

*A Medieval Scholasticus and Renaissance Choirmaster: A Portrait of John Hothby at Lucca**

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*John Hothby's career as cathedral choirmaster at Lucca is one of the longest, best documented, and most exceptional of any Northern musician active in fifteenth-century Italy. As director of the cathedral school and choir, this Englishman embodied two models of music master: a scholastic trained in the old Trivium and Quadrivium, and a professional maestro di cappella. Fulfilling this double role was but one way in which Hothby differed from his fellow oltremontani by ingratiating himself with his Lucchese patrons, colleagues, and citizens at large. Another was the integration into his curriculum of older pedagogies of local and regional origin, ones designed to appeal to his Italian students. The most important example of such appropriation were the laude that formed a basis for his students' exercises in two-voice mensural counterpoint. The latter appear in I-Lc, *Enti religiosi soppressi*, 3086, one of only two examples of student work to survive from before 1500. These newly discovered exercises thus illuminate not only Hothby's career, but also a hitherto obscure stage of learning by which aspiring singers progressed from strict, note-against-note discant to complex, florid polyphony.*

1. INTRODUCTION

In March of 1486, the Gonfaloniere and nine elders (Anziani) of Lucca wrote a letter of good service for the choirmaster of their cathedral of San Martino. None less than King Henry VII had called home John Hothby (ca. 1430–87), a Carmelite friar whose integrity, learning, and “good nature and liberality in teaching students” the Lucchese officials heartily praised.¹ They

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¹See Appendix at p. 800 below.

added that during Hothby's nearly twenty years of service, his virtues had earned him the gratitude of their populace and should in turn secure the hospitality of those whom he encountered on his travels home. Yet their magnanimity undoubtedly masked their hope that Hothby would return to Lucca: their General Council had encouraged this by granting him the option of reoccupying his post as late as October of 1487. This scenario went unrealized, for in that very month arrived news of his death in England.²

The letter of good service illustrates a valorization of musical pedagogues new in the fifteenth century: as celebrated composers sought positions as *magistri puerorum*, the *maîtrise* (Northern singing school) itself became an important site of creative activity and its directorship acquired added prestige.³ Yet the letter is also the last contemporary witness to Hothby's long and extraordinary career. He was a composer of only minor talent but a remarkably gifted pedagogue, as seen not only in the praise by the Gonfaloniere and Anziani, but also in the activities of his most ardent enthusiasts, his students. Self-described *Hothbiste* and often fellow Carmelites, these progeny ensured the preservation and dissemination of their mentor's treatises — albeit in informal, widely divergent recensions more suggestive of lecture notes than of polished works.⁴

Hothby's professional success owed much to his long, stable residence in Lucca. As cathedral choirmaster he established the first chapel trained to sing the Northern polyphony that had been popular at wealthier Italian centers since midcentury. In a city in which performances of such complex,

²I-Las, Consiglio Generale, 21, 718 (17 February 1486; edited in Brand, 2006, 321–22) establishes Hothby's right of return; I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, A, 1, fol. 82^v (24 October 1487) records the announcement of his death. Reports of Hothby's progress through Germany en route to England had arrived in Lucca six months earlier: *ibid.*, fol. 81^r (19 April 1487).

³Higgins, 1999. With the title of her study, Higgins implicitly equates the term *choirmaster* with that of *magister puerorum*. They in fact denoted distinct offices: the first term is employed to identify the master of the choir; the second, the boys and their school. Hothby acted in both capacities at San Martino.

⁴The term *Hothbista* appears in the ascription of a Guidonian hand to “Presbiter Bartholomeus Hothbista medicinus carmelita” (I-FZc, 117, fol. 35^v). The term reflects the broader concern with musical lineages in the late fifteenth century as related in Higgins, 1999, 168–69; Higgins, 1997, from which the term *progeny* is respectfully borrowed. On Hothby's students and their dissemination of his teachings, see Haar and Nádas, 305–33; Reaney, 1988, 122; Reaney, 1982. Their role in the promotion of Hothby's work recalls the “teaching tradition” centered on the French composer and theorist Philippe de Vitry, and disseminated in the fourteenth century by an equally committed group of disciples: see Fuller.

mensural music, i.e., music of which the rhythms were prescribed by means of musical notation, this had previously been rare, executed by singers from nearby Florence.⁵ The outstanding witness to this new institution is the now-fragmentary collection of sacred polyphony fittingly dubbed the Lucca Choirbook; however, this well-known manuscript belongs to an unusually large and otherwise understudied corpus of sources concerning Hothby's activities at San Martino. These include public acts, payment records, and compendia of music theory treatises, to which are here added a singular example of student exercises in mensural counterpoint, i.e., the combination of two or more independent musical parts.⁶ Collectively these varied materials render Hothby's career among the most richly documented of any Renaissance choirmaster and facilitate a detailed portrait of an English musician *in situ italico*.⁷

Hothby emerges from this evaluation as an exemplary *magister puerorum*, whose program of study was broadly representative of musical curricula throughout Northern Europe. Nevertheless, his Italian residence subtly inflected his teaching of plainsong and polyphony. Hothby cultivated ties with the Lucchese that were utterly atypical of the itinerant, mercenary *oltremontani* who staffed more prominent Italian chapels.⁸ Indeed, the Englishman incorporated local pedagogies into his curriculum for the benefit of his Italian students. Most unusual, however, was Hothby's appeal to the history of the cathedral school, one of the most enduring

⁵On the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September) in 1458, the cathedral canons paid Fl. 3 to "six singers from Florence who were invited to sing in choir" ("sei cantori da Firensa, li quali furuno invitati a cantare in coro"): I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, PP 16, fol. 13^r. The importation of such outsiders was rare (if not exceptional) and underscored the local significance of the feast. The Lucchese had long celebrated their most beloved relic, the wooden sculpture of Christ crucified, known as the *Volto Santo* (Holy Face) on the Exaltation of the Cross. The designation of the singers as "cantori" and the description "in coro" in turn leaves little doubt that they sang mensural polyphony. Compare the payment of 9 February 1448 by the cathedral chapter of Ferrara to the polyphonic chapel of Duke Leonello d'Este, whose ten singers sang "a High Mass in choir on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary" ("missam magnam in coro in die sancte Marie purificationis"): Lockwood, 77n9.

⁶Nerici, 42–43, 92–97, long remained the only study of the archival witnesses to Hothby's residence in Lucca. Brand, 2006, 317–23, provides an updated and comprehensive survey of these documents.

⁷The present study draws on those writings by Hothby most pertinent to his career in Lucca but eschews the broader evaluation of his treatises provided by Blackburn, 318–25; Reaney, 1988.

⁸Among Hothby's leading contemporaries, only Heinrich Isaac established more intimate ties with an Italian city: see Zanovello; Wilson.

establishments of its kind in Tuscany. We begin, then, with the development of the school from the late twelfth century to Hothby's arrival in 1467. Against this historical backdrop, he embodied two distinct models, the first of which was a broadly learned teacher, or medieval scholastic, well-versed in various disciplines of the old Trivium and Quadrivium. The second was a modern *maestro di cappella*, a specialized, professional musician charged with the direction of the entire choir. In fulfilling both roles, Hothby gratified Lucchese nostalgia for bygone eras as well the desire for the most recent types of Northern polyphony.⁹

2. THE CATHEDRAL SCHOOL

The school of San Martino numbers among the best-documented ecclesiastical schools in medieval Italy. Throughout its early history it catered to aspiring clerics and committed laypeople, to whom it offered introductions to all seven liberal arts as well as instruction in plainsong and liturgical custom. Only in the Trecento would it begin to evolve into an establishment resembling a *maîtrise*, or singing school intended for clerics alone, a newer and more specialized type that Hothby would in turn inherit one hundred years later. The earliest notices of the cathedral school date from the eighth century, when it flourished under the patronage of Lombard aristocrats who made Lucca their Tuscan capital.¹⁰ Unusually detailed witnesses emerge from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries: a primer, ordinal (liturgical manual), and capitular constitutions (regulations) illustrate the care with which the sixteen canons of San Martino provided for their school.¹¹ With the bishop, they entrusted its direction to a *magiscolus* (master), who, as one of six chaplains, served with them in

⁹On the enduring adherence to a broad scholastic model by singers and composers of the fifteenth century, see Pirrotta, 1966, esp. 134; reprinted in Pirrotta, 1984, 80–112.

¹⁰See Barsocchini and Bertini, 2.2:26n40, 42n86, 61n103. The early history of the school of San Martino is treated by Caturegli; Schiaparelli. Bullough examines the cathedral schools of medieval Italy in general.

¹¹The primer is preserved in I-Lc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 614 and carries rubrics indicating that Bishop Guglielmo of Lucca (d. 1194) “entrusted” (“tradidit”: fol. 1^r) and “offered” (“obtulit”: fol. 179^r) it to San Martino. A former canon of the cathedral, Guglielmo perhaps collected and edited its contents but was not their author: Arrighi, 1964, xiv–xvii. Three collections of constitutions were issued in the late thirteenth century: the first survives as an original diploma, I-Lc, Archivio Arcivescovile, Dipl. S 160 (1 April 1281) and in I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, LL 40, fols. 31^r–35^r; the second and third are preserved in LL 40, fols. 39^r–42^r (14 March 1284) and LL 43, fols. 191^r–193^r (25 June 1294). The ordinal of San Martino (ca. 1290) appears in I-Lc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 608; on the origins and dating of which, see Brand, 2006, 1–7, 19–20; Giusti, 528–30.

the cathedral choir.¹² He oversaw the education of a roughly equal number of students who received a free education if they came from poor families.¹³ Moreover, admittance was probably open to committed members of the laity as well as to aspiring clerics, as the boys did not take minor orders (as occurred elsewhere).¹⁴

The students would have begun their education by memorizing the Psalms and hymns, which instilled rudimentary knowledge of Latin prose and poetry and prepared them for more intricate chants, the antiphons and responsories of the Divine Office.¹⁵ Following these elementary studies was a secondary curriculum prescribed in the primer, which comprised five anonymous treatises on six of the seven liberal arts.¹⁶ These were practical syntheses of earlier teachings, and concluded with the *Summa musice artis*, a summary of the works of the most influential musical pedagogue of the Middle Ages, Guido of Arezzo (d. after 1033).¹⁷ The *Summa* introduced

¹²In 1273, Bishop Pietro (r. 1272–74) spoke of the office of the schoolmaster, then vacant, as ripe for unspecified reforms. He then made reference to the local custom that granted him two votes and the chapter one vote in that official's election. This in turn conformed to a broader tradition by which Italian bishops had enjoyed the right to select their schoolmasters since the Carolingian period: Manacorda, 2:2, 3–8. Nevertheless, Pietro allowed the canons to select their own *magiscolus*, but stressed that such license would set no precedent for the future: I-Lc, Archivio Arcivescovile, Libri Antichi, 5, fol. 5^v (8 February 1273). For a list of *magiscoli* active at San Martino before 1300, see Nerici, 35–36.

¹³I-Lc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 608, fol. 52^r, assigns a maximum of six students to sing individual chants and thus provides an approximation of the number of them resident at San Martino. That the canons followed the common practice of obliging the *magiscolus* to teach poor boys free of charge in turn indicates the modest means of some students: I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, LL 40, fol. 39^v; cf. Manacorda, 1:70–72.

¹⁴Indeed, the Lucchese consistently differentiated between *scolares* (students) and *acolyti* (acolytes), two classes that were conflated at cathedrals such as Notre Dame of Paris. There the boys adopted minor orders and could thus witness public acts: Wright, 1989, 170.

¹⁵Boynton, 192–95.

¹⁶I-Lc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 614, begins with the dictionary of the eleventh-century grammarian Papias, and continues with the five treatises in question: *De ortographia et grammatica* (fols. 162^r–179^v), *Summa dialetice artis* (fols. 180^r–198^v), *Summa rethorice artis* (fols. 199^r–205^f), *Compendiose tractata in aritmetica [et geometrica]* (fols. 205^v–211^f), *Summa musice artis* (fols. 211^v–212^f).

¹⁷Gastaldelli, 696–97. The *Summa* follows the organization of the *Micrologus*, proceeding from the division of the monochord through modal theory and finally to organum. Interspersed are the following topics from his remaining works: hexachords and solmization (*Epistola ad Michaelem*), notation (*Prologus in antiphonarium*), and melodic formulae, or “constitutions” (*Regulae rhythmicae*). It is published in Seay, 1970, 71–77; Arrighi, 1975, 107–11. A partial redaction of the *Summa* also appears in the *liber officiorum* compiled in 1142 for the cathedral of Piacenza: I-PCc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 65, fols. 263^r–264^f, 268^f. On the relationship between these versions, see Huglo.

novices to the fundamentals of musicianship — intervals, mode (or tonal organization), notation, and simple, improvised polyphony — enabling them to take part in sacred rites at the cathedral. As formalized in the constitutions of San Martino, the boys chanted Mass and the evening office of vespers on high feasts; the night office of matins was evidently too arduous, for it lasted roughly two hours and ended at sunrise.¹⁸ Such duties were light in comparison to those of choirboys at prominent Northern institutions, but nevertheless served the double function of testing musical skills acquired in the classroom and enriching the liturgy of San Martino with young voices. The *magiscolus* ensured the quality of his students' performances, obliging them to rehearse on days before their service and later correcting and punishing those who had made mistakes.¹⁹

Although the training of able choirboys was thus an important function of the cathedral school, music remained but one element in the scholastic program outlined in the primer.²⁰ This broad curriculum catered to the divergent objectives of different students: it prepared some for careers as both clerics and merchants, and paved the way for others to pursue higher degrees at the *studii generali* in Bologna, Padua, and elsewhere. Indeed, such provision for lay education at Italian cathedrals was increasingly unusual in the thirteenth century, as private lay schools provoked its decline or outright demise.²¹ In Lucca, by contrast, the latter obtained prominence only in the Trecento, when the commune supported independent masters who taught the Trivium as well as arithmetic, geometry, and notarial arts. Even experts in philosophy and medicine occasionally appear in its account books.²² Such competition rendered the cathedral school distinctive in its emphasis on singing and

¹⁸I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, LL 40, fol. 40^r. At Notre Dame of Paris, by contrast, the boys chanted Mass, the daytime offices, and matins on Sundays and solemn feasts: Wright, 1989, 180.

¹⁹I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, LL 40, fol. 40^r–41^v.

²⁰Again, this stood in striking contrast with a Northern *maîtrise* such as that at Notre Dame of Paris, where practical music dominated a curriculum that otherwise included the trivial disciplines of grammar and rhetoric, but not logic or the Quadrivium: Wright, 1989, 174–80.

²¹Gehl, 60–62; Grendler, 6–22.

