TRACING VOICES:
SONG AS LITERATURE IN LATE MEDIEVAL ITALY

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Tracing Voices:
Song as Literature in Late Medieval Italy

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ABSTRACT

TRACING VOICES:
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The metaphor of marriage is often used to describe the relationship between poetry and music in both medieval and modern writing. The fuzzy semantic boundaries between these two disciplines, famously characteristic of troubadour song, extend into the realm of Italian poetry through the use of genre names like canzone, sonetto, and ballata. Yet paradoxically, scholars have traditionally identified a "divorce" between music and poetry as the defining feature of early Italian lyric. It is this latter view that has colored scholarly discourse surrounding poems set to music by trecento composers, as has the term "*poesia per musica*."

Starting with a close examination of this term, investigating its origins and tracing its subsequent development, I argue for the reintegration of poetic and musical traditions in the trecento. My aim is to re-evaluate the role of song in literary manuscripts and the role of poetry in musical manuscripts through a uniquely material approach. This methodology highlights a variety of ways in which trecento scribes and readers interact with song as a fundamentally interdisciplinary genre. In so doing it moves the repertoire's un-notated sources from the sidelines of musicological discussion to the center. These literary manuscripts freely juxtapose genres in a variety of contexts rather than segregating "musical" poems from "non-musical" ones. Through their physical form, they thus illustrate that their scribes and readers would have understood song texts not in isolation and not on purely musical terms but rather in relation to the greater Italian lyric tradition. By challenging the traditional narrative of trecento song, in which “musical” poetry and “non-musical” poetry are held firmly at arm’s length, this dissertation brings to light new audiences and new modes of reception that ask us to reevaluate the role of music in the broader cultural world which surrounds its composition, performance, and manuscript circulation.

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PMFC	*Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*. Leo Schrade, Frank L. Harrison, and Kurt von Fischer, eds. 25 vols. Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956–1991.
RISM B IV	*Répertoire International des Sources Musicale*, Series B IV. Munich: G. Henle Verlag.

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Chapter 1

Poesia Per Musica or *Musica Per Poesia*? Reconsidering the Relationship Between Song and Poetry

Ben che io senta in me poco valore,
i' pur conosco il dir, sì come e dove
negli tuo' versi viene, ed a che prove
segue l'effetto che tu tien' nel core.

Se tu in filosofia se' dicitore,
le rime tue convien che mandi altrove,
cioè in parte ove risuoni Iove,
teologia mostrando suo splendore;

o in canzon morali il dir tuo sia,
perché d'altra matera, a 'ntender cruda,
par che ricerchi sempre nuova via.

Cosa sottile in canto poco muda:
gli amorosi versi par che sia
musica di servir sempre tenuda.[1]

-Franco Sacchetti, *Il libro delle rime* CLVIII

With this sonnet Franco Sacchetti introduces two distinct categories of lyric poetry that have become central to our conception of both literature and secular song in fourteenth-century Italy: *rime* suitable for musical setting and *rime* that are

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[1] "Although I feel little value in me, I recognize how your verses work, and I know to what end the effect you hold in your heart will lead. If you are a speaker of philosophy, you would do well to send your rhymes elsewhere, to a place where the name of Jove resounds and where theology shows her splendor. Or if your words come in the form of a *canzone morale,* where through lofty material and difficult meaning you seem to always search for a new path [then you should send them elsewhere]. That which is subtle molts a little in song: it is amorous verses that music serves best." My translation. Italian text taken from Franco Sacchetti, *Il libro delle rime*, ed. Franca Brambilla Ageno (Florence: Olschki, 1989).

"purely" literary. These words, written by a poet famous for his connections to music making in trecento Florence, have caught the attention of scholars seeking to define the relationship between poetry and music in late medieval Italy through the term *"poesia per musica."* As far back as Giosuè Carducci's seminal article of 1870 on poetry and music in the trecento, *Ben che io senta* has been cited as proof that this taxonomy, which segregates *poesia per musica* from other forms of lyric poetry, is historically grounded. Sacchetti's sonnet, Carducci says, confirms that "musical" poetry is a verifiable, definable category distinct from the more serious and weighty class of "non-musical" poetry.[2] More recently, Agostino Ziino has invoked the Florentine poet to authorize his assertion that texts set to music by trecento composers have specific attributes that set them apart from other poetry—in other words, that we can identify an independent genre of "musical" poetry fit to bear the classification *"poesia per musica."* Arguing that song texts enjoyed very little circulation in non-musical sources, Ziino asserts that this taxonomy is illustrated through manuscripts as well, even going so far as to suggest that most of the literary sources in which these poems do appear were derived from musical exemplars.[3]

But is it really so self-evident that trecento poets, composers, and readers conceived of *poesia per musica* as an autonomous literary genre? Or to go one step further, is it really so self-evident that they saw any distinction at all between "musical" and "non-musical" poetry? The concept of *poesia per musica* has shaped our view of the relationship between poetry and music in fourteenth-century Italy and deeply impacted the standard narrative surrounding trecento secular song. Yet we have rarely stopped to question whether or not the concept is truly valid, and we have neglected to reflect seriously on the implications of its use. It is possible that Sacchetti's sonnet does not in fact posit an autonomous genre of poetry composed explicitly for music. Rather, it may be read as a diatribe against poets over-eager to have their words adorned with song. Sacchetti clearly affirms his belief that only amorous *rime* are well suited to music. But in the process, he implies that other kinds of poetry, namely moralizing and philosophical lyrics, were often used as song texts. In the story *Ben che io senta* tells, poets in fourteenth-century Italy requested composers to intone a variety of poems, a scenario borne out in the repertoire of trecento song with which we are familiar today. While amorous themes do dominate, there are numerous examples of polyphonic madrigals, ballate, and cacce whose texts Sacchetti would have considered inappropriate, including many by composers who were highly respected in his day.[4] Moreover, nowhere in *Ben che io senta* does Sacchetti suggest musical settings should be limited to poems written expressly for that purpose. In fact when taken at face value, this sonnet argues against the existence of *poesia per musica* as a discrete genre. The literary world Sacchetti actually seems to describe is characterized by the presence of a broad corpus of poetry available to be turned into song should a composer or a poet wish. Some texts are better matched than others to polyphonic setting, but none are expressly "musical" rather than "literary."

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[2] Giosuè Carducci, "Musica e poesia nel mondo elegante italiano del secolo XIV," *Opere* 8 (1893): 303 (article first published in *Nuova Antologia* in 1870).

[3] Agostino Ziino, "Rime per musica e danza," in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 2, *Il Trecento* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1995), 458.

Read against the modern term *poesia per musica*, Sacchetti's sonnet prompts us to reflect on the assumptions implicit in this classification and to question rather than uphold its usefulness. Dubbing trecento song texts *poesia per musica*, we artificially limit their potential meaning in a variety of ways. Whether intentionally or not, this category discourages us from considering song texts in relation to the Italian literary tradition at large. It allows us to forget that, like all poems, they construct their cultural status and their literary significance through active interaction with an established poetic tradition and through systems of intertextual allusions. Moreover, by using the term *poesia per musica*, we reinforce the idea that trecento song texts are, and must always have been, musical above all else. The implication is that song texts are little more than unavoidable by-products of vocal polyphony, literarily insignificant and poetically inferior.

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[4] Two particularly well-known examples of such settings are Jacopo da Bologna's *O cieco mondo* and Francesco degli organi's *Contemplar le gran cose*.

Why, when Sacchetti suggests otherwise, should we deny these poems the chance to take on literary meaning? In the context of a medieval world where composers were sometimes poets and poets, including Sacchetti himself, were sometimes composers, do we not have more to gain from uniting rather than dividing that which is "musical" and that which is "literary"? Starting with a close examination of *poesia per musica* as a concept and as a genre, investigating its origins and tracing its subsequent development, this dissertation argues for the reintegration of poetic and musical traditions in the trecento. My aim is to re-evaluate the role of song in literary manuscripts and the role of poetry in musical manuscripts through a uniquely material approach. This methodology highlights a variety of ways in which trecento scribes and readers interact with song as a fundamentally interdisciplinary genre. Moreover, in so doing it moves the repertoire's un-notated sources from the sidelines of musicological discussion to the center. While these sources have traditionally been treated more as musical artifacts than as poetic ones, I argue that the material evidence paints a very different picture of song's literary life. Contrary to the assumptions proliferated in trecento scholarship, most song texts in the text-only manuscripts were copied from un-notated, literary exemplars. Rather than segregating "musical" poems from "non-musical" ones, the literary manuscripts freely juxtapose *"poesia per musica"* and "pure" poetry in a variety of contexts. Through their physical form, they illustrate that their readers, the readers of their exemplars, and likely musicians as well would have understood song texts not in isolation and not on purely musical terms, but rather in relation to the greater Italian lyric tradition.

Before presenting a new interpretation of the musical and literary sources containing trecento secular polyphonic song, it is first necessary to outline how previous scholarship has dealt with the relationship between poetry and music in this repertoire. Therefore, this first chapter begins with an exploration of the term *poesia per musica* in the context of nineteenth-century nationalism.[5] I trace its genealogy back to the work of the poet and literary scholar Giosuè Carducci in the years following the Italian *Risorgimento* and to his politicized desire to simultaneously construct both "elevated" and "popular" veins of Italian cultural heritage.[6] Placing the concept of *poesia per musica* in the broader context of modern scholarly discussions regarding the relationship between poetry and music in medieval Italian literature, I suggest that the famous metaphor of a "divorce" between the two disciplines, articulated by Aurelio Roncaglia and others, is tied up in similar ideologies. Both concepts have played a major role in the secondary literature, up through the present day, and they have led scholars to misconstrue trecento song texts and their circulation divested of musical notation. Closing with a brief reassessment of the repertoire's literary tradition, this chapter advocates for the need to explore new approaches to the musico-poetic relationship in late medieval Italy, approaches that are not predicated on the existence of a clearly perceptible rift between the world of music and the world of literature.

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[5] Stephen Nichols has alluded to the impact of nineteenth-century nationalism on the "old" philology and its continued influence in the field of medieval studies. While Nichols does not elaborate extensively on this observation, as discussed below, I believe nationalistic ideology is central to a number of seminal studies regarding Italian literature from the due- and trecento. See Stephen G. Nichols, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," in *The New Philology, Speculum* 65 (1990): 1.

[6] Carducci's ties to the *Risorgimento* and the intellectual climate surrounding the unification of Italy have been outlined by Guido Capovilla in his essay "Il saggio carducciano 'Musica e poesia nel mondo elegante del secolo XIV.' Alcuni presupposti," in *Trent'anni di ricerca musicologica. Studi in onore di F.A. Gallo*, ed. M.G. Pensa (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1996).

Chapters 2 and 3 feature case studies of several text-only manuscripts, illustrating how song is incorporated codicologically and conceptually into a wide range of literary contexts. Chapter 2 focuses on collections of *poesia aulica*, and examines how these manuscripts intersperse song texts among lofty canzoni and sonnets by influential poets such as Dante and Petrarch.[7] Chapter 3 explores quite contrasting evidence, discussing the placement of song texts in manuscripts that have traditionally been categorized as *popolareggiante* or folk-like.[8] Looking at the way song texts are copied in both groups of manuscripts, I argue that none of these literary sources are directly derived from musical exemplars, and I demonstrate that all fully integrate song as poetry into their literary fabric.

The fourth and final chapter shifts our focus to the notated manuscripts and to the role of poetry in musical contexts. The first portion of the chapter compares and contrasts material characteristics of the notated sources with those of the un-notated sources. In my discussion of the diverse graphic panoramas that circumscribe these traditions, I suggest that the musical manuscripts reflect a very different kind of readership and reception than do the literary sources. These differences complicate our understanding of trecento song by highlighting the inadequacies of traditional binary oppositions between "high" and "low," "elite" and "popular," and "musical" and "literary." The chapter's second half explores the visual presentation of poetic texts in the notated sources, discussing text underlay and the correspondence between poetic and musical structure on both the micro- and macro-level. Identifying similarities between the poetic *mise en page* in musical and literary manuscripts, I argue that composers, musical scribes, and performers were conscious of trends in the written transmission of poetry and in literary theory. By challenging the traditional narrative of trecento song, in which "musical" poetry and "non-musical" poetry are held firmly at arm's length, this reintegration of musical and poetic production brings to light new audiences and new modes of reception that ask us to reevaluate the role of music in the broader cultural world surrounding its composition, performance, and manuscript circulation.

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[7] *Poesia aulica* is a modern term familiar to Italian literary scholars but perhaps less so to musicologists. It is used to refer to "high art" poetry, namely the refined amorous lyrics of renowned poets like Dante, Petrarch, and Cavalcanti.

[8] Like *poesia aulica*, *poesia popolareggiante* is a modern category. Also common in Italian literary scholarship, this term stands in opposition to *poesia aulica*. It describes poetry that evokes a "folk-like" or "popular" style in its linguistic and metric choices. *Poesia popolareggiante* is distinct from *poesia popolare*, poetry that is "popular" not just in style but also in its origins and reception.

