

On the Identity of Some Musicians At The Brescian Court of Pandolfo III Malatesta*

By Allan Atlas

Although the Brescian court of Pandolfo III Malatesta was relatively short-lived and generally plagued by political difficulties, and though Brescia at the beginning of the 15th century was as short on an artistic heritage of the first rank as the Malatesta were on the resources to foster such a tradition, the *signoria* over which Pandolfo III presided in that Lombard city from 1404 to 1421 enjoyed a surprisingly distinguished cultural life, especially in the field of music.¹

Himself a man of letters who commanded Latin, French, and Provençal, Pandolfo took a first-hand interest in the literary life of his court, collecting a respectable library, supporting a small but important group of Brescian writers—among them Jacopo Malvezzi, Giovanni da Borgo San Donnino, and perhaps Bartolomeo Baiguera—and writing Latin verses of his own, accomplishments that earned for him the praise of the soldier-poet Ludovico Cantello (his secretary) and the well-known humanist Francesco Filelfo.² In the visual arts, Pandolfo's Brescia always enjoyed the talents of a number of local artists, especially Bartolino Testorino,³ while the period 1414–1419 witnessed the presence at the court of Gentile da Fabriano, whom Pandolfo commissioned to execute a fresco in a chapel of the Broletto, the 13th-century palace in which Pandolfo lived and in which Sigismondo Pandolfo was born in June 1417.⁴

Despite these achievements, it was through his support of music that Pandolfo played perhaps his most significant role as a patron of the arts. Payments to instrumentalists date back to the earliest days of the court, while by 1409, the roster of musicians had expanded to include three singers. But it was in 1414, thus coinciding with the building up of the library⁵ and the arrival of Gentile, that Pandolfo seems to have embarked upon a wholehearted campaign of recruiting ultramontane singers for the establishment of a chapel, which, together with the continued presence of an ensemble of *pifferi* and players of various string instruments, gave Pandolfo's Brescian court a musical life that must certainly have been as rich as any in early 15th-century Italy. And this was completely in keeping with the tastes of a patron who was himself a musician (see below) and the subject-dedicattee of the Latin ballata *Ore Pandulfum modulari dulci*, which celebrates his visit to the Holy Land in 1399.⁶

Fortunately, the musical life of Pandolfo's court can be reconstructed in some detail, thanks to the series of meticulously kept account books that Pandolfo brought back to Fano and that survive today as part of the so-called "Codici Malatestiani" at the Sezione dell'Archivio di Stato di Fano.⁷ It is not my intention, however, to present a full picture of the musical life of Malatesta Brescia here.⁸ Rather, I should like to concentrate on identifying—with varying degrees of speculation—a small number of Pandolfo's

musicians, those who take on some tangible sense of identity either through their activities as composers or by virtue of their documented presence at other courts, and who thus stand out above the now faceless names that formed the majority of the musical personnel, whether of Brescia or of most other musical establishments of the period. At the same time, I hope at least to hint at the important position that Pandolfo's Brescian court should be accorded on the musical map of the early Quattrocento.

Beltramus de Francia

Beltramus, a singer, is recorded for the first time on 4 November 1415. In a list of payments that appears beneath his name, the notice for that date reads: "Item numerati sibi die usque iiij novembris 1415 . . . L. xxij s. xvij."⁹ As the documents that follow will make clear, the salary recorded for Beltramus on that date was for two months, and assuming that payment was made after services were rendered (but see below), we may place Beltramus at Brescia by September 1415 at the latest.

The next document, dated 17 March 1416, clarifies the singer's status and monthly salary; the notice is given here in full:

MCCCCXVI: Beltramus de Francia cantator Magnifici domini nostri debet dare numerati sibi die xvij martij per Yoachinum de Florencia texaurarius domini nostri et scriptos sibi in credito in libro novo viridi dati et scripti in fo. V et fuit pro solucione unius mensis—L. xj s. iiij¹⁰

Thus Beltramus earned L. xi s. iiij per month, this apparently being the customary wage for the singers in Pandolfo's employ. The remaining documents about Beltramus all date from 1416 and record payments to him on 16 April, 20 June, and 3 July.¹¹ Since the payment of 20 June is a double one that covers both that month and the one before, the payment on 3 July was a beginning-of-the-month "advance" of sorts, a conclusion confirmed by the final entry for Beltramus in the master ledger (Vol. 58), where, under the heading June–July, four months worth of his salary are lumped together and entered as being "pro complimento sui salarj finiti die ultimo ipsius mensis Jullij MCCCCXVI . . . L. xliij s. xvj."¹² Beltramus, then, was active at Brescia from no later than September 1415 to at least the end of July 1416.