²²Barsanti, 50–65; Lucchesini, 1:22–26. Although Barsanti, 44, asserts that independent lay schools flourished in Lucca from the twelfth century, significant evidence for their operation dates only from the mid-fourteenth. Contrast, for example, the case of the Genoese cathedral school, the decline of which resulted from the development of lay instruction in the twelfth century: see Balbi, 27–28. Likewise suggestive is the dearth of notices of its Siense counterpart after the mid-twelfth century, the very period in which lay establishments began to emerge in Siena: see Nardi, 31–33.

liturgical custom, an advantage that the canons perhaps sought to enhance by searching beyond Lucca for greater musical talent. In 1347 they broke with local tradition by naming a non-Lucchese, Sensio da Siena, to the office of *magiscolus*. It was not an auspicious appointment, for no further record of his residence survives, and he may have perished in the plague of the following year.²³ His brief service nonetheless set a precedent for the residence of his compatriot Matteo di Martino from 1357 to 1401. This Sienese organist performed for the cathedral and city, but also carried the title of *magister cantus*, which suggests broader pedagogical expertise.²⁴ That the canons employed no *magiscolus* during his residence heightens the suspicion that he had taken charge of the choirboys.

The result of Matteo's probable oversight of the school surfaces in the revised capitular constitutions of 1409. The primary impulse behind these updated regulations was the increasing number of chaplains at San Martino.²⁵ During the fourteenth century, the foundation of private chaplaincies at side altars had expanded their ranks from six to roughly fifteen. This enlarged the cathedral choir and created a community of quasi-independent priests, whose salaries derived from private patrons, and not from the canons.²⁶ With such financial independence came new responsibilities: the recipients of the four most prestigious and lucrative chaplaincies, the *mansionarii*, henceforth formed the nucleus of the choir, intoning all the antiphonal and responsorial chants of the Mass and Divine Office.²⁷

Yet the *mansionarii* were not the only chaplains who now wielded greater authority: the *magiscolus* now oversaw the entire choir, an honor

²³I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, LL 58, fol. 60^v (8 July 1347) records Sensio's appointment with a salary of £30 and one bushel of grain. On 6 June 1348 the canons lamented the death of many members of their chapter on account of the plague: *ibid.*, fol. 149^f.

²⁴I-Las, Consiglio Generale, 6, fol. 76 (30 December 1377); I-Las, Consiglio Generale, 7, fols. 17^v–18^f (16 February 1379); published in Nerici, 143n31, 79n7, respectively. The latter document includes the description of Matteo as *magister cantus*. Accounts of his lengthy career appear in D'Accone, 1997, 158; Biaggiani, 50–52.

²⁵The ninety-nine constitutions are preserved in I-Lc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 634.

²⁶Brand, 2006, 291–92, provides a list of beneficed chaplaincies endowed at San Martino in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On such foundations at San Martino and throughout Tuscany, see, respectively, *ibid.*, 125–36; Cohn, 211–23.

²⁷I-Lc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 634, fols. 17^v–18^f. In creating this new position, the Lucchese perhaps emulated institutions such as the cathedral of Verona, where such duties had similarly fallen to one of four chaplains, known as *mansionarii*, since the mid-thirteenth century: see Borders, 121–41.

perhaps acquired *de facto* if not *de jure* by Matteo di Martino.²⁸ Indeed, the canons reserved the right to extend his authority further, and in so doing consolidated their control over his election. Meanwhile, the school no longer adhered to its once-inclusive scholastic model but instead came to resemble a Northern *maîtrise*. Admission was open to clerics, not to the laity; its curriculum comprised “at least reading, singing, [and] liturgical custom” with no mention made of the entire Trivium or Quadrivium. Also new was a stipulation for the boys’ moral education, a nearly universal concern at Northern singing schools and an acknowledgment of the *magiscolus*’ role as a surrogate parent.²⁹ Yet again the new constitutions may have formalized policies previously instituted by Matteo, a professional musician presumably without a firm education in the liberal arts.

The evolution of the cathedral school and its directorship profoundly shaped the selection of Matteo’s successors, the first of whom was yet another foreigner, Agostino da Pisa. Named *magiscolus* in 1415, he received several lucrative benefices and apparently boasted considerable musical talent. Payment records labeled him not only master but also *cantore*, the latter a term never before given to a *magiscolus*. In Florence and Siena it implied expertise in polyphony, an art that Agostino perhaps taught at San Martino but for which no evidence survives.³⁰ His supervision of the entire choir limited his interaction with his pupils, whom two young priests were deputized to oversee during liturgical celebrations.³¹ By 1419, Agostino had

²⁸I-Lc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 634, fol. 13^v: “May the mother church be glorified when her ministers shine forth by virtue of their customs and knowledge. We determine that there must always be one *magister scholarum* in the aforementioned cathedral of Lucca. He will instruct and teach the clerics of that church, as well as those who flock to him from throughout the city, at least reading, singing, ecclesiastical custom, and other virtues and good habits. According to the usual custom, let him be called *magiscolus* and let him be an expert in reading and singing as well as in the church and in all ecclesiastical disciplines. In addition, may he be obeyed in church and have the authority to correct [all clerics] in the choir as well as other rights bestowed upon him in his election by the chapter [of canons]. Let him be provided with benefices of the cathedral and others as deemed appropriate by the lord bishop and chapter. And should these fall short may he draw from the income of the Chapel of the Holy Cross. And thus may learning never be wanting in said school, chapter, and church.”

²⁹Higgins, 1999, 161.

³⁰I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 2, fol. 9^f (1 February 1415), documents the canons’ appointment of Agostino as *magiscolus* and the bestowal upon him of two benefices, the chaplaincy at the altar of Sts. Jason, Maurus, and Hilaria and the rectorship at the nearby Benedictine nunnery of Santa Maria di Pontetto. I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, PP 3, fols. 23^r, 26^v (1415), records payments to Agostino, bestowing upon him the titles of *messer* and *cantore*. On the use of the latter term at the cathedrals of Florence and Siena during the fifteenth century, see, respectively, D’Accone, 1973, 112–13; D’Accone, 1997, 144.

³¹I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 2, fol. 15^r (6 April 1416).

already ceded his post to Angelo Chesini, a local chaplain and longtime *mansionarius*. Angelo's years of service may have rendered him a keen disciplinarian, for he extracted from the canons the authority to expel negligent members of the choir. He remained its master through at least the mid-1420s, when he joined those senior clerics in commissioning an illuminated missal from a local artist.³²

The early decades of the fifteenth century thus marked a turning point in musical life at San Martino. The *magiscolus* was no longer a mere *magister puerorum*, but was responsible for the entire choir in the manner of a modern *maestro di cappella*. The school was a more focused institution with the essential mission, if not the musical sophistication, of a Northern *maîtrise*. Both developments were in fact new to Tuscany, anticipating the reestablishment of cathedral schools in Florence and Pistoia, among other Italian cities. Called *Scuole Eugeniiane* after their founder, Pope Eugene IV (r. 1431–47), they featured curricula similar to that of the Lucchese school, but did not typically vest the director with supervision of the entire choir.³³ The Pistoiese immediately emulated the Lucchese by directing their music master to “moderate and intonate” the singing of all their clerics; however, the Florentines and Sienese followed suit only at the turn of the Cinquecento.³⁴

The development of the school of San Martino in the early fifteenth century laid the foundation for Hothby's own tenure fifty years later.³⁵ His

³²In 1408, Angelo named his brother, Sano, as his procurator, and identified himself as the chaplain at the altar of Sts. John and Blaise: I-Lc, Archivio Arcivescovile, Libri Antichi, 50, fol. 176^r (17 September 1408). By 1411, Angelo had acquired both the post of *mansionarius* and the chaplaincy of St. Appollonia: I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 1, fols. 4^v–5^r (5 and 18 June 1411). The canons' expansion of Angelo's authority as *magiscolus* appears in *ibid.*, fol. 34^v (6 October 1419), and his participation in the compilation of the illuminated missal in *ibid.*, fol. 64^v (6 February 1426).

³³Gambassi, 53–57. The foundation of the Florentine school of 23 March 1436 is published in *ibid.*, 226–30; Seay, 1958, 46–49; cf. D'Accone, 1960, 95–99. The establishment of its Pistoiese counterpart on 29 January 1436 is published in Gambassi, 217–22; cf. *ibid.*, 89–92.

³⁴Gambassi, 221. On the transformation of the Florentine and Sienese schoolmasters into choirmasters, see, respectively, D'Accone, 1971, 8n15; D'Accone, 1997, 276–82. The transformation of the schoolmaster into a fully fledged choirmaster was not confined to Italy. In Antwerp and Cambrai, for instance, *magistri puerorum* also supervised the daily activities of the choir by at least the middle decades of the fifteenth century: see Forney, 7; Wright, 1975, 196, respectively).

³⁵In the intervening years between Angelo's departure in the 1420s and Hothby's arrival in 1467, the post of *magiscolus* fell to a local priest named Battista. I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 2, fol. 99^v (3 July 1436), records payments to the latter for his service as *magiscolus*, while

predecessors, Matteo di Martino and Agostino da Pisa, had established the model of the foreign *magiscolus*, whose professionalism and musical talent reshaped musical life at San Martino. Moreover, they had served as *maestri da cappella* and thus wielded the broad authority that an eminent figure such as Hothby would have surely demanded. Yet if the Englishman owed his position in Lucca to the precocious evolution of its school, his curriculum and intellectual profile evoked the *magiscoli* of its more distant, medieval past. And such an appeal was congruent with Hothby's remarkable efforts to forge close and enduring relationships with his Lucchese patrons, colleagues, and students.

3. HOTHBY AND THE LUCCHESE

The concomitant themes of nostalgia and innovation that so marked Hothby's career at San Martino were evident from the earliest years of his tenure. His activities before his arrival at San Martino remain obscure, but a petition of the cathedral canons to the General Council in 1469 alludes to the circumstances surrounding his initial employment.³⁶ His expertise in mensural music went unmentioned, but not his broader intellect: the canons recalled having nominated Hothby their *magiscolus* after obtaining "reports of his singular learning and superb morals."³⁷ As noted above, the choirmaster's selection had traditionally belonged to these senior clerics, but the council nonetheless supported their efforts by writing a letter to Hothby urging him to accept the position in Lucca. Almost immediately he made use of a collection of sacred polyphony in the complex, modern style by English and Franco-Flemish composers. Now known as the Lucca Choirbook, it was originally executed by 1464 for the chapel of a lay brotherhood based in Bruges, the Merchant Adventurers of London. Only later did the Lucchese banker and resident of Bruges, Giovanni Arnolfini, purchase the manuscript for use at San Martino. Impetus for the gift perhaps

PP 13, fol. 5^r (1450), includes him among those chaplains receiving income for their choral service. He evidently lived to see the first decade of Hothby's own residence, for I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, A, 1, fols. 20^{r-v} (5 January, 9 February 1478) lists a "Dominus Batista de Fantinellis" as one of the most senior chaplains present at a meeting of those junior clerics. All three documents probably refer to the same individual, given the rarity of the name Battista in late medieval and Renaissance Lucca.

³⁶I-Las, Consiglio Generale, 19, 474–75 (20 February 1469; edited in Brand, 2008, 41–42). The only earlier archival witness to Hothby may be the notice of the ordination of a "John Otteby" as subdeacon in the diocese of Northampton on 18 December 1451: Woodley, 52n5; Emden, 2:1409.

³⁷Brand, 2008, 41.

came from Bishop Stefano Trenta of Lucca, who led a papal legation to Bruges from October of 1467 to the summer of 1468.³⁸ An alternate scenario, however, places Hothby in that city in the mid-1460s: there he lived and taught at the Carmelite convent that was home to the Merchant Adventurers' chapel and observed (or even aided in) the compilation of the Lucca Choirbook. According to this hypothesis, news of the Englishman's talents reached the canons via Arnolfini or another Lucchese expatriate in Bruges.³⁹

The canons' petition only briefly describes Hothby's arrival, but provides a more detailed blueprint to his retention for seventeen more years. The canons praise his service thus far and predict that he will henceforth cultivate "so many talented students in music and in the practice of it that he will be not only useful to the clergy but also the highest consolation and praise to the entire people."⁴⁰ Offers of employment from other cities, they warn, jeopardize this promising future, on which account the canons asked the General Council to supplement the salary that Hothby would draw from themselves and the nobleman Nicolao da Noceto. While the council had already intervened by sending Hothby a letter supporting his original nomination, the proposed combination of civic, ecclesiastical, and private support was more unusual: Italian communes regularly maintained private teachers and civic musicians, but rarely cathedral choirmasters.⁴¹ The formula nonetheless befitted a small city without a princely court, and the

³⁸Strohm, 2008b, 31–34; cf. Strohm 1968, 1990, 2002, 2007. Stefano's own letters, published in Mansi, 1:490–501, testify to his legations to Germany, the Low Countries, and England. He was an artistic patron in his own right, commissioning new choirstalls for San Martino in 1448 and a cycle of three large, illuminated antiphoners for the cathedral in the 1470s: see Brand, 2006, 202–07.

³⁹See Haar and Nadas, 340. It must be stressed that Hothby's possible residence in Bruges and role in the compilation of the choirbook remain not only hypothetical, but indeed as points of contention, as seen in Strohm, 2008a, 61–62.

⁴⁰Brand, 2008, 41–42.

⁴¹On civic support for private schoolmasters, see n22 above; on the organist Matteo da Martino in Lucca, see n24 above. Notices of the civic wind band date from 1306 and describe an ensemble of *trombatores* (trumpeters), *ceramella cum tubis* (shawms), and *ceramilla* (drums) accompanying monthly processions at San Martino: Luiso, 98. These instrumental forces were comparable to those then employed in Florence and Siena: see McGee, 728–30; D'Accone, 1997, 420–27. By contrast, direct communal payments to a choirmaster such as Hothby were more unusual, although not unique: in 1521 the General Council of Imola voted to pay Pietro Aaron sixty Bolognese pounds per year for his service at the local cathedral of San Cassiano. See Blackburn, Lowinsky, and Miller, 78–80. I thank Dr. Blackburn for drawing Aaron's case to my attention.

council thus granted Hothby a stipend of twenty-four ducats per annum, which actually exceeded the fourteen provided by the canons.⁴²

The Englishman was surely not an idle bystander to such negotiations and likely facilitated them with offerings of musical gifts. Hothby had already composed just such a work for Lorenzo de' Medici, a three-voice setting of the Florentine's own poem, "Amor ch'ai visto."⁴³ Equally suggestive are his two encomia to Lucca, which date from before 1474 and which perhaps accompanied the canons' petition or were gestures of thanks after its approval.⁴⁴ "Ave sublim' e triumphale" lauds a cross "made by angelic hands" and bestowed upon the populace by God.⁴⁵ This was surely the sculpture of Christ crucified known as the *Volto Santo* (Holy Face), the most treasured relic in San Martino and an object of intense civic pride. "Diva panthera" honors another emblem of Lucca, the panther, which embodied an unnamed "glorious city" in its incessant drive for "power, glory, honor, and noble fame."⁴⁶ Whatever the precise occasion for their creation, these works underscored both the civic and ecclesiastical support that facilitated Hothby's lengthy residence in Lucca. Moreover, they

⁴²These payments appear in one of the few account books of the Lucchese commune to survive from the late fifteenth century: I-Las, Camarlingo Generale, 118, fols. 268^r–273^f (8 May 1470 to 6 September 1472). I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 4, fol. 69^v (1 November 1469), establishes the salary that Hothby drew from the cathedral chapter during his second term. Subsequent payments are similarly recorded in the canons' acts — *ibid.*, fol. 127^v (7 January 1475 and October 1475); *ibid.*, fol. 154^f (16 December 1476) — as well as in their account books, I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare PP 22, fols. 19^f (1474); 21^f–22^v (1475); 23^v, 26^f (1476); 27^v–29^f (1477).