GIOSUÈ CARDUCCI AND THE ORIGINS OF "POESIA PER MUSICA"

In 1870, nine years after the Regno d'Italia was established under the rule of Vittorio Emanuele II, Italian troops took Rome from Papal control, annexing it into the growing peninsular nation. In the same year, Giosuè Carducci planted the seed for renewed interest in Italy's early musical history, publishing his essay "Musica e poesia nel mondo elegante del secolo XIV." The first study to seriously revisit the Italian *ars nova* repertoire and its sources, Carducci's essay stands at the origins of modern trecento studies. Ironically, given the lack of attention trecento song texts have received in literary circles since the late nineteenth century, Carducci, the winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1906, was a poet and a literary scholar. His essay focuses primarily on the poetic texts, leaving analysis of the songs themselves to early musicologists such as Edmond de Coussemaker.

Writing at a time when Italian intellectuals and politicians were steeped in the project of building and promoting an illustrious and uniquely Italian cultural heritage for the newly united nation, Carducci was inevitably influenced by the dynamic climate surrounding the *Risorgimento*. Indeed, many comments in his publications and his letters suggest that an ideological agenda stemming from this very climate shaped much of Carducci's scholarly writing. Guido Capovilla fleshes out this agenda through a discussion of the poet-scholar's involvement in the Commissione per i Testi di Lingua and the Deputazioni di Storia di Patria di Modena e di Bologna, and he makes a convincing case that Carducci's work was driven by a desire to uncover a strong Italian literary tradition extending all the way back to ancient Rome. Capovilla's discussion is worth summarizing in some detail here, for it casts considerable light on Carducci's interest in song texts and on his motivation for uniting these texts as an autonomous genre of "musical" poetry.

Carducci, Capovilla argues, was inspired by the culture of the *Risorgimento* to identify "native" origins for the young country's national literary tradition through his scholarly writing.[9] Particularly concerned with framing Italy's heritage as Roman rather than northern European, Carducci sought to find features in the nation's literary tradition that survived the influence of northern barbaric invasions and of the Church. Stating these intentions explicitly, Carducci declared in 1860 that he wished to "mostrare che la letteratura nelle sue origini nulla deve a quelle di altri popoli, che ella è un frutto della tradizione latina" (*…show that [Italian] literature owed nothing to [the literature] of other nations in its origins, that it was the fruit of the Latin tradition*).[10]

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[9] Capovilla, "Saggio carducciano," 342.

While Carducci worked to promote a fundamentally Italian tradition of high art poetry with Dante and Petrarch as the corner stones, he also hoped to illustrate a "popular" tradition with more prominent Roman roots. To this end, he portrayed early poetry in the Italian vernacular, including song texts, as the "authentic depository" of Italian *Volksgeist*.[11] Capovilla links many of Carducci's other writings to this agenda as well, pointing most especially to his 1862 edition of poems by Cino da Pistoia and other fourteenth-century poets, his 1863 edition of works by Poliziano, and his 1871 collection, *Cantilene e ballate, strambotti e madrigali dei secoli XIII e XIV*. Because of its connections to music and dance, Carducci singles out the ballata as an example of a genre with unmistakable links to popular or folk culture.[12] Studying the vernacular poetry copied in the *Memoriali bolognese*, he finds evidence of an Italian oral poetic tradition pre-dating Provençal lyric. Though he must manipulate the data into supporting his theory, Carducci declares that this repertoire displays direct links to ancient Roman culture and proposes that through the ballata and analogous refrain forms, all of the most refined neo-Latin literary traditions—Provençal, French, and Italian—share common classical ancestry.[13]

It is the madrigal, however, that holds the greatest interest for Carducci in "Musica e poesia." At pains to emphasize the genre's popular origins, he focuses on the etymology of its name as explained by Antonio da Tempo, now considered untenable: "*madrigale*," Carducci says, descends from the word "*mandra*" (flock) and is thereby inherently bucolic and natural.[14] Although he emphasizes that the madrigal is a refined genre intended for the elegant world of wealthy, mercantile Florence, Carducci also associates it with a desire to return to the idyllic world of Arcadia and to the simple pleasures of pastoral life, a desire that he believes was widespread in elite medieval culture and is inherent to elevated society. His description of the literary changes sparked by this desire clearly demonstrates that his vision of the Italian poetic tradition is dependent on an opposition between the "elite" lyrics of Dante and Cavalcanti and the more "natural" works written by subsequent generations, between *poesia aulica* and *poesia per musica.* In his opinion, every society, literarily speaking,

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[10] Ibid., 342–43. All translations from Italian are mine unless otherwise noted.

[11] Ibid., 342.

[12] Ibid., 344.

[13] Ibid., n. 28.

> [...]pur senza avvedersene o senza risentiresene abbia troppo del raffinato e del falso nelle sue idee nei sentimenti nelle costumanze o anche in un ordine speciale d'idee e di sentimenti, si studi e sforzasi a quando a quando di riafacciarsi alla natura e alla vita più semplice del mondo esterno.[15]
>
> *[...]even without realizing that it has reached a point of being too refined in its ideas and customs, studies and strains every so often to return to nature and to the simple life of the external world.*

He goes on to explain that,

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[14] Carducci, "Musica e poesia," 328–29. While there has been much scholarly debate over the years regarding the origins and early history of the madrigal as a genre, the etymology of the word *madrigale* remains uncertain. Two hypotheses are currently considered plausible: the word may be derived from *materialis,* implying a poem without rules or specific form; or it may be derived from *matrix/matrice* either in the sense of *cantus matricalis* (song in the mother tongue) or *matrix ecclesia* (a clausula-like piece for organ, from which the madrigal may possibly have originated). See Kurt von Fischer and Gianluca D'Agostino, "Madrigal. I. Italy, 14th century" in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:4087/subscriber/article/grove/music/40075 (accessed February 27, 2012). Also see Nino Pirrotta, "Una arcaica descrizione trecentesca del madrigale," in *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Karl-Marx-Universität (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1961). On the history of the madrigal as a genre, see especially Guido Capovilla, "Materiali per la morfologia e la storia del madrigale 'antico,' dal ms. Vaticano Rossi 215 al Novecento," *Metrica* III (1982) and Nino Pirrotta, "Per l'origine e storia della 'caccia' e del 'madrigale' trecentesco," *Rivista musicale italiana* 48 and 49 (1946 and 1947).

[15] Carducci, "Musica e poesia," 329–330.

> Sepolta la generazione di cui facean parte Dante e il Cavalcanti, i quali aveano con troppo d'ardenza sentito ed espresso la gran lirica ideale[...]; sepolta cotesta generazione, quando Francesco Petrarca cominciò a poeteggiare, il luogo della contemplazione estatica della bellezza, la discordia del sentimento e l'analisi, riducendo l'amore a proporzioni più umane; allora nacque il madrigale, o meglio, entrò nell'educazione dell'arte.[16]
>
> *The madrigal was buried by the generation of Dante and Cavalcanti, which felt and expressed the great lyric ideal with too much ardor[...]; it was buried by this generation, until Petrarch began to write poetry on the place of the enraptured contemplation of beauty, on the break between emotion and the analysis, reducing love to more human proportions; then the madrigal was born, or better, entered into the realm of art.*

Thus, what is most important about the madrigal, in Carducci's eyes, is its pastoral nature, which marks a critical departure from earlier Italian poetry. Furthermore, not only does he identify the genre's frequent use of "light" subject matter and its strophic form as proof of its "popular" nature, he also sees the anonymity of most madrigals as a sign that these poems were not truly literary.[17] While Carducci is concerned with distinguishing the madrigal from high art genres like the canzone and sonnet, which are purely literary in nature, yet he does not recognize a firm split between *popolare* and *colto*, with the madrigal on one side and the canzone on the other. Rather, he positions the madrigal, and the simple ballata as well, in a middle ground between what he describes as the two main branches of Italian lyric: popular poetry and high art poetry.[18] Emphasizing that these two branches did not operate in isolation from one another, he reminds his readers that even the more popular forms of poetry are filled with allusions to the refined lyric tradition of Dante and Petrarch.[19]

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[16] Ibid., 333.
[17] Ibid., 341.
[18] Ibid., 336–37.
[19] Ibid., 360.

When viewed in the context of Carducci's career as a scholar embroiled in the birth of a new nation, *poesia per musica* emerges not as a category grounded in trecento, thought but rather as a category inextricably bound to nineteenth-century political ideology. I would argue the poet-scholar portrays *Ben che io senta* as a reflection of a palpable division between "musical" and "non-musical" poetry for two reasons, neither of which stem from Sacchetti's own words. First, such a division is indeed what the source material available to Carducci seems to suggest. His analysis of this repertoire is based on Sq, Pit, and ModA, the only three manuscripts of trecento song known at that point, and on Cappelli's 1868 edition of *"poesie musicali,"* which relies entirely on ModA for its fourteenth-century texts. As Carducci rightly points out, it is the composer, not the poet, who is highlighted in these musical manuscripts. Although many of the texts contain references to the greater Italian poetic tradition, there is little about their appearance in these sources to hint that they may have had independent literary lives. Faced with an incomplete material record and unaware of the corpus of un-notated manuscripts in which these *poesie musicali* circulated, Carducci reaches a logical conclusion about the separation of song texts from the rest of trecento literary production.

Second, and more importantly, I would argue that the identification of an autonomous category of "musical" poetry is central to Carducci's vision of a uniquely Italian literary and cultural heritage, a heritage whose "Italian-ness" is partially tied up in its association with ancient Rome and with the Italian "Folk." The lofty, artfully crafted lyrics of poets like Dante and Petrarch are too heavily influenced by other high art traditions from France, Provence, and elsewhere in northern Europe to represent a direct connection to Italy's great Roman past. The madrigal and the ballata, however, provide this missing link because of their more "popular" subject matter and because of their musicality. Particularly in the case of the ballata, it is the intimate connection to music and dance that mark the genre and its literary ancestors as being "of the people." In other words, Carducci turns the corpus of trecento song texts into the primary protagonist in his mission to define and promote a truly native literary tradition for the young Italian nation. In his view it is precisely the musicality of these texts and their independence from the more intellectual tradition of *poesia aulica* that makes this possible. Thus, even though he cannot ignore the clear intersections between the two traditions, his essay as a whole is ideologically invested in the idea of *poesia per musica* as a distinct and fundamentally musical genre. Somewhat paradoxically, part of this poetry's value is also found in its ability to mediate between "high" and "low" traditions. With a foot in both camps, madrigals and ballate are able to assist in uniting the whole of Italian literary production into a single tradition whose authority, cultural prestige, and "native-ness" lie in its verifiable and direct bond with ancient Rome.

Poetry for Singing or Poetry for Reading? On The "Divorce" between Word and Music in the Italian Poetic Tradition

The second prominent influence on discussions of the relationship between poetry and music in the trecento is our perception of that relationship in the lyric traditions that pave the way for Italian *ars nova* polyphonic song, from the poetry of the Sicilian school through Dante and the *stilnovisti*. Fundamental in this regard is the belief among literary scholars that a "divorce" between word and music defined Italian lyric production from its inception. Much of the discourse surrounding this hypothesis displays language similar in its nationalistic bent to that in Carducci's essay "Musica e poesia." The concept of a "divorce" is enlisted to build and promote an Italian literary tradition that is autonomous from, and more artistically refined than, its French and Provençal predecessors. Given that this hypothesis has been so central to Italian philology since it was first introduced, it is not surprising that scholars have tended to separate the worlds of music and poetry when discussing later traditions as well.

Alluded to by De Bartholomaeis in 1943 and re-articulated by Gianfranco Contini in 1951,[20] the argument in support of a "divorce" between word and music in the Sicilian school—the earliest school of Italian poetry, which flourished during the reign of emperor Federico II (1184–1250)—comes to full fruition in Aurelio Roncaglia's 1978 article, "Sul «divorzio tra musica e poesia» nel Duecento italiano."[21] For Roncaglia, the primary difference between early Italian lyric and the poetry of the troubadours that came before it is found in the relationship between word and music. He ties the change in this relationship to disparate sociocultural conditions north and south of the Alps. As Maria Sofia Lannutti and Agostino Ziino have emphasized, Roncaglia himself does not advocate for a full divorce between the world of poetry and the world of music in the Italian tradition.[22] What he proposes is a separation in terms of creation but not necessarily in terms of performance or presentation. Unlike the troubadours, the poets of the Sicilian school were purely literary authors, who left the composition of song and its performance to specialized musicians.

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[20] Vincenzo De Bartholomaeis, *Primordi della lirica d'arte in Italia* (Turin: Societa Editrice Internazionale, 1943) and Gianfranco Contini, "Preliminari sulla lingua del Petrarca," in *Varianti e altra lingustica* (Turin: Einaudi, 1970). Contini's essay was original published in 1951.

[21] Aurelio Roncaglia, "Sul «divorzio tra musica e poesia» nel Duecento italiano," in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento 4,* ed. Agostino Ziino (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1978).

[22] Ziino, "Rime," 456 and Maria Sofia Lannutti, "Poesia cantata, musica scritta. Generi e registri di ascendenza francese alle origini della lirica italiana (con una nuova edizione di RS 409)," in *Tracce di una tradizione sommersa: I primi testi lirici italiani tra poesia e musica*, ed. Maria Sofia Lannutti and Massimiliano Loncato (Florence: SISMEL, 2005), 161.