Who was Beltramus de Francia? I suggest that he can probably be identified with the Avignonese composer–singer Beltramus Feragut. Quite aside from the shared not-so-common name and status as clerics, the presumed chronology–geography of Feragut's career meshes nicely with that of Pandolfo's singer. It is generally supposed that Feragut was active at Vicenza in 1409 on the ground that he composed the motet *Excelsa civitas Vincenzia* for the entry into that city of the newly elected bishop, Pietro Emiliano.¹³ After this, there has hitherto been no documentation for Feragut until he appears at Milan, where from 1 July 1425 through May 1430 he served as a tenor and the *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral of that city.¹⁴ While there are somewhat uncomfortable chronological gaps that separate my suggested sojourn at Brescia in 1415–1416 from the presumed stay at Vicenza in 1409 and from

the well-documented Milanese period that began in 1425, the Brescian stop-over fits right into and actually reinforces the established northern Italian pattern of Feragut's early years in Italy,¹⁵ and I believe that the identification of Pandolfo's Beltramus de Francia with the composer Beltramus Feragut is a most likely one.¹⁶

Nicholaus de Burgundis lodonensis

The opening work in the Aosta manuscript¹⁷ is the motet *Argi vice Poliphemus*—*Cum Philemon rebus paucis*, generally thought to have been written for the election of the anti-pope John XXIII.¹⁸ Although the motet lacks an attribution in the manuscript, de Van ascribed the work to the composer Nicola Zacharie on the basis of the following passage in the text of the motetus: "Hec Guilhermus dictans favit/Nicolao, quod cantavit . . .," an ascription that has been widely accepted.¹⁹ Recently, however, Gallo has challenged the attribution, and has assigned the work to Nicolaus of Liège,²⁰ a singer who is registered in the papal chapel of Gregory XII in a document of 1 May 1409—issued, perhaps significantly, at Rimini—in which he is recorded as "dominus Nicolaus, olim Simonis de leodio."²¹

The question of which attribution is correct—de Van's or Gallo's—is not at issue here; rather, we might ask whether or not Gregory's Nicholaus of Liège can be identified with a singer of the same name and from the same place who served at the Brescian court of Pandolfo III. To be sure, the evidence is thin: a shared name (and a not uncommon one at that) and place of origin (but one that was a veritable breeding ground for musicians). There is, however, one further piece of evidence, equally slight and circumstantial, that may perhaps tip the balance at least ever so slightly in favor of such an identification, and that is the connection between Gregory XII and the Malatesta. Indeed, in the turmoil that was papal politics in the early 15th century, Gregory had no stauncher supporters than the Malatesta, especially Pandolfo's brother Carlo, who in 1408 gave Gregory asylum at Rimini and would later represent that pope at the Councils of Pisa and Constance.²² Furthermore, we have seen that Nicholaus the papal singer was himself at Rimini in 1409, and he could well have established contacts with the Malatesta family while he was there.

In any event, Pandolfo's Nicholaus de Burgundia lodonensis (as the name appears in Cod. Mal., Vol. 58), who might be Gregory's singer and the composer of *Argi vice Poliphemus*—obviously, I hedge on both points—can be accounted for at Brescia from no later than 16 March 1415, when we have our first record of "Nicholo da liessa de Francia cantore . . .,"²³ through the end of March 1416.²⁴ There are, at any rate, no further notices about him. If, on the other hand, we are willing to lump together as references to a single singer all the notices of the period that refer simply to a Nicholo or Nicholo de Francia—that is, without reference to Liègeoise origins—we may push Nicholaus's service at the court back to at least 29 March 1414, when he would have been one of the singers in the company of Pre Bertoldo, the musician to whom we turn next.²⁵

