



John Alexander Stinson

# Angels in Florentine Iconography and Trecento Musical Performance

Musica Mensurabilis

Edited by | Herausgegeben von  
Oliver Huck

Volume | Band 11

John Alexander Stinson

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GEORG OLMS   
VERLAG

**The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek** lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>

ISBN 978-3-487-16707-7 (Print)  
978-3-487-42470-5 (ePDF)

ORCID 0000-0002-1782-4474



Online-Version  
Nomos eLibrary

1st Edition 2024

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## Abstract

Over the last sixty years there has been debate about the meaning of angels holding musical instruments in Trecento painting. Some regard them as simply symbols of heavenly music; others argue that payments are documented to instrumentalists 'when they made like (*fecerunt*) angels'. To resolve this issue I have used the quasi-complete catalogue of all Trecento paintings compiled by the late Howard Mayer Brown as a basic data set of images, and two inventories derived from Trecento literature, one of the names of musical instruments, the other of musical 'activities' and generic names of musical performance. From these three sources, I hoped to document musical instruments in pictures, payment records, contemporary chronicles, imaginative literature and music theory treatises.

Chapter 1 reviews current literature on the topic; Chapter 2 reviews the production and function of objects on which the images were painted; Chapter 3 analyses the iconography of Brown's *Catalogus* and two iconic images, the Coronation of the Virgin and the Virgin and Child (sometimes called *Maesta*, a Tuscan version of the *Herogetria*). The fourth chapter examines evidence of music activity in Florence: *Musici*, the performer-composers; itinerant musicians or *giullari*; the professional musicians salaried by the government; amateur musicians like the ones described by Boccaccio in his *Decamerone*; clerics, all of whom had some musical training for the performance of the liturgy, some who cultivated the skill of improvised counterpoint and some who composed the music found in secular manuscripts; and finally, *Laudesi*, the confraternities who gathered regularly before an image of the Virgin Mary to sing her praises (*laude*). Chapter 5 examines in detail the contribution written music may make to the use of musical instruments in performance. A conclusion follows summarising the findings of this thesis and their significance for further research.

After the examination of 368 paintings and 41,493 texts from a database of 48,985 records (3,266 from chronicles; 25,634 from payment records; 4,151 from literary works and 342 from musical treatises), no unequivocal evidence has been found for the use of musical instruments on the untexted voices in the surviving manuscripts. Yet, there is much circumstantial evidence: professional instrumentalists were paid to accompany the *laude*; three-voice works are written into vacant folios of manuscripts written at the same time as local and visiting *pifferi* were being paid by the Signoria. Untexted contratenors in works by Francesco degli Organi (also known as Francesco Cieco or Francesco Landini) and Don Paolo Tenorista may have been intended for an instrument, and this may have been the third kind of music referred to by Filippo Villani (vocal music, instrumental music and a mixture of the two). Some of the composers are documented as instrumentalists: might not Jacopo da Bologna, Giovanni Mazzuoli and Francesco degli organi have played their own music? We have no evidence, one way or the other. Nor is there any evidence that untexted voices were vocalised. All circumstantial. On the other hand, there is no positive evidence to exclude instrumental performance of written music. The evidence for angelic musicians is more secure. Goro Dati remarks on processions of ‘confraternities of laymen who come together . . . with the clothing of angels’ (*con abito d’angioli*); lauda singers were sometimes paid ‘when they dressed like angels’ (*quando si fecerunt angioli*); and the confraternity of S. Zenobi at the Cathedral possessed ‘six garments of angels . . . and six pairs of angel’s wings’ (*6 chamici da angioli . . . 6 ispalliere da angioli*).

After a thorough examination of all of the paintings, all of the surviving published payment records and a generous selection of contemporary literature, no unequivocal evidence for instrumental participation in secular polyphony has been found, but circumstantial evidence supports it. There is strong evidence that the angel musicians performing before the iconic image of the Virgin and Child were images based on the lauda service: real people making real music.