Roncaglia argues that this new division of labor was the result of a shift in the prevailing social class of poets that brought with it a change in education. Troubadour poetry was primarily composed and sung by nobles, who received an ecclesiastic-based education involving music as well as grammar. In contrast, the poets of the Sicilian school were notaries and chancellors educated through lay institutions where grammatical instruction dominated and musical instruction was nearly if not entirely absent. As Nino Pirrotta has pointed out, Roncaglia's discussion of the differing levels of musical education between the two classes of poets overlooks the fact that in ecclesiastical settings music was addressed as a theoretical discipline in the context of the quadrivium, not as a practical skill.[23] This misunderstanding of the role of music in the medieval educational system is certainly a major flaw in Roncaglia's argument. Yet, his initial observation that there is a discernible shift in the musico-poetic relationship between troubadour lyric and the poetry of the Sicilian school is valid. As both he and Lannutti have argued, the abundance of allusions to song and the fluid semantic boundary between speaking and singing, both central characteristics of the Provençal repertoire, are not present to nearly the same extent in early Italian lyric. The further one moves away from the first generation of troubadours, the more rare and more generic the references to melody and to musical execution become.[24] Coupled with this is the changing role of the poet in the later Middle Ages, which Roncaglia notes but misconstrues.[25] Over the course of the duecento, the production of poetry and the production of music became progressively more professionalized and, consequently, progressively more specialized. Sicilian authors rarely sang their own poems as the troubadours did, and instead entrusted their oral dissemination to professional performers. This division of labor becomes all the more acute in the trecento polyphonic tradition, where the complex musical settings are no longer at all analogous to heightened speech.

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[23] Nino Pirrotta, "I poeti della scuola siciliana e la musica," *Yearbook of Italian Studies* IV (1980): 8-9.

[24] Lannutti, "Poesia cantata, musica scritta," 165–66.

[25] Ibid., 166, n. 25.

The problem with the "divorce" hypothesis, if we limit application of Roncaglia's argument does to poetic production, lies not so much in the basic premise but in how it is spun. By arguing that a new relationship between music and text is fundamental to the Italian lyric tradition, Roncaglia is able to portray his national literature as innovative and unique.[26] What is more, he, Contini, and De Bartholomaeis all treat this "divorce" as proof of the Italian lyric tradition's poetic superiority. They argue that with poetry freed from music, the Sicilian authors, and their literary descendents, were able to achieve a higher level of verbal artistry. Roncaglia, for example, states quite unequivocally: "alla complessità dell'invenzione melodico-verbale, i siciliani sostituiscono l'intensità d'un'invenzione puramente verbale, tutta concentrata sui valori della parola" (*...in the place of melodic-verbal complexity, the Sicilians substitute an intensity of pure verbal invention where everything is concentrated on the words' merit*).[27] Verbal complexity and poetic artistry, he suggests, are restricted by the presence of melody. Explicitly acknowledging the link between the idea of "divorce" and a teleological, evolutionary view of literary history, he goes on to state, "Paradossalmente potrà dirsi che a determinare le condizioni di sviluppo della grande lirica italiana ed europea ha contribuito in via preliminare la carenza d'educazione musicale nelle *schole notariorum*" (*Paradoxically, we can say that the lack of musical education in the* schole notariorum *contributed in a preliminary way to the development*

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[26] Similar observations have been made by Lannutti as well, who suggests that underlying Roncaglia's discussion is the desire to hold up Italian lyric as new and different. Ibid., 161.

[27] Roncaglia, "Divorzio," 391.

of the great Italian and European lyric).[28]

Like Carducci, Roncaglia and others who support the "divorce" hypothesis are interested in constructing for Italian literature a strong and autonomous heritage, in which the celebrated work of Dante and Petrarch is recognized as a logical culmination rather than an isolated instance of poetic virtuosity. These authors, too, associate the presence of music with "popular," "un-intellectual" culture. For Carducci, this association is a positive one because it allows him to identify an Italian literary tradition that is both unquestionably native and universal. Roncaglia, Contini, and De Bartholomaeis, on the other hand, are deeply invested in disassociating *poesia aulica* from any kind of "popular" residue that might taint its cultural prestige. De Bartholomaeis himself makes this quite clear when he defines the poets of the Sicilian school as "*persone di cultura superiore*" who produced aristocratic poetry destined for reading not singing or recitation, "poesia offerta al giudizio di gente di cultura raffinata, esigente: opera, in una parola, di uomini da penna, non da liuto" (*...poetry offered to the judgment of culturally refined, exacting men, in short, poetry belonging to men of the pen, not [men] of the lute*).[29]

The problems with this view are abundant. As Pirrotta has suggested, the ideology hiding behind all three authors' treatment of music has led to a misrepresentation of early Italian poets' intellectual background as well as to an undervaluing of music's role in later traditions, most specifically in the work of Dante.[30] Furthermore, placing a higher value on texts that are seemingly free of musical associations is a subjective endeavor based more on modern aesthetics than on concrete historical evidence. Highlighting this issue, Lannutti proposes that it would be more fruitful to consider the complexity of lyric composition in relation to genres and registers, focusing on the poet's stylistic and formal choices.[31] In this way, we might move beyond subjective judgments to more objective and more nuanced discussions of the repertoire that recognize all styles and registers as artistically valid options and seek to explain their cultural and literary significance.

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[28] Ibid. Emphasis added.

[29] De Bartholomaeis, *Primordi*, 121.

[30] Pirrotta, "Scuola siciliana," 6.

Moreover, moving away from subjective value judgments and turning instead to the detailed analysis of texts and other source material has the potential to better elucidate the gradual shift in the relationship between poetry and music that occurred during the late Middle Ages. Lannutti offers one example of how this shift might be investigated through analysis of versification. She examines the treatment of supernumerary unaccented vowels (*vocali atone sovranumerarie*) and of *sinalefe* in the early Italian lyric repertoire up through Petrarch and the way in which these phenomena are expressed in manuscripts.[32] Extra unaccented vowels are found frequently in the Provençal repertoire and in the earliest Italian lyric repertoire. Lannutti posits that they serve a function similar to liquescent neumes in musical manuscripts, signaling moments where the performer should linger over the pronunciation for reasons of clarity. These extra syllables, however, occur much less frequently in works of the *stilnovisti* and later poets, so much so that when they appear in Petrarch's oeuvre they can be considered an intentional anachronism and a clear intertextual reference employed for specific expressive reasons. Lannutti argues that the decrease in the frequency of surplus vowels and the corresponding decrease in the elasticity of versification is related to the growing distance between lyric and musical production. In other words, changes in poetic technique are linked to an increasing separation between literature and song at the creative level. Significantly, the evidence Lannutti presents points towards a gradual separation of the two disciplines over the course of the trecento. Her analysis thus suggests a crucial revision to the "divorce" hypothesis. Freeing our understanding of the relationship between music and poetry from a teleological view of the Italian lyric tradition, she demonstrates that interactions between the two artistic media are worthy of consideration by philologists as well as musicologists because of their impact on literary style.

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[31] Lannutti, "Poesia cantata, musica scritta," 162.

[32] Maria Sofia Lannutti, "Implicazioni musicali nella versificazione italiana del due-trecento (con un excursus sulla rima interna da Giuttone a Petrarca)," *Stilistica e metrica italiana* 8 (2008). *Sinalefe* is a metric phenomenon in Italian verse by which two adjacent vowels in separate words are counted as a single syllable when computing the total number of syllables in the verse. For example, although all vowels are distinctly pronounced, in verse 6 of *Ben che io senta*, which reads "*le rime tue convien che mandi^altrove,*" the final syllable of *mandi* and the first syllable of *altrove* must be counted as one in order to have a standard hendecasyllabic verse. *Sinalefe* is traditionally marked in modern editions with the symbol (^).

Where We Are Today: "Poesia per Musica" in Modern Scholarship

While the "divorce" between music and poetry proposed by Roncaglia and others is not directly germane to trecento song, this discourse has colored our approach to later repertories as well. A complex conflation of multiple binary oppositions—"high" versus "low," "written" versus "oral," "intellectual" versus "popular," and "musical" versus "non-musical"—lurks behind the traditional narrative told about the early development of Italian lyric. I would argue that the use of these taxonomies in the seminal secondary literature pertaining to both the Sicilian school and to *poesia per musica* affects the way in which both philologists and musicologists continue to approach the relationship between music and poetry and more broadly between the worlds of literature and music in the tre- and quattrocento.

This impact is seen most clearly in modern literary anthologies, literary histories, and metric manuals. All tend to group trecento madrigals, ballate, and cacce into the category of *poesia per musica*, which is usually hidden within a brief section dedicated to "other" forms or "minor" poets. Placed in opposition to *poesia aulica*, *poesia per musica* is treated as functional poetry, completely subservient to its music. Seen not as art for art's sake but rather as poetry designed for entertainment, musical forms have received little more than minimal attention in these kinds of reference sources, from the *Cambridge History of Italian Literature* to Cesare Segre and Carlo Ossola's *Antologia della poesia italiana* and Pietro Beltrami's *Metrica italiana*.[33] Moreover, the poetry selected for musical treatment by trecento composers is often described in disparaging terms. Even Claudia Vela, who elsewhere advocates for the serious study of poetry as it is copied in notated sources, describes madrigals as "di solito scarsamente originali e ad alto tasso di convenzionalità" (*often scarcely original and containing a high degree of conventionality*).[34] Similarly, Alberto Gallo states that during the trecento a clear distinction was made between "sophisticated poetry like the canzoni and sonetti which have their authoritative tradition in individual or collective literary manuscripts" and "less refined poetical production, that of madrigals and cacce, whose anonymous tradition is based only on musical manuscripts."[35]

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[33] Peter Brand and Lino Pertile, eds. *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Cesare Segre and Carlo Ossola, eds. *Antologia della poesia italiana*, 8 vols., (Turin: Einaudi-Gallimard, 1999); and Pietro G. Beltrami, *La metrica italiana*, 5th ed. (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011).

[34] Segre and Ossola, eds. *Antologia della poesia italiana*, 365.

[35] F. Alberto Gallo, "The Musical and Literary Tradition of Fourteenth Century Poetry Set to Music," in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 59–60.

In a literary world built on a "divorce" between music and poetry and on the subsequent elevation of autonomous verbal artistry, these kinds of value judgments are perhaps inevitable. But even if they are not wholly inaccurate, they are not particularly useful in helping us to understand the composition or the reception of this repertoire, for they tempt us to shy away from comparative analysis and from detailed investigations of literary features that would place song texts in more direct relation with other literary production. We have barely explored, for example, the metric and linguistic characteristics of song texts, characteristics that, if understood, could elucidate the literary context in which the poet situated his work. If we move away from the "divorce" hypothesis, we may be more inclined to interrogate song texts as literary objects not just as musical ones. By treating music and literature as artistic endeavors that are united rather than divided in terms of their creation and their circulation, we become free to investigate the poet's choices of lexicon, meter, and rhetorical devices in addition to the composer's musical choices in our interpretation of a song's style and register. This kind of interdisciplinary analysis has the potential to expose a more complex and more nuanced picture of the cultural and intellectual associations connected with trecento song by not only composers and performers but also poets and readers.

To judge from the almost total absence of other philologically oriented studies of ballate, madrigals, and cacce, the reference sources noted above reflect the general attitude towards *poesia per musica* in literary scholarship: essentially, an attitude of indifference and disinterest that seems to stem primarily from the conviction that musical poetry must carry only minimal literary significance. Certainly, our inability to connect most trecento song texts to specific authors complicates their analysis from a literary point of view, for it prevents us from pursuing many of the most common avenues of inquiry (authorial style, relation to the poet's oeuvre, etc). Their overwhelming anonymity may in fact even be a reflection of the way in which contemporary readers perceived their literary status. Nevertheless, these factors should not persuade us to marginalize *poesia per musica*, especially given the frequency with which poetry was transmitted anonymously in literary manuscripts regardless of the fame of its author.

Instead, I suggest that we would do better to explore what these observations tell us about the relationship between the texts set by trecento composers and the greater Italian lyric tradition. Rather than taking statements about the separation between music and poetry or about the comparative value of *poesia per musica* and *poesia aulica* as fact, it may be more productive to ask what implications might follow from their truth or their fallacy. I do not aim to disprove entirely previous arguments about the role of music in the Italian lyric tradition, for as I have already explained, the "divorce" hypothesis is not entirely invalid. Rather, I aim to redirect our perspective by changing the questions asked and the kinds of answers sought. If composers eschew the poetry of Dante and Petrarch preferring instead poems with less prominent literary traditions, why? What, from the composer's perspective, might make one poem better suited for musical treatment than another? And if the idea of "divorce" grows out of a very tangible, real shift in the role of the poet over the course of the due- and trecento, is there not something more to be said about the motivations for and the implications of this new division of labor?

