

*Viator ducens ad celestia:*  
Eucharistic Piety, Papal  
Politics, and an Early  
Fifteenth-Century Motet

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**O**n the morning of 26 March 1409 the College of Cardinals, along with over one hundred abbots, bishops, archbishops, and ambassadors from throughout Europe, gathered in the cathedral of Pisa to inaugurate an unprecedented event: a church council intended to oust not one, but two popes. According to the council acts, the first session featured a sermon delivered by the Franciscan friar and cardinal of Milan, Pietro Filargo of Candia (henceforth referred to as Peter of Candia).<sup>1</sup> Sitting in the bishop's throne, clothed in his pluvial and white mitre, Peter provided a masterful defense of

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<sup>1</sup> For a description of the ceremony, see Giovanni Domenico Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum, Nova, et Amplissima Collectio* (Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta, 1759-1927), vol. 26, col. 1184.

the powers of the council, whose purpose was to end the 20-year old schism between the rival French and Italian popes by putting forward a third candidate.<sup>2</sup> During the previous two decades theologians had painstakingly defended the authority of a general council to remedy the schism; however, it was not until the Council of Pisa that ecclesiastics actually convened such a gathering.<sup>3</sup>

Flanking Peter's sermon were the ceremonial trappings of a traditional church council. A solemn mass preceded it, and a number of prayers, litanies, and chants, including *Exaudi nos Domine* and *Veni creator spiritus*, followed.<sup>4</sup> But if the ecclesiastical ritual gave the proceedings an air of legitimacy, Peter's sermon declared their irreconcilable break from traditional canon law by placing supreme authority in the hands of the council rather than the pope. In an ironic twist, the cardinal of Milan usurped the role of pope in presiding over the opening session, and in turn used the occasion to proclaim the irrelevance of the competing papacies. Given his instrumental role on March 26, it could have come as no surprise that Peter was himself elected pope three months later.

Thus from the beginning, music and ceremony functioned to legitimize a council that, from the perspective of legal orthodoxy, could never be legitimate. Given that the plainchant cited in the council acts carried with it a sense of authority by virtue of its inclusion in papal ceremony, might new, polyphonic works have played a similar role at Pisa?<sup>5</sup> Although extant records make no reference to polyphony, a brief consideration of Peter's biography suggests that he would have been particularly inclined to use music to memorialize the event.

Peter's success at Pisa marked the zenith of what was, by any measure, a brilliant career.<sup>6</sup> Born on Crete and orphaned at an early age,

<sup>2</sup> For the text of Peter's sermon, see *ibid.*, vol. 27, 188 ff. Aldo Landi provides a brief description of the sermon in *Il papa deposto. Pisa 1409: L'idea conciliare nel Grande Scisma* (Turin: Claudiana, 1985), 165.

<sup>3</sup> Landi, *Il papa deposto*, presents an overview of conciliar theory before and after the Council of Pisa, as well as a detailed account of the council itself.

<sup>4</sup> The description of the opening session is similar to the instructions for a general council provided for the papal ceremonials of the 13th and 14th centuries. See, for instance, Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1706, the contents of which date from the 13th and early 14th centuries. The relevant passages are edited in Bernhard Schimmelpennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der Römischen Kurie im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1973), 156–63.

<sup>5</sup> Music historians have long recognized the importance of the church councils of the first half of the 15th century in encouraging the composition and dissemination of music. On the Council of Constance in particular, see Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), 106–24.

<sup>6</sup> On Peter's biography, see Alberto Maria Ghisalberti, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 2 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960), 193–96, and more recently Thomas E. Morrissey, "The Humanist and the Franciscan: A Letter of Giovanni Conversino

Peter was rescued from poverty and educated by Italian Franciscans. He received a doctorate from the University of Paris in 1381, taught theology at the University of Pavia, and served as a close adviser to the duke of Milan, Giangaleazzo Visconti. The influence of the powerful duke was instrumental in Peter's subsequent ascendance, culminating in his elevation to the archbishopric of Milan in 1402, and his appointment by the Roman Pope, Innocent VII, as cardinal and papal legate to Lombardy in 1405.<sup>7</sup> He thus brought a lifetime of diplomatic experience and scholastic learning to the office of the papacy, qualities that could only have strengthened his vociferous defense of the council and its authority.<sup>8</sup>

Like many members of the political and ecclesiastical elite of Northern Italy among whom he had established himself, Peter cultivated a keen appreciation for the complex polyphony of the *ars subtilior*.<sup>9</sup> The details of the musical life of Peter's household prior to his election to the papacy are unfortunately unknown, although it is entirely possible that, like many of his fellow cardinals, he maintained a private chapel.<sup>10</sup> The most telling indication of the role of music in Peter's household

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da Ravenna to Peter Philargus of Candia," *Franciscan Studies* 52 (1992): 183–89. On his life and works, see Franz Ehrle, *Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia* (Münster in Westf.: Aschendorff, 1925); A. Emmen, "De immaculata Deiparae Conceptione," in *Biblioteca Franciscana Scholastica* (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1954), 235–59; and Stephen F. Brown, "Peter of Candia on Believing and Knowing," *Franciscan Studies* 54 (1994–1997): 251–61.

<sup>7</sup> On Peter's career as a papal legate, see Thomas E. Morrissey, "Peter of Candia at Padua and Venice in March 1406. A Critical Edition," in *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Thomas M. Izbicki and Cristopher M. Bellitto (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 155–73.

<sup>8</sup> Peter also constituted an alternative to members of the rival Italian and French factions in the College. The tensions between the Italians and French were noted by at least one anonymous chronicler, who describes the election of Peter as a felicitous compromise. See Frank Scott Haydon, ed., *Eulogium*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (London: 1863), 414–15, quoted in Landi, *Il papa deposto*, 200–201.

<sup>9</sup> In this respect, Peter resembled many of the humanist colleagues active in the Veneto during the early 15th century, the most prominent example of whom was Francesco Zabarella, whose patronage of Johannes Ciconia is well known. On music and these early humanists in general see Margaret Bent, "Music and the Early Veneto Humanists," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 101 (1999), 101–30. On the relationship between Zabarella and Ciconia in particular, see most recently Anne Hallmark, "Protector, imo verus pater: Francesco Zabarella's Patronage of Johannes Ciconia," in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Warren, Michigan: 1997), 153–68.

<sup>10</sup> Recent research carried about by Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas shows that at the beginning of the schism at least 12 of the curial cardinals of Roman obedience, in addition to the rival popes, supported their own chapels. One presumes that the cardinals continued to support their chapels throughout the following decades. See Di Bacco and Nádas, "The Papal Chapels," 46n5. The tradition by which cardinals retained private chapels stretches back to at least the early 14th century. See Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon, 1309–1403* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 8, 25, and 164n49.

is his close relationship with the *magister capellae* of the cathedral of Milan, Matteo da Perugia.<sup>11</sup> The two likely met shortly after Peter was appointed archbishop of Milan in 1402 by the Roman pope Innocent VII; however, the first evidence of a relationship between them comes in 1406 in a request, made by Peter, that the composer retain his salary from the Duomo while serving in the cleric's household at Pavia. Matteo disappears from documentation until his return to the Duomo in 1414, but we assume that he was a member Peter's *familia* until the pope's sudden death in 1410.

The musical fruits of the relationship between the archbishop and composer are found in the manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense,  $\alpha$ .M.5.24 (commonly known as ModA).<sup>12</sup> The inner fascicles of the codex contain mostly secular music and together constitute one of the central sources of the *ars subtilior*. They most likely preserve the repertory of Peter's household, and perhaps of the Visconti court as well.<sup>13</sup> The outer two fascicles, by contrast, are devoted almost solely to the works of Matteo. Evidence suggests that the composer was likely responsible for compiling the outer folios of ModA and combining them with the inner ones during Peter's brief reign as pope.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> For the most recent discussion of Matteo's biography, see Anne Stone, "Writing Rhythm in Late Medieval Italy: Notation and Musical Style in the Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alpha.M.5.24" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1994), 44–51. Both Fabbio Fano, *La capella musicale del Duomo di Milano: Le origini e il maestro di capella: Matteo da Perugia* (Milan: Ricordi, 1956) and Claudio Sartori, "Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut: I dui primi maestri di capella del duomo di Milano," *Acta Musicologica* 28 (1956): 12–27, discuss the relevant archival documents in the cathedral archives in Milan.

<sup>12</sup> The dating and provenance of ModA has long been a point of scholarly debate. Nino Pirrotta and Ursula Günther have both suggested that the manuscript preserved the repertory of Pope John XXIII's court in Bologna (1410–15). See Nino Pirrotta, "Il codice estense lat. 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400," *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienza e Arti di Palermo*, Series IV, vol. 5, part 1 (1944–45): 101–54 and Ursula Günther, "Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Alpha.M.5, 24 (olim lat. 568=Mod)," *Musica Disciplina* 24 (1970): 17–67. More recently Reinhard Strohm, John Nadas, Agostino Ziino, and Anne Stone have all linked the manuscript to the chapel of Peter of Candia rather than that of his immediate successor. See Reinhard Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta, ovvero i francesi in Lombardia," in *In Cantu et in Sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, ed. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1989), 65–74; John Nadas and Agostino Ziino, *The Lucca Codex: Codice Mancini, Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta," MS 3065: Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1990), esp. 39–45; and Stone, "Writing Rhythm," esp. 70–71.

<sup>13</sup> Stone, following Sartori, rejects Strohm's suggestion that the inner fascicles of ModA are tied to the court of Giangaleazzo Visconti, and argues instead that their compilation was begun after the duke's death in 1402 and within the archbishop's circle (see Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta," 65 and Stone, "Writing Rhythm," 64–68 respectively).

<sup>14</sup> Stone, "Writing Rhythm," 68–71. On the compilation of the outer fascicles in particular, see also Pedro Memelsdorff, "What's in a Sign? The  $\natural$  and the Copying Process of a Medieval Manuscript: The Codex Modena, Biblioteca Estense,  $\alpha$ .M.5.24," *Studi Musicali* 30 (2001): 255–79.