Pre Bertoldo

Beginning on 10 January 1414, and continuing through 11 June of that year, there are monthly payments to "Pre Bertoldo et compagnj cantorj del Singnore [*sic*]." ²⁶ Then, after a lapse of almost one year, there are further payments to him recorded on 2 March, 10 May, and 29 July of 1415. ²⁷ In addition, on an unspecified day in March, Pandolfo's treasurer noted an expenditure "per braccie X de bruna per j vestito avuto padre Bertoldo . . . L. xxijj." ²⁸ Though the designation "chapel master" is never used with Bertoldo's name, the consistent references to "Bertoldo et compagni cantori" leave little doubt that Bertoldo was the leader of the singers. And that the sums of money occasionally registered under his name must obviously cover the salaries of the entire group of singers, ²⁹ that the payments for the individual singers are often logged beneath his name, ³⁰ and that he was a priest, all vouch for Bertoldo's having fulfilled an ecclesiastical-administrative role.

The knowledge that Bertoldo was a priest and the administrator of Pandolfo's chapel eases our identification of him with another singer-priest who not only shared the same not-so-common name but would soon fulfill similar administrative duties in the papal chapel of Martin V: Bertoldus Dance (also Dosse, Dossi) of Beauvais. Bertoldus entered the papal chapel on 7 July 1419, moved up to the rank of chapel master by January 1421, and retained that post until he left the chapel at the beginning of 1429. ³¹ The identification of Pandolfo's Bertoldo with Martin's *magister capelle* seems most probable.

Leonardo de Alamania

Between February 1409³² and 31 January 1410, there are no fewer than twenty notices about a German lutenist named Leonardo. ³³ Most of these refer to payments made for his clothing, as, for example: "E di xvj de marzo [1409] per braccie xj de verde, de braccie xj de turchino a maestro Lionardo sonadore da liuto . . . L. xlvijj s. viij," ³⁴ while one entry records a reimbursement for the cost of strings for his instrument: 24 March 1409—"E numerati a Maestro Lionardo maestro da liuto per comperare chordi da luto . . . L. ij s. viij." ³⁵ The account books are then silent for more than one year, until between 7 February and 7 June of 1411 they transmit seven more notices about him, the last of which reads: "Maestro Leonardo dal leuto de dare a di vij de giugno [1411] per una sua rasone . . . L. lxxviiij s. ij d. viij." ³⁶ After this there is no documentation about Leonardo for almost eight years, something for which I have no ready explanation, especially since no other lutenist appears on the rolls until Salamone giudeo is cited for the first time as of 7 June 1418, ³⁷ and it is hard to believe that the court was without a lutenist for those years. ³⁸ Be that as it may, Leonardo's name appears without comment in an entry dated 15 February 1419, ³⁹ and then makes its final appearance on 13 April of that year: "Leonardo de leuto qui fuit ad sancte Antonium . . . L. V," ⁴⁰ which probably indicates a sojourn to Padua. ⁴¹

Who was Pandolfo's German lutenist? Though the identification is tenuous, I should like to suggest that he may be the Leonardo "*del chitarino*" who is entered in the *Bolletta de' salariati* at the Ferrarese court of Niccolò III

d'Este on 27 July 1424.⁴² And since Leonardo was, as Lockwood puts it, a "singular figure [at Ferrara] until the 1430s,"⁴³ one must consider quite strongly the possibility that—assuming that my identification is correct—Pandolfo's lutenist went on to become the teacher of no less a musician than Pietrobono de Burzellis, the most highly praised lutenist of his time, who, as a native of Ferrara, born presumably in 1417, would have grown up in that city while Leonardo was active there.⁴⁴

At this point I should like to digress and consider briefly a particular aspect of 15th-century lute playing for which another of Pandolfo's lutenists will be relevant. As is well known, the 15th century had a tradition of duo lute playing in which a virtuoso lutenist would improvise high-register embellishments on what was presumably a popular tune while his associate supported him with a tenor-line (or tenor-contratenor) foundation. This style, described by Tinctoris,⁴⁵ is perhaps most closely associated with Pietrobono and his *tenorista*, with, as Lockwood has noted, the earliest documentation for that duo going back to 1 February 1449, when one Zanetto was recorded as Pietrobono's partner.⁴⁶ In addition, Lockwood further points out that Pietrobono and his *tenorista* are usually to be found listed in close proximity to one another even in the account books.⁴⁷