The indifference towards song texts in literary scholarship is, for the most part, not echoed in music scholarship. While philologists have worked to bolster the "divorce" hypothesis, musicologists have been interested in promoting a more symbiotic relationship in which poetic text and musical text are collaborators in an artistic product whose value and meaning depends on both elements.[36] Still, musicologists, like philologists, have continued to marginalize the literary value of *poesia per musica* and have avoided giving serious consideration to questions like those just posed. Gallo's characterization of the madrigal and the caccia as "less refined" poetry, Ziino's assertion that song texts lack an independent literary tradition, and other similar statements make it abundantly clear that even as we strive to incorporate the poetic texts and their literary lives into our analysis of this repertoire, we are hindered by the implications of the term *poesia per musica* and by the concept of a musico-poetic "divorce."

It is not only the occasional comment, however, that demonstrates how little weight song texts have been given in the scholarly discourse. The most comprehensive discussions of the poetry intoned by trecento composers are introductions to *poesia per musica* as an autonomous literary genre. Several studies fall into this category: the chapter on "musical" poetry from the duecento and trecento authored by Gallo in volume 6 of *Letteratura italiana*, the chapter entitled "Rime per musica e danza" by Ziino in volume 2 of *Storia della letteratura italiana*, and the chapter on the trecento in James Haar's collection *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance*.[37] Like Carducci's "Musica e poesia," these studies all open with a brief history of the relationship between poetry and music in the Italian tradition, discussing the role of musical performance in the transmission of canzoni and other poems by Dante, his contemporaries, and his immediate predecessors. They then go on to survey the primary metric characteristics of the madrigal, the ballata, and the caccia and the wide range of topoi found in this poetry. Intended as introductory discussions, they are extremely useful as points of departure for further study. What we are still lacking, though, is a systematic, comprehensive investigation of song texts and their relation to the production and circulation of other Italian poetry.[38]

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[36] Nino Pirrotta has discussed this difference in approach between musical and literary scholarship, especially in regards to the role of music in the Sicilian and Siculo-Tuscan schools. See Pirrotta, "Scuola siciliana."

[37] F. Alberto Gallo, "Dal duecento al quattrocento," in *Letteratura italiana,* vol. 6 *Teatro, musica, tradizione dei classici*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa (Turin: Einaudi, 1986); Ziino, "Rime;" and James Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350–1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). To this list we can also add two older studies by Italian philologists: Ettore Li Gotti's book *La poesia musicale italiana del sec. XIV* (Palermo: Palumbo, 1944) and Antonio Lanza's study "Caratteri e forme della poesia per musica del secolo XIV," in *Studi sulla lirica del Trecento*, ed. Antonio Lanza (Rome: Bulzoni, 1978).

There are several small-scale studies addressing individual aspects of trecento song texts and the text-music relationship that illustrate the potential value of this kind of inquiry. Yet without a global exploration of the poetic repertoire to serve as a background, each of these studies stands essentially on its own. Compounding this problem, little effort has been made to synthesize and consolidate the information presented in the few studies we do have. These targeted examinations fall into three broad categories: those dealing with the technical relationship between text and music, those analyzing one or a few individual works, and those discussing the literary transmission of song texts. In the next several paragraphs, I summarize the current state of musicological research on the musico-poetic relationship in trecento secular polyphonic song and introduce the most significant contributions in each of these three categories.

Studies investigating the technical correspondence between text and music have primarily been concerned with text declamation and underlay in narrowly circumscribed subsets of the Italian *ars nova* repertoire. Focusing on the relation of text to music in several of Ciconia's works, Dorothea Baumann argues that trecento and early-quattrocento composers were precise in their word underlay and very deliberate in their treatment of syllabic and full-word repetition.[39] Kurt von Fischer notes variability among the notated sources in terms of the number of texted voices in Landini's three-part ballate and in terms of the underlay itself in Landini's two-part madrigals.[40] While not undermining Baumann's point that careful and precise correlation between text and melody is characteristic of the trecento repertoire, von Fischer highlights the need, still acute two decades later, for new, philologically sound editions that carefully consider the impact of scribal practice on texting and notation.

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[38] I am not the first to draw attention to this lacuna in trecento scholarship. Marco Gozzi makes a similar observation in his 2004 article on the text-music relationship in Jacopo da Bologna's *Non al suo amante*. See Marco Gozzi, "Sul rapporto testo-musica nel Trecento italiano: il caso del madrigale petrarchesco *Non al so amante* intonato da Jacopo da Bologna," *Polifonie* IV, no. 3 (2004): 189.

Agostino Ziino has studied text repetition, tracing shifts in composers' approach to text setting over the course of the trecento.[41] He raises interesting and astute questions regarding the possible functions of repetition and links to compositional style, questions that have important ramifications for our understanding of the relationship between music and text. The hypotheses he formulates, however, require further investigation given that his study is based on the modern editions of only 152 works. In contrast to Ziino's investigation, which deals with manipulations of the original text, Sandra Dieckmann and Oliver Huck's discussion of *versi sdruccioli* and *versi tronchi* demonstrates composers' concern for maintaining the metric identity of the texts they set in many cases.[42] Dieckmann and Huck's approach is particularly germane to this dissertation because of its incorporation of trecento literary theory and its effort to situate the occurrence of these metric phenomena in song texts within the broader context of their use in contemporary Italian lyric as a whole.[43]

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[39] Dorothea Baumann, "Silben- und Wortwiederholungen im italienischen Liedrepertoire des späten Trecento und des frühen Quattrocento," in *Musik und Text.*

[40] Kurt von Fischer, "Text Underlay in Landini's Ballate for Three Voices," *Current Musicology*, 45/47 (1989) and "A Study on Text Declamation in Francesco Landini's Two-Part Madrigals," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) in Memoriam,* vol. 1, ed. H. L. Dittmer, Institute of Medieaval Music, *Musicological Studies* 49 (1984).

[41] Agostino Ziino, "Ripetizioni di sillabe e parole nella musica profana italiana del trecento e del primo quattrocento: proposte di classificazione e prime riflessioni," in *Musik und Text.*

Finally, in her study of the Rossi codex, Tiziana Sucato comments on the correspondence between verse scansion and musical settings as well as on the relationship between verse structure and musical phrase structure.[44] Regarding the early madrigal, Sucato finds that the most important poetic unit is the first verse of the *terzina*, which is clearly demarcated in the musical settings. For subsequent verses, the musical phrase structure does not always mirror the verse structure as closely. Moreover, in her discussion of metric single pitch ligatures (*ligature di parigrado metriche*), Sucato suggests that while the syllable count of each verse is significant, metric figures are not always reflected musically.[45] A complex issue that is central to the text-music relationship in the trecento repertoire, the correspondence between musical and poetic structure and the awareness among composers and scribes of prosody and scansion is discussed in Chapter 4. When read in relation to each other, these targeted investigations highlight the lack of a consistent approach to text setting across this repertoire. The variation seen in the evidence presented and in the conclusions drawn demonstrates the impossibility of formulating simple generalizations and the danger of extrapolating broad hypotheses about composers' treatment of poetic texts from a small group of works. While each study introduces salient characteristics of the limited repertoire at hand, without a global examination of Italian *ars nova* polyphony to provide an analytical framework, it is difficult to interpret the full significance of their findings.

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[42] Sandra Dieckmann and Oliver Huck, "Versi sdruccioli e versi tronchi nella poesia e nella musica del Due- e Trecento," *Stilistica e metrica italiana* 7 (2007).

[43] One other study that incorporates both musicological and literary scholarship is Elena Abramov-van Rijk's discussion of the *parlar cantando* practice. While I do not agree with all of her analysis, Abramov-van Rijk's study is nevertheless important for the primary source material it highlights. A subject deserving of further consideration, the relationship between music and oral traditions of poetic recitation may well hold clues regarding broader links between musical and poetic practices in late medieval Italy. Elena Abramov-van Rijk, *Parlar cantando: The practice of reciting verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2009).

[44] Tiziana Sucato, ed. *Il Codice Rossiano 215: Madrigali, ballate, una caccia, un rotondello* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2003).

[45] On the relationship between text and music in the earliest trecento repertoire also see Oliver Huck's study, *Die Musik des frühen Trecento*, (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2005).

We are faced with a similar problem when dealing with analyses of textual content and meaning. A few detailed readings of single works, or a small group of works, focus on the literary side of song texts. These readings draw attention to the care with which composers approach the poetic text and emphasize the extent to which musical and literary circles were connected during the trecento. However, they too do so on a local rather than a global scale. Francesco Facchin, for example, has examined the influence of Petrarch's *Rerum vulgaria fragmenta* on song texts set by Donato da Cascia, Niccolò da Perugia, and Paolo da Firenze, highlighting both overt intertextual references and more subtle lexical allusions.[46] His analysis traces the formation of the Petrarchan model through the late trecento and into the early quattrocento and shows that the poet's influence became more developed and more consolidated with the passage of time. These findings are particularly significant in terms of their impact on our picture of Petrarch's early reception, for they suggest that the poet's work may have been more widely diffused during the later trecento than literary scholars have often been inclined to think.[47]

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[46] In his edition of *poesie musicali*, Giuseppe Corsi points out numerous intertextual references to *poesia aulica*, including allusions to Dante as well as Petrarch. Giuseppe Corsi, *Poesie musicali del Trecento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970).

[47] Petrarch's *Canzoniere* did not circulate much before his death in 1374, and it is generally believed

Pierluigi Pietrobelli and Marco Gozzi have also explored connections between Petrarch and trecento music making, focusing on Jacopo da Bologna's setting of *Non al suo amante*, the only known intonation of the poet's work dating from the fourteenth century.[48] While Pietrobelli discusses potential biographical links between Jacopo and Petrarch, Gozzi uses the madrigal to propose one potential model for the analysis of the relationship between text and music. Like Dieckmann and Huck, Gozzi notes the close correspondence between musical structure and poetic structure, both on the macro level (equivalence between verse structure and phrase structure) and the micro level (correspondence between musical accents and textual accents). Gozzi has also discussed connections between the trecento musical repertoire and the ballate in Boccaccio's *Decameron*.[49] In particular, he suggests that *Io son sì vaga della mia bellezza* (performed by Emilia at the end of the first day) and *Amor, s'io posso uscir de' tuoi artigli* (performed by Elissa at the end of the 6th day) could both be sung to Gherardello's monophonic setting of *I' vivo, amando, sempre con paura* and even implies that Boccaccio's ballate may be *contrafacta*.

Evidence of my earlier assertion that the concept of *poesia per musica* and the "divorce" hypothesis have limited scholarly inquiry into trecento song texts can be found even among these studies that prioritize poetic analysis. All but two focus on connections to the *Tre Corone*—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Only Pedro Memelsdorff's study of *Sì dolce non*

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that only at this point did the poet begin to enter Italian literary consciousness in any broad sense, with his influence becoming pervasive over the course of the fifteenth century. Steven Botterill, "Minor Writers," in *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, 112.

[48] Pierluigi Pietrobelli, "'Un leggiadretto velo' e altre cose petrarchesche," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975) and Gozzi, "Rapporto testo-musica."

[49] Marco Gozzi, "Boccaccio, Gherardello e una ballata monodica," in *'Dolci e nuove note': L'ars nova italiana del Trecento 7*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2009) and "Cantare il *Decamerone*: intonazioni trecentesche su testi di Boccaccio," in *Con-scientia musica: contrappunti per Rossana Dalmonte e Mario Baroni*, ed. Anna Rita Addessi et al. (Lucca: LIM, 2010).

sonò and Elena Abramov-van Rijk's analysis of *Aquila altera* explore other literary influences and connections.[50] Memelsdorff presents Francesco degli organi's (Francesco Landini) setting of *Sì dolce non sonò* as a calculated reading of the poem in which the composer calls upon text and music in combination to establish his artistic authority.[51] While most discussions of text and music in the trecento repertoire focus on structural correspondences, Memelsdorff's analysis suggests that musical settings responded to syntactic meaning as well. Abramov-van Rijk approaches the relationship between song texts and literature from a very different angle in her reading of Jacopo da Bologna's *Aquila altera,* which places the polytextual madrigal in the context of medieval bestiaries. She argues that *Aquila altera* is not filled with specific heraldic references, as was previously believed, but rather is a sophisticated moralizing and allegorical text that uses the eagle as a symbol for truth, good judgment, and *giustizia*.

Much work thus remains to be done to reintegrate the worlds of music and poetry in the late trecento. As each of these isolated studies shows, we have much to learn from the close examination of song texts and from incorporating literary scholarship into musicological discussions. We are, however, still awaiting a comprehensive study of the poetry set by trecento composers that deals with both syntactic content and metric characteristics. Furthermore, we need to relate the findings of such a study to what is currently known about the production and circulation of contemporary "non-musical" lyric poetry. In particular, our understanding of this repertoire would be greatly enriched by further exploring intertextual relationships between multiple song texts, between song texts and well-known *poesia aulica*, and between song texts and other literary works, such as bestiaries. While textual analysis offers one important way to expand our picture of the interaction between music and literature, another key point of entry is found in source studies. The material world that is home to trecento song is both wide and varied. Notated sources range from extensive, deluxe anthologies (the Squarcialupi codex) to sloppy notebook-like collections (London 29987) to palimpsests (San Lorenzo 2211) and even musical notes jotted in blank space at the end of non-musical books (Assisi 187). Furthermore, these manuscripts have relatively broad geographic and temporal origins, copied throughout Europe from the mid fourteenth century to the 1420s.[52]

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[50] Pedro Memelsdorff, "La 'tibia' di Apollo, i modelli di Jacopo e l'eloquenza landiniana," in *Con dolce suon che da te piove: Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo*, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani (Florence: SISMEL, 1999) and Elena Abramov-van Rijk, "The Madrigal *Aquil'altera* by Jacopo da Bologna and Intertextual Relationships in the Musical Repertory of the Italian Trecento," *Early Music History* 28 (2009).