Given his patronage of such a composer as Matteo da Perugia, a musical commemoration of Peter's two-fold achievement of his ascension to the papacy and the presumed ending of the schism would have hardly fallen of deaf ears. Indeed at least two such commemorations appear to have survived: Hubertus de Salinis's troped *Gloria jubilatio* and Johannes Ciconia's two-voice Latin song *O Petre, Christe discipule*. While the former work refers only to the end of the schism and makes no mention of Peter, Salinis's inclusion in a list of papal familiars at Pisa suggests that it might very well have been performed for Peter at his court.<sup>15</sup> The latter piece, by contrast, seems to make a veiled allusion to the new pope, setting a three-fold invocation to "Peter, disciple of Christ," to St. Peter, and finally to Christ. The description of the first Peter as "corpus et mentem candidus" (fair in body and mind) is likely a pun on the cardinal's origin in Candia, or Crete, suggesting that the first invocation of the text is to Peter of Candia himself.<sup>16</sup> The comparison of the cardinal of Milan with St. Peter, the founder of the papacy, further indicates that Ciconia composed the work specifically during Peter's brief reign as pope, and perhaps for performance at the council itself.<sup>17</sup>

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But was the new pontiff personally involved in the commission of either work? Evidence that elucidates the relationship between Salinis' *Gloria* with the Council of Pisa, Peter, or his papacy, is entirely lacking.

<sup>15</sup> For an edition, see Gilbert Reaney, *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, vol. 7, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 11* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag and the American Institute of Musicology, 1983), 34. On the performance of this piece at the Council of Pisa, see Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism," in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 711-77 and Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 100 and 114.

<sup>16</sup> See Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, "Verso uno 'stile internazionale' della musica nelle capelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378-1417): Il caso di Johannes Ciconia da Liège," in *Collectanea I*, ed. A. Roth (Vatican City: 1994), 33n63. This reading is largely confirmed in Margaret Bent, "Early Papal Motets," in *Papal Music and Musicians*, 24-26. For an edition, see Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, eds., *The Works of Johannes Ciconia, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 24* (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985), 114-16.

<sup>17</sup> Another piece to cite Peter's ascension to the papacy is the two-voice ballata *Dime, Fortuna, poi che tu parlasti*, which alludes to Alexander V's return of the papacy to Rome, and has been tentatively ascribed to Antonio Zacara da Teramo by Agostino Ziino. There is no evidence, however, that this work was tied to Peter or was performed in his presence. See Agostino Ziino, *Il codice T. III. 2: Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria: Studio introduttivo ed edizione in facsimile* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1994), 110-11. The author proposes two hypotheses regarding the compilation of the Turin manuscript. First, that it was compiled in northern Italy at a Franciscan house obedient to the papacy of Alexander V or his successor, John XXIII, and, second, that its contents were sung in the chapel of a cardinal active in central or northern Italy during that period, and was compiled for the Council of Constance. For an edition and facsimile of the work in question, see Ziino, *Il Codice T. III. 2*, 105 and 139.

Ciconia's *O petre*, however, seems to have been composed at the behest of one of Peter's ecclesiastical colleagues, and was thus likely not a product of his own initiative.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, there is little or no indication that either work was performed at the council itself, rather than in the months directly following the event.

For signs of Peter's own involvement in a work intended for performance at the council, we must turn our attention back to Matteo da Perugia and, in particular, to his three-voice motet, *Ave sancta mundi / Agnus Dei*, that occupies pride of place on the opening verso and recto of ModA (see Fig. 1). Here the first and second cantus set the same text, *Ave sancta mundi salus*, a poem that extols the Eucharist, while the tenor sets the text of the cantus firmus, the fourth Agnus Dei melody according to the Gregorian classification. That Matteo placed this piece at the beginning of the manuscript suggests that the work had particular significance for himself and for his patron. As we shall see, *Ave sancta mundi / Agnus Dei*, like its manuscript source, bears witness to Peter's particular interest in music and the close relationship between Matteo and the Milanese cardinal.

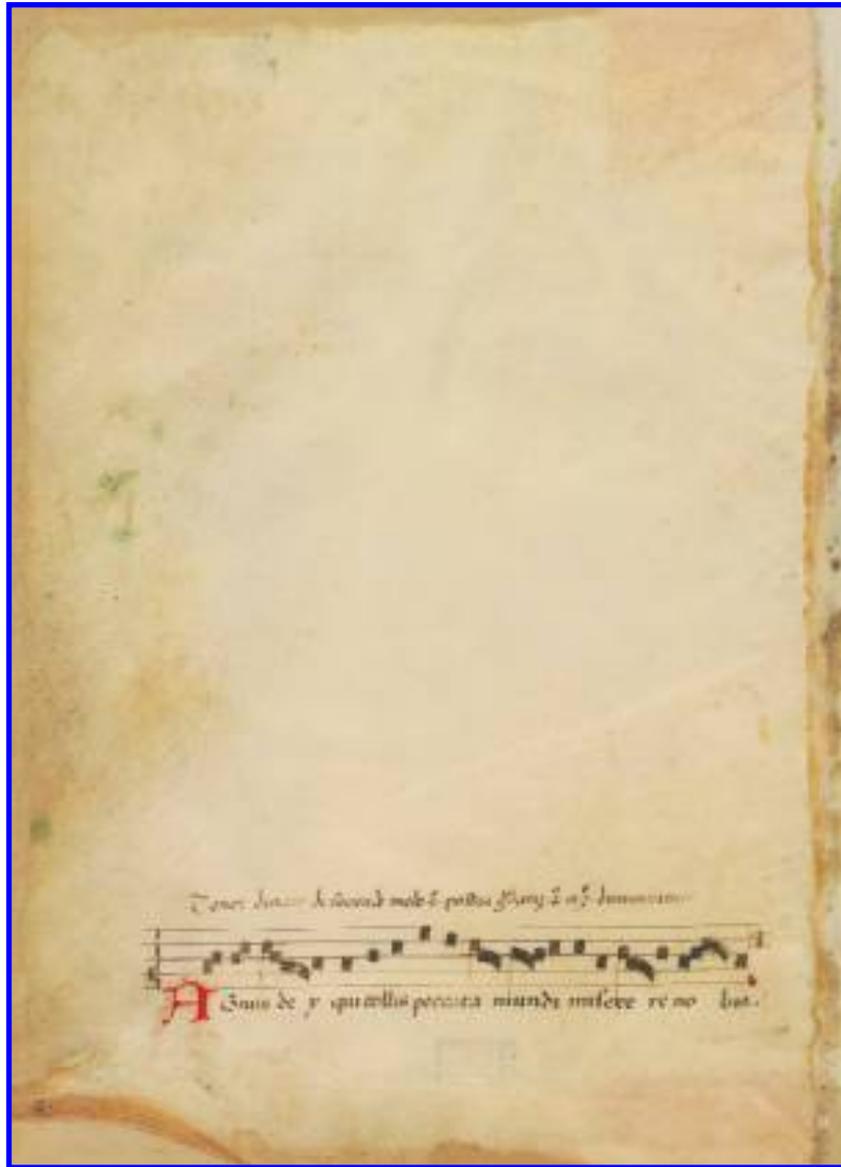
While I am not the first to associate this motet with Peter or the council, scholars have not thoroughly explored the intentions of its author/composer and the web of associations the work engendered.<sup>19</sup> In what follows, I argue not only that Matteo likely composed the work for performance during the official proceedings of the council, but that Peter played a crucial role in the selection of the motet text, and indeed may have been its author. If this were the case, *Ave sancta mundi / Agnus Dei* would constitute a rare example of collaboration between patron and musician during this period, an alliance that produced an altogether unique work among the repertory of late medieval motets.

As heard at the council, *Ave sancta mundi* would have served two purposes. First, it constituted a clear, if subtle, articulation of Franciscan piety, one that Peter's fellow minor friars would have surely understood and interpreted in light of his position as a prominent and influential

<sup>18</sup> While Di Bacco and Nádas attribute the impetus behind *O Petre* to the bishop of Padua, Pietro Marcello, Bent favors the bishop of Vicenza, Pietro Emiliani (see "Verso uno 'stile internazionale'," 33n63 and "Music and the Early Veneto Humanists," 114–15 respectively). As Bent observes, that Emiliani owed his position as bishop to Peter makes him a particularly likely candidate. Another source of inspiration might have been Ciconia's patron Francesco Zabarella, one of the primary advocates for the conciliar solution to the Great Schism. Zabarella and the new pope had known each other since Peter's visit to Venice in 1406 as papal legate (see Thomas E. Morrissey, "Peter of Candia at Padua").

<sup>19</sup> See Brad Maiani, "Notes on Matteo da Perugia: Adapting the Ambrosian Liturgy in Polyphony for the Pisan Council," *Studi Musicali* 23 (1994): 3–28. Maiani argues for the performance of *Ave sancta mundi / Agnus Dei* at the Council of Pisa, suggesting that it constitutes a reworking of the four-voice motet *Laurea martirii / Conlaudanda*. The latter is a motet in honor of St. Laurence and was composed for use at the Cathedral of Milan.

FIGURE 1. ModA, fols av-1r. Courtesy of the Estense Library





member of that order. Second, Matteo's work signified a forceful plea for unity among the church elders gathered at Pisa. It not only displayed Peter's scholastic training and cultural sophistication, but also provided a statement of Eucharistic orthodoxy that could have only strengthened his position as the newly elected pope.

## II

*Ave sancta mundi* is a five-stanza poem in which each stanza consists of two eight-syllable lines followed by one seven-syllable line (see Ex. 1). The metric organization and rhyme scheme of the poem (aax, bbx, ccx, etc . . .) conforms to the model of the classic Victorine sequence.<sup>20</sup> If the form of *Ave sancta mundi* draws on a long-standing poetic tradition, however, its content is less indebted to earlier works. Compared to the extraordinarily popular and enduring Eucharistic hymns and sequences of the 13th century by such luminaries as Thomas Aquinas and Pope Innocent IV, it seems quite restrained.<sup>21</sup> The poet invokes none of the vivid imagery of the Last Supper or Christ's Passion, two popular themes in Eucharistic poetry, nor does the text include any of the didacticism common in Aquinas's works. Instead, the author of *Ave sancta mundi* relates the commonplace notion of the Host as salvation to that of the spiritual journey. He couches salvation in terms of movement from earth to heaven, and the very structure of the poem underscores this movement.

For instance, the first two stanzas begin with "Ave, sancta mundi salus" and end with "Celi pandens Hostia," with the genitive "mundi" and "celi" emphasizing the dichotomous earth and heaven. The succession of compact phrases, which name and describe the Host, link lines 1 and 6, and in so doing provide a structural analogy to the metaphorical connection between earth and heaven brought about by the Eucharist. The pun in line 6, in which the poet has substituted "hostia" (host) for "ostia" (doors), further emphasizes the Host's role in providing salvation by suggesting that the Eucharist is literally the "doors of heaven."