To the documentary evidence for this tradition of lute duos can now be added a number of notices from the Malatesta court at Fano in the early 1440s. When Pandolfo returned to Fano in 1421, he may have been accompanied by some of the musicians who had served him at Brescia, for during the 1430s and 1440s⁴⁸ Fano court records contain notices about the organist Marcho, the harpist Michelle, and the lutenist Salamone giudeo, all of whom are well documented during the Brescian years. And though Salamone is cited by himself in notices from 1434 and 1435, the 1440s see a change, and beginning in 1441, his name always appears together with that of another instrumentalist: for example, 21 February 1441: "A Salamone de liuto per uno zuparello novo et uno paro de calce, uno paro de scarpe per Nicolo che sona el liuto . . . ;"⁴⁹ or 9 July 1442: "Grecho sonadori et per lui a Maestro Salamone dal liuto ducato uno et bolognini vintisei i quali sonno per uno zupponi et uno paro de calzi. . . ."⁵⁰ Indeed, for the 1440s, I could find no documents in which Salamone was cited alone or in which either the lutenist Nicolo or Grecho "*sonadori*" was recorded except together with Salamone, and there can be no doubt that first one and then the other served as Salamone's *tenorista*.

To return to Pandolfo's years at Brescia, there are two other lutenists—amateurs both—who merit comment. First, during the period May–June–July of 1414, and then again on 9 January 1415, there are notices about lute strings purchased for "Karolo"; the notice from 1414 reads: "Cuidam in Veneziis pro cordis leuti pro Karolo sibi portate per domini Ugolinis de Piliis—L. iij s. xvij."⁵¹ The Karolo in question can only be Pandolfo's older brother, Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini and the most admired Malatesta of his generation.

Finally, Pandolfo III himself must have played harp and lute. The follow-

ing entry appears in the accounts for December 1414: "A Genori de Mantua die usque V octobris MCCCCXIII pro cordis leuti comptis pro domino nostre . . . L. ij s. viiij,"⁵² while some years later, on 20 July 1418, to cite but one other example, we find: "E di detto numerati per lo detto [Giochino] in Vinexia per corde da lauta e d'arpa per lo Signore . . . L. xv."⁵³

To sum up, the Brescian court of Pandolfo III Malatesta must be accorded a place among the important musical centers of the early Quattrocento. Likewise, Pandolfo III, himself musically inclined, must be recognized as a music patron of major significance. During the seventeen years in which Pandolfo ruled Brescia, more than forty musicians—singers and instrumentalists—are logged in the court's account books.⁵⁴ And if my speculations are correct, four of them in particular had reputations that already—or eventually—extended well beyond the rooms of the Broletto: the composer Beltramus Feragut; Nicolaus of Liège, singer in the chapel of Gregory XII and possibly the composer of the motet *Argi vice Poliphemus*; Bertoldus Dance, future chapel master to Martin V; and Leonardo de Alamania, lutenist at the court of Niccolò III d'Este and perhaps the teacher of Pietrobono.⁵⁵

NOTES

*I should like to thank the American Philosophical Society and the City University of New York for grants that made it possible to work at the Archivio di Stato, Fano, during the summers of 1981 and 1983. Further, I am grateful to my good friend Elvidio Surian of the Conservatorio G. Rossini, Pesaro, for having called my attention to the materials on the Brescian court of Pandolfo III. Finally, I am particularly indebted to Dottressa Giuseppina Boiani Tombari, head archivist at Fano, who was always ready to help.

¹ Briefly, Pandolfo III was born into the Rimini branch of the Malatesta on 2 January 1370. Upon the death of his father, Galeotto, in 1385, Pandolfo and his brothers—Carlo, Andrea (also called Malatesta), and Galeotto Belfiore—split the Malatesta dominions, with Pandolfo becoming Lord of Fano. In 1400, Pandolfo, having chosen the life of a *condottiere*, entered the service of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, and during the chaos that followed the death of the duke in September 1402—as his captains vied with one another for pieces of his territories—seized and occupied Brescia, an act that was in a sense legitimized when the duke's widow, Caterina, ceded the city to him in April 1404 as payment for past services rendered. (In 1408, he would augment his Lombard possessions with the acquisition of Bergamo.) Pandolfo ruled Brescia until March 1421, when he was driven from Lombardy by Filippo Maria Visconti, who restored—at least for a few years—Milanese rule over the city. Pandolfo then returned to Fano, where he became captain-general of the Church in 1422, and died there on 3 October 1427. He left three illegitimate sons as heirs: Malatesta Novella, Galeotto Roberto, and Sigismondo Pandolfo, the most famous of the Malatesta.