[51] Francesco degli organi is more commonly known in modern scholarship as Francesco Landini. However, both Michael Cuthbert and Alberto Gallo have pointed out that the composer was not linked to the surname Landini during his own lifetime and that his association with the Landini family is in fact tenuous. More historically accurate names for the composer would thus be Francesco da Firenze (which Cuthbert adopts), Franciscus cecus, or Francesco degli organi. In this dissertation, I follow the latter of the three, Francesco degli organi, because of its predominance in both musical and literary manuscripts. Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006), 492–495 and F. Alberto Gallo, "Lorenzo Masini e Francesco degli Organi in S. Lorenzo," *Studi musicali* 4 (1975): 59.

As stated at the outset of this chapter, I propose a source-based approach to the relationship between literary and musical traditions in trecento Italy that highlights both notated and un-notated manuscripts. Examining the transmission of song texts in literary sources, I will discuss how these sources reflect the ways in which medieval scribes and readers perceived "musical" texts in relation to poetic traditions. In the final portion of this chapter, I introduce these sources and outline my approach to their analysis. Through a fresh evaluation of the text-only manuscripts, focusing on their material characteristics and on their identity as literary (rather than musical) objects, I demonstrate the inadequacy of the classification *poesia per musica*.

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[52] For an overview of the notated sources of Italian (and other European) polyphony, see Stanely Boorman, et al. "Sources, MS," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:4087/subscriber/article/grove/music/50158pg8 (accessed February 27, 2012). On non-Italian fragments of Italian polyphony, see Michael Scott Cuthbert, "The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments and the International Ars Nova," *Studi musicali*, nuova serie I, no. 1 (2010), 7–51 and "Trecento Fragments."

THE LITERARY TRANSMISSION OF TRECENTO SONG: AN INTRODUCTION

We have long been aware that song texts were sometimes copied in poetic manuscripts. Still, other than Sacchetti's sonnet *Ben che io senta*, the primary justification provided for the term *poesia per musica* is that this repertoire rarely circulated "*senza vestimenta*," or without polyphonic garments. Scholars have found evidence for this rarity in both the small number of song texts transmitted without notation and in the ostensibly musical derivation of those that do appear in poetic collections.[53] Even the two studies that deal most extensively with the corpus of text-only sources, Gallo's initial investigation and Gianluca D'Agostino's more extensive introduction, treat these sources as musical objects despite their lack of notation.[54] Asserting that literary scribes overwhelmingly copied from notated exemplars when working with "musical" texts, Gallo, D'Agostino, and Ziino all see these un-notated poetic collections as nothing more than a reflection of each poem's "diffusion as a text set to music."[55] Consequently, studies of these manuscripts have all but ignored the literary contexts in which the song texts are situated and neglect to explore what the material evidence may reveal about the relationship between "musical" and "non-musical" poetry. Instead, they are concerned with issues that seem more pertinent to the musical repertoire—uncovering readings that correct textual errors transmitted through the musical tradition, proving a composer's authorship of a given poem, and searching for traces of lost notated sources.

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[53] See, for example, Ziino, "Rime," 458.

[54] Gallo, "Literary Tradition" and Gianluca D'Agostino, "La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento: una revisione per dati e problemi. (L'area toscana)," in *Con dolce suon*.

[55] Gallo, "Literary Tradition," 75.

The literary tradition of trecento song, however, is not as scarce as the secondary literature suggests. Six hundred and one secular songs with Italian texts from the trecento survive today: 409 ballate, 166 madrigals, and 27 cacce.[56] One hundred and nine (or about 18%) are also transmitted without notation in literary sources. This number climbs to 130 if we include the twenty-one poems that Franco Sacchetti indicates were set to music in his holograph manuscript, Ashburnham 574, but whose settings have since been lost. These 130 song texts are listed along with their concordances in Appendix 2 on page 341. Finally, of the song texts that appear in non-musical manuscripts, at most sixty-two are by known authors, meaning that nearly 50% of "musical" poems granted a literary tradition were anonymous.

The tradition of trecento secular song comes down to us in eight complete notated *canzonieri* and thirty-four fragments with Italian origins dating from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (listed in Table 4.2 on page 232). In comparison, there are fifty-four known manuscripts containing song texts without musical notation, and there may well be more that have not yet been discovered.[57] These sources are listed in Table 1.1. Twenty-six are roughly contemporary with the musical sources, dating from the late trecento and the early decades of the quattrocento when the songs were still in active performance repertoire. Ten date from the middle of the fifteenth century shortly after the music of trecento composers fell out of fashion, and fifteen date from the turn of the sixteenth century and beyond. Significantly, only a select few overtly acknowledge the musicality of their song texts through rubrics, marginalia, or explanations in narrative prose. These are: Sacchetti's holograph; the two manuscripts that transmit Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*; Trivulziana 193, containing Sercambi's Novelle; the *cantasi come* sources;[58] and Chigiano M.IV.79, the only literary source to contain several poems labeled "*canzone tonata*" (intoned song).

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[56] Michael Cuthbert, "Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of Schism," *Musica Disciplina* 54 (2009).

[57] The literary tradition examined in this dissertation has been pieced together from manuscripts cited in secondary sources, and primarily consists of those listed by Corsi, Gallo, and D'Agostino. While it is beyond the scope of the present study to search library catalogs and manuscript inventories for new text-only sources, it is hoped that the increasing digitalization of resources pertaining to medieval manuscripts will soon make such an inquiry more feasible on a large scale.

A reassessment of these fifty-four literary sources and an analysis of their relationship to the notated tradition of trecento song forms the core of this dissertation. In discussing literary sources that have heretofore been little studied, as well as the gamut of notated sources transmitting trecento secular polyphony, my aim is to further both musicological and literary scholarship. Organizing a discussion of so many sources, most of which have little in common with each other, is inevitably challenging. There are a number of different ways in which the literary manuscripts might be parsed into groups of loosely related sources—according to provenance, type of repertoire, method of organization, grade of confection, etc. For the purposes of this dissertation, the most useful is a macro division into four groups based on reportorial characteristics: 1) sources primarily featuring canonic *poesia aulica,* 2) sources primarily featuring *poesia popolare* (problematic nature of these categorizations notwithstanding), 3) sources in which song texts are incorporated as musical interludes in large-scale narrative works, and 4) collections of laude with *cantasi come* indications. Classifying the manuscripts in this way draws attention to the fact that song texts appear without notation in a wide variety of contexts and highlights the paucity of text-only sources in which a text's musicality plays a central role in its literary life. Table 1.1 parses the text-only sources into these groups. The sources in groups 1 and 2 are discussed in detail in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively. Although an in-depth study of the sources in groups 3 and 4 is beyond the scope of this dissertation, all of the sources in Table 1.2 are described in Appendix 1, which provides brief information regarding codicological features and a summary of each manuscript's treatment of song texts.

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[58] *Cantasi come* sources are literary collections of *contrafacta* laude in which poems are accompanied by rubrics instructing the reader which secular ballata (monophonic or polyphonic) is to serve as the musical model for the new devotional text.

TABLE 1.1: TEXT-ONLY SOURCES CONTAINING TRECENTO SONG

SOURCES HIGHLIGHTING POESIA AULICA

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 177.3 (early 17th c, copy of earlier ms)
Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1072 XI 9 (15th c)
Cape Town, South African Library, Grey 7 b 5 (15th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, XL.43 (15th c, 1st half?)
*Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, XC. Inf. 37 (15th c, 2nd half)
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574 (late 14th c) (*Sacchetti's holograph*)
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ashburnham 569 (late 14th c or early 15th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Palatino 105 (15th c, 1st half?)
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Rediano 184 (15th and 16th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi C.I.1746 (14th–15th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 640 (early 16th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1041 (16th c, 1st half)
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1187 (15th and 16th c)
*Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 204 (16th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 288 (16th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 315 (late 14th and early 15th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1100 (early 15th c)
*Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1118 (16th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2786[11] (15th c, 1st half?)
Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX. 28 (15th c, 2nd half)
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana E 56 Sup (early 15th c)
*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds italien 554 (16th c)
Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081 (early 15th c)
Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, C 43 (early 15th c)
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberino latino 3695 (early 15th c)
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.IV.131 (16th and 17th c)
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.300 (17th c)
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.301 (14th-16th c)
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.IV.79 (late 15th c)
*Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.VII.142 (16th c)

*Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Patetta 352 (19th c)
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 3195 (14th c) (*Partial holograph of Petrarch's RVF*)
*Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 3213 (16th c, 1st half)
Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, XIV, lat. 233 (early 15th c)

(* Indicates manuscripts derived from the *Raccolta Aragonese*)

Sources highlighting poesia popolare/popolareggiante
Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, C.155 (early 15th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61 (late 14th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1040 (gathering 1, 15th c; gathering 10, late 14th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1078 (15th c, 1st half)
Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale 43 (gathering 1: 15th c)

Bologna Archive Covers
Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Archivi Privati, *Lambertini*, busta 48 (early 15th c)
Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Comune-Governo, Consigli e ufficiali del comune, *Consiglio dei Quattromila*, busta 58 (early 15th c)
Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *Notarile*, Filippo Formaglini, filza 22.14 (early 15th c)
Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *Notarile*, Paolo Cospi, registro 14.1A (14th c)
Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Ufficcio dei Memorilai, *Provvisori*, serie pergamenacea, busta 36, registro 5 (14th c)

Sources where song texts are incorporated into narrative contexts
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1280 (Giovanni Gherardi, *Paradiso degli Alberti*) (15th c)
Lucca, Archivio di Stato, 107 (Sercambi, *Cronache*, part 1) (early 15th c)
Lucca, Archivio di Stato, 266 (Sercambi, *Cronache*, part 2) (early 15th c)
Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana 193 (Sercambi, *Novelle*) (14th c)

Cantasi come sources
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano-Strozziano XXXVIII.130 (late 14th c)
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1764 (early 15th c) (*contains secular model*)
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2224 (15th c, 1st half) (*laude only*)
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2871 (15th c) (*contains secular model*)
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VII.266 (15th c, 2nd half) (*laude only*)

On the Possibility of Musical Origins

The statistics outlined above clearly illustrate the need for a fresh evaluation of trecento song's literary circulation. As will be shown in the chapters and appendices that follow, my analysis reveals the assertion that the text-only sources are merely an extension of the repertoire's musical dissemination is no longer tenable. Central to this dissertation is a reassessment of the possible exemplars used for the song texts in these manuscripts. Careful consideration of their musicality or lack there of is absolutely essential to our understanding of the literary transmission of song, for as I have already stressed derivation from notated sources has been repeatedly cited as a justification for the term *poesia per musica*. Furthermore, I would like to suggest that musical origins for a given poetic collection should not necessarily negate the "literariness" of song texts contained within. Regardless of whether or not they were copied from notated manuscripts, once entered in these literary collections the song texts function as poetry.

The idea that song texts must stem from musical exemplars may seem reasonable, not to mention tempting, from the musicological perspective. Proving such origins, however, is a difficult and complicated task that requires us to establish a firm set of analytical criteria. Before presenting my own criteria, it will be useful to outline the characteristics cited by other scholars as markers of musical derivation. Although exploring possible exemplars for text-only manuscripts it is not his main focus, Gianluca D'Agostino identifies several potential criteria in his article "La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento."[59] Aiming to prove that literary manuscripts can have musical significance, he lists the following as telltale signs that a notated exemplar was used:

- *Didascalie or rubriche* (Labels or rubrics)

  For example, rubrics identifying a poem as musical in some way. Also in some cases rubrics attributing a poem to a composer rather than a poet.

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[59] D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria."

- *Disposizione dei pezzi nei codici e loro sequenze tipiche* (Disposition of pieces within the codices and their typical sequences)

  When a literary manuscript presents poems in the same order as they appear in a known musical manuscript.

- *Fenomeni morfologici ed ecdotici dei testi* (morphological and ecdotic phenomena of texts)

  For example, when a literary manuscript presents a poem as incomplete such that it lacks the verses which would be copied as residual text (or not at all) in a music manuscript. We might also include in this category instances where the literary manuscript presents repetitions not found in the original poetic text that replicate repetitions in the musical setting.[60]

In her 2008 dissertation on French poetic sources containing texts set by fifteenth-century composers, Katherine Sewright addresses in more detail the possibility of musical origins for literary manuscripts. Her main criterion for establishing derivation from a musical exemplar is the percentage of known song texts within a given section. Each discrete section in which at least 25% of the texts either have musical concordances or are identified in other documents as having musical settings is classified as one that was copied from a notated source. For example, Sewright suggests that the group of poems she terms collection D in the Rohan *chansonnier* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.B.17) may have been copied from a notated exemplar because twenty-four of its eighty-two poems (29%) have extant musical settings in other manuscripts.[61] Sewright also cites two additional criteria that support claims of musical origins. The first is a high instance of textual readings that are close or identical to those found in musical sources. The second is the disposition of musical texts within a given section. If the musical texts are scattered throughout the section rather than grouped together in one isolated chunk, it is considered more likely that the entire section derives from a notated source and that even those texts lacking extant settings were once intoned.[62]

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[60] On the significance of irregular repetition within a song text copied sans notation, see Agostino Ziino and Fabio Carboni, "*O rosa bella* tra canto, oralità e scrittura: una nuova fonte," *Studj Romanzi* Nuova Serie, V-VI (2009–2010).