<sup>20</sup> This scheme was one of the most popular poetic types to occur in the liturgical poetry of the high and late Middle Ages. See Andrew Hughes, "Late Medieval Plainchant for the Divine Office," in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2001), 40.

<sup>21</sup> See, for instance, the sequence *Ave verum corpus*, which is traditionally ascribed to Pope Innocent IV (d. 1254). The poem is edited in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, (Leipzig: O.R. Reiland, 1896), vol. 54, 257. Thomas Aquinas's works include the sequence *Lauda sion*, and the hymns *Pange lingua*, *Sacris solemnibus*, and *Verbum supernum prodiens*, all of which are part of his mass and office for the feast of Corpus Christi. On the attribution of the mass and office to St. Aquinas, see Pierre-Marie Gy, "L'Office du Corpus Christi et S. Thomas D'Aquin," *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 64 (1980): 491–507. Aquinas's poems are edited in *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 50, 583–91.

EXAMPLE 1. Text of *Ave sancta mundi salus*

	1	Ave, sancta <b>mundi</b> salus,	←		
	2	Panis vivus, immortalis			
	3	Sacrosancta Hostia.			
	4	Ave, cibus spiritualis,			
	5	Cibus bonus et regalis,			
	6	<b>Celi</b> pandens hostia.	←		
<b>Mundane</b>	7	Tu es panis <b>angelorum</b> ,	←		
	8	Factus cibus viatorum,			
	9	<u>Ducens</u> ad <b>celestia</b> .	←		
Heaven vs. Earth	10	Tu es panis <b>filiorum</b> ,	←		
	11	<b>Mundi</b> vita, spes reorum,			
	12	Donans vera gaudia.			
	13	<u>Duc</u> nos tecum ad superna,			
	14	Tu, virtutum o pincerna,			
	15	Ubi pax et gloria.			
	16	Amen.			

Hail, holy salvation of the **world**,  
living [and] immortal bread,  
most holy Host.

Hail, spiritual food,  
good and regal food,  
opening the “doors” of **heaven**.

You are the bread of the **angels**,  
you are made the food of travelers  
leading to the heavens.

You are the bread of the [your] **sons**,  
life of the **world**, the hope of sinners,  
giving true joys.

Lead us with you to the heavenly heights,  
dispenser, you of virtues,  
where be peace and glory.

Amen.

Stanzas 3 and 4 elaborate on these opening six lines, focusing on the various ways in which the Host functions as salvation. Furthermore, they accentuate the distinction between earth and heaven, but in reverse. The rhyming “angelorum” and “filiorum,” occupying identical positions within the verse structure, parallel the framing “mundi” and “celi” in the first two stanzas. The characterization of the Host as something that “leads the way to *heaven*” (“Ducens ad *celestia*”) in stanza 3, and that is the “life of the *world*” (“*mundi vita*”) in stanza 4, further reinforces this dichotomy.

On a large scale, then, the first four stanzas of *Ave sancta mundi* involve a movement from the mundane (stanza 1) to the heavenly (stanzas 2 and 3) and back again (stanza 4). Throughout lines 1–12, and particularly lines 2–5, the phrases describing or naming the Host are the primary vehicle through which we achieve this motion, both literally and figuratively. The final stanza makes the role of the Eucharist plain when in line 13, the speaker implores the Host to “lead us with you to the heavenly heights” (“duc nos tecum ad *superna*”). Here the participial “ducens” of line 9 becomes an imperative “duc nos,” signaling the climax of the poem. For no longer is the speaker content to merely salute and describe the Host; he openly seeks its salvific power. The witty paradox that ends the poem (line 14), in which the poet identifies the bread of Christ with the “pincerna,” or cup bearer, again plays on the identity of the Host.<sup>22</sup> Just as we were asked to consider the Host as doors to heaven (line 6), here the poet compels us to contemplate the Eucharist as the bearer of its counterpart, the blood of Christ.

*Ave sancta mundi* thus thematizes the role of the Eucharist in the Christian’s journey to enlightenment and salvation. On both a semantic and structural level we witness the Host’s power to link heaven and earth, providing a means for the humble Christian to ascend *ad supra*, to the heavenly heights. The word most evocative of this ascendance is “viatorum” in line 8, usually translated as “travelers,” “wayfarers,” or “pilgrims,” for it captures perfectly the fluid, transitory nature of man’s circumstances in this context.

Given the importance of the *viator* in the poem, it is surely significant that it and the surrounding passage constitute a particularly prominent case of borrowing. Here the poet has reworked the 21st stanza of Thomas Aquinas’s sequence for the feast of Corpus Christi, *Lauda sion* (see Ex. 2). With *Ave sancta mundi* he modifies the borrowed passage by inserting the phrase “Ducens ad *celestia*” immediately following “viatorum,” saving “panis filiorum” for the following verse. The proximity of “Ducens ad *celestia*” to “viatorum” stresses the traveler’s journey from earth to heaven. It shifts the emphasis from the list of

<sup>22</sup> I wish to thank Michael Allen, professor of classics at the University of Chicago, for alerting me to the significance of the *pincerna* in the dispensing of wine.

EXAMPLE 2. Borrowing from *Lauda sion* in *Ave sancta mundi salus*

<i>Ave sancta mundi salus</i> (Stanzas 3 and 4) Tu es <u>panis angelorum</u> , <u>Factus cibus viatorum</u> , Ducens ad celestia.  Tu es <u>panis filiorum</u> , Mundi vita, spes reorum, Donans vera gaudia.	<i>Lauda sion</i> (Stanza 21) Ecce <u>panis angelorum</u> , <u>Factus cibus viatorum</u> , Vere <u>panis filiorum</u> , Non mittendus canibus.
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equal recipients of the Host in *Lauda sion* (*angelorum*, *viatorum*, and *filiorum*) to the traveler and his voyage. Thus, as with the poem as a whole, the author focuses on the journey from earth to heaven, and the Eucharist functions as the principal *vade mecum* in this progression.

The borrowing from *Lauda sion*, combined with the formal organization of *Ave sancta mundi*, evokes the famous repertoire of rhymed sequences composed at the Parisian abbey of St. Victor during the 12th century. As noted above, the poem employs the typical metrical and stanzaic layout of the classic Victorine sequence. Moreover, *Lauda sion* is itself a contrafactum of one of the most famous of these sequences, *Laudes crucis*, sung for the feast of the Invention and the Exaltation of the Cross.<sup>23</sup> Given 1) these stylistic affinities between *Ave sancta mundi* and the classic Victorine sequence, 2) the poet's penchant for word play and the complex organizational strategies described above, and 3) the connection to *Laudes crucis* through Aquinas's contrafactum *Lauda sion*, it seems probable that the poet meant to evoke the venerability of this earlier, Parisian repertoire. As we shall see, it is just this sense of admiration that Matteo's musical setting seeks to match.

The central premise of *Ave sancta mundi*—that the Eucharist was crucial to the traveler on his pilgrimage—was a common one during the late Middle Ages and gave rise to the widely held conception of the Host as pilgrim's food, or *viaticum*.<sup>24</sup> We need look no further than

<sup>23</sup> On *Laudes crucis* and the Victorine sequence repertory in general, see Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), esp. 64–78.

<sup>24</sup> See, for instance, Thomas Aquinas's explanation of the term "viaticum" in his *Summa Theologica*, Part 3, Question 73, Article V: "It [i.e. the Host] has its third significance with respect to the future, in so far as this sacrament is a prefiguration of the fruit of God, which will be in the promised land. And because of this it is called the *viaticum*, since it provides us with the way of getting there." (Tertiam significationem habet respectu futuri: inquantum scilicet hoc sacramentum est praefigurativum fructus Dei, quae erit in patria. Et secundum hoc dicitur viaticum: quia hoc praebet nobis viam illuc perveniendi [St. Thomas Aquinas, *Opera omnia* (Rome: Ex Typographia Polyglotta, 1882–2000), vol. 12, 142]).

Aquinas's *Summa theologica*, where he articulated the common understanding of the *viator* as an analogy for the fallen state of man. In this sense, all Christians were travelers in search of salvation. Aquinas offers a typical description of the traveler, whose dangerous and uncertain journey has the potential to lead to salvation: "And so hope exists neither in the blessed nor in the damned; however, hope can reside in travelers [*viatoribus*], whether in this life or in purgatory, since either way they apprehend happiness as a future possibility."<sup>25</sup> Aquinas later confirms this optimistic view: "The charity of the road can increase. For we are said to be travelers [*viatores*] who tend towards God, who is the ultimate end of our happiness."<sup>26</sup>

We find a more pessimistic understanding of the *viator* in St. Bonaventure's theological manual, the *Breviloquium* of ca. 1257. "As grace does not remove the penalty and corruption from flesh, so also the consequences of original sin—concupiscence and bodily weakness—may coexist with healing grace. Concupiscence may gradually decrease, but its roots remain. No traveler [*viator*], then, is completely rid of it, except the most Blessed Virgin, who was relieved by a special favor."<sup>27</sup> Whether or not one emphasized the hope associated with the journey of the Christian pilgrim or the imperfection inherent in his character, the undertaking of the *viator*—to attain entrance to heaven and obtain beatitude—was fundamentally precarious, fraught with risks and uncertainties.

The metaphor of the Christian as traveler or pilgrim was not, of course, new to the 13th century: Its roots lay in early Christian works of mysticism, and particularly in St. Augustine's *Confessions*.<sup>28</sup> If the great theologians Aquinas and Bonaventure offered precise analytical explanations as to the nature of the *viator* and his relationship with the

<sup>25</sup> "Et ideo neque in beatis neque in damnatis est spes. Sed in viatoribus sive sint in vita ista sive in purgatorio, potest esse spes; quia utrobique apprehendunt beatitudinem ut futurum possibile" (Ibid., vol. 8, 136).

<sup>26</sup> "[...] caritas viae potest augeri. Ex hoc enim dicimur esse viatores quod in Deum tendimus, qui est ultimus finis nostrae beatitudinis" (Ibid., vol. 8, 177).