⁴³All nine of Hothby's surviving polyphonic works are preserved in I-FZc, 117 (the Faenza Codex) and published in Seay, 1964a. A recently discovered source, I-Mac, 518, presents "Amor ch'ai visto" with text underlay, thus revealing the work to be a setting of Lorenzo's poem: see Memelsdorff, 20–23. Hothby probably composed it before 17 November 1469, when he wrote to Lorenzo and asked him to intercede on behalf of the priest Andrea Ciampanti, who was awaiting episcopal confirmation for his nomination to a chaplaincy at San Martino: see Haar and Nádas, 291–303. The letter is published in *ibid.*, 299n16; Seay, 1956, 193–94. Andrea's petition appears in I-Lc, Archivio Arcivescovile, Collazioni, R, fol. 252^f (12 October 1467); cf. Concioni, 271.

⁴⁴They would thus constitute prime examples of Renaissance gift exchange as described in Wegman, 2005. The *terminus ante quem* for Hothby's polyphonic works derives from the years 1473–74, in which they were copied into I-FZc, 117: Seay, 1964a, vii.

⁴⁵Memelsdorff, 16; cf. *ibid.*, 19. This work would have been a fitting adornment to the local festivities on the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September), a feast associated with the *Volto Santo* and for which the cathedral canons had hired six singers from Florence in 1458: see n5 above.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 16; cf. *ibid.*, 18–19.

would acquire a didactic function, as models of mensural counterpoint for Hothby's students.

To the canons and commune were joined a third patron of Hothby, the nobleman Nicolao da Noceto, named in the aforementioned petition. Although his family had originated from Piacenza, Nicolao's grandfather had obtained Lucchese citizenship for himself and for his descendants in 1445.⁴⁷ Nicolao's father, Pietro, maintained his ties with Lucca while he obtained prominence as secretary to Pope Nicholas V: in 1452, the Anziani asked him to intercede with the pontiff on behalf of their cathedral chaplains, who were embroiled in litigation with nearby monasteries over disputed property.⁴⁸ Following Nicholas's death three years later, Pietro retired to Lucca, marrying his son Nicolao into the preeminent family of the city, the Guinigi, and purchasing their imposing *palazzo* just two years before his death on 18 February 1467.⁴⁹ Although still a minor upon his father's passing, Nicolao maintained his place within the local elite, frequently serving as a city elder.⁵⁰ Most impressive was his renovation of the chapel situated off the transept of San Martino and dedicated to its most revered saint, the archbishop and martyr Regulus. Five days after Pietro's death, the bishop and canons granted Nicolao license to commission a new altar and an adjacent funeral monument to his father.⁵¹ He entrusted the work to the celebrated sculptor Matteo Civitali, who underscored the father's erudition and son's ambition with a classicizing, monumental style and the prominent inclusion of the Noceto and Guinigi stemma.⁵²

Even as Nicolao established himself as an artistic patron, he emerged as a crucial, if somewhat erratic, supporter of music. With Hothby surely in mind, he endowed a chaplaincy at the new altar, conferring an annual

⁴⁷Gualdo, 794–95.

⁴⁸I-Las, Anziani al tempo della libertà, 532n32, fol. 118^v (26 May 1452) and fol. 119^r (2 June 1452). Two years later the Anziani again wrote to Pietro in the hope of enlisting the pope's assistance in bringing Giovanni Arnolfini back to Lucca: see Strohm, 2008b, 31; Mirot and Lazzareschi, 1940, 98.

⁴⁹Gualdo, 803–04.

⁵⁰Nicolao's successful petition to the General Council that he enjoy the full benefits of Lucchese citizenship indicates that he had not yet reached maturity: I-Las, Consiglio Generale, 19, 256 (11 March 1467). This presumably meant that he was not yet twenty-two years old, the minimum age at which one might be elected to the office of Anziano: Brachel, 88. Nevertheless, Nicolao first served in this capacity only in 1476, after which he did so repeatedly until his death in 1487: see *Regesti*, 4:xxvi–xxxvii.

⁵¹I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, T+16, fols. 1^v (23 February 1467): see Brand, 2008, 44–45.

⁵²Brand, 2008, 27–32. For the most complete survey of and bibliography on Matteo Civitali's entire output, see *Matteo Civitali e il suo tempo*.

stipend of thirty-six ducats and reserved for a *magiscolus* well-versed in *cantus figuratus*, or mensural polyphony. The benefice was perhaps the canons' precondition for the privilege of renovating Regulus's chapel, and thus not necessarily an indication of a personal interest in music on Nicolao's part. Indeed, he waited no fewer than four years to release the requisite property, only then endorsing Hothby's candidacy.⁵³ The result, however, remained the doubling of the choirmaster's total salary to the unprecedentedly large sum of seventy-four ducats. This surely moved Hothby to craft his third musical offering to Lucca, ornate plainsong, or music for one part, in the form of nine prolix responsories for St. Regulus. Non-mensural and thus markedly old-fashioned, they nevertheless surpassed in scope and sophistication the aforementioned polyphonic songs "Ave sublim' e triumphale" and "Diva panthera."⁵⁴

By the early 1470s, Hothby had thus established the economic foundation of his career in Lucca with the steadfast support of the cathedral canons. Indeed, the latter exceeded their now-established role as mere nominators of the *magiscolus* to become patrons of music in the manner of the *opere* (cathedral works) in Florence and Siena.⁵⁵ Hothby now focused his efforts on gaining the confidence of his fellow chaplains, whose number and importance to musical life at San Martino had grown steadily over the previous two centuries. Their rise culminated in their formation of a university, or corporation, similar to the much older chapter of canons. Governed by a prior and subprior, it held regular meetings; issued official acts; and oversaw the land, the income from which was disbursed to its members in return for their service in the choir.⁵⁶ Designed to protect the

⁵³I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, T+16, fols. 2^v–3^v (26 August 1471): see Brand, 2006, 318. Nicolao's endorsement of Hothby, to whom he simply ascribed a "laudible life, good habits, and sufficient knowledge," contrasts with the more flattering descriptions of the Englishman offered by the Anziani and cathedral canons: see the Appendix below; n36 above.

⁵⁴Brand, 2008, 32–38. The responsories survive as *unica* in the choirbook I-Lc, Opera del Duomo, 4, fols. 97^r–110^r: see Brand, 2009.

⁵⁵D'Accone, 1997, 27–29; D'Accone, 1961, especially 309–10nn7–8; Tacconi, 25–26. More broadly, the Lucchese canons' advocacy on Hothby's behalf contrasts with the perceived unimportance of ecclesiastical patronage of music generally, as described in Bowers.

⁵⁶On the foundation of the University of Beneficed Chaplains, see its first register, I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, A, 1 (1474–81), on the opening *folium* of which a later hand has inserted the note: "This is the first manual after the order, given and sworn on 18 June 1470, that a prior [*sindico*] must be elected with the authority to convene the chaplains and University every year before the feast of St. Peter [29 June]" ("Questo è il primo manuale dopo l'ordine dato e giurato nel 1470 a 18 Giugno di doversi eleggere un sindaco con facolta a convocare i cappellani e l'università ogni anno avanti San Piero"). The chaplains' common

interests of these junior priests, the university nonetheless admitted *cappellani pueri* (unordained choirboys), thereby blurring the traditional distinction between students and the cathedral clergy.⁵⁷

During Hothby's early years at San Martino, he showed himself to be well-disposed to his colleagues by twice advocating on behalf of individual chaplains; however, he curiously waited six years to request his own membership in the university, despite its financial benefit to him.⁵⁸ The chaplains accepted the belated petition due to the "weight and vigor" brought to the cathedral choir by Hothby, but doubts about his commitment lingered.⁵⁹ His frequent absences from the chaplains' meetings may have resulted in part from regular trips to Florence, where he maintained contact with Northern musicians and their most important patron, Lorenzo de' Medici.⁶⁰

Even more worrying to the chaplains was Hothby's search for additional benefices. Such positions were highly prized among *oltremontani*, who usually sought them in their homelands, thus drawing salaries *in absentia*.⁶¹

property originated in the decree of Pope Eugene IV that these clerics be allowed to appropriate the income from the deserted monastery of San Pantaleone in Massa Pisana. Here the pontiff cited the depreciation of the chaplains' individual benefices, many of which yielded less than Fl. 10 annually. Eugene's bull of 24 August 1440 appears in Mansi, 3:423. Such diversion of revenue from benefices and institutions was a common strategy of musical patronage in the Quattrocento: Starr, 238–46.

⁵⁷In 1481, for instance, the university ordered the youngest two chaplains "who were ordained" to serve as deacon and subdeacon at Mass on the feast of St. Paulinus (12 July): I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, A, 1, fol. 50^r (8 July 1481). That some chaplains had not obtained major orders is confirmed in an act exempting four *cappellani pueri* from choral service so that they would have time to study: I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, B, 2, fol. 172^v (5 September 1497). The admittance of choirboys may explain why the junior clerics referred to their community as a *schola*, a term that had always denoted a school in local parlance: e.g., I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, A, 1, fol. 4^r (13 June 1474).

⁵⁸I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, A, 1, fol. 13^v (28 January 1477): see Brand, 2006, 319–20. Hothby had interceded with Lorenzo de' Medici on behalf of Andrea Ciampanti in 1469 (see n43 above), and two years later asked the canons to exempt the chaplain Santo from choir on ferial days: I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 4, fol. 90^r; see Brand, 2006, 318–19. Santo remained at San Martino until 11 June 1475, by which point he had obtained the office of *mansionarius*: I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, A, 1, fols. 2^r–6^r.

⁵⁹I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, A, 1, fol. 14^r (30 January 1477): "pondus et estus." See Brand, 2006, 320.

⁶⁰I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, A, 1, fol. 15^v (5 May 1477), records Hothby's frequent absences, one of which is ascribed to his professional duties ("causa occupationis"). Hothby tells, moreover, of a conversation in the Medici gardens with Arnolfo Gilliard, singer at the Florentine baptistery and a fellow *oltremontano*: Seay, 1964b, 75; cf. Haar and Nádas, 336–39.

⁶¹Starr, 52–54.

Hothby, by contrast, accrued additional income by obtaining local benefices that in fact carried added duties. On admission to the university, the chaplains forbade him from accepting posts beyond his current one as a simple priest at San Pietro Somaldi.⁶² Their proscription proved futile, for eight months later the congregants of San Pietro elected Hothby their rector, in which capacity he ministered to the faithful and oversaw the properties of that church.⁶³ He was evidently a competent administrator, for in 1485 the cathedral canons named him rector of their dependent, San Vito in Pimorano.⁶⁴ Hothby's failure to search for more distant benefices perhaps reflected the moral integrity frequently noted by his Lucchese patrons; however, it may also have resulted from his inability in finding an able procurator to acquire the papal confirmation such positions required.⁶⁵

By the 1480s, Hothby's accumulating responsibilities evidently provoked his assumption of an assistant. That the *acta cappellani* periodically identify the chaplain Vincenzo di Savino as *magiscolus* or *vice-magiscolus* hints at a close working relationship between the English choirmaster and local chaplain.⁶⁶ The latter presumably directed the choir

⁶²See n59 above.

⁶³As related in I-Las, Archivio dei Notari, 829, fols. 66^{r-v} (30 September 1477), Hothby's election followed the death of the previous rector and Hothby's fellow chaplain at San Martino, Gerardo di Tutto. In his capacity as head priest of San Pietro, Hothby rented land in the nearby town of Marlia to Luiso di Matteo da Aquileia: I-Las, Archivio dei Notari, 1205, fols. 21^r–21^v (26 February 1481).

⁶⁴I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG, 5, fols. 92^v–93^r, 93^v (5 July and 8 July 1485), record the canons' nomination of Hothby and his acceptance of the position, respectively. On 1 April 1486, Hothby's procurator, Francesco di Vani, announced to the archpriest of San Martino Hothby's resignation as rector of San Vito in anticipation of his return to England: *ibid.*, fols. 121^{r-v}.

⁶⁵Both the Anziani and the cathedral canons emphasized Hothby's moral fortitude: see the Appendix below; n36 above. That the Englishman was indeed unable to obtain a capable procurator finds support in his nomination to a third benefice, a chaplaincy at San Pietro Cigoli, by the Lucchese brothers Iacopo and Francesco di Benedetto. Hothby asked Nicolao di Ariano da Parma to expedite papal confirmation in Rome, of which no further notice survives in Lucchese archives. Presumably Hothby was in fact unsuccessful in obtaining the requisite confirmation: I-Las, Archivio dei Notari, 830, fols. 182^r–183^v (16 March 1479).