[61] Kathleen Frances Sewright, "Poetic Anthologies of Fifteenth-Century France and Their Rela-

The criteria employed by D'Agostino and Sewright are valid as potential signs that a text-only manuscript may be derived from a musical source.[63] However, as concrete proof this evidence is shaky at best—convincing only if one assumes song texts are inherently musical as opposed to literary in the first place. The presence of a high percentage of texts with known musical settings within a given codicological section is significant, but in isolation it is no more indicative of direct musical derivation than it is of second- or third-hand association with a notated source. Given that indirect musical origins imply the existence of additional literary sources containing song texts, only direct derivation from a notated source can be taken as a sign of limited literary dissemination. Furthermore, evaluating the percentage of musical texts within a given section or the correspondence in order between poetic sources and notated ones, the codicological and paleographic features of the text-only source must be taken into account. Sewright's analysis is more convincing than D'Agostino's in this regard, for she divides the texts in each source into discrete sections based on codicological evidence. Thus, she only

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tionship to Collections of the French Secular Polyphonic Chanson" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2008), 55.

[62] Sewright, "Poetic Anthologies," esp. 55–57 and 97–99.

[63] Giuseppe Corsi also invokes similar criteria in support of his claims that various poems in text-only sources were copied from musical manuscripts. Corsi, *Poesie musicali*.

treats texts as a group if they are physically linked in the manuscript. D'Agostino, however, sometimes finds correspondence in order between poetic manuscripts and musical ones when the texts are not adjacent or even necessarily contained within a single layer of copying in the un-notated manuscript.[64]

Rubrics and marginalia may also provide useful clues regarding potential musical origins and the scribe's awareness of a given text's alternate, intoned form. These too, though, must be considered in relation to the surrounding material context and in relation to each manuscript's idiosyncratic use of potentially ambiguous labels such as "*canzona*" and "*cantilena*." Furthermore, rubrics that attribute a poem to the composer of its musical setting are not automatically indicative of recourse to a notated exemplar. As D'Agostino himself notes, there are at least three reasons why a poem might by attributed to a composer in a text-only source:[65]

1. The composer may also be the poet of the text and is recognized as such by the scribe.
2. The scribe was copying from a notated source that, as was customary, indicated only the name of the composer.
3. The text was copied from an un-notated source, but when it passed from musical into literary transmission, it was accompanied by the name of the composer rather than the poet, as it would have been in a notated song collection.

In the case of attribution, then, a composer's name only denotes direct musical origins if additional conditions are met.

The final criterion to be considered concerns the presentation of the text, specifically the number of verses or stanzas included. D'Agostino, Gallo, and Corsi have all suggested that when a text appears in a poetic manuscript in incomplete form such that the verses not normally aligned under the musical notation are omitted, it is probable that the text derives from a notated exemplar. Truncation of poems in this manner may indicate musical origins but cannot be considered conclusive evidence for a number of reasons. First, a large percentage of song texts transmitted in musical manuscripts are complete in these sources, with their extra text presented clearly in the *residuum*. Were the scribe of the poetic source copying from a notated manuscript with a complete *residuum*, would he really omit a section of the poem merely because it was not laid out under the musical notation? Secondly, scribes of poetic manuscripts during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were not always faithful copiers. Often having poetic ambitions themselves, they tended to omit verses or entire stanzas where they saw fit, add or substitute in new verses, and change individual words to suit their tastes and/or needs. Consequently, it is not unusual for poems in literary sources of this period to be incomplete or significantly modified from their original form in some way.[66] Fragmentary poems, then, must also be interpreted within a specific context and can only be considered conclusive evidence when additional criteria are met.

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[64] Specific doubts pertaining to D'Agostino's analysis of the text-only sources will be addressed in more detail in connection with individual manuscripts. D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria," 410–12.

[65] Ibid., esp. 399–400.

While the number of stanzas included may not be particularly telling, it is possible that other more localized details may provide verifiable finger prints of the exemplars used. One such example would be an anomalous reading in a literary source whose irregularity precisely corresponds to readings found in one or more musical sources. In fact, such a correspondence could even be sufficient to prove derivation from a specific and identifiable musical manuscript.

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[66] Furio Brugnolo, "La poesia del Trecento," in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 10, *La tradizione dei testi* (Rome: Salerno, 2001), 227.

Additionally, poems in un-notated sources with one or more irregular readings that can be linked to the misinterpretation of words whose syllables are oddly spaced in notated manuscripts may derive from musical exemplars. Similarly, if a text were to appear in a poetic source with anomalous repetitions of words or syllables explained only by its musical setting, this too would also be a strong indication of musical origins. Significantly however, clear-cut cases such as these do not exist in any of the text-only manuscripts.

Summarizing and synthesizing the above critique of claims regarding the musical origins of text-only sources, I present below the six criteria used in this dissertation to evaluate the likelihood that a poetic manuscript stems from notated exemplars:

1. Exact concordance in order between a series of adjacent poems in a text-only source and adjacent pieces in a musical source, when the adjacent texts and compositions are also codicologically and paleographically linked.[67] Given the limited number of trecento musical sources, it is highly unlikely for this criterion to be met.
2. High percentage of texts (at least 75%) with known musical settings in a codicologically discrete section.[68]
3. Presence of incomplete poems in text-only sources when all (or most) known song texts in a given section appear without verses that would be copied as the *residuum* in a

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[67] Poems or musical settings may be considered adjacent even if they are separated by physical space when it can be proven that they were copied in succession by the same scribe. For example, two or more texts might be considered adjacent in spite of physical separation if they were copied by the same scribe in a single layer of activity, inserted sequentially into available blank space at the bottoms of folios.

[68] Michael Cuthbert's statistical analysis of the survival rate of the trecento polyphonic secular repertoire suggests that the majority of works in this tradition, between 80 and 90% of madrigals, ballate, and cacce, do survive today in notated manuscripts. Therefore, he proposes that if we were to find new musical manuscripts, they would be most likely to contain copies of pieces already known to us. If this hypothesis is correct, then we must also assume that un-notated manuscripts would contain no more than a very small percentage of song texts whose musical settings are otherwise unknown. See Cuthbert, "Tipping the Iceberg."

musical source.

4. Presence of an irregular reading in a text-only source when that irregular reading can be shown to derive from the poem's musical form.
5. Presence of rubrics or marginalia that specifically reference the musical setting or a musical exemplar in an unambiguous way, such as "*canzona tonata*" (intoned song).
6. Attribution to a composer in a text-only source when the poem at hand appears elsewhere in the literary tradition attributed to a poet instead.

Criteria one through three may be used to argue that a given section in a text-only manuscript derives from a notated exemplar. Criteria four through six are not indicative of musical origins for an entire section unless they are present for most texts with known musical settings. In all cases, when a given manuscript meets multiple criteria, it can be considered more likely that its musical texts, and any non-musical poems paleographically and codicologically associated with them, were copied from a notated exemplar. As the analysis in Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrates, it is in fact rare for a text-only manuscript to meet even one of the above criteria in an undisputable way.

Other Methodologies

If we rule out musical origins as a defining characteristic of the text-only sources, we must look to other modes of analysis to uncover their cultural, literary, and musicological significance. My approach to the sources of trecento song is heavily influenced by the "New Philology" and by scholarship on "textual cultures."[69] These fields take as their central premise the idea that a codex is not merely a neutral container for its texts. They posit that a work's meaning (literary and cultural) is determined by the entire manuscript matrix—its physical form, contents, scribe(s), readers, and history. This premise has its roots in scholarship pertaining to the "*histoire du'livre*." Starting from the work of Lucien Lebvre, Henri-Jean Martin, and Roger Chartier, studies concerned with the history of the book have, in the words of Robert Darnton, set out to "understand how ideas were transmitted through print and how exposure to the printed word affected the thought and behavior of mankind during the last five hundred years."[70] The "New Philology" argues for the use of a similar approach to manuscripts, shifting the emphasis from the work itself to its broader context. As Stephen Nichols explains, this approach advocates "that the language of texts be studied not simply as discursive phenomena but in the interaction of text language with the manuscript matrix and both language and manuscript with social context and the networks they inscribe."[71]

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[69] The term "textual cultures" was coined in response to the growing prominence of studies on "print cultures." The term expands explorations of the history of the book beyond printed materials to medieval manuscripts as well. A useful outline of the "textual cultures" as a field of study, particularly as

With the increased focus on print and manuscript cultures during the 1970s and '80s, the codex as a material artifact began to assume more a central role in the world of literary studies. One study that has been particularly instrumental in changing philological discourse is Malcolm Parkes' article "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," which emphasizes the role of the scribe as active compiler.[72] In

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it pertains to Italian literature, is found in William Robins's introductory chapter to the collection of essays, *Textual Cultures of Medieval Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

[70] Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982): 65. Seminal publications in the field of the history of the book include Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition due livre* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1958), published in English as *The Coming of the Book*, trans. David Gerard (London: Verso, 1990) and Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier, *Histoire de l'édition française*, 4 vols. (Paris: Promodis, 1982–1986).

[71] Nichols, "Philology in a Manuscript Culture," 9.

[72] Malcolm Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

the world of Italian scholarship, Armando Petrucci's work relating the history of scripts and writing in Italy to political and sociocultural history has also been highly influential. Current Italian paleographers continue to work towards an ever more clear definition of the diverse graphic and material panoramas present in the extant corpus of medieval Italian manuscripts through the close examination of a staggering number of codices in Italian and European libraries. Scientific studies by Stefano Zamponi, Teresa de Robertis, Sandro Bertelli, and Maria Boschi Rotiroti have analyzed extensive data on the form and script of numerous groups of manuscripts, describing, for example, the kinds of codices in which early Italian poetry circulated (in terms, script, decorative scheme, et cetera) and comparing the relative frequency of each salient characteristic.[73] This kind of data allows us to draw conclusions about the cultural milieu in which a given manuscript was created by providing an extensive framework for the analysis of its physical form.

These material-based methodologies have had a major impact on Italian literary studies over the last three decades. They have, however, remained tangential to the study of medieval music manuscripts, with two notable exceptions: Emma Dillon's work on the *Roman de Fauvel* and Jane Alden's work on the Loire Valley *chansonniers*.[74] Like Dillon and Alden, I am interested in moving beyond the texts themselves, both musical and literary, to a study of the complete material context in which they appear. The case studies presented in the following chapters combine scholarship from multiple disciplines—philology, codicology, paleography, historiography, and musicology—with the results of my own source studies. My discussion focuses on both literary and musical manuscripts as material objects, each of which is unique but at the same time defined by its relation to manuscript culture at large in late medieval Italy. Working to remain faithful to the complexity and diversity inherent in medieval manuscripts, much of my analysis focuses on individual scribes and readers and on their personal relationships with the repertoire they collect. I am particularly concerned with the way in which each scribe incorporates song texts into the surrounding literary environment created by his book as a whole. Striking in this respect is the extreme rarity with which "musical" poems appear in their own discrete section. Indeed, the fluidity with which scribes move between "musical" and "non-musical" repertoire strongly supports my earlier assertion that all of the text-only sources, regardless of their origins, are indicative of song's active interaction with Italian vernacular literary traditions.

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[73] See, for example, Stefano Zamponi, "Il libro del canzoniere: Modelli, strutture, funzioni," in Rerum vulgarum fragmenta. Codice Vat. Lat. 3195. Commentario all'edizione fac-simile. Gino Belloni, Furio Brugnolo, H. Wayne Storey, and Stefano Zamponi, eds. (Rome: Editrice Antenore, 2004); Sandro Bertelli, *I manoscritti della letteratura delle origini. Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale* (Florence: SISMEL, 2002); and Maria Boschi Rotiroti, *Codicologia trecentesca della Commedia: Entro e oltre l'antica vulgata* (Rome: Viella, 2004). Another significant resource is the project *Manoscritti datati d'Italia*, an on-going study that is systematically cataloging and analyzing manuscripts in Italian libraries that contain specific information regarding their origins (date, place of origin, scribal identification). The project's findings are published in the growing series entitled *Manoscritti datati d'italia* and are also searchable through a database hosted on the project's website, http://www.manoscrittidatati.it.