<sup>27</sup> "[E]t ideo sicut poenalitas, et corruptio per gratiam non aufertur a carne; sic sequela illa, sive concupiscentia, et languor membrorum, simul stare potest cum gratia curativa. Et ideo quamvis paulatim minuatur, quia tamen radix non tollitur, nunquam omnino aufertur in viatore, nisi in beata Virgine per gratiam singularem" (St. Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Adolphe Charles Peltier, 15 vols. (Paris: L. Vivès, 1864–71), vol. 7, 227). Translation from *The Works of Bonaventure: Cardinal, Seraphic Doctor, and Saint*, trans. José De Vinck, vol. 2 (Paterson: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1960), 127.

<sup>28</sup> Of the many studies that deal with the theme of pilgrimage in the *Confessions*, see Rowan A. Greer, *Broken Lights and Mended Lives: Theology and Common Life in the Early Church* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1986), 67–90, and Robert J. O'Connell, *St. Augustine's Confessions: The Odyssey of Soul*, 2nd ed. (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1989). On the figure of the pilgrim in Augustine's *City of God*, see M. A. Claussen, "'Peregrinatio' and 'Peregrini' in Augustine's 'City of God,'" *Traditio* 46 (1991): 33–75.

Host, late medieval mystics followed Augustine's example by vividly dramatizing the role of the Eucharist in the spiritual journey. Guillaume de Deguileville's popular pilgrimage-narrative of ca. 1330, *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, constitutes a particularly prominent case—here the Host plays a crucial role in preparing the protagonist, the Christian pilgrim, for his travels. The pilgrim's counselor, Grace, informs him: "This bread [i.e. the Eucharist] is most necessary for the journey you have to make. Before you can come to the place where you will have what you desire, you will go through very difficult straits and you will find poor lodgings, so that you will often be in trouble if you do not carry this bread with you."<sup>29</sup> Before departing, the pilgrim gratefully accepts the Host from Moses, who plays the role of bishop.<sup>30</sup>

If the *viator* was taken as a metaphor for the humble Christian who strove to achieve beatitude, it acquired a more specific and personal meaning for the Franciscans. While confirming the general view of the *viator* articulated by Aquinas in his *Summa*, members of the Friars Minor went further in identifying two figures as travelers: Christ and St. Francis. We see this most prominently in the writings of St. Bonaventure, commonly considered the intellectual founder of the Friars minor; however, the use of the term appears in the Franciscan historian Salimbene's *Chronicle* and the *Minor Life of St. Francis* of Thomas of Celano as well.

Bonaventure describes Christ as a traveler in the *Breviloquum*, where he writes of Christ's suffering as being "in every part of His body and in every power of the soul, even in the loftier part of reason. While this power, as a spiritual principle united with things above, supremely enjoyed the presence of God, as a principle of nature attached to things below, it supremely suffered: for Christ was both pilgrim and possessor [*viator et comprehensor*]."<sup>31</sup> We find a similar formulation in Salimbene

<sup>29</sup> "Mont t'est ce pain nécessaire / Au voiage qu'as a faire; / Quar avant que puisses venir / Au lieu ou tu as ton desir, / Par mont mauvais païs iras / Et mauvais hostiex trouveras, / (Si) que(s) souvent mesaise aroies, / Se ce pain ci (tu) ne portoies" (J. J. Stürzinger, ed., *Le Pèlerinage de vie humaine de Guillaume de Deguileville* [London: Nichols and Sons, 1893], 103–4). Translation from Guillaume de Deguileville, *The Pilgrimage of Human Life*, trans. Eugene Clasy (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), 45.

<sup>30</sup> Grace tells the protagonist: "You would be well-appointed at every point if you had some of Moses' bread. Go, take some of it. You have permission to do so, although you have not deserved it. But be very careful that you do not fail to do everything that you should do, just as you have seen and understood what should be done" (*The Pilgrimage*, 66) ("De tous poins apointiez fusses, / Se du pain Moisi eusses. / Va, si en pren, congie en as, / Combien que tu ne l'aies pas / Desservi, mes garde toi bien / Que de ce que doiz faire, rien / Ne passes, si com as vëu / Quë on doit faire et connëu" [*Le Pèlerinage*, 153–54]).

<sup>31</sup> "Christus passus est in omni corporis parte, et in omni potentia animae, et in superiori portione rationis, quae summe in Deo delectabatur ut ratio, et propter unionem sui ad superius; et summe patiebatur ut natura, et propter conjunctionem ad inferius, quia Christus erat viator et comprehensor simul" (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 7, 293). Translation from *The Works of Bonaventure*, vol. 2, 172.

de Adam's *Chronicle*, where Christ's human nature is made more explicit: "And [Christ] used the words 'who is in heaven' because although he was a man and appeared and spoke on earth, he was at one and the same time a pilgrim and possessor [*viator et comprehensor*]." <sup>32</sup> In both cases the *viator* is emblematic of Christ's humanity, while the term *comprehensor* signifies his possession of divine knowledge and the enjoyment of beatitude. As before, the traveler signifies the imperfect, fallen state of man, who lacks true comprehension of God. Implicit here is that, in so far as Christ shared our humanity, he too partook of the spiritual journey.

Bonaventure also describes the common Christian as a *viator* on various occasions, noting his reliance on scripture in the traveler's journey and, as noted above, the profound consequences of original sin on the traveler.<sup>33</sup> But his association of the term with the founder of the Friars Minor, St. Francis, personalized it in an entirely new way. This association surely arose because the Franciscans tended to see the *viator* as a recipient of charity, a view that had its roots in the Book of Job.<sup>34</sup> The Friars minor and St. Francis himself were the most famous givers and recipients of charity in the 13th and 14th centuries, although their doctrine of poverty was not without its detractors, within and without the order.<sup>35</sup> Because of his dramatic renunciation of per-

<sup>32</sup> "Quod autem dixit: *qui est in celo*, cum homo esset et videretur et loqueretur in terra, hoc ideo dixit, quia simul fuit viator et comprehensor" (Salimbene, *Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Scalia, 2 vols., vol. 2, *Corpus Christianorum 125* [Turnhout: Brepols, 1998], 516). Translation after *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, trans. Joseph L. Baird (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1986), 337. Aquinas offers a similar formulation in Part 3, Question 15, Article 10 of the *Summa*: "Et ideo simul erat comprehensor, in quantum habebat beatitudinem animae propriae: et simul viator, in quantum tendebat in beatitudinem secundum id quod ei de beatitudine deerat" (*Opera omnia*, vol. 11, 196).

<sup>33</sup> With regard to the traveler's reliance on scripture, Bonaventure writes: "Rather, [scripture] unfolds, by supernatural inspiration, for the sake of providing man the wayfarer with as much knowledge as he needs to save his soul" (sed potius, cum secundum lumen supernaturale procedat, ad dandam homini viatori notitiam rerum sufficientem, secundum quod expedit ei ad salutem [Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 7, 241]). Translation from *The Works of Bonaventure*, 3.

<sup>34</sup> See Salimbene's description of Gregory the Great, who, he observes, correctly interpreted the reference in Job 31:32 to the traveler as an object of charity (Salimbene, *The Chronicle*, 123–24). Job 31:32 reads: "the stranger did not stay without, my door was open to the traveler [*viator*]" (foris non mansit peregrinus ostium meum viatori patuit). Translation from the Douay-Rheims edition of the Vulgate.

<sup>35</sup> The long-standing conflict between Franciscans advocating a strict interpretation of the doctrine of poverty and more moderate conventuals hounded the Franciscan order virtually from its inception through the early 15th century. See John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 188–204 and 369–89. On the role of poverty in the Franciscan order, see more recently Malcolm David Lambert, *Povert  franciscana: La dottrina dell'assoluta povert  di Cristo e degli apostoli nell'ordine franciscano: 1210–1323* (Milan: Edizioni biblioteca franciscana, 1995) and Roberto Lambertini, *La povert  pensata: Evoluzione storica della definizione dell'identit  minoritica da Bonaventura ad Ockham* (Modena: Mucchi, 2000).

sonal possessions and his embrace of a peripatetic lifestyle, however, St. Francis came to be styled as the paradigmatic *viator*, depending on the goodwill of others on his journey in search of enlightenment.

Bonaventure and Thomas of Celano make this explicit in their biographies of their order's founder. In his *Minor Life of St. Francis*, Bonaventure likens St. Francis both to Christ and to the traveler in his description of Francis's rejection of his patrimony early in his life: "[Francis] seemed to be beside himself in his fervor, and he was not ashamed to be stripped naked for love of Christ who hung naked for us on the Cross." Francis leaves town, singing praises to God, "free from all the bonds and earthly desires in his disregard for the world," when he happens on a band of thieves. Francis is not afraid, however, and continues to praise God, for "he was a pilgrim [*viator*], half-naked and penniless, and he was glad to suffer tribulation, like the apostles."<sup>36</sup> By contrast, Thomas characterizes Francis as a traveler in the context of the saint's fondness for the natural world: "Hurrying to leave this world in as much as it is the place of exile of our pilgrimage, [Francis,] this blessed traveler [*viator*] was yet helped not a little by the things that are in the world."<sup>37</sup>

In their *vitae* of St. Francis, then, Bonaventure and Thomas of Celano depict the founder of their order as one who becomes a wayfarer or pilgrim in imitating Christ's humility and poverty. This preoccupation with the humanity of Christ had a profound effect on Franciscan spirituality and on Bonaventure's writings in particular.<sup>38</sup> His *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* (*The Mind's Journey to God*), described by one critic as the "*livre d'or* of Franciscan mysticism," is a case in point.<sup>39</sup> In the prologue, the author takes Francis's vision of a seraph crucified atop Mount La Verna as the model for his own spiritual journey: "I saw at once that this vision represented our father's [i.e. Francis's] rapture

<sup>36</sup> "Ut ebrius spiritu, amore illius nudari non horruit, qui nudus pro nobis in cruce pependit. Solutus exinde mundi contemptor a vinculis terrenarum cupidinum [...] utpote qui viator seminudus et vacuus erat et apostolico more in tribulatione gaudebat" (Enrico Menestò and Stefano Brufani, eds., *Fontes Franciscani* (Assisi: Porziuncola, 1995), 970–71). Translation from St. Bonaventure, "The Minor Life of St. Francis," in *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1973), 797.

<sup>37</sup> "Mundum quasi peregrinationis exsilium exire festinans, iuvabatur felix iste viator iis quae in mundo sunt non modicum quidem" (Menestò and Brufani, eds., *Fontes Franciscani*, 589). Translation from Thomas of Celano, "The Second Life of St. Francis," in *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies*, 494.