⁶⁶The first notice of Vincenzo's residence at San Martino was his successful nomination to the chaplaincy of the Holy Cross at that church: I-Las, Spedale di S. Luca, 35, fol. 49^v–50^r (16 January 1460). Evidence for his substitution for Hothby dates from 1480, when the canons ordered him to carry the crozier before the bishop on solemn feasts in the manner of the *magiscolus*: I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 4, fol. 187^v (2 January 1480). The titles applied to Vincenzo di Savino in the *acta cappellani* are as follows: "*magiscolus*": I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, A, 1, fols. 52^r (4 March 1482), 54^r (14 May 1482), 55^v (5 August 1482); "subprior": *ibid.*, fol. 70^r (3 May 1484); "*magiscolus*": *ibid.*, fol. 82^v (24 October

and perhaps taught lessons in the former's absence. Meanwhile Hothby's broader rapport with his fellow chaplains deepened, as evidenced in his election as their subprior in 1484.⁶⁷ The most poignant sign of their esteem and affection, however, was the inclusion of his death notice three years later — not in the records of the canons or commune, but rather in the chaplains' own acts.⁶⁸

Hothby's relationship with these junior clerics proved critical to his establishment of a polyphonic choir at San Martino. Rather than populate this ensemble with previously trained, highly paid *oltremontani*, Hothby drew on the beneficed chaplains for local talent. The lead singers of the choir, the four *mansionarii*, formed the vanguard: in 1489, their number expanded to six because they were "often absent from the church choir for *cantus figuratus*, occasionally detained by sickness, or for another just cause."⁶⁹ Nevertheless, proficiency in mensural music soon spread, and by the turn of the sixteenth century the chaplains were forming ad-hoc groups of roughly eight singers to perform polyphonic votive masses throughout the city. These surely included masses and motets from the Lucca Choirbook, the top voice of such three- and four-voice works falling to the choirboys.⁷⁰

Hothby's establishment of a chapel of local priests was far more economical than hiring Northern singers, and maximized the relatively modest resources of his patrons. The strategy also, however, increased his interaction with his fellow chaplains, with whom his relationship would have otherwise been far less consequential. It in turn exemplified the close relationships formed between Hothby and different sectors of the Lucchese citizenry: ecclesiastical, civic, and private patrons, colleagues such as

1487); "vice-magiscolus": *ibid.*, fol. 84^v (12 June 1488); "magiscolus": *ibid.*, fol. 85^v (16 March 1489); "mansionarius": I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, B, 2, fols. 24^v–29^v (27 February to 3 March 1495); "magiscolus": *ibid.*, fol. 48^v (17 April 1497); "vice-magiscolus": *ibid.*, fols. 49^v–51^f (19 May to 9 June 1497); "vice-precentor": *ibid.*, fols. 52^v–72^v (10 July 1497 to 3 June 1499); "subprior": *ibid.*, fols. 67^v–68^f (8 October to 5 November 1498); "prior": *ibid.*, fols. 68^v, 74^f–85^v (3 December 1498, 1 July 1499 to 21 June 1500); "vice-precentor": *ibid.*, fols. 86^f–93^v (29 July to 17 December 1500).

⁶⁷I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, A, 1, fol. 69^f (5 April 1484). On 4 July 1485, moreover, the chaplains identified Hothby as their prior, evidently a substitute for Cesar Domini Benedicti de Medicis, who returned to that position by 7 November of that year: *ibid.*, fols. 75^v–76^f.

⁶⁸See n2 above.

⁶⁹See Bishop Nicolao Sandonnino's revisions to the capitular constitutions of 1409 in I-Lc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 634, fol. 25^f (1489).

⁷⁰Brand, 2007, 82–85; cf. Strohm, 2008b, 27–28, on the performance of the works preserved in the Lucca Choirbook in its original home in Bruges.

Vincenzo di Savino, and the lay congregants at San Pietro and San Vito. Hardly typical of those *oltremontani* who populated more prominent musical centers, these deep ties between the Englishman and his adopted city found equally prominent expression in his pedagogy.

4. *SCHOLASTICUS, MUSICUS, CANTOR*

The *raison d'être* behind Hothby's appointment at San Martino was his expertise in mensural music, and such a modern art, as shown below, naturally enjoyed prominence in his curriculum. Nevertheless, the fulsome praise lavished on the Englishman by local officials makes no mention of such new music. Instead, it underscores their own nostalgia for an older model of schoolmaster by emphasizing his erudition and breadth of knowledge: Hothby was not a *cantore* (professional singer), but a *musicus* (music scholar), "doctor of music of our city," and "reader in sacred theology." Further underscoring his resemblance to a medieval scholastic rather than to a modern professional, the canons reported that he exceeded his prescribed responsibilities at their church by teaching grammar and arithmetic to the poor.⁷¹ The inclusive character of these lessons foreshadowed those on grammar given by his successor, Antonio di Baldassare, in a public lecture hall.⁷² Under Hothby's direction, then, the school of San Martino was once again the place of general lay instruction.

Congruent with the Englishman's expertise in both the Trivium and Quadrivium was his deep conservatism, which found its most dramatic expression in his notorious exchange with Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja. In his *Musica practica* (1482), this Spanish theorist accused Hothby of blindly following the antiquated teachings of such eminent theorists as Guido of Arezzo and Marchetto of Padua (fl. 1305–19): "For I wish to remove the head, so that the body formed through errors may now become a cadaver and may no longer live."⁷³ Hothby issued a point-by-point refutation littered with approving references to Guido as well as to the equally revered authorities Boethius and Johannes de Muris (d. 1351). Indeed, Hothby matched Ramos's hostility with the acid query, "in how many universities did you read Boethius, you who have not understood these things before?"

⁷¹The appellation "Fratri Johanni de Angelis doctori musice urbis nostre" appears in the communal payments (see n42 above), that of "lector in sacra theologia" and the reports of Hothby's lessons to poor students in the canons' petition to the General Council (see n36 above).

⁷²See n130 below.

⁷³Ramos de Pareja, 92.

You would discover so many things in the teachings of that authority if you wanted to investigate more carefully.”⁷⁴

The return of a broadly educated *magiscolus* who forcefully defended tradition and restored the relevance of the cathedral school to the Lucchese citizenry undoubtedly appealed to the nostalgia endemic to Lucca in the middle and late Quattrocento. Once an assertive Guelph republic, their city had suffered more than a century of decline under despots and foreign subjugation before the reestablishment of a sovereign commune in 1430.⁷⁵ As political leaders reinstated old traditions of civic governance, they also struggled to maintain their independence despite Florentine expansionism. The cathedral canons meanwhile pursued an equally conservative course by largely eschewing the standardized liturgy of the papal court, adopted in dioceses throughout Italy, and preserving many of their own customs of music and ritual.⁷⁶ Indeed, Hothby's aforementioned plainsong for St. Regulus amplified one of the most distinctive elements of the Lucchese liturgy, and thus implicated him in the canons' broader effort against assimilation.

If the erudition of a foreign *magiscolus* recalled the former eminence of a local cathedral school, just as attractive to the Lucchese was Hothby's straightforward, informal style of teaching, that “good nature and liberality” cited by the Anziani and evidenced in his *Dialogus in arte musicae* (ca. 1473–74).⁷⁷ A purported exchange between Hothby and an unidentified student, the dialogue conveys an air of verisimilitude with its meandering course and a casual manner. The disciple poses basic, practical questions on mensural music, to which the master responds with explanations of varying length and detail. Hothby alludes to his use of the Lucca Choirbook as a storehouse of musical examples, citing the appearance of the G-clef in the

⁷⁴Hothby's response, the *Excitatio quedam*, is published in Seay, 1964b, 17–57: quotation at 51. Ramos's screed followed his charge that Hothby had adopted Marchetto's distinction between three sizes of the semitone, the diatonic, enharmonic, and chromatic: cf. part 2, chapters 7 and 8 of Marchetto's *Lucidarium* (1317/18) in Herlinger, 144–57. Hothby admitted to using Marchetto's nomenclature, but noted that he referred only to the quality of the B — flat, natural, or nonexistent — in the semitone, and not its size: see Seay, 1964b, 54–56.

⁷⁵Johnson; Meek, 1978 and 1980.

⁷⁶Bratchel, 293, traces the political challenges of this period and concludes by characterizing the restoration of the Lucchese commune as an exercise in “historical nostalgia.” On the conservative character of the liturgy of San Martino, see Brand, 2006, 158–60.

⁷⁷See the Appendix below for the Anziani's aforementioned letter of introduction. The *Dialogus in arte musicae* is published in Seay, 1964b, 61–76; Seay, 1955. On the dating of this treatise, see Haar and Nádas, 314, which characterizes it (at *ibid.*, 334) as “a personal and informal work, discursive and without a discernible organizational scheme. It is valuable for that very reason as a window into Hothby's temperament.”

anonymous *Missa gloriosus* as preserved there.⁷⁸ This reflected a broader penchant for visual aids: Hothby twice mentions his twenty-four-year-old (and now lost) treatise, whose verse form and illustrations rendered it clear and easily memorized. On such grounds the student approvingly describes it as “little work . . . filled with pictures and images.”⁷⁹

If the *Dialogus* illuminates the style and method of Hothby’s teaching, it also provides a far more nuanced articulation of his conservatism than his response to Ramos de Pareja. His frequent and glowing reference to Boethius, Guido, and De Muris elicits a final query from the student: “from [everything that you say], is it not the authority of the ancients that prevails in such matters?” Hothby responds with caution: “It is in fact the authority of the most erudite that prevails, not only in these matters but in all others, not only in theoretical ones but also in practical ones. . . . Let us indeed beware of contradicting the ancients’ authority. But when discussion of any topic is based in authority, reason, precedent, and contemplation, we acquire the habit of imitating not only antiquity but also those learned men of more recent times. This on the condition that we are perceived to imitate rather than steal the ideas of another.”⁸⁰ While Hothby acknowledges an instinctive (although not unquestioning) deference to authority, he more subtly reveals a second guiding principle: erudition must equally inform *musica practica* (musical performance) and *musica speculativa* (music theory). Indeed, Hothby elsewhere claimed the mantles of a learned *musicus* in addition to a workaday *cantor* and wrote comprehensive treatises with passages as speculative and philosophical as the *Dialogus* is practical.⁸¹

⁷⁸Seay, 1964b, 65.

⁷⁹Ibid., 61–63. On the references to the now-lost treatise, see Haar and Nádas, 315, 334. Hothby similarly recalled his earlier and now-lost *ars poetica* in his *Excitatio quaedam*: Seay, 1964b, 55.

⁸⁰Seay, 1964b, 75–76: “*Discipulus*: Deinde an ne plurimum valet his in rebus priscorum auctoritas? *Ottobi*: Valet sane et multum quidem auctoritas eruditissimorum, nec in hiis modo sed in omnibus aliis disciplinis, nec solum in hiis quae in cognitione veri versantur sed in illis etiam quae in usu posita sunt. Quid enim aliud ut sentiamus monet cum dicat in musicis: Nos vero caveamus aliud ab antiquitatis auctoritate transvertere, nam cum de aliqua re sermo instituitur cum auctoritate, cum ratione atque exemplo, postremo etiam contemplatione magis ad quendam et rei habitum provenimus, quare non antiquitatem tantum imittendam sed recentiores quoque doctos modo ducimur, ita tamen ut non aliena subripere, sed imitari videamur, nec illud praetermittendum est quod dicitis.”

⁸¹Hothby issued two such comprehensive treatises, the *Tractatus quarundam regularum artis musicae* and *Calliopea legale*, of which the second is published in McDonald. Hothby refers to himself as both the *musicus* and *cantor* of San Martino in the receipt of his first payment from the cathedral canons after the completion of his first two-year term: I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 4, fol. 69^v (1 November 1469); see Brand, 2006, 317.

The Englishman's conservatism and commitment to both spheres of musical study find more detailed illustration in three compendia of music treatises. Despite their divergent, and at times uncertain, provenances, they evince affinities suggestive of these two cardinal values (Table 1). F-Pn, lat. 7369 (hereafter *P*) bears colophons that establish its origins with unusual precision.⁸² Its copyist, Matteo di Francesco, was a Servite friar of Ss. Annunziata in Florence who completed its first forty-five *folia* in Lucca in 1471. Other portions of *P* he copied closer to home, for an earlier compendium at Santa Maria Novella served as his exemplar for the *Etymologia* (1), *Dialogus de musica* (3), and a sequence of brief excerpts.⁸³ Matteo identified himself as a student of Hothby, whom he described as a "first master among doctors and musicians as well as most deserving reader in theology." Indeed, he evidently intended *P* as a memorial to the Englishman's curriculum: on its opening *folium* appear two honorary poems by another Carmelite, Giovanni Andrea Ferabos.⁸⁴ More playful was Matteo's adoption of the sobriquet of *Testa Draconis*, evidently an Italianization of the incipit *Caput draconis* appended to the tenor of the *Missa Caput* in the Lucca Choirbook.⁸⁵ Seemingly alluding to the devotion surrounding the dragon's head in the late Middle Ages, it resonates with other examples of play and humor from Hothby's classroom.⁸⁶

⁸²Inventories of *P* appear in Balensuela, 112–18; *The Theory of Music*, 6:198–203. The two colophons are as follows: "Brother Matteo *de Testa Draconis*, a Florentine of the [Servite] order, wrote this work while he labored in the art of music. In Lucca" (fol. 25^r: "Hoc opus scripsit frater Matheus de Testa Draconis de Florentia ordinis dum operam daret artis musicæ. Luce"); "Written by me, brother Matteo da Francesco *de Testa Draconibus*, a Florentine of the Servite order of Santa Maria, while I devoted myself to the study of music under the Englishman, John Hothby, first master among doctors and musicians as well as most deserving reader in theology, 5 March 1471 at about the hour of vespers" (fol. 45^r: "Scripta per me fratrem Matheum Francisci de Testa Draconibus de Florentia ordinis servorum Sancte Marie cum inpendere[m] [*sic*] operam musicæ sub aggregato musicorum quam doctorum primo magistro Iohanne Hotbi anglico nec non theologio lectori meritissimo 1471, die 5 Martii, circa oram vespèrarum"). Haar and Nádas, 306–12; Strohm, 1979, 461, establish the identity of Matteo as the homonymous future prior of Ss. Annunziata in Florence.

⁸³I-Fn, Conventi Soppressi, F.III.565 (ca. eleventh–twelfth centuries), fols. 27^r–44^r (excerpts on Greek notation, proportions, the monochord, modes, scales, and intervals), 33^v–43^v (*Dialogus de musica*), 76^v, 77^r–81^r (*Etymologia*), which appear in *P*, fols. 66^r–75^r, 75^v–79^v, 47^r–59^v, respectively. *The Theory of Music*, 2:25–32, 6:486–90, presents an inventory of the earlier manuscript; Balensuela, 116–17, 269–72, gives a more detailed list of the shorter excerpts.

⁸⁴*P*, fol. iiv; published in Haar and Nádas, 310.

⁸⁵I-Las, Biblioteca Manoscritti, 238, fol. 17^v.

⁸⁶Haar and Nádas, 311, interpret Matteo's adoption of *Testa Draconis* as a reference to the broader *Caput* tradition recently explored by Robertson. Strohm, 2008a, 64–65, likewise acknowledges Matteo's humorous adoption of the incipit but takes a far more critical view of Robertson's study.