## Preface

- Much of the argument and the tabulation of details, especially of the contents and texting of Trecento manuscripts, is based on the author's *Medieval Music Database*, <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/MMDB/>. The accuracy of data input to this database should be attributed to the late Meredith Sherlock, while design, implementation and programming for the internet are my own.
- Funding for the *Medieval Music Database* was provided by the Australian Research Council, La Trobe University and the University of Melbourne.
- Translations are my own unless otherwise acknowledged.
- Images are in the public domain (CC-0) unless otherwise noted. Providers of high-res photographs are acknowledged in the captions.
- Images from published works follow the Copyright Act 1968 (Commonwealth of Australia) relating to Fair Dealing.
- The data set (an inventory of instrument names used in payment records, chronicles, literature and music theory treatises) used in the preparation of Chapter 4 is available from the following link:  
<https://hdl.handle.net/1959.11/53400>



## Acknowledgements

This book is heavily indebted to many scholars, some of whom are no longer with us: Howard Mayer Brown, who was generous enough to invite my collaboration when I was very much a beginner in the field; Gustave Reese and Emanuel Winternitz, who both introduced me to scholarship. To the many scholars whose expertise in archival research in Florentine archives and whose friendship over many years is deeply valued. To Julie Marshall and her team at La Trobe University, who delivered hard copies of hundreds of journal articles in the days before electronic delivery was possible, and to the staff of the Dixson Library at the University of New England, whose courtesy and efficiency have been an inspiration.

My special thanks go to Keith Polk, whose indefatigable research into archival documents for over thirty years has revolutionised our understanding of the use of instrumental performance; and to Michael Scott Cuthbert, Oliver Huck and Blake Wilson, whose expertise and very careful reading have made substantial contributions to this publication.

I am also indebted to my wife Ruth, who has listened to my attempts to solve this riddle over many years with patience and insight. And to my two sons Mark and Alexander I owe substantial debts for their patience and technical assistance.

Dr Giulia Torello-Hill has generously translated some of the more difficult passages of Italian quotations. But my greatest debt is to Jason Stoessel, whose expertise in late Trecento music and manuscript studies has been a reliable guide and whose polyglot mastery of many computer languages is a source of wonder to one who grew up on DOS. I would like to acknowledge assistance from Dr Alana Blackburn, Jan Epstein and Georgia Wilson.



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## Glossary

**all'antica** (*all'antica, all'antiqua*) Polyptychs and single-panel structures made after about 1440 were commonly built of elements derived from classical architecture, and their style was referred to as *all'antica* in the period and as *Pala* in modern art-historical writing (Christa Gardner von Teuffel, 'From Polyptych to Pala: Some Structural Considerations,' in *From Duccio's Maestà to Raphael's Transfiguration Italian Altarpieces in Their Settings* [London: Pindar Press, 2005], 183ff).

**alla grecha** The construction of fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century polyptychs was based on the tracery of Gothic architecture, a style called *alla grecha* in the Renaissance. There was no rigid break with this style; in the sixteenth century altarpiece surrounds continued to be made *alla grecha* (Bruno Santi, 'Dalle "Ricordanze" di Neri Di Bicci,' *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa Serie III*, 3, no. 1 [1973]: 173).

**altarpiece** 'In Renaissance contracts, an altarpiece, that is an object composed of carved woodwork and painted panels, is designated by the terms *tavola, pala* and *ancona*' (Michelle O'Malley, *The Business of Art: Contracts and the Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005], 28).

**ancona** A term used by Cennini as a synonym for *tavola*, e.g. Capitolo CXIII. *Come si dee incominciare alavorare in tavola, o vero in ancone* (Lara Broecke, *Cennino Cennini's Il libro dell'arte: A New English Translation and Commentary with Italian Transcription* [London: Archetype Publications, 2015], 112).

**avena** One of the many musical instruments played by Francesco degli Organi, according to Filippo Villani in his (Filippo Villani, *De Origine Civitatis Flo-*

*rentiae et de eiusdem Famosis Civibus*, ed. Giuliano Tanturli [Padua: Antenore, 1997], 410).

**cannon** (*cannone, mezzo-cannone, psalterio*) See Psaltery. The use of cannon as a contemporaneous medieval [musical] term is not uncommon but, rather than a harp, it is usually associated with a box-zither such as that shown in ms Paris Bibi. Nat. Lat. 7378A, fol. 45v (Lawrence Wright, 'The Medieval Gittern and Citole: A Case of Mistaken Identity,' *Galpin Society Journal* 30 [1977]: 8–42).

**cetera** Alternate Ital. spelling for Cetra.

**cetra** (Ital. *cetra*, plural *cetre*; Engl. term for pre-16th c. cittern) Necked chordophone specific to Italy from 1100 or earlier whose features include: oval or spatulate body form, shoulder horns, articulated projection at lower body end, flat peg-head of roundish or multi-sided form, wooden frets (also in block form), general neck length not significantly longer than body length (often shorter), strings attached at end projection (Crawford Young, 'La Cetra Cornuta: The Horned Lyre of the Christian World' [PhD diss., Universiteit Leiden, 2018], glossary, <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/64500>).