<sup>38</sup> On the prominent role that poverty played in the Franciscan *imitatio Christi*, see Lázaro Iriarte and Lawrence C. Landini, *Franciscan History: The Three Orders of St. Francis of Assisi*, trans. Patricia Ross (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1982), 9–12 and Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 15–18.

<sup>39</sup> P. Ephrem Longpré, "La théologie mystique de Saint Bonaventure," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 14 (1921): 39. Quoted in Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 260.

in contemplation and the road by which this rapture is reached [. . .] There is no other path but through the burning love of the Crucified.”<sup>40</sup> In the context of Francis’s own life, the vision marked the point at which he realized that, like Christ, he would die marked with the stigmata.<sup>41</sup> By taking this episode as the touchstone for his mysticism, an episode that itself symbolized St. Francis’s imitation and contemplation of Christ, Bonaventure wedded the Franciscan concern with the *imitatio Christi* to the traditional theme of the spiritual journey.

Taking their cue from St. Bonaventure, then, Franciscans throughout the late Middle Ages surely conceived of themselves as travelers in their imitation of the illustrious *viatores* Christ and St. Francis. For evidence of the continuing preoccupation with the figure of the *viator*, we need look no further than six works of liturgical poetry composed by Peter of Candia for his Franciscan brethren. They are contained in the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 25.9, which was most likely compiled during Peter’s reign as pope. Included here are sequences in honor of the Holy Trinity, a Feast among the Friars Minor, the Benefices of God, the Fast of Lent, and St. Clare, as well as a rhymed office for the Visitation of the Virgin.<sup>42</sup>

Two of the poems, the Lenten sequence and the rhymed office, make explicit reference to the *viator*. In the 16th stanza of the sequence, the author describes the benefits of the Lenten fast, “[which] the Lord, born of the Virgin, instituted for travelers [*viatoribus*], a promised prize.”<sup>43</sup> In the first antiphon for lauds of his rhymed office, Peter observes: “With respect to the viaticum of the Mother, the faithful traveler [*viator*] will discover that the Mother of the Founder fulfilled the ministries of all the spirits.”<sup>44</sup> In the sequence, the abstinence from food aids the *viator* on his journey, while in the antiphon we see the more

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<sup>40</sup> “In cuius consideratione statim visum est mihi, quod visio illa praetenderet ipsius patris nostri suspensionem in contemplando, et viam, per quam pervenitur ad eam [. . .] Via autem non est nisi per ardentissimum amorem Crucifixi” (Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 12, 2). Translation from St. Bonaventure, *The Soul’s Journey into God. The Tree of Life. The Life of St. Francis*, trans. Ewert Cousins (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), 54.

<sup>41</sup> Bonaventure makes this explicit in his description of Francis’s vision in his *Legenda maior*. See Bonaventure, *The Soul’s Journey*, 303–7.

<sup>42</sup> That the scribe in question was himself a Franciscan, and refers to Peter as “Fratris Petri de Candia, Ordinis Minorum,” suggests that the sequences, and perhaps the office as well, was meant specifically for the Franciscan order. See P. Willibrordus Lampen, “Prosae seu Poemata Petri de Candia, O.F.M.,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 23 (1930): 172. Lampen also provides an edition of the sequences. Peter’s office for the Visitation of the Virgin is contained in this same manuscript; however, unlike the sequences, the office was widely disseminated throughout the 15th century, particularly in Franciscan liturgical manuscripts. See *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 24, 98–102.

<sup>43</sup> “Haec Virginis Natus et Dominus / Instituit pro viatoribus, / Promisso bravio” (Lampen, “Prosae seu Poemata,” 180).

<sup>44</sup> “Circa matris viaticum / Reperiet modestia / Devoti viatoris, / Quod omnium spirituum / Complevit ministeria / Genitrix conditoris” (*Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 24, 100).

usual association of the pilgrim's food, the *viaticum*, with the traveler. In the latter case, however, Peter associates the *viaticum* with the Virgin and the traveler's quest with the desire to gain divine knowledge of her rather than of Christ.

The inclusion of the term *viator* in both the sequence and rhymed office without doubt served as a charged metaphor for Peter's Franciscan readers.<sup>45</sup> Might its appearance in *Ave sancta mundi*—a work preoccupied, as we have seen, with the Eucharist as a means of ascendance to heaven—have spoken just as clearly to members of the Friars Minor? Furthermore, who would have been better placed than Peter of Candia to translate a deep understanding of Franciscan spirituality into the motet text? Finally, the form of *Ave sancta mundi* and the literary strategies I have noted all point to an author intent on encoding meaning through symbolism, allusion, and wordplay. Not only are these strategies characteristic of the very repertoire of Victorine sequences that the poem evokes—a repertoire that Peter would surely have encountered during his study at the University of Paris—but they are more broadly indicative of an extensive scholastic education.

My examination of *Ave sancta mundi*, the writings of St. Bonaventure and his fellow Franciscans, and the liturgical poetry of Peter of Candia, suggest therefore that the cardinal of Milan might very well have been the author of the poem in question. And yet we hardly need to accept Peter's authorship in order to posit a relationship between his patronage of Matteo and the selection of this particular text for the prospective motet. For who would have appreciated the resonances of the poem with the self-conception of the Friars minor more than the new Franciscan pope who had himself composed liturgical poetry intended for his order?

### III

If Peter indeed presented Matteo da Perugia with this finished poem, how did the latter set such a text? Given the composer's fluency in both the *ars subtilior* and late Trecento styles, it is hardly surprising that his setting draws on French and Italian motet traditions.<sup>46</sup> From a

<sup>45</sup> As Lampen notes, given that the sequences did not circulate in liturgical manuscripts, it is likely that they were meant to be read rather than actually sung (Lampen, "Prosaе seu Poemata," 172).

<sup>46</sup> On the essential characteristics of the Trecento motet, see Margaret Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," in *L'Ars Nova italiana del Trecento*, ed. Giulio Cattin (Certaldo: Polis, 1992), 85–125. For a more recent discussion of the various motet sub-genres that were disseminated in northern and central Italy during this period, see Julie E. Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 65–98.

structural point of view, *Ave sancta mundi / Agnus Dei* borrows the chief stylistic features of the traditional French isorhythmic motet: the use of a *cantus firmus*, imperfect time and minor prolation, and panisorhythm. The isorhythmic plan of *Ave sancta mundi* is determined in large part by the ternary structure of the cantus firmus (see Table 1).

Here the tenor melody is repeated twice, once in diminution by half and once again in diminution by one fourth, thereby producing three total statements of color and talea. The instructions that the tenor perform the melody according to the “secundo modo” or the second rhythmic mode of the *ars antiqua* override the conventions of mensural notation. Matteo divides the upper voices into four statements of talea, the last of which is diminished by one-half. A tripartite structure results, in which the first unit is further subdivided by the two statements of talea in the first and second cantus.

If the form of *Ave sancta mundi / Agnus Dei* is French, the musical surface resembles the typical Italian motet of the Trecento (see Ex. 3). Not only do the upper two voices of the three-voice piece set a single Latin text, they form a duet and occupy the same range. Brief points of rhythmic imitation and hocket, stylistic traits typical of the *caccia*, but also common in Italian motets, pervade the work. Moreover, they result in a transparent musical texture, one in which the text is readily understood. Matteo goes to some lengths to assure this: Often one cantus part is singing the same word as the other, and one voice rarely begins a new line of poetry before the other has finished singing the previous line. Clearly, the composer wanted the poem understood on first hearing.

Matteo exhibits a sensitivity to the motet text that goes beyond the desire that it be comprehensible. For instance, the motet structure reinforces the dichotomy between heaven and earth effected by the poet: The second isorhythmic statement of the upper voices (m. 25) begins with “Celi” of line 6, while the third statement (m. 49) begins with “Mundi” of line 11. Furthermore, this third isorhythmic statement, which roughly falls at the midpoint of the piece, is directly preceded by a cadence on A (mm. 45–46), an anomalous event in a work with a strong G tonal center. That this cadence sets the word “panis” in both of the upper voices is surely no coincidence, and suggests that the composer wished to highlight the subject of the poem, the Eucharist.<sup>47</sup>

More prominent still is the brief tonal excursus with which Matteo sets the word “viatorum” in mm. 36–37. At most points where the cantus firmus descends from A to G, the upper voices expand outwards from a major third and sixth to a fifth and octave, forming a cadence

<sup>47</sup> I thank Margaret Bent for calling this to my attention.

TABLE 1

Isorhythmic Scheme of *Ave sancta mundi* / T. *Agnus Dei*.<sup>1</sup>

	Agnus 1		Agnus 2	Agnus 3
Cantus 1/ Cantus 2:	T1	T1	T1	T2
Tenor:	t1/c		t2/c	t3/c
Length:	48 Breves		24 Breves	12 Breves
Proportions:	4		2	1
Measures:	1	25	49	73

<sup>1</sup> “T” refers to statements of talea, “C” to statements of color. Capital letters are used for the cantus 1 and cantus 2, while lower case letters are used for the tenor. Numbers in the fourth row designate statements of talea which contain different rhythmic values, but which are nevertheless proportionally related. Thus T2 is proportionally related to T1 by  $\frac{1}{2}$  (as is t2 to t1), and t3 to t1 by  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

on G.<sup>48</sup> In mm. 36-37, however, Matteo sets a C-natural in the first cantus, which falls to an unexpected B $\flat$ . This is the only B $\flat$  in a work characterized by the *musica ficta* of F $\sharp$  and C $\sharp$ , inflections which typically participate in cadences on the G final. The second cantus’s repetition of “viatorum” (mm. 37-38) returns to this familiar tonal space, but it also creates yet another disjunction between the B $\flat$  and F $\sharp$  in m. 37. Given the imitative text setting of the motet, the contrast between the first and second statements of “viatorum” is particularly prominent. The harmonic surprise of mm. 36-39 thus inflects the text in such a way that the most important figure of the poem, the *viator*, could have hardly gone unnoticed.

Matteo’s setting must have significantly furthered Peter’s intent when viewed from a broader perspective as well. As we have seen above, *Ave sancta mundi* / *Agnus Dei* constitutes a hybrid motet, displaying features of both the Italian and French tradition. But its hybridity is evident not only on the level of subgenre, but that of genre as well.<sup>49</sup> While scholars have generally considered the piece in question an isorhythmic motet, two features suggest that it also served as a substitute

<sup>48</sup> See, for instance, mm. 9-10.