Evidence for the relationship between Hothby and the remaining two compendia, I-FI, Plut. XXIX.48 and US-DLC, ML 171 J6 Case (hereafter *F* and *W*, respectively), remains circumstantial. The former drew on the same exemplar at Santa Maria Novella for Guido's works (4–7) as well as the three texts also in *P*.⁸⁷ Deepening the suspicion that *F* presents portions of the Englishman's curriculum is the placement of his own treatises (14 and 17) at its beginning and end. Like *P*, then, *F* was likely copied in Florence, a *terminus post quem* of 1472 provided by its inclusion of the *Proportionale musices* (16), in circulation by that year. By contrast, *W* originated in Northern Italy, the work of a Benedictine monk from Pavia, Giovanni Francesco de' Preottoni. Having completed its first half in Venice in 1465, he began the second sometime after an encounter with a certain "Don John of England."⁸⁸

An examination of the principal treatises in the three compendia immediately evokes Hothby's conservatism. With the exception of Tinctoris's work and those by the Englishman himself, they date largely from late antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Even those texts concerned with mensural music date from the fourteenth century rather than the fifteenth. Particularly prominent are treatises by those authorities so revered by Hothby. Marchetto remains largely absent despite the enduring popularity of his *Lucidarium*, thus belying Ramos's description of Hothby as his follower.⁸⁹ Guido and De Muris in turn predominate via the inclusion of their treatises (4–7 and 9–12, respectively), while Boethius's theories are transmitted indirectly.⁹⁰ De Muris (9) synthesized the entire

⁸⁷Inventories of *F* appear in Di Bacco, 104–21; Balensuela, 97–103; *The Theory of Music*, 3:2, 36–43. Guido's works appear in I-Fn, Conventi Soppressi, F.III.565, fols. 6^r–23^r (*Micrologus*), 23^r–26^v (*Regulae rhythmicae*), 58^v–60^r (*Prologus in antiphonarium*), 60^v–67^v (*Epistola ad Michabelem*).

⁸⁸Inventories of *W* appear in Di Bacco, 208–21; *The Theory of Music*, 4:191–96, 6:731–32; Reaney, 1977, 17–21. Multiple colophons identify Giovanni as the principal scribe of *W*, and fix the place and time of the copying of its first half.

⁸⁹Indeed, Giovanni Francesco gave Marchetto's *Lucidarium* pride of place at the beginning of *W*, but this section of that manuscript is not reflective of Hothby's teachings. Note, however, that *F*, fols. 93^r–97^v, do include a series of excerpts ascribed to Boethius and Marchetto.

⁹⁰Matteo di Francesco amplified De Muris's profile in *P* by mistakenly ascribing to him the *Ars cantus mensurabilis* (fol. 9^r). The enduring popularity of De Muris's theory in fifteenth-century Italy is particularly evident in the continuing interest among music theorists in his *Libellus cantus mensurabilis*. Both Prosdocimo de Beldomandi (d. 1428) and Ugolino d'Orvieto (d. 1457) wrote commentaries on this work, published in Gallo, 1966b; and in the third book of Orvieto, 2:54–266, respectively. As late as 1499, moreover, Gaffurio (d. 1522) copied the *Libellus* into his personal notebook, I-Ma, H. 165 inf., fols. 18^v–22^v.

Table 1. Selected Treatises in Three Late-Fifteenth-Century Compendia*

F-Pn, lat. 7369 (P) (Lucca, 1471)	P and F	I-FI, Plut. XXIX.48 (F) (Florence [?], after 1472)	F and W	US-DLC, ML 171 J6 Case (W)** (Pavia [?], after 1467)
		<u>Late Antiquity</u>		
	Isidore of Seville			
	1. <i>Etymologia</i> , bk. 3, chap. 15–23	Central Middle Ages		
		<u>Aurelian of Réôme</u>		
		2. <i>Musica disciplina</i>		
	Pseudo-Odo			
	3. <i>Dialogus de musica</i>			
8. <i>Summa musicae artis</i>				Guido of Arezzo
				4. <i>Micrologus</i>
				Guido of Arezzo
				5. <i>Regulae rhythmicae</i>
				Guido of Arezzo
				6. <i>Prologus in antiphonarium</i>
				Guido of Arezzo
				7. <i>Epistola ad Michaellem</i>

(continued)

De institutione musica while Hothby derived his rules on proportions (13) from *De institutione arithmetica*. Finally, the *Musica disciplina* was itself a venerable Carolingian tract that quoted liberally from both of Boethius's works.

The selection of treatises in the compendia also illustrates Hothby's equal concern for speculative and practical theory. The former found a champion, not only in Boethius, but also in Isidore of Seville, who divided music into harmonic, organic, and rhythmic types (1). The latter in turn received classic treatments by Pseudo-Odo (3), Guido (4–7), and De Muris (10–12). A more modest yet more suggestive exercise in *musica practica* was the *Summa musicæ artis* (8), that summary of Guido's teachings and the foundation of musical instruction at San Martino since the twelfth century. Matteo di Francesco could have copied Guido's own works into *P*: like the scribe of *F* he had access to them in the older Florentine compendium.⁹¹ His preference for the *Summa* thus underscores the origins of *P* (unlike *F* and *W*) in Lucca. Moreover, the enduring place of this local Lucchese tract in the curriculum of the cathedral school provides the first (of two) cases in which the Englishman adopted older Italian pedagogies, a gracious gesture to Lucchese nostalgia.

If the compendia accord with Hothby's status as a conservative *musicus* and *cantor*, they also reveal the course of study followed by the aspiring singers as they progressed from medieval plainsong to modern polyphony under his tutelage. Students mastered basic theory and chant according to the precepts of Pseudo-Odo and Guido, which Hothby supplemented with more speculative topics such as the Greek genera, or three types of scales (14).⁹² Lessons on *cantus figuratus* derived principally from De Muris (10 and 12), albeit modified to reflect developments of the fifteenth century, of which the most challenging was the use of complex proportions. Hothby explored both their mathematical foundation (13) and musical application in *modus cum tempore* signs, the combination of mensuration signs (analogous to modern time signatures) and proportions to indicate *modus* (the length of the two largest note values, the maxima and the long) (17).⁹³ He also employed the latter in his motet, "Ora pro nobis," an exercise in proportional notation, to the complexity of which its incipit wittily

⁹¹That Matteo indeed considered the *Summa* to be a substitute for Guido's own works finds tentative confirmation in his explicit remark to that text, "Micrologus musicæ artis finit" (*P*, fol. 65^v), which in turn evoked Guido's *magnum opus*.

⁹²Hothby devotes two chapters to the Greek genera in his *De musica intervallosa* (14), which was an excerpt from his comprehensive *Tractatus quarundam*: *F*, fols. 4^{r-v}, 6^r.

⁹³See Hothby's *Regulæ cantus mensurati* (17) in *F*, fols. 119^v–120^v; Reaney, 1983, 19–24. Hothby's explanation of *modus cum tempore* signs was one of several that circulated in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: see Busse Berger, 1993, 20–23.

alludes.⁹⁴ Ironically, this convention was proscribed by none other than Tinctoris (16), who rejected the use of mensuration signs to show modus. If indeed Hothby introduced the *Proportionale* into his classroom, it would have surely provoked lively discussions on the finer points of mensural theory.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, performance of polyphony such as “Ora pro nobis” demanded knowledge of counterpoint as well as of notation. In this case, medieval authorities proved to be less useful: De Muris’s *Ars contrapuncti* (11) provided only general guidelines concerning discant, i.e., where only one note in one voice sounds against one in another voice. It focused instead on the advanced topic of diminished counterpoint, whereby a florid cantus proceeds in smaller rhythmic values against a slow-moving tenor.⁹⁶ Elementary study, by contrast, involved the memorization of simple formulas provided in Hothby’s own *Regulae contrapuncti* (17).⁹⁷ Students learned the seven consonances formed with a fixed tenor, beginning with the tenor C, and continued on to the remaining syllables of the natural hexachord, i.e., the six notes between and including C and A.⁹⁸ Next they mastered interval progressions organized by the first interval between cantus and tenor (either an octave or a twelfth) and secondarily the motion of the tenor.⁹⁹ The first rule thus governed progressions an octave apart in which the tenor ascends a step (ex. 1).

Hothby’s interval progressions were the stock of medieval counterpoint manuals and had circulated throughout Europe since the early thirteenth century via practical tracts such as the Vatican Organum Treatise.¹⁰⁰ The consonances against a fixed tenor, by contrast, recall more particularly an

⁹⁴I-FZc 117, fols. 26^v–27^r; Seay, 1964a, 4–7. That the work indeed served a pedagogical function finds support in the recopying of the tenor in shorter, more easily understood values, precisely the sort of exercise Hothby would have assigned his students.

⁹⁵Tinctoris, 2a:53–56. Note also that in “Ora pro nobis” Hothby also contravenes the *Proportionale* by relating the proportions to the integer valor established at the beginning, rather than to immediately preceding sections: Seay, 1964a, ix.

⁹⁶Di Bacco, 294–319.

⁹⁷F, fols. 118^r–119^v; Reaney, 1977, 63–69.

⁹⁸Hothby underscores the necessity of memorization, noting, “so that this knowledge might appear more clearly, I have arranged by memory six other universal rules of the most perfect counterpoint over six chords of the monochord”: Reaney, 1977, 67; cf. Busse Berger, 2005, 130–58.

⁹⁹While counterpoint manuals of this period variously describe the second (i.e., non-tenor) voice as the “cantus,” “discant,” or “counterpoint,” I use only the first term in this way and reserve the second and third for polyphonic styles.

¹⁰⁰The Vatican Organum Treatise, however, diverges from the common approach of Hothby and others by including florid elaborations in its illustrations of simple interval progressions. The text is preserved in I-Rvat, Ottob. lat. 3025, fols. 46^r–50^v; see also Godt and Rivera. On this treatise, see most recently, Busse Berger, 2005, 119–28; Immel. Sachs provides a broader survey of counterpoint manuals of the period.



EXAMPLE 1. Interval progressions at the octave from Hothby, *Regulae contrapuncti*. F, fol. 118^v.

older, fourteenth-century Italian technique, the *regola del grado*. With the *Summa musice artis*, then, they reveal the Englishman's adoption of long-standing teaching tools from Italy and, by extension, his deference to Lucchese nostalgia. The last of four surviving treatises to preserve this "rule" is *De arte contrapuncti* (15), received, as previously noted, by Giovanni Francesco from an English prior named John. Presumably at the latter's behest, he clarified the text via its translation into Italian, and by adding musical examples with the tenor in black ink and the cantus in red.¹⁰¹ Its first six chapters organize consonances into the four "degrees" according to the range between cantus and tenor. The *grado dei pari* governs intervals in which the voices occupy the same hexachord, those of the *quattro*, *quinto*, or *ottava* in ones a fourth, a fifth, and an octave apart. Its final four chapters apply this classification to interval progressions, but because they are unique to the *regola* complex they are probably later additions to it.¹⁰²

That Hothby was not a prior does not exclude his identification with the homonymous Englishman: Giovanni may have intended the term *prior* as a mark of distinction rather than indication of rank.¹⁰³ A plausible scenario would posit Hothby's discovery of the *regola del grado* upon his arrival in Italy. As with the *Summa musice artis*, he adopted the Italian rule, but

¹⁰¹W, fol. 81^r: "Here begins the first tract of *De arte contrapuncti* according to the venerable prior, lord John of England, which he himself directed to the venerable monk, lord Giovanni Francesco *de Pretonibus* of Pavia. And so that it might be better learned and understood, I copied it in [my] mother tongue and added musical notation, drawing the tenor in black ink and the contratenor [i.e., *cantus*] in red." ("Incipit primus tractatus *De arte contrapuncti* secundum venerabilem priorem dominum Johannem de Anglia, quem ipse direxit ad venerabilem monachum dominum Johannem Franciscum de Preotonibus de Pavia, et ut melius adiscatur atque intelligatur, in lingua materna descripsit ac notavit, ponendo tenorem in nigro colore et contratenorem in rubeo"). *De arte contrapuncti* is published in Reaney, 1977, 25–33. The alternate three recensions of the *regola del grado* appear in I-Fl, Redi 71, fols. 24^v–28^r (early fifteenth century); I-Ma, I. 20 inf., fols. 28^v–30^v (after 1440). On the *regola del grado* in general, see Busse Berger, 2005, 131–38; Scattolin, 1979, 30–31; Scattolin, 1989, 395–99.

¹⁰²Scattolin, 1979, 30–31; Scattolin, 1989, 396.

¹⁰³The Italian equivalent, *priore*, sometimes functioned in this way: Battaglia, 14:391. The remainder of the paragraph elaborates on the hypothesis put forth in Haar and Nádás, 317.

expanded it to include interval progressions. Extending this hypothetical thread, Hothby met Giovanni in the latter's hometown of Pavia, where he attended the lectures of Johannes Gallicus (d. 1473). If this encounter occurred after Hothby's appointment at San Martino, then it was surely the impetus to Giovanni's completion of *W* with treatises drawn from Hothby's curriculum.¹⁰⁴ Yet whenever it transpired, their meeting resulted in Giovanni's clarification of *De arte contrapuncti* for the benefit of an expanded readership in Northern Italy. Graphic illustrations, Hothby's preferred tool, greatly elucidated prose that, following the *regola* tradition, employed solmization (or solfège) syllables rather than note names. The translation likewise rendered less obscure the work of an Englishman whose grasp of Italian prose remained uncertain.¹⁰⁵ In Lucca, Hothby continued to modify the *regola del grado* through regular use in the classroom, at last arriving at the much simplified, Latin version in the *Regulae contrapuncti* (17).

If Hothby's program in mensural polyphony combined French and Italian traditions, the authoritative teachings of Johannes de Muris and anonymous *regola del grado*, its end was not the performance of discant, but rather of the more advanced technique of diminished counterpoint on which modern polyphony was based. De Muris (11) again provided a point of departure, progressively diminishing one cantus over a fixed tenor in the four standard mensurations (i.e., meters), dividing their breves (i.e., double whole notes) and semibreves (i.e., whole notes) into smaller rhythmic values.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, diminished counterpoint proved less amenable than discant to general rules or memorization, as seen in Hothby's own *Spetie tenore del contrapunto*.¹⁰⁷ A collection of examples of imitation, syncopation, and *musica*

¹⁰⁴In his *Excitatio quaedam*, Hothby briefly recounts his presence at Johannes Gallicus's lecture in Pavia, describing the latter as his *condiscipulus* (fellow student): Seay, 1964b, 51–52. This suggests that the encounter took place when Hothby was relatively young, and thus before his arrival in Lucca; however, Haar and Nádas, 304, 339–40, argue that the term *condiscipulus* simply refers to the two theorists' shared devotion to Boethius, and that Hothby's stay in Pavia in fact occurred during his first term at San Martino (1467–69). This scenario would situate his meeting with Giovanni Francesco after the latter's completion of the first part of *W* in 1465 and, as Haar and Nádas note, may have contributed to the canons' fear that he would accept more lucrative employment elsewhere, a fear expressed in their petition to the General Council: see n36 above.

¹⁰⁵That Hothby was not yet fluent in Italian finds confirmation in the rough style of his aforementioned letter to Lorenzo de' Medici of 1469: see Haar and Nádas, 299; cf. n43 above.