**chitarra** Ital. term for Gittern (*ibid.*). See gittern.

**citara** Alternate Latin spelling for Cithara (*ibid.*). See cithara.

**cithara** Latin term for any stringed instrument; Latin term used from c. 10th c. to denote lute in Italy; translated in Italian as *cetra* or *cetera* since the 12th century or perhaps earlier. (Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages. Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100 - 1300* [London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1987], 149).

**citole** (*citola*) Plucked, necked chordophone, gut-strung, of waisted or elongated body shape, one-piece carved construction with deep-spined neck (spine is connected with back of body) featuring a hole for the thumb, allowing the instrument to be held and fingered by the left hand. Exclusively non-Latin, with earliest examples beginning c. 1200 in Spain and southern France, later in other lands north of the Alps; used until c. 1400 (Alice Margerum, 'Situating the Citole 1200–1400' [PhD diss., London Metropolitan University, 2010], glossary; Young, 'La Cetra Cornuta: The Horned Lyre of the Christian World').

**curved trombone** (*tromba torta, tuba tortuosa*). See Trombone.

**fiddle** (*gighe, vidula, vielle, viuola, viol*) The available evidence shows that Old French *viele*, and its Latin offspring *viella*, were principally used to denote bowed instruments. The names *viele* and *viella* are usually associated with five strings, although Amerus, in a general reference to fingerboard instruments, mentions four or five or less. The body-shapes of these instruments reduce to two main types: the ovoid, where there is a firm distinction between neck and body, and the piriform, where the body and neck blend into one another. It seems likely that the names *viele/viella* straddled this morphological boundary (and also the boundary between the tri-chordic and pentachordic traditions of stringing). It is possible, however, that the piriform instruments often attracted the name *gigue* (see below). This leaves the tri-chordic octoform fiddles played in the lap, very common in pictorial sources before c1300. In source 4 (Paris MS), such an instrument (and a piriform fiddle) is labelled *viola*. It would seem, therefore, that the *viele, viella, viola* complex covered most (perhaps all) bowed instruments before 1300. (Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 144). See also John A. Stinson, 'The Trecento Vielle and Its Repertoire,' in *Festschrift, Jan Sedivka: Essays on String Teaching, Music Research and Analysis*, ed. David S. Mercer (Hobart: Tasmanian Conservatorium of Music, 1985), 53–75.

**flute** (*fistula, flauto, tibia*) Brown gives no pictures of the flute (*traverso*) but only the recorder and double recorder, but Fulgore seems to be making a distinction between *sufoli* and *flauti*: '*e suonare a raccolta trombatori /e sufoli, flauti e ciramelle, /e tornare alle schiere i feritori.*' C. 1308–1312 (Fulgore da San Gimignano, *Sonetti*, ed. G. Caravaggi [Torino: Einaudi, 1965], (VIII, *Martidie*).

**gigue** Renaissance usage points to bowed instruments, and the same meaning is clearly implied for Middle High German *gyge*. Abano's statement that the *ziga* has four strings points to a fingerboard instrument. In the Sloane MS, the words *giga vel lira* are written above a pillar-harp (only *giga* appears in the Paris manuscript). However, *lira* is written in a later hand in the Sloane manuscript and may be a short lute so there is no difficulty in assuming that the term often (usually?) denoted piriform bowed instruments during the Middle Ages. (Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 145).

**gittern** Wright has convincingly demonstrated that these names referred to short lutes, generally with a vaulted back and sickle-shaped pegbox. Small piriform lute of 13th c. Moorish origin, one-piece carved construction, sickle-shaped pegbox with sagittal pegs, and no articulated neck-body joint. Whereas the *cetra* was only found in Italy, the gittern became known throughout Western Europe, including Italy. (Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 145–7).

**harp** (*arpa*) Harp names have changed their meaning since late Antiquity. The philological and archaeological evidence suggests that the lyres used by some Germanic peoples during the Dark Ages bore the name harp before the advent of the pillar-harp in the medieval west. The name ‘harp’ must have been slowly grafted onto the pillar-harp, perhaps from the eighth century on (the chronology of events here is almost completely obscure). In some areas of Europe where the old northern lyres continued to be used into the Gothic period, the name ‘harp’ may often have been retained as suggested, for example, by certain Scandinavian carvings which interpret the *harpa* of the Gunnarr legend as a lyre. The meaning of *harpa* in an eleventh-century text such as the Ruodlieb, therefore, remains uncertain; both lyre and pillar-harp are possible, and we can only speculate how many other possibilities there may be. By the Gothic period, however, the evidence from France (where plucked lyres do not appear to have been used later than the twelfth century) points directly to the pillar-harp as the instrument denoted by Old French *harpe* (the illustrations in certain manuscripts of the *Tristan en prose*, for example.) *ibid.*, 148–9.