<sup>49</sup> On the use of the categories of genre and subgenre to analyze and interpret early 15th-century music, and motets in particular, see Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 24-40.

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EXAMPLE 3. *Ave sancta mundi / Agnus Dei*. After PFMC, 13, pp. 206–8

I-MOe 5.24

Matheus de Perusio

270

C1  
A - ve, san - cta mun - di sa - lus,

C2  
A - ve, san - cta mun - di sa - lus,

T  
A - gnus

7  
Pa - nis vi - vus, im - mor - tal - is, Sa - cro - san - cta  
Pa - nis vi - vus, im - mor - ta - lis, Sa - cro -

13  
ho - sti - a. A - ve,  
san - cta ho - sti - a. A - ve, ci - bus spi - ri - ta - lis,  
i, qui tol - lis

19  
ci - bus spi - ri - ta - lis, Ci - bus bo - nus et re - ga - lis,  
Ci - bus bo - nus et re - ga - lis, Ce -  
pec - ca - ta

EXAMPLE 3. (continued)

26

Ce - li pan - dens ho - sti - a. Tu es pa - nis an - ge -  
 li pan - dens ho - sti - a. Tu es  
 mun - di: mi -

33

lo - rum Fa - ctus ci - bus vi - a - to - rum,  
 pa - nis an - ge - lo - rum Fa - ctus ci - bus vi - a - to -  
 re - se - re

39

Du - cens ad ce - le - sti - a. Tu es  
 rum, Du - cens ad ce - le - sti - a.  
 re no

45

pa - nis fi - li - o - rum, Mun - di vi - ta, spes  
 Tu es pa - nis fi - li - o - rum, Mun - di vi - ta,  
 bis. A gnus

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EXAMPLE 3. (continued)

52

re - o - rum, Do-nans ve - ra gau - di - a. Duc nos  
 spes re - o - rum, Do - nans ve - ra gau - di - a.  
 De - i, qui tol - lis pec - ca -

59

te - cum ad su - per - na,  
 Duc nos te - cum ad su - per - na, Tu, vir - tu - tum o pin - cer -  
 ta - mun - di: mi -

272

65

Tu, vir - tu - tum o pin - cer - na, U - bi pax et glo - ri -  
 na, U - bi pax et glo - ri -  
 se - re - re no

72

**IV dim.**

bis. **A** - gnus De - i, qui tol -

## EXAMPLE 3. (continued)

77

lis pec - ca - ta mun - di: [Do -

81

men.

men.

- na no - bis pa - cem.]

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for the Agnus Dei.<sup>50</sup> First, the isorhythmic structure of *Ave sancta mundi* disposes the tenor into precisely three statements, thereby accommodating the traditional threefold declamation of the Agnus chant.<sup>51</sup> Second, unlike most 14th-century motets, the tenor of *Ave sancta mundi* is underlaid with the entire text of the cantus firmus, indicating that Matteo intended the chant text to be sung completely (see Fig. 1). Furthermore, the text of the Agnus Dei takes on a heightened prominence in measures 73–84, where the upper voices simply vocalize on the “A” of “Amen,” thereby allowing the third petition “dona nobis pacem” to cut through the polyphonic texture.

It seems likely that Matteo was consciously blurring the distinction between motet and mass movement. The obscuring of generic distinctions was relatively common in the decades around 1400; however, it

<sup>50</sup> Ursula Günther’s decision not to include *Ave sancta mundi* in her edition of motets from the Chantilly Codex and ModA constitutes an important exception to the tendency to view the work as a motet. See Ursula Günther, *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α. M. 5, 24 (olim lat. 568)* (American Institute of Musicology, 1965).

<sup>51</sup> This is in marked contrast to the bipartite structure of many Italian motets. These works, while not properly isorhythmic, employed the “double-statement rhythmic structure,” where the second half of the work duplicates the rhythmic content of the first (see Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 79).

usually involved the importation of chanson and motet styles into the genre of the mass.<sup>52</sup> A prime example of this is Matteo's Gloria for four voices, also preserved in the first fascicle of ModA.<sup>53</sup> In this case, Matteo not only uses a "foreign" cantus firmus, again an Agnus Dei melody, but he also employs isorhythmic techniques similar to those found in *Ave sancta mundi*.<sup>54</sup> Both strategies were associated with the isorhythmic motet of the period rather than with settings of the mass ordinary.

With *Ave sancta mundi / Agnus Dei*, Matteo thus crafted a work that displays features of both a motet and mass, features that he explored in his isorhythmic Gloria setting as well. This allowed him to draw upon the theological and ritual associations of the Agnus Dei chant and the mass as a whole, while at the same time invoking the venerability of the isorhythmic motet. When viewed from the perspective of its supposed liturgical context, *Ave sancta mundi* offered a pointed embellishment to the ritual of the mass. While the Agnus Dei was originally conceived as an accompaniment to the Fraction rite, in the Middle Ages it became associated with the priest's communion.<sup>55</sup> By the 14th and 15th centuries the Agnus Dei had come to signify a powerful expression of Eucharistic devotion in and of itself, and in this sense resembled the hymns *Ave verum corpus* and *O salutaris hostia*, which were typically sung during the Elevation of the Host.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 23–24 and 42–43. Of course, such distinctions were not as rigid in the early 15th century as they may seem today. Cumming has argued that the term "motet" carried two meanings for much of the 15th century. She writes, "[a]rchival references suggest that 'motet' can mean simply 'polyphony' in some contexts, but it also has a more specific meaning: a genre without a prescribed liturgical function [such as the polyphonic mass] that was used to adorn devotions" (Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 60). Andrew Kirkman has recently voiced skepticism that the term "motet" carried such a specific meaning during the early 15th century ("The Invention of the Cyclic Mass," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54 [2001]: 4–16, esp. 10–12).

<sup>53</sup> For an edition, see Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, eds., *Italian Sacred Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 12* (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1987), 78–82.

<sup>54</sup> Like *Ave sancta mundi / Agnus Dei*, the isorhythmic schema extends to the two cantus parts, although the contratenor is not strictly isorhythmic. The second statement of color in the tenor and contratenor is diminished by one-half, while the cantus parts proceed at their original value (mm. 61 ff.). Again, like Matteo's motet, the tenor of the Gloria carries the entire Agnus Dei text. For more information on the structure of the piece, see *ibid.*, 271.

<sup>55</sup> Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, trans. Francis A. Brunner, 2 vols., vol. 2 (New York: Benziger, 1951), 335. On the early history of the Agnus Dei, see Charles M. Atkinson, "The Earliest Agnus Dei Melody and its Tropes," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30 (1977): 1–19.

<sup>56</sup> Jungmann writes: "The Lamb of God patently does not refer to Christ simply, but rather to Christ present in the Eucharist as a sacrificial offering; in the same way, just before the distribution of Communion, when the priest holds the Sacrament upraised before the faithful with the words, *Ecce Agnus Dei*, it is the sacramental Christ who is meant" (*The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 335).

The poem *Ave sancta mundi* amplifies the Eucharistic associations of the Agnus Dei. While the tenor indirectly refers to the Host in its petition to the “Lamb of God,” the motet text functions in a trope-like fashion, explicitly naming the Host and hailing its power to aid in the search for salvation.<sup>57</sup> This statement of sacramental devotion also comes at a critical point in the mass itself. Positioned soon after the moment of consecration and during the priest’s communion, *Ave sancta mundi* added to the multitude of adornments—the pealing of bells, incense, candles, and supplications—that characterized the Elevation during this period.<sup>58</sup>

As an Agnus Dei substitute, *Ave sancta mundi* would have augmented the Eucharistic associations of its ritual context and added to the already ornate ritual that surrounded the elevation and the communion of the celebrant. In its capacity as an isorhythmic motet, however, the work drew upon the tradition of authority, ceremony, and intellectualism associated with the genre. Johannes de Grocheio, in his *De musica* of ca. 1300, provides us with one of the earliest expressions of this attitude. He famously writes that the motet “should not be set before a lay public because they are not alert to its refinement nor are they delighted by hearing it, but [it should only be performed] before the clergy and those who look for the refinements of skills.”<sup>59</sup>

The isorhythmic motets of Phillippe de Vitry, Guillaume de Machaut, and their contemporaries reinforce the impression that the genre functioned primarily as a medium through which ecclesiastics and educated lay people contemplated political, moral, or theological issues.<sup>60</sup> The

<sup>57</sup> In this respect, Matteo’s troped *Gloria Spiritus et alme*, which directly precedes his isorhythmic Gloria in ModA, constitutes another point of comparison with *Ave sancta mundi* / *Agnus Dei*. For an edition, see Fischer and Gallo, eds., *Italian Sacred Music*, 85–89.

<sup>58</sup> On the ritual of the elevation and its effect on the laity, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991), 58.

<sup>59</sup> “Cantus autem iste non debet coram vulgaribus propinari eo quod eius subtilitatem non advertunt nec in eius auditu delectantur sed coram litteratis et illis qui subtilitates atrium sunt quaerentes.” Translation and text from Christopher Page, “Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: A Corrected Text and a New Translation,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2 (1993): 36.

<sup>60</sup> Edward Roesner has noted the marked shift in tone of the *ars nova* motets preserved in the *Roman de Fauvel*, which take on “contemporary ‘political’ themes.” He identifies nine “political” motets in the *Roman*, of which at least one, and perhaps as many as four, were composed by Philippe de Vitry. See Edward H. Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado, eds., *Le Roman de Fauvel: In the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990), 24. A particularly ambitious case involves Guillaume de Machaut’s 17 early motets, which, as Anne Robertson has convincingly demonstrated, formed a large-scale meditation on the spiritual journey. While they did not engage current events, they were, first and foremost, objects of contemplation that were designed to engage the intellectual and spiritual issues of the day. See her *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002).

intellectual nature of the motet went hand in hand with its rise as a ceremonial or dedicatory genre, one that was particularly well suited for the papacy. As Margaret Bent has recently shown, the papal motet—motets composed for, and often at the behest of the popes—constituted a small yet distinctive repertory.<sup>61</sup> One thinks of Phillipe de Vitry's *Petre clemens*, composed in honor of Clement VI in 1342, or of the anonymous *Pictagore per dogmata*, written around 1375 in honor of Pope Gregory XI. Both works relied on a myriad of literary and theological allusions to convey doctrinal messages.<sup>62</sup> While these works were written with a variety of purposes in mind, they were a primary vehicle by which the papacy reinforced its authority within the rarified circles of the papal court.