On Pandolfo III's Brescian *signoria*, see, among others, F. Odorici, *Storie bresciane dai Primi tempi sino all'età nostra*, VII (Brescia, 1857), pp. 241–324; Agostino Zanelli, "La signoria di Pandolfo Malatesta in Brescia secondo i registri dell'Archivio malatestiano di Fano (a proposito di una recente pubblicazione)," *Archivio storico lombardo*, ser. VI, vol. 58 (1931), pp. 126–41. The full-scale monograph by Mario Tabanelli, *Un condottiero romagnolo in Lombardia. Pandolfo III Malatesta: Signore di Brescia e di Bergamo* (Brescia, 1977), is, like the essays in *Storia di Brescia* (see below), based on secondary sources. For recent short surveys, see G. Zanetti, "Le signorie (1313–1426)," *Storia di Brescia*, I (Brescia, 1963), pp. 864–75; Gino Franceschini, *I Malatesta* (Varese, 1983), pp. 223–45; P.J. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 103ff. For an important state-of-the-literature essay, see the excellent article by Giorgetta Bonfiglio-Dosio, "Studi malatestiani e prospettive di ricerca (a proposito della signoria bresciana di Pandolfo III Malatesta)," *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia per il 1976* (1977), pp. 1–21.

² On Pandolfo's literary activities, see Charles Yriarte, *Un Condottiere au XV^e siècle. Rimini: Études sur les lettres et les arts à la cour des Malatesta* (Paris, 1882), pp. 64–68; Carlo Tonini, *La cultura letteraria e scientifica in Rimini* (Rimini, 1884), p. 78; E. Caccia, "Cultura e letteraria nei secoli XV e XVI," *Storia di Brescia*, II, pp. 479ff.; Zanetti, "Le signorie," pp. 874–75; Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini*, p. 129; Bonfiglio-Dosio, "Pandolfo III Malatesta, bibliofilo," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* XX (1977), pp. 401–6.

³ See Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, gen. eds., *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, XXXII (Leipzig, 1907), p. 562.

⁴ Gentile's Brescian sojourn is documented in Aurelio Zonghi, *Gentile da Fabriano a Brescia* (Fabriano, 1908); Guido Lonati, "Gentile da Fabriano a Brescia," *Brescia*, VII (December, 1934), pp. 35–42; Ileana Chiappini di Sorio, "Documenti bresciani per Gentile da Fabriano," *Notizie di Palazzo Albani*, II (1973), pp. 17–26. The Broletto is briefly described in Giancarlo Piovaneli, *Brescia* (Brescia, 1983), pp. 19–20.

⁵ Bonfiglio-Dosio, "Pandolfo III Malatesta, bibliofilo," pp. 403–4.

⁶ The composition reaches us in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α .M.5.24. For a transcription and discussion of the piece, see Ursula Günther, "Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α .M.5.24 (*olim* lat. 568 = *Mod*)," *Musica disciplina* XXIV (1970), pp. 35–39; see also, Nino Pirrotta, "Il codice estense lat. 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400," *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, ser. IV, vol. 5, pt. ii (1944–45), p. 44. The text, which also appears in Antonio Cappelli, *Poeste musicali dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*. Scelta di curiosità letteraria, XCIV (Bologna, 1868), p. 52, and Franceschini, *I Malatesta*, p. 223, refers to its composer—poet as one Blasius; for conjectural identifications of this figure as Blasius d'Este, master of the boys at the Cathedral of Padua in 1421, or the "frate Biagio" who is cited with the composer "Çacchara" in Simone Prudenanzi's *Liber saporecti*, see Günther, "Das Manuskript Modena," p. 36, and Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca," *Musica disciplina* V (1951), p. 121, n. 17. For more on musicians named Blasius in early 15th-century Italy, see David Fallows, "Blasius," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Stanley Sadie, ed. (London, 1981), vol. II, p. 785. In addition, Fallows, *Dufay* (London, 1982), p. 30, suggests that the Dufay chanson *Mon chier amy* may have been addressed to Pandolfo's brother Carlo, as a commemoration of Pandolfo's death. There is, however, no evidence to prove the association, and the whole question of the precise relationship between Dufay and the Malatesta—Rimini and Pesaro branches—remains unresolved, as does that of Dufay's presence at any of the Malatesta courts.