**hurdy-gurdy** (*organistrum, symphonia*) See below under Symphonia.

**kithara** Common English spelling of Greco-Roman lyre, of larger and of different construction and usage than the Greco-Roman Chelys-lyre. It was more noble and refined than the latter. The body was constructed of wood, with hollow wooden arms attached to a crossbar at the top of the instrument. The *kithara* assumed a special importance in the 15th century as a model for the *cetra* of the Humanists, who were fascinated with its history.

**lauda** A vernacular song of praise usually in the form of a *ballata*.

**legnaiuolo** Italian for carpenter or specialised woodworker. Christof Merzenich gives a catalogue of *legnaiuoli* and brief biographies of 31 artisans in his *Vom Schreinerwerk zum Gemälde: Florentiner Altarwerke der ersten Hälfte des*

*Quattrocento: eine Untersuchung zu Konstruktion, Material und Rahmenform* (Berlin: Mann), 119–133. Other literature on *legnaiuolo*: Monika Cämmerer-George, *Die Rahmung der toskanischen Altarbilder im Trecento.*, *Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes* (Strasbourg: P. H. Heitz, 1966); Creighton Gilbert, ‘Peintres et menuisiers au début de la Renaissance en Italie,’ *Revue de l’Art* XXXVII (1971): 9–28, translated into English as ‘Painters and woodcarvers in early Renaissance Italy’, <https://theframeblog.com/2015/11/13/Painters-woodcarvers-in-early-Renaissance-Italy/>; Cathleen Hoeniger, *The Renovation of Paintings in Tuscany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Christoph Merzenich, ‘Filippo Lippi: Ein Altarwerk für Ser Michele di Fruosino und die Verkündigung in San Lorenzo zu Florenz,’ *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 41, nos. 1/2 (1997): 68–92; Christa Gardner von Teuffel, ‘Clerics and Contracts: Fra Angelico, Neroccio, Ghirlandaio, and Others: Legal Procedures and the Renaissance High Altarpieces in Central Italy,’ *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62 (1999): 190–208; O’Malley, *The Business of Art*; James Haar and John Nádas, ‘The Medici, the Signoria, the Pope: Sacred Polyphony in Florence, 1432-1448,’ *Recercare* 20, no. 1/2 (2008): 25–93.

**lira** Although this word is found in Latin sources throughout the Middle Ages, it does not seem to have enjoyed anything more than a sporadic existence in Old French. The ‘open-string’ tradition which exerted such an influence upon the use of cithara in the Middle Ages also controlled the senses of lira to some extent, whence the word is sometimes found in association with pillar harps. Two manuscripts of c1200, both illustrated in the region of Alsace, show the lira as single-string bowed instruments (7 and 8). These two sources are closely related. One of them is the celebrated *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad of Hohenbourg and it has long been recognised that some illustrations in this (now destroyed) manuscript show signs of Byzantine influence. It may be no coincidence, therefore, that the bowed instruments in these pictures are strikingly similar to the modern Pontic lira. There is very little evidence to suggest that this use of lira was widely disseminated during the Gothic period. The same may be said of the usages whereby lyra (in various forms) was applied to the hurdy-gurdy and the lute; I find no evidence that these traditions were established during our period (Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 144)..

**lute** (*leuto, liuto, lenbuto, lembuto*) (1) a general term for any necked chordophone, whether plucked or bowed; the term usually carries this sense in this study.

(2) a specific plucked instrument in Western Europe from the 13th c., pear-shaped and vaulted back comprised of glued-together strips or ribs of wood, with a short neck and thin, long pegbox (with saggital pegs) bent back at +/- 90 degrees from the neck. (Young, *La Cetra Cornuta*, Glossary) There is almost no medieval evidence apart from Amerus (12, p.97). There can be no doubt, however, in view of usage in virtually all the vernaculars of Renaissance Europe (and in medieval/modern Arabic) that terms such as Old French *luthz* generally denoted a plectrum-plucked short-lute with a vaulted back and turned-back pegbox. As Wright has shown, the gitterns of the Middle Ages were very similar to the lute in form but smaller. It is tempting to believe that size may have been one of the factors defining the use of lute names in the Middle Ages, a 'lute' before 1300 being generally larger than anything one would call a 'gittern'. (Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 217).