By the first decade of the 15th century, the tradition of the papal motet was well established. The customary use of isorhythm and different texts in the voice parts, by this time decidedly old-fashioned techniques, gave these works an air of venerability that echoed the papacy itself. Indeed, Matteo seems to have reinforced the traditional quality of *Ave sancta mundi* through his use of pan-isorhythm and his invocation of the second rhythmic mode. In this respect he accentuated the already antiquated character of the genre, making it the perfect vehicle for papal veneration—matching Peter's evocation of the classic Victorine sequence.

Nevertheless, if *Ave sancta mundi* was a papal motet, it was certainly a peculiar one. Unlike most ceremonial works of the period, the piece sets a devotional rather than laudatory text.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, an isorhythmic motet that set a Eucharistic poem was virtually unheard of, and in this

<sup>61</sup> Bent, "Early Papal Motets."

<sup>62</sup> According to Andrew Wathey, *Petre clemens* was not only a celebratory work, but had a more specific, doctrinal purpose: to assert the "independence of the papacy from the bishopric of Rome, and the universal rather than local character of papal power" ("The Motets of Phillipe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance," *Early Music History* 12 [1993]: 135). Ursula Günther provides a careful reading of the anonymous *Pictagore per dogmata*. The work urges Gregory XI to return to Rome, while at the same time drawing imagery from medieval heraldry and Virgil's *Aeneid* to celebrate the pope and his family. See Ursula Günther, *The Motets*, XL–XLII. Andrew Tomasello, while offering several revisions, essentially confirms Günther's analysis (*Music and Ritual*, 26–30).

<sup>63</sup> The devotional or liturgical significance of most 14th- and early 15th-century motets, whether associated with the papacy or not, is obscure or nonexistent. As Margaret Bent has observed, "it would be a mistake to regard the motet, the Italian no more than the French, as primarily sacred, let alone liturgical. Even the pieces that might appear to be liturgical (because honoring a saint) could have been intended for secular ceremonial use" (Bent, "The Fourteenth-Century Italian Motet," 105–6). For other discussions of the Italian motet texts of the period, see Julie E. Cumming, "Concord out of Discord: Occasional Motets of the Early Quattrocento" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of California, Berkeley, 1987), 107, and John Michael Allsen, "Style and Intertextuality in the Isorhythmic Motet, 1400–1440" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, 1992), 123.

respect Matteo's work is almost without precedent.<sup>64</sup> *Ave sancta mundi* thus displays features of a variety of genres and subgenres, resisting attempts at fast and easy classification. This is surely symptomatic of the limitations of our own generic distinctions with regard to the music of the period; however, it is also, I would argue, a product of the immediate historical context within which Matteo was working.<sup>65</sup> To ascertain why the composer set the poem *Ave sancta mundi* in the manner of an isorhythmic motet, a genre typically reserved for celebratory texts, we must return to the probable impetus for the composition of the work: the ascension of Peter of Candia to the papacy at the Council of Pisa.

## IV

An examination of the possible contexts for *Ave sancta mundi* / *Agnus Dei* at the council is necessarily speculative. The council acts do not mention polyphony at all, and their descriptions of liturgy and ritual in general are woefully brief.<sup>66</sup> To compound the uncertainty, the work in question resists assignment to any given occasion by virtue of its devotional text and potential use as a substitute for a mass ordinary movement. The motet would have been appropriate for any number of occasions and was surely performed multiple times.<sup>67</sup>

Despite these problems, evidence culled from the acts suggests that *Ave sancta mundi* / *Agnus Dei* would have been particularly suitable for performance at several key points during the course of the proceedings. The Council of Pisa took place over roughly four and a half months, from 25 March to 7 August (see Table 2). During the first 14 sessions the council members worked at formulating a series of accusations against Benedict XIII and Gregory XII, which served to justify

<sup>64</sup> *Ave Jesu Christe* and *Ave vivens hostia*, both of which are anonymous Italian isorhythmic motets and date from the 14th century, constitute the only precursors to *Ave sancta mundi* of which I am aware (see Fischer and Gallo, eds., *Italian Sacred Music*, 118 and 23).

<sup>65</sup> On the limitations of such generic distinctions with regard to the motet of the late 14th and early 15th centuries, see Margaret Bent, "The Late-Medieval Motet," in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), 118.

<sup>66</sup> Three versions of the council acts are edited in J. Vincke, "Acta Concilii Pisani," *Römische Quartalschrift* 46 (1938): 81–331. See also Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 26, 1131–256 and vol. 27, 1–508. For an extremely useful and detailed account and analysis of the council, see Landi, *Il papa deposto*, 163–219.

<sup>67</sup> As Maiani has noted, the *Agnus Dei* melody used as the tenor (melody IV in the *Liber usualis*, or 136 according to Schildbach's classification) was one of a number of options deemed appropriate for duplex feasts ("Notes on Matteo da Perugia," 15). My survey of late medieval manuscripts of central-Italian provenance for the melody in question confirms this. For a list of these and other sources, see Martin Schildbach, *Das Einstimmige Agnus Dei und seine handschriftliche Überlieferung vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Erlangen: Offsetdruck-Fotodruck J. Hög, 1967), 117–19.

the deposition of these French and Italian popes on June 5.<sup>68</sup> Peter's election followed three weeks later on June 26, although he was not crowned until July 7, after which the council proceeded under the new pope's supervision for yet another month.

Although the text of *Ave sancta mundi* makes no explicit reference to the council, the Eucharistic poem resonated immensely with the surrounding events, for the climax of the proceedings—the dramatic deposing of popes Benedict and Gregory—occurred on the vigil of the feast of Corpus Christi. On the following day, the Augustinian friar Ludolf of Sagan delivered a sermon to the council members in which he tied the restored unity of the church to the sacramental host. Here he argued for a united church under one bread and one wine—the body and blood of Christ—accompanying this plea for unity with a forceful defense of the doctrine of transubstantiation and of the authority of the clergy to dispense the Host.<sup>69</sup> As a statement of Eucharistic piety, *Ave sancta mundi* was an ideal musical counterpart to Ludolf's sermon, reminding the assembly of clerics of their common dependence on the Host for salvation. More importantly, it reinforced the connection that Ludolf had drawn between the Eucharist and a unified church, a connection already implied by the fact that the council had deposed Gregory XII and Benedict XIII on the day before Corpus Christi.<sup>70</sup>

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The feast of Corpus Christi left a powerful impression on the council proceedings that went beyond the two days of June 5 and 6: the masses that preceded the following two sessions on June 10 and 12 were both in honor of that feast as well, since they fell within its octave. The festivities of Corpus Christi, which manifested themselves not only in official ceremonies of the council but also in civic traditions of the city of Pisa, thus marked the entire time from the council's deposition of the rival popes to the opening of the conclave on June 14. That devotion to the body of Christ filled the temporal gap between the dethroning of the putative heads of the Church and the convening of the cardinals to choose a new pope was certainly appropriate, for, according to Ludolf, it was through meditation on the Eucharist that the church was to be brought together under one, legitimate pontiff.

If *Ave sancta mundi* was particularly appropriate for performance at the council during the time of the French and Italian popes's depositions

<sup>68</sup> On these accusations, see Landi, *Il papa deposto*, 186–90.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 193

<sup>70</sup> The Eucharist was widely perceived as a symbol of a unified social body in the late Middle Ages, as well as a mechanism by which clerical authority was exercised. See Mervyn James's seminal article "Ritual, Drama, and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town," *Past & Present* 98 (1983): 3–29. For a rethinking of James's argument, see Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, 265–71.

TABLE 2

## Timeline for the Council of Pisa

Monday, March 25	Inaugural ceremony. Solemn procession from San Michele in Borgo to Pisa Cathedral, where mass is celebrated in honor of the Annunciation of the BMV.
Tuesday, March 26	First session. A mass is celebrated in honor of the Holy Spirit. Peter of Candia delivers the opening sermon in support of the council.
Wednesday, March 27– Thursday, May 30	Second-14th sessions.
Wednesday, June 5	15th session. Depositions of Benedict XIII and Gregory XII. A mass is celebrated <i>de angelis</i> .
Thursday, June 6	Feast of Corpus Christi. Ludolf of Sagan delivers his sermon.
Monday, June 10	16th session. A mass is celebrated for the octave of Corpus Christi.
Wednesday, June 12	17th session. A mass is celebrated for the octave of Corpus Christi.
Friday, June 14	Solemn procession from San Michele in Borgo to Pisa Cathedral, where a mass is celebrated in anticipation of the papal election.
Saturday, June 15	18th session. A mass is celebrated in honor of the Holy Spirit, after which the cardinals entered into the conclave.
Wednesday, June 26	Peter of Candia is elected as pope.
Monday, July 1	19th session. Peter presides as the new pope.
Sunday, July 7	Coronation of Peter as Alexander V. Mass is celebrated in the cathedral, and the gospel is read in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.
Wednesday, July 10	20th session, with a mass in honor of the Holy Ghost. Florence and Siena publicly recognize Alexander V as pope.
Sunday, July 21	The University of Paris issues a statement in support of Alexander V.
Saturday, July 27	21st session, with a mass in honor of the BMV. Louis of Anjou is in attendance and receives the papal investiture for the Kingdom of Naples.
Wednesday, August 7	22nd and final session, with a mass in honor of the Holy Spirit.

or directly afterwards, identifying a specific occasion is more difficult. Two assumptions reasonably guide our situating *Ave sancta mundi* / *Agnus Dei* within this context. First, Peter would probably not have asked Matteo da Perugia to set the poem if his election were not already assured. It seems highly unlikely that Peter wanted the work to be performed *before* his coronation on July 7, for in this context it could very well have been perceived as a gesture of self-aggrandizement detracting from the council proceedings. Second, Matteo would presumably have needed a reasonable amount of time to compose the motet.<sup>71</sup> These assumptions rule out the feast of Corpus Christi or any of the sessions before Peter's coronation.

The coronation ceremony, which took place at approximately the hour of Terce on July 7, is itself a likely candidate. While the acts make no mention of music, they do emphasize the solemnity of the event, which included celebration of mass.<sup>72</sup> In this context, the motet would have functioned not as an official celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi, but rather as a commemoration of Peter's unification of the church under his new papacy. With the sermon of the Augustinian friar still fresh in their minds, the council participants would have easily drawn the connection between the expression of Eucharistic piety and the new pope's ascension.