¹⁰⁶Di Bacco, 304–16.

¹⁰⁷GB-Lbl, Add. 36986, fols. 26^r–30^r; Reaney, 1977, 81–94. Although unattributed, it is one of seven counterpoint manuals to appear between Hothby's *Tractatus* (fols. 2^r–24^v) and *Calleopea legale* (fols. 35^r–40^r), one of which is Hothby's *Regulae contrapuncti* (fols. 31^v–32^v) and another of which is attributed to a "magister Matheus," likely the scribe of *P*,



EXAMPLE 2. Two (of eight) examples of diminished counterpoint. From *Spetie tenore del contrapunto*, ed. Reaney, 1977, 91–92.

ficta (i.e., chromatic alteration of pitches), it concludes with eight diminished cantus related to each other only by virtue of their shared tenor (ex. 2). Hothby also diverged from De Muris in offering only the briefest of commentaries, advising his students to proceed similarly and “as dictated by necessity.”¹⁰⁸

Lucchese officials underscored their own traditionalism by limiting themselves in their public acts to general affirmations of Hothby’s scholastic profile. The Englishman’s own writings and the three compendia of music theory treatises affirm their characterization, but provide a broader and more nuanced view of his curriculum. The ease and clarity of his didactic style deepened the goodwill that Hothby elicited from the Lucchese. So too did his evident acceptance (or even encouragement?) of play and humor, a strategy surely adopted by many medieval and Renaissance teachers.¹⁰⁹ His use of local and regional pedagogies illustrates an unusual engagement with the older teaching traditions of his adopted land. Indeed, both the Lucchese *Summa musice artis* and the Italian *Regola del grado* reinforced the otherwise traditional character of Hothby’s instruction. Such medieval authorities as Boethius, Guido, and De Muris underscored Hothby’s broader conservatism as displayed in his persona as an erudite *musicus* and scholastic polymath, one that in turn cemented his exalted status among the citizens of a nostalgic city-state.

Nevertheless, the prescriptive treatises found in the three compendia illuminate the broader contours of Hothby’s curriculum more clearly than the details of its ultimate stages in modern, mensural music. These last steps nevertheless find a rare witness at the conclusion of an unattributed counterpoint manual associated with Hothby or his pupils.¹¹⁰ Following a routine treatment of strict discant, there follows this more unusual discussion of the “practice” of

Matteo di Francesco. On the challenges faced by late medieval theorists in codifying the practice of diminished counterpoint in prescriptive treatises, see Busse Berger, 2005, 152; and Leech-Wilkinson, 175–76.

¹⁰⁸Reaney, 1977, 91.

¹⁰⁹Long, 274–83.

¹¹⁰See Reaney, 1977, 44–58. The anonymous *Tractatus de contrapuncto* precedes a series of treatises ascribed to Hothby in I-Vnm, lat. VIII.82, fols. 69^r–114^r, and associates the first rule, namely the definition of counterpoint, with a “master John in the choir,” perhaps an allusion to the English choirmaster: Reaney, 1977, 44.

counterpoint: “Make for yourself a tenor in writing, for instance an antiphon, Kyrie, or whatever you like. Afterwards compose according to the aforementioned rules. Begin your phrase with a perfect consonance, extend it according to those rules, make the penultimate consonance imperfect, the final one perfect. Do this frequently, for the drop of water pierces stone by falling not once but many times. Thus the builder is compelled to work not once but often. If you want to know how to compose, take a similar approach. And by composing you will learn how to sing discant, which is what you want to know at present.”¹¹¹ Although the directions bring to mind the familiar picture of choirboys improvising *super librum* (i.e., against a preexistent chant), the second person singular and the verb *compose* intimates writing.¹¹² The dearth of surviving exercises from the Quattrocento does not preclude this scenario: pupils may have used erasable tablets or simply discarded their work after its completion.¹¹³ Indeed, additions to the Lucca Choirbook indicate that Hothby encouraged such study: the Credo of the *Missa Hec dies* carries an added cantus and the final Magnificat constitutes an extended exercise in three-voice counterpoint on the tenor of his song for Lorenzo de’ Medici, “Amor ch’ai visto.”¹¹⁴ These were nonetheless the work of students who had already executed the type of basic, two-voice essays described in the anonymous counterpoint manual, ones that were not intended to train composers, but rather singers. Such elementary efforts survive, however, in the Lucchese archives: drops of water piercing the proverbial stone, these exercises reveal how students at San Martino integrated their study of discant and mensural notation, thus preparing themselves for the complexities of the modern polyphony preserved in the Lucca Choirbook.

¹¹¹Reaney, 1997, 58: “Fac tibi unum tenorem in scriptis, unam scilicet antiphonam vel Kyrie vel aliud quodcumque libuerit tibi. Postmodum compone ut volunt praedictae regulae, incipiendo a specie perfecta; dehinc illi speciei requisitum dando discursum per regulas continuando, penultimam imperfectam faciendo, et perfecta specie finiendo. Et hoc frequenter facias, nam gutta cavat lapidem, non vi, sed saepe cadendo; faber itaque efficitur non semel sed saepe fabricando. Tu etiam qui cupis habere huius notitiam, similiter facias, et ita cito praticam hababis componendi. Praticaque componendi tibi praticam dabit biscantandi, id quod in praesenti scire cupis.”

¹¹²Wegman, 1996, 433–34.

¹¹³A rare example of student work to have survived from before 1500 is a collection of now-fragmentary exercises in two-part counterpoint dating from the early fifteenth century, and evidently executed by at least two vicars at the Ste-Chapelle of the Bourges Palace: see Higgins, 1990a, 692. Perhaps the earliest surviving reference to the use of tablets for counterpoint exercises comes from that same institution: in 1407–08 payment was made for “six tablets for the boys’ counterpoint” as reported in Higgins, 1990b, 9. On the role of tablets in musical instruction in general, see Owens, 89–94.

¹¹⁴Strohm, 2008b, 27, 30; Haar and Nádas, 348–53. The latter offer an alternate scenario by which the second cantus of the *Missa Hec dies* was original to the composition and drawn from another exemplar while Hothby oversaw the compilation of the Lucca Choirbook in Bruges.

5. HOTHBY'S STUDENT AT WORK

The contrapuntal exercises appear as later additions in the final two *folia* of an inventory of the cathedral sacristy drafted in 1409 (figs. 1–4).¹¹⁵ The style of their notation conforms to that of the late fifteenth century and thus indicates that their execution occurred during or shortly after Hothby's residence.¹¹⁶ Equally suggestive is an affectionately rendered profile, the smile of which evokes Hothby's kind demeanor, and an exaggerated chin (or perhaps simply a long goatee) evokes the sense of humor that has elsewhere emerged from his classroom (e.g., "Ora pro nobis" and *Testa Draconis*: fig. 1). The haphazardly notated semibreves, minims, and semiminims — whole, half, and quarter notes, respectively — allude to his expertise in mensural music; the cap, perhaps to his broader erudition via its resemblance to those worn by humanists in contemporary Italian paintings.¹¹⁷

Further evidence that the exercises were indeed the work of one of Hothby's students appears among these essays themselves. Large calligraphic letters seem to be an approximation of the initials in the Lucca Choirbook (fig. 4). Likewise evocative of the classroom is a stock verse of the sort employed by late medieval grammarians to differentiate synonyms, homonyms, and (as in this case) words with different meanings (fig. 2). "He who clears [*putat*] cuts [i.e., a forest of trees], he who ponders [*putat*] turns [something] around in his head. For it is said in this way."¹¹⁸ Such

¹¹⁵See I-Lc, *Enti religiosi soppressi*, 3086; published in Guidi and Pellegrinetti, 213–33. Dr. Laura Macchi discovered the musical additions to the inventory and I thank her for bringing them to my attention. Prof. Reinhard Strohm had originally planned to study them but kindly encouraged my own examination.

¹¹⁶Compare, for example, two examples of mensural notation likely inscribed by Hothby's students. The first is the aforementioned Magnificat likely composed by them in the Lucca Choirbook: I-Las, *Biblioteca Manoscritti*, 238, fols. 57^{r-v}. The second is a brief mensural tune written on the cover of an episcopal register of the late 1470s, the notation of which appears to be roughly coeval with the register itself: I-Lc, *Archivio Arcivescovile, Libri Antichi*, 112. The tune seems to be the cantus of a polyphonic work, although I have been unable to identify its source in the Lucca Choirbook or elsewhere.

¹¹⁷See, for instance, Ghirlandaio's portrait of Marsilio Ficino, Cristoforo Landino, Agnolo Poliziano, and Gentile de' Becci in the *Angel Appearing to Zacharias* (1486–90) located in the Tornabuoni Chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence. I thank Prof. Louis Waldman for kindly alerting me to the possible association of the cap.

¹¹⁸I-Lc, *Enti religiosi soppressi*, 3086, fol. 8^v: "Qui putat incidit, putat qui mente revolvit. Dictum est enim quomodo." Compare the verse "he who laments weeps, he who beats strikes" ("qui plangit plorat, plangit qui percutit") from Guarino's *Carmina differentialia* (ca. 1414–19), edited in Percival, 164 (l. 220). On the use of such phrases in secondary education in general, see Black, 160–61. I thank Prof. Black and Leofranc Holford-Strevens for kindly alerting me to the didactic use of this type of verse.

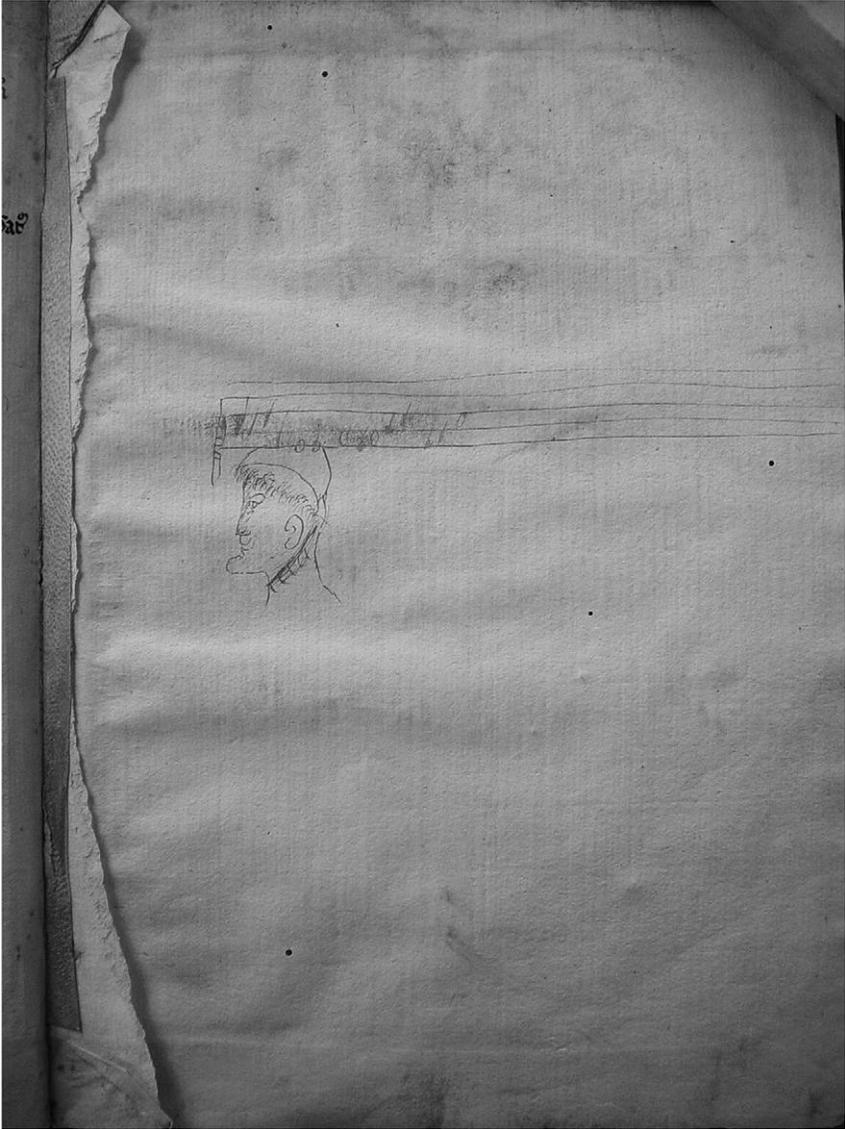


FIGURE 1. Musical additions to the inventory of the cathedral sacristy. I-Lc, *Enti religiosi soppressi*, 3086, fol. 8^r. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Lucca.

phrases belonged to secondary rather than elementary education, and thus indicate that grammatical instruction at San Martino reached relatively advanced levels. And their proximity to the counterpoint exercises evokes the affinities between literary and musical study embodied in a polymath such as Hothby.

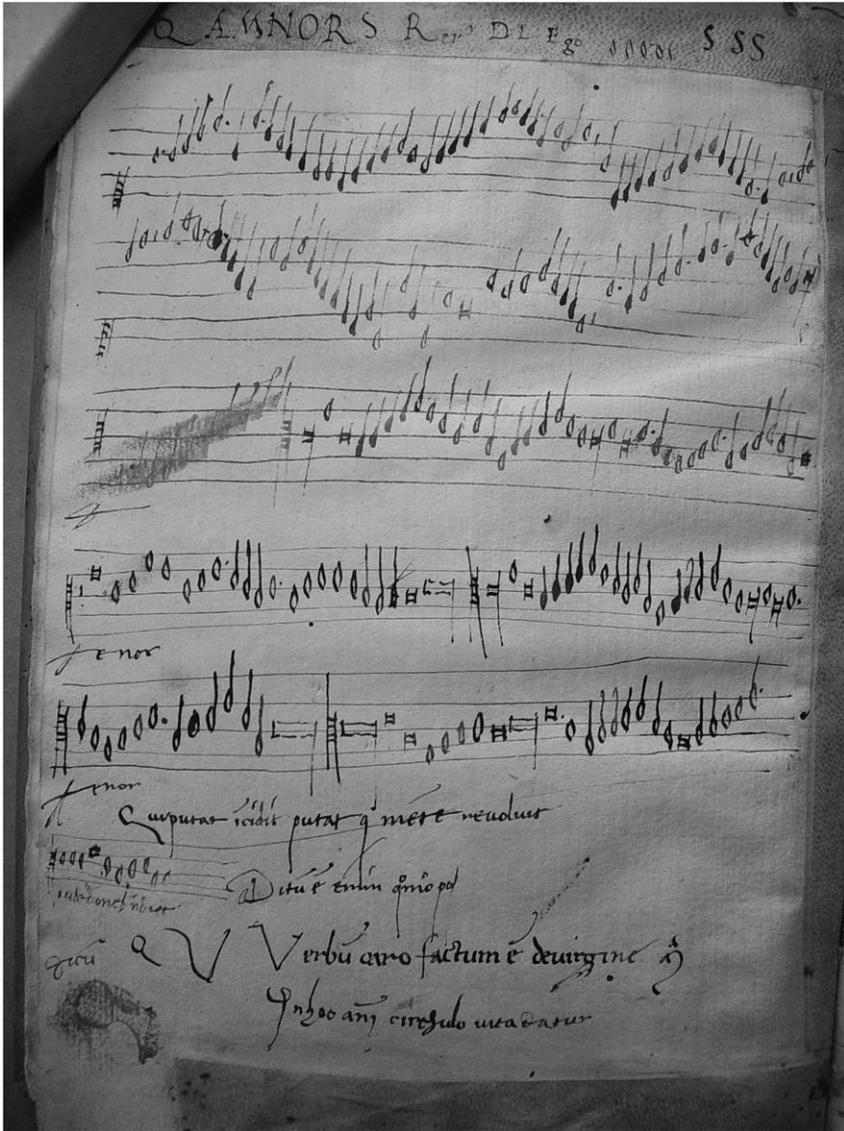


FIGURE 2. Musical additions to the inventory of the cathedral sacristy. I-Lc, *Enti religiosi soppressi*, 3086, fol. 8^v. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Lucca.