**modo e forma** In the manner and form of another work as a guide to the design of a new work. See Hannelore Glasser, *Artists' Contracts of the Early Renaissance*, Outstanding dissertations in the computer sciences (New York: Garland, 1977); Michelle O'Malley, 'Memorising the New: Using Recent Works as Models in Italian Renaissance Commissions,' in *Memory and Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam, 1-7 September 1996*, ed. Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), 803–810; Teuffel, 'Clerics and Contracts: Fra Angelico, Neruccio, Ghirlandaio, and Others: Legal Procedures and the Renaissance High Altarpieces in Central Italy'; Megan Holmes, 'Neri di Bicci and the Commodification of Artistic Values in Florentine Painting (1450-1500),' in *The Art Market in Italy*, ed. Marcello Fantoni, Louisa C. Matthew, and Sara F. Matthews-Grieco (Modena, 2003), 213–223; Knut F. Kroepelien, 'Sua mano and modo et forma requirements: Balancing Individual Creativity and Collective Traditions in Contracts for Altarpieces in the Italian Renaissance' (Masteroppgave, Universitetet i Oslo, 2008); Miklós Boskovits, 'Maestà monumentali su tavola tra XIII e XIV secolo: Funzione e posizione nello spazio sacro,' *Arte Cristiana* XCIX (2011): 13–30; Daphné De Luca, 'L'entreprise de Giotto [Giotto's company],' Online since 02 December 2011, *CeROArt [Online]* 7 (2011), <http://journals.openedition.org/ceroart/2227>; Karel Thein, 'Musical Space in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Massa Marittima Maestà,' *Art/Umení* 63, no. 34 (2016): 228–239.

**organistrum** A general name for hurdy-gurdies (regardless of size or of whether played by one or two men) but generally confined to areas of High and Low German speech. (Page, *Voices and Instruments*) See Symphonia.

**ornamento** the word used in woodworkers' contracts to describe the carved, architectural structures to be created specifically erected on altars. (O'Malley, *The Business of Art*, 29).

**pala** A polyptych *all'antiqua*, i.e. a square or rectangular altarpiece without the decorated pinnacles of the gothic style, *tabule quadrata et sine civoriis*. Gardner von Teuffel 1981/2005; a Renaissance single-field altarpiece with figures set in continuous and unified pictorial space, as opposed to the preceding multipanelled polyptych in ornate Gothic setting that were typically made up of figures of differing scale set in inconsistent picture space. (Richard Miller, *The World Made Visible in the Painted Image: Perspective, Proportion, Witness and Threshold in Italian Renaissance* [Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016], 7).

**psaltery** The *mezzo cannone* or *psalterium* 'was first depicted by the Syrian lexicographer Bar Barhul in about 963 AD' (Eleonora M. Beck, 'Singing in the Garden: An Examination of Music in Trecento Painting and Boccaccio's "Decameron"' [PhD diss., Columbia University, 1993]). There are numerous thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sources in which the Latin word *psalterium* and French *psalterion* (in various forms and spellings) are associated with 'pig-snout' psalteries (i: see Figure 6), 2, 3, 5 (some manuscripts) and 10 (a large body of illustrations). Earlier manuscripts of source 5, the *Psalterium Decem Chordarum* of Joachim of Fiore, show trapezoidal instruments with a single, central sound hole. Pig-snout instruments are rarely found in pictorial sources before 1200, whereas trapezoidal instruments are common (Figure 14). 'This suggests that in the twelfth century, psalterium, and its vernacular scions, was usually applied to trapezoidal instruments, but in the thirteenth century, came to denote at least two types of instrument when the pig-snout form (whose origins are obscure) was disseminated'. (Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 122–5).

**rebec** (*rebeca, ribeba, ribeca, ribeccone*) Although the term rebec is recorded before 1300, it is primarily a late-medieval word. Old French texts show forms closer to their Arabic parent *rabab*. Jerome of Moravia describes the

*rubeba* as a bi-chordic bowed instrument (13), and Abano lists the *rebeba* as a two-stringed instrument (15, Particula 19, problem 3). The guiding factor in using names built upon r–b stems would seem to have been smallness. Jerome of Moravia’s introductory remarks imply that the *rubeba* is smaller than the *viella*—and not simply because it has only two strings (13, p.88, lines 4–5). In the fifteenth century, Gerson writes of the biblical *symphonia* that ‘some think the *symphonia* to be the *viella*, or *rebecca*, which is smaller’, while Tinctoris describes the *rebecum* as ‘very small’ (*valde minus*) in his *De inventione et usu musicae*. The term *rubebe* does not appear in Old French sources until c. 1270, and Jerome of Moravia seems to have regarded the *rubeba* as an instrument which might be unfamiliar to his readers. The word therefore belongs to the very end of our period and the sources suggest that it generally denoted a two-stringed bowed instrument, played in the lap. (Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 145).