⁷ The volumes in that series which pertain to Pandolfo's Brescian court are Nos. 40–68. An invaluable inventory of the entire set of Codici Malatestiani appears in Zonghi, *Repertorio dell'antico Archivio comunale di Fano*, I (Fano, 1886); henceforth, archive and account books are abbreviated SASF and Cod. Mal., respectively.

⁸ I am currently working on such a study.

⁹ SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 58, fol. 114^r. Payments at the court were made in terms of (Milanese) lire—soldi—denari imperiali: 1 = 20 = 240. For comparison with other Italian currencies, we may note that a Milanese exchange quotation of 1 August 1420 gives a rate of 50 soldi for both the ducat and florin of gold. Thus, those coins were worth 2.5 lire. Between 1408 and 1421, the rate did not fluctuate by more than two or three soldi in either direction. See Dino Brivio, *Pandolfo Malatesta: signore di Lecco* (Lecco, 1982), p. 23, and the still-unpublished "Interim Listing of the Exchange Rates of Medieval Europe" by Peter Spufford and Wendy Wilkinson (Department of History, University of Keele), p. 123. I am grateful to Elizabeth Brown, my colleague at Brooklyn College and the Graduate School, CUNY, for having helped me gain access to the invaluable Spufford-Wilkinson study.

Volume 58 of the Codici Malatestiani is a "partitario mastro," as Zonghi, *Repertorio*, I, p. 109, calls it, that is, a master ledger that brings together notices from various registers and groups them by profession; thus for the musicians: "Partita Pifferorum," "Partita Cantatorum," "Partita pulsatorum diversorum," etc. Zonghi's *Repertorio* is not without errors. In connection with musicians, he misread the scribal abbreviation for the syllable "Bel-" in the name "Beltramus" as the letter "S" and therefore listed our singer as "Stramus" (I, p. 110), and he often misread "Francia" as "Faenza"—somewhat understandably, perhaps, since he knew nothing of early-

15th-century musicians, but did know that Pandolfo took with him to Brescia many functionaries from both the Marche and Romagna, including some from the city of Faenza—thus practically giving rise to a school of musicians from that city (I, p. 86, for example). Zonghi's errors are repeated in Tabanelli, *Un condottiero romagnolo*, p. 27, and Giuseppina Gregori, "Pandolfo III^o Malatesta e la sua signoria di Fano," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Urbino, 1970), pp. 138–39.

¹⁰ SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 58, fol. 114^r; a payment for that day is recorded in vol. 50, fol. 92^v. The treasurer's full name was Gioacchino Malagonella. As one can see, the account books were color coded by their covers. The references to the colors can still aid in locating certain entries.

¹¹ SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 50, fol. 96^v, for all three dates.

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. 58, fol. 114^r.

¹³ See F. Alberto Gallo, *Il medioevo*, vol. II. *Storia della musica*. Biblioteca di cultura musicale, 1/ii (Turin, 1977), p. 86; Gallo and Giovanni Mantese, *Ricerche sulle origini della cappella musicale del Duomo di Vicenza* (Venice–Rome, 1964), pp. 20ff.; Keith Mixter, "Feragut, Beltrame" in *The New Grove*, vol. VI, p. 468.

¹⁴ See Claudio Sartori, "Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut, i due primi maestri di cappella del Duomo di Milano," *Acta musicologica* XXVIII (1956), pp. 24–26; Fabio Fano, *La cappella musicale del Duomo di Milano*. Istituzioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale italiana, N.S., I (Milan, 1956), vol. I, pp. 97–98. Feragut's salary of six florins per month at the Cathedral of Milan was only slightly higher than his earnings at Pandolfo's court.

¹⁵ He would go on to serve at Ferrara and Florence before eventually returning to France. See Frank D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XIV (1961), pp. 310–12; André Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIV^e siècle à la fin du XVI^e* (Paris, 1944), p. 66, n. 1.