[74] Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the Roman de Fauvel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and Jane Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society: The History and Reception of the Loire Valley Chansonniers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

The new readers and the new material contexts for trecento song brought to light throughout the next three chapters do more than enrich our picture of this repertoire's reception; they force us to confront head on the inadequacy of the taxonomies common to both musicological and literary scholarship. As shown earlier in this chapter, the overly simplistic binaries of "high" and "low," "oral" and "written," "elite" and "popular," "musical" and "literary," continue to find space in the discourse surrounding both trecento song and so-called *poesia per musica*. While scholarship pertaining to medieval French poetry and song has begun to break down the opposition between "courtly" and "uncourtly" and to find meaning in the seemingly paradoxical juxtapositions of "high" and "low" style so frequently found in medieval poetry and manuscript collections, discussions of the Italian tradition leave these issues largely unexplored.[75] In many respects, the social and political situation in Italy during the late Middle Ages was more complicated, especially in the ever-changing environment of Republican Florence, which was home to many of the text-only sources and their scribes. Significant sociopolitical and cultural differences may thus preclude directly applying recent reevaluations of "courtly" and "uncourtly" in the French tradition to Italian song and poetry. Nonetheless, the work of scholars such as Elizabeth Aubrey, Richard Trachsler, and Leonard Johnson can and should influence our approach to the trecento repertoire, its sources, and its reception by encouraging the exploration of new perspectives.

In the following chapters, we will see how song texts function in a wide variety of literary and material contexts, "high," "low," and hybrid. Copied alongside canzoni by Dante and sonnets by Petrarch in some manuscripts, alongside playful lyrics invoking low linguistic registers in others, and alongside moralizing, gnomic, and philosophical poetry in still others, these texts mix with "non-musical" poems in both well-ordered anthologies and informal miscellanies. The material evidence presented in the remainder of the dissertation thus reinforces this chapter's argument that the concept of *poesia per musica* does not satisfactorily reflect the way in which these poems were perceived and read during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Today we may consider song texts to be an autonomous category of poetry, but medieval readers made no such attempt to segregate them from other literary production. In my re-evaluation of the text-only sources, I argue that they point away from, rather than towards, taxonomies predicated on a rift between literary and musical life. When allowed to be literary objects rather than phantom song collections, these sources support the reading of Sacchetti's sonnet I proposed in the first section of this chapter, a physical manifestation of an inclusive environment in which little or no distinction is made between "musical" and "non-musical" poetry. They collect and present not "*poesia per musica*" but *poesia*, some of which happened to circulate elsewhere accompanied by notation, and all of which appears in these music-less contexts as literature.

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[75] See especially Elizabeth Aubrey, "Reconsidering 'High Style' and 'Low Style' in Medieval Song," *Journal of Music Theory* 52 (2008); Richard Trachsler, "Uncourtly Texts in Courtly Books: Observations on MS Chantilly, Musée Condé 475," in *Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness: selected papers from the Eleventh Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 29 July–4 August 2004*, ed. Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz (Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 2006); and Leonard W. Johnson, *Poets as Players: Theme and Variation in Late Medieval French Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

By reading the text-only sources in this way and by highlighting the attention to poetic detail in the notated manuscripts, the remaining chapters seek to break down the disciplinary boundaries that have traditionally framed the study of both medieval music and literature. We have long recognized the deeply interdisciplinary nature of medieval manuscripts, objects often created by multiple artisans, each with a specialized set of skills. Yet, studies of medieval music in general, and of trecento song in particular, have been slow to incorporate non-musicological scholarship. We have not considered, for example, how the notated sources of Italian *ars nova* polyphony relate to the broader world of manuscript production in late medieval Italy, which has been described in depth by Italian paleographers in the studies noted above, among others. Nor have we explored how the text-only sources compare to other manuscripts containing lyric poetry in the *volgare*.

Individually, the fields of musicology, art history, philology, codicology, and historiography have added much to our knowledge of medieval life and culture through their recent development of "new" methodologies emphasizing social context and the materiality of manuscripts. Yet despite a growing focus on interdisciplinarity within each individual field, true cross-disciplinary communication and collaboration remains rare, especially where music is involved. We have much to gain from pushing even harder to dissolve disciplinary boundaries, not just in the questions we ask but also in the primary and secondary sources we choose to consult. If we look beyond "musical" sources and beyond musicological scholarship to manuscript culture in general and delve into the work of literary scholars, historians, paleographers, et cetera, we open the door to a more nuanced understanding of the role music played in the cultural and intellectual life of cities like Florence. This is of particular significance for advancing trecento musicological studies, a field for which directly relevant primary sources and manuscripts with firmly identifiable origins are in short supply.

What is more, this kind of approach holds the potential to fundamentally change scholarly discourse. Perhaps by bringing other disciplines more thoroughly into the world of musicology, we may encourage other fields to incorporate musicological scholarship into their discussions of literary, artistic, and manuscript cultures. I would argue that extensive cross-disciplinary dialogue is necessary if we wish to expand our current understanding of trecento musical and literary life. As shown by the evidence presented both in this chapter and in those that follow, it is the disciplinary structure of modern academia that has encouraged us to persistently divorce music from literature. If we are to interpret these manuscripts on their own terms, we must erase the kinds of preconceptions that stem from modern disciplinarity and nineteenth-century political nationalism and gaze upon their pages with fresh eyes, informed by a thorough study of the complete material, social, and cultural context in which each was compiled and read.

Chapter 2

SONG AS LITERATURE IN COLLECTIONS OF *POESIA AULICA*

With the rise of interest in textual cultures and the development of new philological methodologies outlined in Chapter 1, manuscript evidence has become increasingly central to the study of medieval music and poetry. Yet our primary interaction with texts, even now, is almost always through modern editions rather than the original sources themselves. If one's objective is to read and understand a given poem or to perform a polyphonic setting, there are many advantages of using a modern edition, not the least of which is legibility. Clear print, visible and reliable attributions, an extensive critical apparatus—all this we are accustomed to having at our disposal while reading poetry and music. These very advantages, however, are at the same time disadvantages. They distance our reading experience from that of the medieval scribe and book-owner, which in turn runs the risk of giving us a fundamentally different perception of the repertoire. While modern editions have, at least until the advent of the "New Philology," worked to expunge variants from medieval texts, manuscripts abound with diversity. As Bernard Cerquiglini famously remarked, "medieval writing does not produce variants; it is variance."[76] Modern editions that present a single "authoritative" and stable reading, therefore, give an anachronistic view of the text at hand. Moreover, as I emphasized in Chapter 1, the form of a manuscript, including its large-scale organization and its *mise en page*, affects the meaning of the texts it contains. When we remove a text from its original manuscript setting and relocate it in a modern edition where it is transformed, whether intentionally or not, from text to "work," we close off our access to this broader context and thus to a whole realm of cultural, literary, and musical meaning that would have been both available and apparent to the medieval reader. All who deal with manuscripts are familiar with this paradox, but it will always remain worthy of reflection because of its inescapable impact on our understanding of reception history.

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[76] "Or l'écriture médiéval ne produit pas de variantes, elle est variance." Bernard Cerquiglini, *Eloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), 111 quoted in Stephen G. Nichols, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," *The New Philology, Speculum* 65 (1990): 1.

Let us imagine for a moment the experience of a student who wishes to read the kind of poetry assembled in medieval collections of what we would term *poesia aulica*—the subject of this chapter. A likely place for her to turn first would be a volume or two of Cesare Segre and Carlo Ossola's *Antologia della poesia italiana*, a collection that graces many a PhD reading list in Italian departments world wide.[77] Immediately, our hypothetical student will be forced to make a choice. Is she hoping to read poetry from the duecento, the trecento, the quattrocento? Assuming she chooses the trecento volume, our student will first encounter excerpts from Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. Because the anthology collects all Italian poetic production, not just lyric poetry, next she will find excerpts from Petrarch's *Trionfi*, then various texts by Boccaccio including some of his *rime* and sections from his large-scale works. Aside from the mixing of lyric and narrative poetry, not often seen in the manuscript sources discussed in this chapter, the opening of this modern anthology is not particularly different from that of, for example, Riccardiana 1100—a book organized by author, beginning with Petrarch. Continuing deeper into the modern anthology, though, our reader's experience inches further and further away from that of the medieval reader.

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[77] Cesare Segre and Carlo Ossola, eds. *Antologia della poesia italiana*, 8 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1999).

After the works of Boccaccio and Petrarch, the Segre/Ossola anthology divides its remaining poetry into thematic categories: *cantari*; *poesia allegorico-didattica*; *poesia di corte, gnomica, e religiosa*; and finally, *poesia per musica*. Within each category, poems are arranged by author, and for every thematic section there is a brief introduction that provides an overview of the tradition and its most important poets. Through this organization, the Segre/Ossola anthology presents trecento poetry in a highly compartmentalized manner, a perspective that can only be created with the aid of historical and scholarly hindsight. The distinctive physical partitions and clearly articulated conceptual division of the poetic repertoire by theme, tone, and function make this anthology accessible to the modern reader and a valuable tool for the modern student. But these features also engender the impression that taxonomic categories are to be read, received, and understood separately.

This kind of highly structured, rational experience of poetry, however, is not at all what we find when we pick up any of the manuscripts listed below in Table 2.1. Even the most orderly and most formal of these sources—manuscripts like Riccardiana 1100 or BNCF Palatino 204—paint a much more flexible and integrated picture of the poetic repertoire they contain. At best, the manuscripts in Table 2.1 are organized by author, and even then they frequently juxtapose different metric types, subject matter, and linguistic registers. Often, though, they are freely ordered miscellanies that create an effect contradictory to that of the Segre/Ossola anthology, weaving together their heterogeneous contents rather than categorizing poems according to thematic or generic taxonomies.[78]

Varying substantially in their date, provenance, and physical form, these sources do not lend themselves well to generalizations, but what they do have in common is their lack of segregation between "musical" and "non-musical." Some manuscripts place song texts in single-author cycles, choosing to include them because of their connection to a certain poet. Several other sources highlight moralizing poetry, not amorous lyrics, and incorporate "musical" poems such as *O cieco mondo* and *Contemplar le gran cose* whose subject matter resonates with that of the prevailing literary context. In still other cases, song texts appear in single-genre cycles copied alongside *rime* that do not necessarily have known musical concordances. And finally, there are manuscripts in which the scribe's motivation for including song texts is unclear. These sources are often dominated by anonymity and a seeming lack of systematic organization. Formulating generalizations about the text-only sources featuring *poesia aulica* is therefore difficult and runs the risk of being misleading. Still, we must organize our discussion in some way, and I suggest the most efficient and cogent way to do so is through these four rough groups as illustrated in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Text-only sources highlighting *poesia aulica*

Subgroup 1: Sources where song texts appear because of their author
Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 177.3
*Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, XC. Inf. 37
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574 (*Sacchetti's holograph*)
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Rediano 184
*Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 204
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 640
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1100

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[78] We must, of course, always be cautious when considering the miscellaneous nature of manuscripts. To us, the books we term miscellanies may seem random and disorganized, but it is important to remember that their compilation may well be guided by a scribal rationale that we cannot or do not perceive. See Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds. *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

*Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1118
Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX. 28
*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds italien 554
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.300
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.301
*Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.VII.142
*Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Patetta 352
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 3195 (*Partial holograph of Petrarch's RVF*)
*Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 3213
Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, XIV, lat. 233
(* Indicates manuscripts derived from the *Raccolta Aragonese*)

Subgroup 2: Sources where song texts are included for their moralizing subject matter
Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1072 XI 9
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Palatino 105
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberino latino 3695
(Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX. 28)

Subgroup 3: Sources where song texts are part of single-genre cycles
Cape Town, South African Library, Grey 7 b 5
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ashburnham 569
Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081

Subgroup 4: Sources where song texts are included for other (indeterminate) reasons
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, XL.43
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Conventi Soppressi 122
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi C.I.1746
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1041
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1187
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 288
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 315
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1764
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1280
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2786[11]
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana E 56 Sup
Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, C 43
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.IV.131
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.IV.79

Tackling the manuscripts according to these categories, I will argue that the variety of environments manuscripts create for this "musical" poetry bears witness to the fact that trecento song texts had an active literary life and were considered to have poetic value when separated from their polyphonic settings. Through a series of case studies, this chapter is the first of two that question the validity of *poesia per musica* as a concept through an analysis of the text-only sources of trecento song. Although modern scholarship generally places *poesia per musica* in opposition to *poesia aulica*, the vast majority of the text-only sources fall into this category. In the manuscripts under discussion here, song texts are not juxtaposed with "popular" literature and works by "minor" authors as they are in modern metric manuals and anthologies. Instead they appear in more refined contexts, copied on equal footing with their "poetic" neighbors, even when those neighbors are Petrarchan sonnets and canzoni by Dante. Moreover, in several instances we shall see that trecento song also enjoyed an independent literary life long after it ceased to be actively performed as music. Some song texts, primarily those by Franco Sacchetti, entered the literary canon and were copied again and again into the sixteenth century and beyond. If the primary reason for our isolation of *poesia per musica* from Italian literary production at large is that it failed to achieve the status of "high" art, then the corpus of manuscripts collated here demands that we re-evaluate our stance.