By tracing the student's progress from simple to more complex styles of polyphony, an analysis of the essays reveals the strategies adopted by Hothby's students as well as the types of challenges and pitfalls they faced. It thus begins with two attempts at crafting discant with a preexisting melody

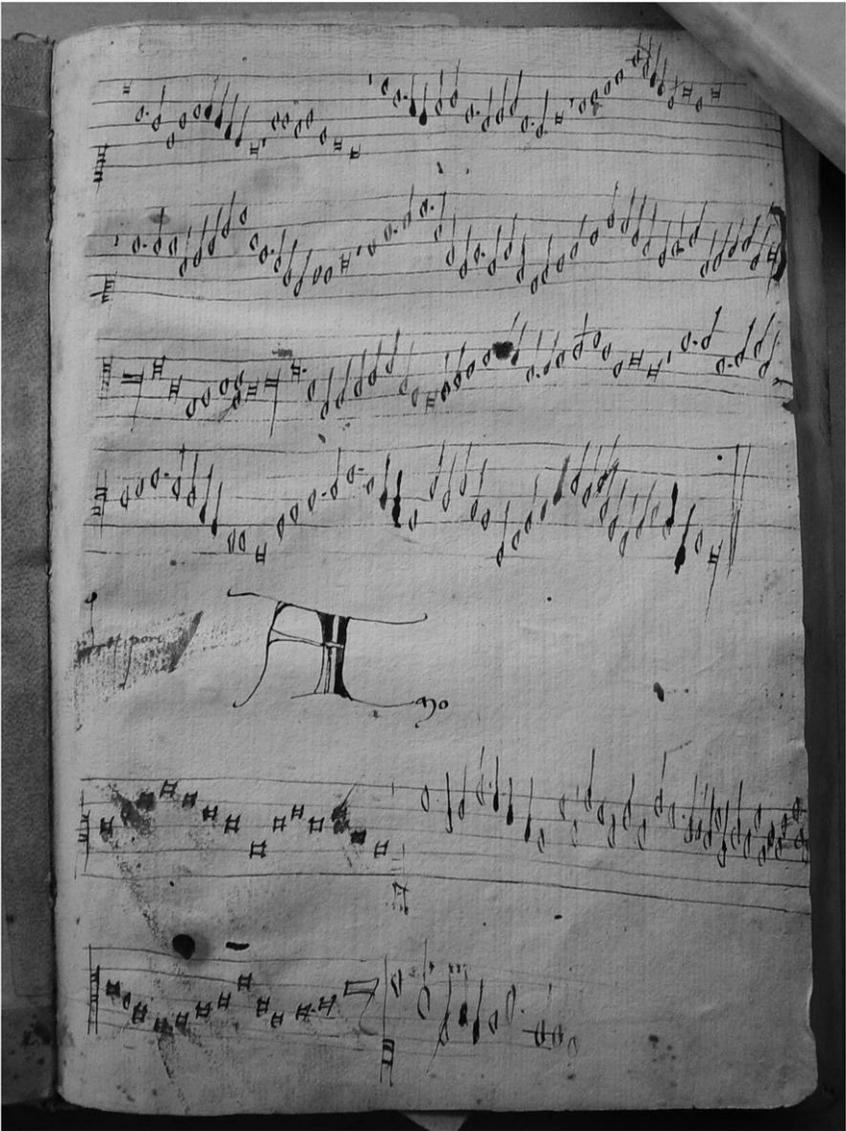


FIGURE 3. Musical additions to the inventory of the cathedral sacristy. I-Lc, Enti religiosi soppressi, 3086, fol. 9^r. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Lucca.



FIGURE 4. Musical additions to the inventory of the cathedral sacristy. I-Lc, Enti religiosi soppressi, 3086, fol. 9^v. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Lucca.

associated with “*Verbum caro factum est.*” The refrain and partial first verse of this popular Christmas song appear directly below the grammarian’s phrase (fig. 2).¹¹⁹ In circulation since the twelfth century, “*Verbum caro*” long eluded generic classification but often appeared in collections of Italian songs, or *laude*, by the turn of the Cinquecento.¹²⁰ Consideration of three simple exercises based on “*Verbum caro*” will in turn pave the way for an examination of the more sophisticated exercises in florid, two-voice counterpoint free of preexisting material. In both the simple discant and free polyphony, infelicities and outright mistakes show their author to have been a novice. Moreover, resonances with Hothby’s teachings heighten the suspicion that he was the Englishman’s student.

The simplest exercise appears in the fifth and sixth staves of the subsequent page of the inventory and features the melody of “*Verbum caro*” just above its inversion (fig. 3, ex. 3). Perhaps the two voices were not intended to be sung against each other, given the jarring dissonance between G and F’ in m. 3: however, they otherwise form serviceable discant that resembles the models of contrary motion in Hothby’s *Spetie tenore del contrapunto*. At the same time, the exercise approximates the type of polyphonic improvisation that occurred in religious houses throughout Tuscany and beyond.¹²¹ A choirbook from the Florentine parish of Santa Lucia preserves a rare written witness to what was otherwise an oral custom of singing “*Verbum caro*” in two-voice discant (ex. 4).¹²² The setting is only slightly more complex than that preserved in the inventory of San Martino: it reveals the triple meter indicated at the beginning of its Lucchese counterpart and eschews strict inversion in m. 6, with parallel thirds and in m. 2 to avoid the aforementioned dissonance of the previous example.

Just as the *Summa musice artis* and the *regola del grado* provided Hothby’s Italian students with familiar guides to plainsong and discant, so too did the popular *lauda Verbum caro* give them a well-known point of

¹¹⁹I-Lc, *Enti religiosi soppressi*, 3086, fol. 8^v: “*Verbum caro factum est Maria / In hoc anni circulo / Vita datur.*”

¹²⁰See, for example, the two four-part settings by Innocentius Dammonis in Petrucci’s *Laude primo libro* (1508), fols. 11^v–12^r, 14^v–15^r. Zimei, 7–9, discusses the difficulties of genre classification concerning “*Verbum caro*”; Hughes traces its history from approximately 1100.

¹²¹Reaney, 1977, 82.

¹²²I-Fl, Ashburn, 999 (1423), the dating and provenance of which is established on the opening folium: “This book belongs to the church of Santa Lucia *de Magnolis* of Florence, which [book] the rector and priest of that same church had made in 1423” (“*Iste liber est ecclesie Sancte Lucie de Magnolis de Florentia, quem fieri fecit rector eiusdem ecclesie ac sacerdos .M.CCCC.XXIII*”).

EXAMPLE 3. *Verbum caro factum est*. Ed. from I-Lc, *Enti religiosi soppressi*, 3086, fol. 8^v.

Ver - bum ca - ro fac - tum est. De vir - gi - ne Ma - ri - a.

EXAMPLE 4. *Verbum caro factum est*, mm. 1–8. Ed. from I-Fl, *Ashburn*, 999, fol. 95^r.

Ver - bum ca - ro fac - tum est. De vir - gi - ne Ma - ri - a.

EXAMPLE 5. *Verbum caro factum est*, mm. 1–9. Ed. from I-Fn, Palatino 472, fol. 22^r.

Ver - bum ca - ro fac - tum est. De vir - gi - ne Ma - ri - a.

EXAMPLE 6. *Verbum caro factum est*. Ed. from I-Lc, Enti religiosi soppressi, 3086, fol. 9^r.

?

EXAMPLE 7. *Verbum caro factum est*. Ed. from I-Lc, *Enti religiosi soppressi*, 3086, fol. 8^v.

[Cantus] **f**

[Tenor] **f**

[Revised Tenor] **f**

(same as above) **f**

(same as above)

EXAMPLE 8. Free contrapuntal exercise. Ed. from I-Lc, *Enti religiosi soppressi*, 3086, fol. 9^v.

EXAMPLE 9. Free contrapuntal exercise. Ed. from I-Lc, *Enti religiosi soppressi*, 3086, fol. 8^f.

departure for their counterpoint exercises. Its resonances with Hothby's teachings, however, do not end here, for other manuscript sources likewise suggest that the Englishman used this and other laude in his lessons on counterpoint. In *W*, for instance, the *folia* just before and after De Muris's *Ars contrapuncti* (11) include four laude and five liturgical settings for two voices, the latter of which employed interval progressions directly from *De arte contrapuncti* (15).¹²³ Similar music appears in a collection of Hothby's longer treatises, in which placement again underscores didactic function. One of two groups of laude and liturgical settings follows the discussion of counterpoint at the end of Hothby's *Tractatus quarundam* and shorter manuals on discant and *musica ficta*.¹²⁴ The second group, moreover, includes a version of *Verbum caro* similar to previous examples, apart from

¹²³ *W*: *Ubi karitas et amor* (fols. 109^v–110^f), *Jesu dulce o infinit amor* (fol. 110^v), *Ars contrapuncti* (fols. 112^f–119^f), *Sanctus* (fols. 119^v–121^f), *Agnus Dei* (fols. 120^f–121^f), three *Benedicamus Domino* (fols. 121^v–122^f), *Cum autem venissem* (fols. 122^v–126^f), and *Sepulto domino* (fols. 126^v–128^f). All these works are mensural save the *Sanctus*, *Agnus*, and *Benedicamus*. Cf. Fischer, 1173–75. Scattolin, 1989, 400–15, explores the relationship between *De arte contrapuncti* and the unmeasured works; Cattin, 1968, focuses on their mensural counterparts.

¹²⁴ I-Fn, Palatino 472: *Tractatus quarundam regularum artis musice* (fols. 9^f–15^f), *Hec est quedam ratio de contrapuncti* (fol. 15^f), *Quest è il modo da fare il monocordo* (fol. 15^f), rules on *musica ficta* (fol. 15^f), *Jesu nostra redemptio* (fols. 15^{f-v}), *Lauda Sion* (fol. 15^v), *Credo* (fol. 15^v), *Alleluia*. *Altissimus levatur* (fol. 15^v), *Benedicamus Domino* (fol. 15^v), *Jesu nostra redemptio* (fol. 15^v), *Excitatio quedam* (fols. 16^f–21^f), *Anima benedicta* (fol. 22^f), *Verbum caro* (fol. 22^f), *Exuvia patre* (fols. 22^v–23^f), *Benedicamus Domino* (fol. 22^v), *Benedicamus Domino* (fol. 23^f), *Benedicamus in laude* (fol. 23^f), *Benedicamus in laude* (fol. 23^f), *Decus morum dux minorum*

EXAMPLE 10. Free contrapuntal exercise. Ed. from I-Lc, *Enti religiosi soppressi*, 3086, fol. 8^v.

its syncopated approach to the second cadence (ex. 5). The scribe considered the lauda of particular importance, copying the remaining verses of its text at the conclusion of the manuscript.¹²⁵

Yet the pedagogical utility of “*Verbum caro*” extended beyond its harmonization by inversion (ex. 3) to its role as useful tenor, or *cantus firmus*, against which to compose a new voice above. On the final page of the inventory, a newly composed cantus proceeds chiefly in parallel, rather than contrary, motion against the original tune (fig. 2; ex. 6). Signs of inexperience include its incompleteness: the concluding ascent to G’ in the cantus would probably oblige a falling fourth to D’ in anticipation of the subsequent cadence. Even more indicative of a novice’s work is the diminished counterpoint (m. 3), an awkward cadential flourish that disrupts the trochaic meter and exceeds the narrow *ambitus* of the cantus. Indeed, a more ambitious, but even less

(fol. 23^v), and *Jesu Jesu Jesu chiamate* (fol. 23^v). Cf. *The Theory of Music*, 6:496–98; Bridgman, 17–18; Gallo, 1966a. While the body of I-Fn, Palatino 472, likely dates from the 1480s, by the early sixteenth century it was in the possession of the Pisan doctor “Maestro Loise,” named in the nonmusical material at its conclusion: fol. 26^v; cf. Haar and Nádas, 328. The music was copied by the same hand and disposed in the same double-column format as the treatises, and thus was surely integral (rather than an addition) to the manuscript.

¹²⁵I-Fn, Palatino 472, fol. 26^t.

successful, attempt at florid writing appears on the previous page and to the right of “Verbum caro” (fig. 3, ex. 7). Set against the original tune, it progresses through clumsy syncopations and dissonances before collapsing entirely.

The two exercises based on this popular lauda, then, suggest the student’s earliest, most tentative attempts at discant. The three longer, freely composed ones that appear at the top of each page of the inventory in turn trace his increasing facility with more advanced, diminished counterpoint. The simplest of the free essays appears on the final verso, its tenor crossed out and revised below (fig. 2; ex. 8). The revision, however, preserves the infelicities of the original, namely the fermata and consecutive breves (mm. 1–7) that obstruct forward momentum and overshadow its first cadence (m. 6). It likewise ignores the ensuing cadential gesture in the *cantus* (m. 9). Thereafter, the revised tenor features two improvements: it extends an imitative ascent and replaces syncopations and contrary motion with parallel sixths. Models for the former appear not only in Hothby’s *Spetie tenore*, but also in his own music: *Diva panthera* features brief and often inexact points of imitation in the manner of the original tenor.¹²⁶

To the techniques of syncopation and imitation, the subsequent two essays add that of diminished counterpoint. Their length necessitates the abandonment of quasi-score format: the *cantus* and tenor no longer follow each other note by note, but instead occupy the first and second pair of staves, respectively, on the first page (fig. 2; ex. 9).¹²⁷ This exercise originally began with yet another imitative ascent, one transformed into diminished counterpoint with the substitution of a long in the tenor. Strict discant supplants this florid writing and continues until the cadence in m. 4. The subsequent phrase repeats this succession of texture but includes a clumsy suspension into m. 7 that foreshadows more serious problems. The *cantus* avoids the cadence on C’ (m. 9), after which the exercise largely collapses. The breakdown hardly passed unnoticed: the tenor reappears on the fourth and fifth staves of the page free of the offending material after m. 9. Thereupon follows a new tenor that in turn appears in its entirety in the second and third staves of the following recto and below a new *cantus* (fig. 3, ex. 10).