¹⁶ Placing Feragut at Brescia in 1415–1416 has no bearing on the presumed provenance of the second section of Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 2216, which is generally assigned to Brescia after 1440. Though Feragut is represented by a *Sanctus* on fol. 44^r of that section, he is even better represented—by two works—in the non-Brescian, pre-1440 first section. There is simply too little, too late to see a Feragut connection between Brescia and the manuscript. On Bologna 2216, see Gallo, *Il codice musicale 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna*, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1970), and "Musiche veneziane nel ms. 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna," *Quadrivium* VI (1964), p. 107ff.

¹⁷ Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, MS A¹ D 19.

¹⁸ See Guillaume de Van, "A Recently Discovered Source of Early Fifteenth Century Polyphonic Music," *Musica disciplina* II (1948), pp. 12–14; Gallo, *Il medioevo*, pp. 80–81; Gilbert Reaney, "Zacar," in *The New Grove*, vol. XX, p. 610. But see Marian Cobin, "The Compilation of the Aosta Manuscript: A Working Hypothesis," *Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference, Brooklyn College, December 6–7, 1974*, Allan Atlas, ed. (Brooklyn, 1976), p. 84, who suggests that the work could have been commissioned by the Emperor Sigismund for the opening of the Council of Constance.

¹⁹ De Van, "A Recently Discovered Source," p. 12; Reaney, "Zacar," pp. 609–10; Cobin, "The Compilation of the Aosta Manuscript," p. 84. Reaney, however, does not include the motet in his edition of the composer's works, in *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, vol. VI. *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, no. 11 (American Institute of Musicology, 1977).

²⁰ Gallo, *Il medioevo*, pp. 80–81; this attribution is also noted in Giulio Cattin, "Church Patronage of Music in Fifteenth-Century Italy," *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, Iain Fenlon, ed. (Cambridge, 1981), p. 26, n. 14.

²¹ Fr. X. Haberl, "Wilhelm du Fay," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* I (1885), p. 452, and, though without citation of day, month, or place, "Die römische 'schola cantorum' und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* III (1887), p. 218.

²² See Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini*, pp. 123–48.

²³ SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 49, fol. 90^r.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 50, fol. 92^v.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 47, fol. 62^r. There was, however, another singer named Nicholaus at the court, one

Nicola Papin (Papino), who seems to be distinct from the “Nicholaus de Burgundia lodonensis—Nicholo da liessa de Francia—Nicholo de Francia—Nicholo” complex. Nicola Papin is recorded for the first time on 11 June 1414—there is a separate entry for Nicholaus of Liège on the same day and for a different sum of money—and described as “ser Nichola Papino cantore nuovamente aconcio col signore et fu a di primo de giugno . . .” (vol. 47, fol. 109^v). Nicola Papin is last recorded on 6 July 1415 (vol. 49, fol. 90^v).

²⁶ SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 47: 10 January (fol. 62^r), 27 February (fol. 87^v), 16 March (fol. 62^r), ? April (fol. 2^r), 15 May (fol. 109^v), 11 June (fol. 109^v).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 49, fol. 90^v (all three notices).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 47, fol. 2^r: “1414—Pro Bertoldo et compagni cantori del Signore devono dare per una sua ragione . . . L. clxxviii s. xiiij.” This could be a summary entry for six months of wages for Bertoldo and two other singers.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 47, fol. 109^r. The following appears in Bertoldo’s column: “Item a di xj de giugno 1414 numerati a Giovanni di Giovanni suo compagno per del suo salario in sino a quo de presente . . . L. xiiij s. viij.” Since the payment to Bertoldo himself is recorded just above this, the entry must record Giovanni’s having been paid through Bertoldo.

³¹ See Manfred Schuler, “Zur Geschichte der Kapelle Papst Martins V.,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XXV (1968), pp. 32, 41–42; Haberl, “Wilhelm du Fay,” pp. 453–56, and “Die römische ‘schola cantorum,’” pp. 219–20. There is some confusion about the year in which Bertoldus entered Martin’s chapel. Haberl twice gives it as 1418, while Schuler gives the year first as 1418 (p. 32) and then, with the comment that Haberl had erred, as 1419 (p. 41). We might note that Bertoldus was not among the singers who were with Martin in Mantua on 4 January 1419 (Haberl, “Die römische ‘schola cantorum,’” p. 220, n. 1).

³² SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 45, fol. 92^r. There is a blank at the space in which the precise date should have been entered.

³³ The fullest identification occurs in a notice for 31 July: “Leonardus de Alamania magistri leugutti” (SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 43, fol. 157^r).

³⁴ SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 44, fol. 28^r.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 45, fol. 8^r.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 46, fol. 140^r.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 58, fol. 110^v.

³⁸ I take up Leonardo’s apparent disappearance in my forthcoming study on music at Pandolfo’s court.

³⁹ SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 55, fol. 248^r.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 55, fol. 135^r.

⁴¹ Two years earlier, in Spring 1417, Pandolfo had sent one of his *pifferi*, Leonardus Eberlenus—he cannot be identified with the lutenist (see my forthcoming study)—on an extensive journey to Venice, Padua, and Chioggia. On Pandolfo’s relations with Venice, which had awarded him and his heirs Venetian nobility and a house on the Grand Canal, see Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini*, p. 134.

⁴² See Lewis Lockwood, “Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition at Ferrara in the Fifteenth Century,” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* X (1975), p. 119 and n. 13.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 119. Leonardo seems to have settled at Ferrara and raised a family there. Relations between the Malatesta and the Este were especially close. Even Niccolò III’s execution of his adulterous wife, Parisina Malatesta, Pandolfo’s niece, did not destroy the good will between the families, and further marriages between them soon took place (see Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini*, p. 168). On the musical front, Pandolfo’s Brescian court had been visited by Ferrarese *pifferi* on at least two occasions, 14 January 1415 and 7 December 1417 (SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 55, fols. 240^v, 100^v). In all, a move from the employ of the Malatesta to that of the Este could have been made with ease.

⁴⁵ In his *De inventione et usu musicae*; see Karl Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris (1445–1511) und sein unbekannter Traktat “De inventione et usu musicae,”* rev. ed. (Tutzing, 1961), p. 45; an English translation appears in Anthony Baines, “Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris’s *De Inventione et*

Usu Musicae," *Galpin Society Journal* III (1950), p. 24. See also, Fallows, "15th-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments: A Summary, a Revision and a Suggestion," *The Lute Society Journal* XIX (1977), pp. 27–28; Lockwood, "Pietrobono," p. 121; Pirrotta, "Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XIX (1966), pp. 157–58; Kurt Dorfmueller, *Studien zur Lautenmusik in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing, 1967), p. 104.

⁴⁶ Lockwood, "Pietrobono," p. 121.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Fano was by then under the rule of Sigismondo Pandolfo, who, however, resided at Rimini and permitted Fano to become something of a backwater.

⁴⁹ SASF, Ufficio referendaria, vol. ACC III.6, fol. 154^v.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Ufficio depositaria, vol. ACC III.81, fol. 145^f.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Cod. Mal., vol. 55, fol. 15^f. In April 1427, the same Ugolino de' Pilo (of Fano), one of Pandolfo's most trusted advisors, would help Pandolfo procure an organ for the Cathedral of Fano; see Pietro Maria Amiani, *Memorie storiche della città di Fano*, I (Fano, 1751), p. 355.

⁵² SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 55, fol. 61^v.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, vol. 52, fol. 10^f.

⁵⁴ I do not include in this number visiting musicians from other cities and courts.

⁵⁵ To end on a negative note: neither of two Brescian composers—Matheus de Brixia and Melchior prepositus brixienis—whose music reaches us in manuscripts of the early 15th century seems to have had any connections with Pandolfo's court. Matheus was active at the Cathedral of Vicenza from 1412 through at least 5 April 1419, while Melchior served at Padua from 1411 to 1425. Therefore, both musicians were away from Brescia at precisely the time that Pandolfo lavished his greatest attention on his chapel. Finally, the Trecento composer Ottolino de Brixia to whom the poet Franco Sacchetti attributes one madrigal and two ballate (all lost) would probably have been at least one generation too old to have had any connection with Pandolfo's court. On Matheus and Melchior, see Gallo and Mantese, *Ricerche sulle origini della cappella musicale del Duomo di Vicenza*, pp. 23–27, and Hans Schoop, "Prepositus Brixienis," in *The New Grove*, vol. XV, p. 216; on Ottolino, see Kurt von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento* (Bern, 1956), pp. 77–78.