**rotta** ’Steger has drawn attention to the Moissac cloister sculpture of shortly before 1100 where a triangular harp-zither is labelled *rota*. Two new pieces of evidence can now be adduced, both of which support Steger’s contention that this was the kind of instrument which (at least in the Gothic period) bore forms of the name *rota*. Source 4 (Paris manuscript) shows what is probably a triangular zither, labelled *rota*. This has almost certainly been copied from an earlier manuscript or a pattern-book and its relation to fourteenth-century usage might be questioned on those grounds. However, Petrus de Abano states that the *rota* he knew had two string-bands, a description which fits the structure of triangular harp-zithers as revealed with particular clarity in the Romanesque sculpture of France’. (ibid., 148).

**sambuca** (*Sambuca*) a plucked stringed instrument, probably a type of angular harp popular among ancient Semitic peoples. It is mentioned in the Bible as part of the court orchestra of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 3:5, 7, 10, 15; (Yelena Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments and Instrumental Terminology in the Bible* [London: Acumen Publishing, 2014], 53).

**sine civoriis** The style of altarpiece promoted by Brunelleschi to the Canons of San Lorenzo in 1432 for the side alters in San Lorenzo; the defining characteristic of the new all’ antiqa style of altarpiece with one large rectangular panel. *Ac earum tribunis unum altare pro qualibet, lapiden [sic] macigni, super [sic], cum tabula quadrata et sine civoriis, picta honorabiliter.* (Jeffrey Ruda,

‘A 1434 Building Programme for San Lorenzo in Florence,’ *The Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 903 [1978]: 361).

**sistris** See *citole*. In the first redaction, with manuscripts dating from c. 1390, Wycliffe translates the *citharis et lyris et tympanis et sistris et cymbalis*, which David plays (II Kings 6: 5), 57 as ‘harpis, and stryngge instrumentis and tymbris and trumpis and cymbalis’, but in the second redaction amends this to ‘harpis, and sitols, and tympanis, and trumpis, and cymbalis.’ See Margerum, ‘Situating the Citole 1200–1400,’ vol. 1, p. 161. *Sistris* is also used to translate the Hebrew שִׁלוֹשׁ *shâlôsh*=three (a triple), that is, as a musical instrument, a triangle or perhaps rather three stringed lute; also, as an indefinitely great quantity, a three fold measure (perhaps a treble *ephah*); also, as an officer, a general of the third rank (upward, that is, the highest): captain, instrument of musick, (great) lord, (great) measure, prince, three) (‘The First Book of Samuel,’ in *The Polyglot Bible*, Available from: <https://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/poly/h7991.htm>. Accessed 31 August 2022) hence the King James Bible, Samuel 18:6 translating the Hebrew rather than the Vulgate, gives ‘triangle’.

**sua mano** By [the artist’s] own hand. A phrase used in contracts to ensure that the work would be done by the *cappomaestro*. It did not succeed in preventing subcontracting. See Kroepelien, ‘Sua mano and modo et forma requirements: Balancing Individual Creativity and Collective Traditions in Contracts for Altarpieces in the Italian Renaissance,’ (O’Malley, *The Business of Art*).

**symphonia** A mechanically bowed chordophone with three basic elements: a set of melody and drone (or bourdon) strings, a resin-coated wooden wheel which when made to rotate by a crank acts as a bow, and a keyboard with tangents that bear on the melody string or strings when depressed. (Oxford Music Online, accessed 6/06/2022) During the Gothic period, symphonia and its vernacular offsprings was a general name for hurdy-gurdies (regardless of size or of whether played by one or two men) (Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 150).

**syrena** (*syrena*) One of the many musical instruments played by Francesco degli Organi, according to Filippo Villani. Robinson interprets this as a prototype of the *mezzo-cannone* (Villani, *De Origine*; Richard Robinson, ‘*Syrena, Ciecòla, Monocordum and Clavicembalum*: the case for Stringed Keyboards in late Trecento and Early Quattrocento Italy,’ *Early Music* XLV, no. 4 [1996]: 511).