Arguing against the performance of *Ave sancta mundi* / *Agnus Dei* at Peter's coronation would be the second assumption stated above, that Matteo needed ample time to compose the work. This turns our attention to the council sessions that followed the coronation, those on July 10, July 27, and August 7. Of these, the 21st (July 27) constitutes a particularly appealing candidate. This mass was one of the few celebrated in honor of the virgin and the only Mary mass performed after the deposition of the popes.<sup>73</sup> At first glance, a Eucharistic motet would

<sup>71</sup> Of course, this assumes that Matteo composed his musical setting with the Council of Pisa in mind, an assumption that is strengthened if Brad Maiani is right in suggesting that *Ave sancta mundi* constituted a reworking of Matteo's Lawrence motet *Laurea martirii / Conlaudanda est*. Maiani goes further in suggesting that both motets were performed on the feast of St. Lawrence on August 10. See Maiani, "Notes on Matteo da Perugia," 15–17.

<sup>72</sup> "Die dominica septima mensis Julii supra deputata seu statuta, reverendissimis in Christo patribus dominis cardinalibus supradictis in ecclesia Pisana memorata convenientibus et ibidem cum eis sacra et universali sinodo predicta solempniter more solito congregata, celebrataque missa et servatis aliis ceremoniis in coronacione summi pontificis servari consuetis, venientibus quoque eodem domino nostro ac cardinalibus et pluribus prelatibus supra quendam eminentem locum ante principales fores predictae ecclesie ad hoc specialiter preparatum" (Vincke, "Acta Concilii Pisani," 314). Cf. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 26, 1151.

<sup>73</sup> According to Vincke, Mary masses preceded a total of four council sessions. These fell on April 15, May 4, May 25, and July 27. A single manuscript source, edited by Mansi, indicates that the July 10 mass was also celebrated in honor of the Virgin rather

seem to be at odds with the Marian character of the ceremony. Recall, however, that Peter cited the *viator* in his rhymed office for the virgin, where he described the Host as “the mother’s *viaticum*.” This Marian connection is strengthened when we consider that the beginning of the motet text, *Ave sancta mundi*, is evocative not only of the Eucharistic hymn *Ave verum corpus*, but of *Ave maria gratia plena* as well. Both of these features make the performance of *Ave sancta mundi* at the mass of the virgin more plausible.

The immediate political context surrounding the 21st session strengthens the case. More than any other moment during the Council of Pisa, it signaled the unprecedented hope and promise of Peter’s fledgling papacy. Seventeen days earlier, the cities of Florence and Siena made their recognition of Peter’s legitimacy public. A strong statement of support on the part of the University of Paris followed on July 21.<sup>74</sup> Most significant was the attendance on July 27 of Louis II of Anjou, the claimant to the kingdom of Naples. Given that Alexander was keen for support from the French crown, and that Louis’s long time adversary, King Ladislas, was an outspoken advocate of his rival, Gregory XII, it was natural that the new pope should take the opportunity to recognize Louis’s claim to the Neapolitan throne. Alexander was so keen to have the French noble by his side that he postponed the session, originally scheduled for July 15, for almost two weeks in anticipation of Louis’s arrival.<sup>75</sup> Thus, in the span of less than two weeks, Peter had secured the allegiance of Pisa’s powerful neighbors, Florence and Siena, garnered the approval of the University of Paris, and cemented an alliance between himself and an influential member of the French royal family.

The *missa de beata virgine* on July 27 was surely intended to render thanks to Mary as an intercessor.<sup>76</sup> The gesture of thanksgiving was

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than the Holy Ghost; however, Vincke favors the other manuscript reading. Cf. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 27, 130.

The mass celebrated on July 27 is also described in the council acts as a “sung mass,” or “missa cantata” (see Vincke, “Acta Concilii Pisani,” 318). Only three other council masses, all of which fell after the deposition of popes Benedict and Gregory, are described in this way (see sessions 17, 18, 21, and 22). All the other masses are said to be “celebrata,” or in one case “dicta.” The reference to a “sung mass” might suggest the performance of polyphony, since one presumes that all the council masses were accompanied with plainchant. The description of the opening session of the council, cited at the beginning of this article, seems to confirm this, since it mentions the singing of antiphons and a hymn following the “missa celebrata” and Peter’s sermon. Moreover, all the masses are depicted as “solemniter celebrate,” which suggests the performance of plainchant.

<sup>74</sup> Landi, *Il papa deposto*, 208.

<sup>75</sup> See *ibid.*, 208 and Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, vol. 26, 1234.

<sup>76</sup> Votive masses in honor of the virgin typically played this role, while those in honor of Christ were normally celebrated in expectation of a particular request or plea. I thank Craig Wright for bringing this point to my attention.

clearly an appropriate occasion for polyphonic embellishment, and in this context *Ave sancta mundi* would have fulfilled several *desiderata*. As a papal motet, *Ave sancta mundi* would have resonated with Peter's own biography and position, articulating Eucharistic theology in a way that his Franciscan brethren would have understood and appreciated. The new pope was, of course, one of the most prominent Franciscan figures of his time, and Peter's Franciscan upbringing and education were pivotal to his later successes. The Friars minor saved him from the hardships of poverty and gave him the necessary tools to build an illustrious career as a theologian and diplomat. Peter's rags-to-riches story makes him the paradigmatic *viator* himself, and the Franciscan order served as a steadfast ally in this ascent. Peter's actions during his brief papacy, including the issuance of the bull that furthered the Friar's authority at the expense of the secular clergy, demonstrated his continuing loyalties to his order.<sup>77</sup>

If Peter was indeed the author of *Ave sancta mundi*, he was not simply casting a glance back at his Franciscan roots but also demonstrating his own erudition as poet and scholar. The poem, couched in the style of the venerable sequence repertoire of St. Victor, found a worthy match in Matteo's musical setting, which drew upon the solemn associations of the isorhythmic motet. In this way, *Ave sancta mundi* / *Agnus Dei* was an act of self-representation, but unlike most papal motets it was a particularly modest one. Peter's apparent humility must have contrasted sharply with the intransigent papal egos that had dominated the previous 20 years. By couching his message in terms of Franciscan spirituality, then, Peter displayed himself to the council members and to the illustrious Louis of Anjou as a poet, scholar, and, most importantly, as a humble friar.

Still, the work surely held a broader significance for those who participated at the Council of Pisa, and it is in this respect that a second and parallel motive appears. As an *Agnus Dei* substitute, the motet embellished the canonical liturgy in a way that any educated Christian could appreciate. The political overtones of the work could hardly have been lost on the listeners. Faced with the task of reuniting the whole of Western Christendom, Peter needed vehicles for his message of reconciliation. As noted above, such a statement of Eucharistic piety as *Ave*

<sup>77</sup> The bull *Regnans in Excelsis* was the latest salvo in the Franciscans's long-standing conflict with the secular clergy, reinforcing the friars's claims of authority over the laity and giving them the right to hear confessions. See Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 389; for a discussion of the friars's conflict with secular clergy in the 14th and 15th centuries, see 339–49. On Alexander V's close relationship with the Franciscans, see M. Creighton, *A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome* (London: Longmans, Green, 1897), 263–65.

*sancta mundi* would have not only enhanced Peter's own standing but served also as a potent symbol of both a unified church and clerical authority, one that was dependent less on the personal resonance of the work and more on its universal appeal.

The foregoing discussion regarding possible contexts for Matteo's motet has been necessarily speculative. Yet we need not assume that Peter wrote the poem during the Council of Pisa, or that Matteo composed his setting in anticipation of Peter's ascension to the papacy. The simple decision on Peter's part to have *Ave sancta mundi* / *Agnus Dei* performed at the council would have brought into play the range of associations outlined here. The mass that opened the penultimate session of the council on July 27 offers a particularly appealing occasion. The collusion of Peter's coronation several weeks earlier, his newfound support from Pisa's neighbors and his *alma mater*, the University of Paris, and the attendance of Louis of Anjou, all suggest that Peter was, at this moment, at the height of his powers. This mass, sung in honor of the Virgin Mary, herself a powerful metaphor of a unified *ecclesia*, surely signaled that a single pope once again presided over a united church.

If Peter's efforts to end the schism were ultimately unsuccessful—he died one year later in Bologna under mysterious circumstances—the aspirations of his papacy were finally realized in 1417 at the Council of Constance, where the Great Schism was brought to a decisive close. It is within the context of Peter's aspirations and personal devotion that we ought to understand the motet in question. With this examination of that context I have endeavored to show that composers and poets employed a variety of strategies in encoding meaning into music and text. While the author of *Ave sancta mundi*—perhaps the new pope himself—echoed the Eucharistic theology of the Franciscan order in his poem, Matteo crafted a musical setting that drew on various generic associations that would speak equally well to a variety of listeners. Together, this poet and composer designed a work that reflected at once the pope and his biography, and at the same time the concerns of a church fractured by a devastating, 20-year-old schism.

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### ABSTRACT

Fifteenth-century Italy witnessed the marked expansion of the patron's role in the composition and performance of music. Despite the concern and resources that Renaissance princes and ecclesiastics devoted to their musical institutions, however, instances of actual collaboration between patrons and composers are quite rare. This essay considers

just such an instance, Matteo da Perugia's *Ave sancta mundi / Agnus Dei*. A careful examination of this early 15th-century Eucharistic motet reveals that the composer's patron, the cardinal and friar Peter of Candia, likely played a crucial role in selecting the motet text, and was very possibly its author. Read within the context of the enduring and influential works of St. Bonaventure and other Franciscan luminaries, *Ave sancta mundi* appears to be not simply a general statement of Eucharistic theology, but rather an articulation of Franciscan piety. The most likely impetus for such an articulation was Peter's election to the papacy in 1409 at the Council of Pisa. As heard at the council, not only would the motet have alluded to Peter's status as a prominent member of the Friars Minor, it would have functioned as a forceful plea for ecclesiastical unity in the face of the Great Schism. Matteo's setting employs several musical strategies, including genre blending and chromaticism, which inflect Peter's text in such a way as to amplify these associations. Through a variety of literary allusions and musical processes, then, patron and composer joined in the creative process, fashioning a work that spoke to Peter's deeply held Franciscan beliefs and the aspirations of his fledgling papacy.