Although this exercise employs the same strategies as the previous one, it is less florid, but longer and far more successful. It likewise begins with diminished counterpoint on C’, but then eschews such elaboration with five short phrases in strict discant with cadences on varied pitches (C [m. 5], G

¹²⁶See mm. 1–2 and 7–8 of *Diva panthera*, edited in Seay, 1964a, 22.

¹²⁷Indeed, quasi-score format would become standard for counterpoint exercises in the sixteenth century: see Owens, 90–91.

[m. 8], C [m. 12], and F [mm. 15 and 21]). Again Hothby's *Diva panthera*, with its similarly succinct phrases, was perhaps the model, and only the final phrase of the exercise proves even slightly longer with a succession of parallel thirds and sixths.¹²⁸ Indeed, the exercise evinces a newfound confidence and necessitated only minor revisions: conversion of four minims to semibreves and transposition of one semibreve up or down a minor third (m. 4). The only remaining infelicities were an awkward semibreve rest (m. 12), a stressed seventh between C' and B' (m. 19), and parallel octaves (m. 20).

Various features, then, suggest that the free exercises in the inventory were fashioned by an inexperienced, but increasingly adept, contrapuntalist. These included revisions small and large, surely the work of the student rather than his teacher, as they sometimes failed to resolve the awkward syncopations as well as irregular dissonance treatment and voice leading. Likewise suggestive is the melodic style based on scalar motion (i.e., movement by step), and narrow ranges, particularly evident in the tenor of the penultimate exercise (fig. 2; ex. 9). Most striking of all is a failure to integrate diverse styles: diminished counterpoint abruptly proceeds strict discant based largely on parallel motion. The latter contravened Hothby's prescriptions to alternate contrary and parallel motion and rendered useless the majority of his interval progressions.¹²⁹ Similar in effect was the choice of mensuration, imperfect time, and minor prolation (i.e., duple meter), which excludes the possibility of imperfection (i.e., the transformation of a triple value into a duple one).

If paleographic, iconographic, and stylistic evidence all point to one of Hothby's students as the author of the exercises, the place of preservation narrows the field to the chaplains, who enjoyed regular access to the cathedral sacristy and its inventories. These junior clerics perhaps improvised mensural discant in the style of the essays at holy services at San Martino; however, their ultimate objective was the more complex music in the Lucca Choirbook. In this they surely resembled students throughout Northern Europe, for whom such exercises connected the abstract formulas of counterpoint treatises to the complexities of composed polyphony. The significance of the Lucchese essays thus lies in their exemplarity: for while the incorporation of Italian laude bestowed upon them a measure of local

¹²⁸Seay, 1964a, 22–23.

¹²⁹A rare case of such a textbook formula appears in ex. 5, m. 12, where the ascent of a fourth in the tenor properly elicits a falling third in the discant. Cf. Hothby's *Regulae contrapunti* in Reaney, 1977, 67. Hothby prescribed parallel and contrary motion in the *Spetie tenore*: *ibid.*, 82–83.

flavor, their most exceptional quality is their mere survival. Safely preserved in a modest inventory guarded by generations of cathedral sacristans, they fared far better than the students' more advanced studies inserted into the now-fragmentary Lucca Choirbook.

6. CONCLUSION

John Hothby emerges, then, as an exemplary choirmaster of the late Middle Ages in at least two respects: his duties as *magiscolus* were those of a transalpine *magister puerorum*, the foundation of his curriculum was thoroughly (if self-consciously) traditional. To the Lucchese, however, he was no case study, but rather inaugurated a unique period in the musical life of their city: never again would it enjoy such a talented *magiscolus*, foreign or native. Indeed, the son of Hothby's aristocratic patron Nicolao da Noceto exhibited even less interest in music than had his father. Pietro di Nicolao selected Antonio di Baldassare as Hothby's replacement at the altar of St. Regulus, and thus as *magiscolus*. This local priest was not even a musician, and thus confined his didactic activities to public lectures on grammar. During the 1490s oversight of the choir evidently fell to Hothby's aforementioned assistant Vincenzo di Savino, while musical instruction devolved to the organist and two chaplains in succession.¹³⁰ The commune continued its support of musical education, but at the nearby church of San Ponziano, where it employed four *mansionarii* and two others "to sing and teach those who desire to learn."¹³¹

¹³⁰The Anziani describe Antonio as a "sensible and good man, erudite in literature" ("vir sane bonus est et bonis literis ita eruditus") in their petition to Pope Innocent VIII to grant the chaplaincy of St. Regulus to him. This despite the objection of a beneficed chaplain of San Martino, Lorenzo di Pippo, a former *mansionarius* and resident in Rome for most of the 1480s: I-Las, Anziani al tempo della libertà, 535, n. 42, fol. 25^r (1488). Although Lorenzo's concerns remain obscure, he perhaps criticized Antonio's lack of musical expertise and desired the post of *magiscolus* for himself: see Brand, 2007, 81–82, 86–87. The identification of Vincenzo as "vice precentor" and even as *magiscolus* in the *acta cappellani* indicate his probable role as *de facto* director of the cathedral choir during Antonio's residence (see n66 above). The latter successfully petitioned the canons to allow the teaching of music to fall to the organist, Giovanni di Antonio, explaining that he was occupied with lectures on grammar "in a public auditorium" ("in arditorio [*sic*] publico") and that he was not a musician: I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 5, fol. 194^v (8 January 1490). Just three months later the canons similarly deputized the chaplain, Boneto di Berta, whom they described as an expert in "the art of music and singing and playing the organ" ("repertus in arte musice et cantandi et sonandi organum"): GG 6, fol. 2^r (30 April 1490). Peter, the chaplain of St. Vitus, would assume such duties in 1496: GG 6, fol. 191^v (15 April 1496).

¹³¹I-Las, Camarlingo Generale, 120, fol. 56^r (1491), set the annual stipend for each singer at Fl. 12.

Hothby's departure, then, marked not simply the loss of a celebrated figure, but the end of the *magiscolus's* traditional role as arbiter of musical life in Lucca.¹³² By 1507, the cathedral choir and musical instruction had passed from the ordained chaplains to a layman, Antonio Peragulfo. He was in fact but one of three local singers who had likely studied with Hothby during adolescence and who obtained a measure of professional success after the Englishman's death.¹³³ Giacomo and Michele di Clemente were both Lucchese musicians who sang at the ducal chapel of Mantua in the years around 1510.¹³⁴ The latter was evidently a particularly skilled bass, for none less than Pope Leo X asked Francesco Gonzaga to allow Michele to enter the papal chapel.¹³⁵ In contrast, Antonio Peragulfo remained in Lucca until at least 1509, when the canons requested that he and his students perform on Saturdays and Sundays of Lent so that his "symphonies and sweet harmony" would draw the faithful to their church.¹³⁶ They perhaps sang two motets

¹³²In 1566 the local bishop abolished the office of the *magiscolus* entirely, in the place of which were instituted seminaries at San Martino and two other Lucchese churches, Ss. Giovanni e Reparata and San Michele in Foro: Nerici, 46, 49–61.

¹³³See Antonio's appointment in I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 6, fols. 179^{r-v} (19 March 1507), in which the canons conspicuously describe him as neither a priest nor a cleric. Cf. Nerici, 46–47. That Antonio was indeed one of Hothby's students finds tentative confirmation in his inclusion in a list of otherwise prominent composers in the Englishman's *Dialogus in arte musica*: see Seay, 1964b, 65. This probably reflects the initiative of the copyist of the dialogue rather than Hothby himself: see Haar and Nádas, 345n159. Indeed, the entire list of composers is unnecessary to the attendant discussion in the *Dialogue* and is perhaps spurious: see Strohm, 2008a, 63; Strohm, 2008b, 30.

¹³⁴Bertolotti, 29. Neither Giacomo nor Michele can be conclusively identified with any of the benefited chaplains active in the 1480s and '90s, but, like Antonio Peragulfo, may have numbered among the choirboys.

¹³⁵Quoted in Cerù, 98. On Michele's career in Rome, see Frey, 189–90.

¹³⁶I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 9, fols. 19^{r-v} (17 January 1509): "We, the lord canons, are diligent in divine matters and in the honor of our church, are well aware that most people are drawn by symphonies and sweet harmony. So that they come to church with greater diligence and frequency, we bestow upon master Matteo, whose name appears below, the task of explaining this to lord Antonio Peragulfo and of asking him to come every Sunday and Saturday during the upcoming season of Lent, with the promise to sing something in the aforementioned church for the honor of God and the spiritual solace of the people." The canons' request recalls the practice of their predecessors of singing *organum* at matins and the procession before High Mass on Lenten Sundays as prescribed in the aforementioned ordinal of San Martino: I-Lc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 608, fols. 22^r, 24^f, 24^v, 25^r, 25^v, and 26^v. The performance of improvised polyphony during penitential seasons was typical of cathedrals throughout medieval Tuscany but particularly pronounced in Lucca: see Brand, 2006, 178–79.

added to the Lucca Choirbook, the first an apparent paean to the *Volto Santo* and the second in Christ's honor and ascribed to Antonio.¹³⁷

Just as Hothby's singularity was apparent to his contemporaries in Lucca, so it should be recognized by scholars today. In contrast to the itinerant and often mercenary *oltremontani* who populated the wealthier chapels of Italian centers, this Englishman assiduously cultivated relationships with diverse sectors of the local populace. Such ties were manifest in his musical compositions, his ministry as a parish priest, and his interaction with fellow chaplains, but found their greatest expression in his teachings. Even as Hothby inducted local singers into the modern art of *cantus figuratus*, he embraced older, Italian resources such as the *Summa musice artis*, the *regola del grado*, and popular laude. And while San Martino had been at the vanguard of Tuscan cathedrals in modernizing its school and in vesting its *magiscolus* with substantial authority, Hothby in fact harkened back to an earlier age by virtue of his broad erudition and conservatism. In this remarkable personality, the medieval scholastic and modern *maestro di cappella* converged, ushering in a brief golden age of sacred music at San Martino and throughout Lucca.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

¹³⁷The relevant bifolium survived as the cover to I-Lc, Archivio Arcivescovile, Constitutorum Criminalium Curie, 5, and appears in Strohm, 2008b. A third work by Antonio, a three-voice *Regina celi*, appears in I-Fn 27, fols. 94^v–95^r.

*Appendix: Letter of Introduction by the
Anziani for John Hothby*

I-Las, Anziani al tempo della libertà, 616, p. 284; ed. Nerici, 97.

Serenissimo et invictissimo Anglie regi illustrissimis principibus et magnis dominis, nos antiani et vexillifer iusticie populi et comunis lucani humili commendatione promissa fidem facimus quod admodum venerabilis sacerdos frater Joannes Ottobi, carmelita, cuius fidem, egregiam probitatem, integritatem, et singularem eruditionem musice discipline optimosque mores sumus experti supra octavum et decimum annum magna ipsius laude nostraque consolatione discedit nunc ex nostra civitate magna totius populi gratia in patriam rediturus, ab ipso serenissimo rege arcessitus, ut notum nobis fecit. Nos ob reverentiam tanti serenissimi regis cuius regiam maiestatem veneramus et observamus ut nostra interest liberum ei iter promissimus. Discedentem itaque commendamus enim quibuscumque et testimonium facimus de suis optimis moribus, ut supra, et singulari doctrina et presertim quod maximi faciendum est in erudiendis discipulis facilitate liberalitateque precipue rogantes ex animo ut tam venerabilis presentia et suis propriis virtutibus et nostra intercessione benigne ubique recipiatur ab omnibus benigneque tractetur ut merita postulant et nostra deprecatio quod sumus accepturi benefici loco quicquid in eum confertur humanitatis et commodi. Datum die . . . martii 1486.

[To the most serene and invincible King of England, the most illustrious princes, and great lords. We, the Anziani and Gonfaloniere di Giustizia of the Lucchese people and commune, by this our promised and humble recommendation, give assurance that the right venerable priest Brother John Hothby, O. Carm., whose faith, outstanding probity, integrity, and singular erudition in the discipline of music and excellent morals we have experienced for more than eighteen years, to the great praise of himself and consolation to us, has now left our city and is returning to his native land with the favor of [our] entire people, summoned, as he informed us, by the same most serene king. Out of reverence for so great a most serene king, whose regal majesty we revere and observe, we have promised [Hothby] freedom of passage as concerns us. Therefore we recommend him on his departure to everyone and testify to his excellent morals, as noted above, his singular learning, and in particular, which is to be most highly esteemed, his good nature and liberality in teaching students, especially asking from the heart that such a venerable presence shall, both for his own virtues and at our intercession, be received with good will by all people in all places and treated with good will as [his] merit demands, and our supplication, because we shall treat as a benefit any kindness and comfort conferred on him. Given the . . . day of March 1486.]

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 I-Las, Consiglio Generale, 6
 I-Las, Consiglio Generale, 7
 I-Las, Consiglio Generale, 19
 I-Las, Consiglio Generale, 21
 I-Las, Spedale di S. Luca, 35
 I-Lc, Archivio Arcivescovile, Collazioni, R
 I-Lc, Archivio Arcivescovile, Constitutorum
 Criminalium Curie, 5
 I-Lc, Archivio Arcivescovile, Libri Antichi,
 5
 I-Lc, Archivio Arcivescovile, Libri Antichi,
 50
 I-Lc, Archivio Arcivescovile, Libri Antichi, 112
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 1
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 2
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 4
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 5
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 6
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, GG 9
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, LL 40
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, LL 43
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, LL 58
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, PP 3
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, PP 13
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, PP 16
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, PP 22
 I-Lc, Archivio Capitolare, T+16
 I-Lc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 608
 I-Lc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 614
 I-Lc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 634
 I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, A, 1
 I-Lc, Cappellani Beneficiati, B, 2
 I-Lc, Enti religiosi soppressi, 3086
 I-Lc, Opera del Duomo, 4
 I-Ma, H. 165 inf.
 I-Ma, I. 20 inf.
 I-Mac, 518
 I-PCc, Biblioteca Capitolare, 65
 I-Rvat, Ottob. lat. 3025
 I-Vnm, lat. VIII.82
 US-DLC, ML 171 J6 Case (*W*)

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