**tabernacle** Three meanings: a wayside shrine (Elizabeth Bailey, ‘The History of the Tabernacle: Form, Function, and Meaning,’ *Medieval Perspectives* 17 [2002]: 61–84), a fixed enclosure for a painting, e.g. Orsanmichele (Nancy Rash Fabbri and Nina Rutenburg, ‘The tabernacle of Orsanmichele in context,’ *Art Bulletin* 43, no. 3 [1981]: 385–405); or a domestic triptych or diptych (David G. Wilkins, ‘Opening the Doors to Devotion: Trecento Triptychs and Suggestions concerning Images and Domestic Practice in Florence,’ *Studies in the History of Art, Symposium Papers XXXVIII: Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento* 61 [2002]: 370–393); see Triptych. Other references on tabernacle: Joel Brink, ‘Measure and Proportion in the Monumental Gabled Altarpieces of Duccio, Cimabue, and Giotto,’ *Revue d’art canadienne - Canadian Art Review* 4, no. 2 (1977): 69–77; Teuffel, ‘Clerics and Contracts: Fra Angelico, Neroccio, Ghirlandaio, and Others: Legal Procedures and the Renaissance High Altarpieces in Central Italy’; Gaudenz Freuler, ‘The Production and Trade of Late Gothic Pictures of the Madonna in Tuscany,’ *Symposium Papers XXXVIII: Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, *Studies in the History of Art* 61 (2002): 426–441; Holmes, ‘Neri di Bicci and the Commodification of Artistic Values in Florentine Painting (1450-1500)’; John White, ‘Measurement, Design and Carpentry in Duccio’s Maestà,’ *The Art Bulletin* 55, no. No. 3 (1973): 334–366; John White, *Duccio: Tuscan art and the Medieval Workshop* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979).

**triptych** The triptych came to dominate production for private devotion in the 1320s and 1330s in Florence in the workshops of Bernardo Daddi, the Master of Saint Cecilia, and Jacopo del Casentino. Some of these triptychs continue the rectangular, unframed format seen in thirteenth-century examples, and others have a simple gable shape. The majority are of Gothic format, with the more elaborate including cusping, crocketing, and even pinnacles; unfortunately few Trecento triptychs survive today with this original framing and decoration intact. The fact that these triptychs are hinged and have to be opened to be used is an important aspect of their function. Trecento triptychs are in general larger than duecento examples, and because their decoration renders them more susceptible to damage, they were less portable. The number of surviving triptychs suggests that c. 1320–1350 was the high point for their production in Florence; although they continued to be painted well into the quattrocento, production declined. (Wilkins, ‘Opening the Doors to Devotion: Trecento Triptychs and Suggestions concerning Images and Domestic Practice in Florence,’ 372). For a detailed description of a triptych close to

its original state, see Goist et al 1988. See also Freuler, 'The Production.' Trecento tryptics were sometimes found to be designed according to a system of a square imposed on a circle, later formulated by Roritzer in his *Das Büchlein von der Fialen Gerechtigkeit* 1486. (Brink, 'Measure and Proportion in the Monumental Gabled Altarpieces of Duccio, Cimabue, and Giotto'; Matthaus Roritzer, Ferdinand Geldner, and Matthaus Roritzer, *Das Buchlein von der Fialen Gerechtigkeit : Faksimile der Originalausgabe, Regensburg, 1486/Matthaus Roriczer (Roritzer) und Die Geometria deutsch; Faksimile der Originalausgabe, Regensburg um 1487/88; mit einem Nachwort und Textübertragung* hrsg. von Ferdinand Geldner [Wiesbaden: Pressler, 1965]; Diane Finiello Zervas, 'Ghiberti's St. Matthew Ensemble at Orsanmichele: Symbolism in Proportion,' *The Art Bulletin* 58, no. 1 [1976]: 36–44).

**tromba marina** (*tromba marina*) Boccaccio mentions it: On day IX, story 5, line 35 Calandrino says 'Who but I would have known how so soon to win the love of a lady like that? Lucky indeed might they deem themselves, if they did it, those young gallants that go about, day and night, up and down, a strumming on the one-stringed viol [*tromba marina*], and would not know how to gather a handful of nuts once in a millennium. Mayst thou be by to see when I bring her the rebeck! thou wilt see fine sport'. *A cui Calandrino disse: 'Tu non mi credevi oggi, quando io il ti diceva: per certo, sozio, io m'aveggio che io so meglio che altro uomo far ciò che io voglio. Chi avrebbe saputo, altri che io, far così tosto innamorare una così fatta donna come è costei? A buon'otta l'avrebber saputo far questi giovani di tromba marina, che tutto il dì vanno in giù e in su, e in mille anni non saprebbero accozzare tre man di noccioli! Ora io vorrò che tu mi vegghi un poco con la ribeba: vedrai bel giuoco!'* (Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, ed. Vittore Branca [Florence, 1951], line 7229).

