitling Daedelus, however, i.e. God *dans* (sic) of the other one, who was renaming Him for is worthiness, since all the best and perfect gifts from above were given by Him. Saying that Daedelus, i.e. God, gave him the lyre of solid ivory with seven strings within its hollow and being made to resound in the middle by the plectrum. Before knowing the lyre of poetry solidly, i.e. the clarity and sparkle of the ivory, i.e. of truth and strong purposes. For the seven strings are known to bring out the

glittering power of the muses, who give more than they receive in poetry; it is said that it is within the cavity, where true opinions a purposes persisted and came to light; it is said that it is resounding, since the fame of the poet and poetry sound and reflect. However, the opinion of the masters and angels of heaven and teachers of eloquence is the reason for which Daedelus is known, which he improperly named "perception,: since perception is placed in the stars, for which reason man carries himself differently from stupid animals. For the plectrum is a dart perceived as genius, which in the middle, the truth of purpose is drawn from poetry.

[V] *Gallus:* i.e. lord Philippe de Vitry, *musicus.*

(I) [N] *Virum:* God incarnate. *Lucinam:* i.e. a goddess made fresh, which leads not from being to being; i.e. the Virgin Mary who is the summit of light. *Citharam:* poetry. *Monile:* the crown of modesty. *Vellera:* wealth. *Volucres:* gifts of strength. *Saxa:* great men who are said to tell that which they heard. Therefore he says the hollow which resounds. *Non gregis:* i.e. many horses do not cross for Arezo, nor men; from the mountains comes the Arnus which goes to Etruria, and the Tiber to Rome. The mountain is that place where the evil stone is, and not Arezo. Magister Cola says that Arezo is in one mountain in which is torment, and that mountain is joined together with the evil stone. From that mountain come two rivers; one is from a forest which is made empty by the evil

fount, in which stands Petrarch and in which Daedelus, i.e. God or Reason, gave poetry to him. In that forest are high trees, i.e. things which are known; he seized truth and reason for himself, Daedelus was captured for the spirit.

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Along with the above formal education, Mr. Penniman served a three-year assistantship under Dr. Jeffery Kite-Powell at Florida State University, from August 1994 to May 1997. He was a graduate assistant in Early Music

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Mr. Penniman has performed extensively on the viola da gamba, and has appeared in concert with the Oregon Renaissance Band, directed by Phil and Gayle Neumann, the Oregon Bach Festival Orchestra conducted by Helmuth Rilling, the Waverly Baroque Ensemble, and numerous other performances.

OTHER ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCE:

- Member of Pi Kappa Lambda
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- Bass violin performances with the Portland Opera Company (Mozart's Don Giovanni, directed by Anton Copolla, March, 1989), and with the Portland Youth Philharmonic, directed by Jacob Avshalomov
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