**trombone** (*tireno, tromba*) By about 1350 the musicians were most often either a small group of trumpets or a wind band (composed of shawms, and at some point, a slide instrument). The trumpets were usually reserved for those of the very highest station. The shawms, however, could be supported by all ranks (including dukes, counts, bishops), and had the further advantage of more flexible capability. We know from the well-known description by Tinctoris (c.1480) that a slide instrument was commonly added to the wind band. He termed it a 'trombone or sacqueboute', and confirmed that the instrument normally performed the contratenor The first instance I know

of the term ‘trombone’ in Italy is an entry in Ferrara in 1439 to a ‘tuba ductilis. . . trombonus vulgo dictus’. In 1445 Florence hired a performer of a ‘trombone grosso [or] tromba retorta’, who was one of the four member pifferi band of the city. ‘Trombone’ was the common term from this time on (and, of course, to the present day). One should note that the player in Florence was German, as were the leading wind performers in Ferrara throughout the 15th century. We may infer that the ‘trombone’ may have been invented earlier elsewhere (Italian documents suggest Germany) and that it was subsequently brought into Italy. In sum, archival documents provide thousands of instances of references to ensembles from throughout the fifteenth century which included a brass instrument, which was (we may now assume) a slide instrument. A number of earlier references give us a strong indication that this tradition probably reached back to about 1360 or perhaps slightly earlier. More specifically, the evidence of the presence of a wind ensemble *posaune* is reasonably strong stretching backwards to about 1380. Before that, the trail becomes increasingly fading entirely just after c. 1350. The earliest traces, however faint, nonetheless point to Germany (where in a rough oval formed by Cologne to the and Augsburg to the south) as the source of origin the new tradition of *posaune* with shawm ensemble. Whether the ensemble *posaune* was equipped slide in its very early stages must remain a speculative question. The consistency of scribal terminology *trompette des menestrels* from 1386 to c.1480 *posaune* from c. 1360 to the present day) suggests was standard. I believe that the terminological evidence is strong from after about 1380, before that the situation is less certain. Soon after about 1350 a new concept evolved in the combination of a brass instrument with shawms. In the first stage this was quite likely a straight instrument, with, possibly, a simple slide mechanism (thus a ‘single slide’ – on this point Dr Downey and I part company). Around 1375 or so, the technology was available for the development of the ‘S-shaped’ instrument (with single slide), which would have come into more general use around 1400. Soon after the turn of the century, a ‘folded form’ emerged, also with a single slide, which became common by about 1430. Both of these last two seem to have been popular with musicians until near the end of the century. By shortly before 1450 the double slide principle was known, but performers seem not to have preferred this form until the last years of the century. (Ross Duffin, ‘The *trompette des menestrels* in the 15th-Century *alta capella*,’ *Early Music* 17, no. 3 [1989]: 397–402; Keith Polk, ‘The Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition of the Early Renaissance,’ *Early Music*, 1989, 395).

## Abbreviations

**ASF** Archivio di Stato, Florence.

**ASF ACO** ASF, Archivio dei Capitani di Orsanmichele; Archivio dei Capitani.

**ASF CCN** ASF, Camera del Comune, Notario di Camera, Libri di Entrata e Uscita. c.1450—1520. Not as detailed as the Campionre volumes, but useful for cross-reference and to fill in gaps. See ASF Inventory i494.

**ASF CCProv** ASF, Camera del Comune, Provvedicori, Entrara e Uccita. 1348—c. 1450.

**ASF CRS SMN** ASF, Corporazioni Religiose Sorppresse, No. 102 (Santa Maria Novella).

**ASF CRS ST** ASF, Corporazioni Religiose Sopprresse N. 89, Santa Trinità di Firenze.

**ASF CRS SZ** ASF, Compagnie Religiose Sopprresse 2.I (San Zanobi).

**ASF DC** ASF, Debitori-Creditori (Debit-Credit Registers).

**ASF Delib.** ASF, Deliberazioni (Deliberations).

**ASF MG** ASF, Magistrato della Grascia. Officers, magistrates of the grascia (lat. Crassia, derived from crassus "fat"), who were entrusted by the medieval statutes with the superintendence of supplies, also with the task of supervising the markets, retail prices, weights and measures, etc. ('Treccani,' accessed February 6, 2022, <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/dizionario>) 'The institution of the Officiali di Grascia is very ancient, and their name clearly designates what their interference was. It was so difficult, however, to be able to establish this office that the Republic had to assign three florins a month's