In the rest of this chapter, I will present new analyses of several key text-only sources with a view to correcting specific misconceptions found in the secondary literature. Demonstrating that the majority of the manuscripts in this chapter are most likely derived from literary exemplars, not musical ones, I argue that the text-only sources offer compelling proof that *poesia per musica* is not tenable as a concept or as a generic classification. There is, though, another compelling reason for a source-based approach to the problem. For in shifting emphasis away from issues of musical origins, we are free instead to highlight the compilers and early readers of these collections and to explore their identity, their sociocultural status, and their experience of this repertoire. If we examine both the song texts and the "non-musical" poems that surround them, we can begin to precisely articulate the cultural status and function of so-called *poesia per musica* as it was understood by contemporary and near-contemporary readers. Such an approach provides a historically grounded alternative to the categorization of song texts as *poesia per musica*, a term shown in Chapter 1 to be linked more to nineteenth-century nationalistic ideology than to late medieval literary thought. In other words, I aim to focus not so much on the texts themselves and on their latent “musicality” but rather on cultures of readers. The purpose of privileging a case-study approach, as this chapter does, is thus not only to rectify the secondary literature’s cursory treatment of these sources but also to demonstrate the sheer range of reading situations in which song texts are found. Ultimately, it is this breadth and diversity that requires us to seriously reconsider our opinion of song’s literary tradition, for it clearly illustrates that this repertoire was enjoyed as poetry in a wide variety of contexts and by a wide variety of readers.

The Importance of Having an Author: Song Texts in Single-Poet Cycles

We begin our examination of the text-only sources with a group of manuscripts that assign undeniable literary significance to all of the poetry they collect—manuscripts that are organized according to single-author cycles. In the eleven anthologizing sources that fall into this first subgroup, song texts are included because of their association with a specific, named poet. While the driving force behind their compilation is similar, these sources nevertheless represent several different approaches to anthologizing. Some, such as Ashburnham 574 (Franco Sacchetti’s holograph) and Marciana XIV, lat. 223 (which focuses especially on works by Giovanni Dondi dall’Orologio), are manuscripts centered on the literary career of a single author. Others, including Bologna 177.3 and Magl. VII 640, are miscellaneous lyric collections that demonstrate an interest in author identity through their attention to attribution. The majority of the manuscripts in this subgroup, however, are substantial author-ordered anthologies. These include both later codices, nearly all of which are derivatives of the *Raccolta Aragonese*, and a few manuscripts contemporary with the trecento notated sources, most especially Riccardiana 1100.

Selected because of their authors, the song texts included in this body of sources are, not surprisingly, the most literarily renowned examples of trecento *poesia per musica*, for they make up the bulk of the repertoire's non-anonymous poetry.[79] Dominating these song texts in terms of sheer number and in terms of concordances are the madrigals, ballate, and cacce of Franco Sacchetti. Also significant, although less numerous, are song texts by Niccolò Soldanieri, Giovanni Boccaccio, Cino Rinuccini, and Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio. The most extensive material tradition of all, however, belongs to Petrarch's madrigal, *Non al suo amante più Diana piacque*, unusually rich in its concordances thanks to its inclusion in the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (RVF). This madrigal, perhaps the best known and most literarily significant text to be set to music during the trecento, can certainly not be forgotten. Yet, the textual tradition of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* is both vast and self-contained. It is also distinct from the textual tradition of trecento song, for the version set by Jacopo is not identical to that which Petrarch himself places in the RVF.[80] While Petrarch's treatment of the so-called musical genres—madrigals and ballate—surely has much to tell us about the perception of *poesia per musica* in the fourteenth-century literary community, it is beyond the scope of this study. Thus, other than Petrarch's own partial holograph, Vat. lat. 3195, the only concordances for *Non al suo amante* listed here and considered in this study are those in manuscripts that include other known song texts.

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[79] Gallo proposes that while most song texts are not examples of highly artistic poetry, a certain group (those by known authors) were selected for musical treatment precisely because of their literary significance. See F. Alberto Gallo, "The Musical and Literary Tradition of Fourteenth Century Poetry Set to Music," in *Musik und Text*, esp. 74–75.

[80] Regarding the differences between Petrarch's final text and the version used by Jacopo, see Claudio Vela, *Tre studi sulla poesia per musica* (Pavia: Aurora edizioni, 1984), 17 and Pierluigi Petrobelli,

The eleven author-driven sources, most of which exhibit historicizing and canonizing tendencies, have major implications for our understanding of song's role in the trecento lyric tradition. On the one hand, these manuscripts may have more to tell us about the status of the authors they collect than about their song texts, given that they so rarely reference a poem's musical setting. On the other hand, it is precisely because of their apparent lack of musical awareness that these sources offer us important clues regarding the literary life of trecento song. To be sure, the polyphonic repertoire that is given a textual tradition here is highly limited. Nevertheless, this body of manuscripts provides strong evidence that a number of song texts entered the lyric canon, copied in large historicizing anthologies like Riccardiana 1100 and, later, the *Raccolta Aragonese*. By placing at least some madrigals, ballate, and cacce in a position of literary prestige, these manuscripts cast a shadow of doubt over the concept of *poesia per musica* as a discrete and comparatively inconsequential category of literary production.

In this section, I focus first and most extensively on Franco Sacchetti's holograph manuscript and on the later tradition of Sacchetti's *rime* in the *Raccolta Aragonese* as exemplified by Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Palatino 204. The only holograph source among the text-only manuscripts other than the afore-mentioned Vat. lat. 3195, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-

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"'Un leggiadretto velo' ed altre cose petrarchesche'," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (2007): 32–35.

Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574 offers a unique window into the poet's own perception of the relationship between his "musical" and "non-musical" output. Secondly, I consider the work of the next most prolific poet of trecento song texts, Niccolò Soldanieri, through the lens of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1100, a manuscript unique among the text-only sources that are roughly contemporary with the trecento notated codices for its rigorous organization by author.

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574:
Poetry as Song in Franco Sacchetti's Libro delle rime

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574 has long been recognized by musicologists for the wealth of information it contains regarding the trecento polyphonic tradition. The manuscript—compiled, organized, and copied by the poet himself—collects Franco Sacchetti's complete lyric ouvre, along with numerous letters and poetic correspondence. Its musically relevant contents are extensive. Sacchetti incorporates 34 "musical" madrigals, ballate, and cacce into Ashburnham 574's pages and carefully indicates the composer responsible for each polyphonic setting. He also includes sonnets exchanged with Francesco degli organi and Ottolino da Brescia, *rime* that express opinions on the kinds of poetry best suited for musical treatment, and a sonnet on the death of Gherardello written by Francesco di Simone Peruzzi. In the context of the present study, Ashburnham 574 is particularly significant both because it offers a rare glimpse of an active collaboration between poet and composer and, more importantly, because it provides direct access to Sacchetti's own perception of his "musical" poems in relation to his "purely literary" output.

Leaving its contents momentarily aside, Ashburnham 574's physical form stands out as unique among the text-only manuscripts. With 134 folios (originally at least 148) and dimensions measuring 405 x 300 mm, it is noticeably larger in its format.[81] Yet in spite of its size, Ashburnham 574 is by no means luxurious and was certainly not designed to be a formal presentation manuscript. Neither, however, is it a book copied for personal, private reading, as modern scholarship has until recently tended to portray it. Its seemingly haphazard construction not withstanding, this was a book intended for use and circulation—an exemplar set up by the author himself to organize his complete works for dissemination.[82]

Not homogeneous in its construction, Ashburnham 574 is quite complex codicologically speaking. Looking only at its first 36 folios, which contain the bulk of Sacchetti's lyric output, it is a deceptively orderly and neat manuscript. This section features ample margins, clearly presented rubrics with attributions and genre indications, and alternating red and blue paragraph signs marking the start of each poem. In both its modest decorative plan and its carefully-executed *mercantesca* script, the opening portion of Ashburnham 574 is similar to other well-ordered but non-deluxe anthologies copied during the late duecento and the trecento, including the Vatican *Canzoniere* (Vat. lat. 3793) and Riccardiana 1100. But the visual coherence, already waning towards the end of the first section, soon slips away entirely. After fol. 36, the colored ink disappears, the margins become smaller and less consistent in size, and Sacchetti's script becomes progressively more casual. Prose and long works in verse sneak in, at first sporadically, but soon begin to dominate, transforming the manuscript from a standard lyric *canzoniere* to a much more inclusive and flexible anthology.[83]

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[81] For a brief codicological description of Ashburnham 574, see *Mostra di codici romanzi delle biblioteche fiorentine, Congresso internazionale di studi romanzi* (Florence: Sansoni, 1957), 49–50.

[82] Lucia Battaglia Ricci, "Comporre il libro, comporre il testo. Nota sull'autografo di Franco Sacchetti," *Italianistica* XXI, no. 2-3 (1992): esp. 610–14.

Because of its multiple layers of scribal activity and its seemingly chronological ordering, Ashburnham 574 has traditionally been described as a note-book like manuscript compiled gradually over the course of the poet's life. This view, first articulated by Salomone Morpurgo in 1884, has led to various hypotheses about Sacchetti's literary and intellectual development and about the chronology of trecento song.[84] Lucia Battaglia Ricci's extensive studies of Sacchetti's autograph, however, tell a rather different story and argue against using a poem's placement in the manuscript as a means for establishing its dating.[85] Based on meticulous study of the manuscript's codicological and paleographic features, Battaglia Ricci suggests that Ashburnham 574 was compiled fairly late in the author's life, copied over a relatively brief period of time shortly after 1380. She finds particular support for this in Sacchetti's use of three distinct paper types, each with a unique system of original foliation stemming from their first intended use, likely in various account books.[86] Drawing attention to elements that hint at careful planning as well as to the manuscript's ultimate lack of cohesion and uniformity, Battaglia Ricci suggests that Sacchetti began copying with a compilational plan in mind, which he soon began to modify and even disregard. Though she acknowledges the impossibility of fully reconstructing Sacchetti's intended organizational structure, Battaglia Ricci proposes that the framework for this *canzoniere* is not literal chronology but rather a fictional narrative progression loosely based on the Petrarchan model—telling the story of the poet's love from the moment of *innamoramento* on. Like Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, Sacchetti's *Libro delle rime* seems to split the poetic account into two macro sections, one that takes place during the lady's life and one that describes events after her death, a sort of funeral lament focusing on the effects of her passing on the poet-lover.[87]

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[83] For a more complete description of Ashburnham 574's contents and compilation, see ibid. Also see Battaglia Ricci, "Tempi e modi di composizione del Libro delle rime di Franco Sacchetti," in L*a critica del testo: Problemi di metodo ed esperienze di lavoro; Atti del Convegno di Lecce 22–26 ottobre 1984* (Rome: Salerno, 1985).

[84] Battaglia Ricci, "Tempi e modi," 426. Morpurgo's observation was re-articulated and expanded upon by Ettore Li Gotti. See Ettore and Nino Pirrotta Li Gotti, *Il Sacchetti e la tecnica musicale del trecento italiano* (Florence: Sansoni, 1935). Battaglia Ricci notes various elements in the chronology of the Italian *ars nova* repertoire that musicologists have derived from Sacchetti's autograph. See Battaglia Ricci, "Comporre il libro," 602, n. 8.

[85] See Battaglia Ricci, "Tempi e modi" and "Comporre il libro."

[86] Old foliation (in Roman numerals), which is the work of several different hands, is still visible today in several sections of the manuscript. Battaglia Ricci, "Tempi e modi," 430–34.

Whether or not Sacchetti expressly modeled his book on Petrarch's RVF, Battaglia Ricci's analysis is significant because it portrays Ashburnham 574 as more than a simple, haphazardly compiled chronological collection. Sacchetti may have been, as she suggests, a distracted copyist who was not terribly rigorous about sticking to one method of organization, and as a result, we may never be able to identify with certainty the full logic behind his ordering. Still, it is clear that the poet designed his autograph with an eye towards presenting his work to his reading public. From the general overall ordering, which Battaglia Ricci shows was both pre-planned and tweaked along the way, to the placement of poems on a single page, there is ample evidence that Sacchetti endeavored to craft a specific image of his oeuvre and that he intended Ashburnham 574 to be used as the basis for its subsequent dissemination.[88]

If Sacchetti intentionally ordered his output towards the end of his life and if he hoped to dictate its reception through Ashburnham 574, then the manuscript's presentation of his 34 song texts offers invaluable clues regarding the poet's own thoughts about the relationship between his so-called *poesie per musica* and the rest of his literary production. Table 2.2 lists the texts in Ashburnham 574 that received musical treatment along with their concordances. With the exception of *Altri n'arà la pena et io ʻl danno* copied on fol. 48v, all of Sacchetti's song texts appear in the manuscript's more formal first section (fols. 1–36). Not organized by genre, Ashburnham 574 freely juxtaposes sonnets and canzoni with "musical" genres (the madrigal, ballata, and caccia) that make up a large percentage of Sacchetti's lyric output. The manuscript's paleographic situation is difficult to untangle and the poems, even in this first homogeneous section, were entered in many layers of scribal activity. Nonetheless, it is abundantly clear that Sacchetti, like Petrarch, saw his lyric output as generically integrated and was not concerned with differentiating between "musical" and "non-musical" metric forms.

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[87] "Comporre il libro," 606–09.

[88] For example, in Ashburnham 574's lyric section, Sacchetti often places a canzone at the top of the page and fills in available space at the bottom with shorter metric forms. Ibid., 608.

Table 2.2: Song texts in Ashburnham 574[89]

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Marginalia*	*Genre*	*Composer*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
2v	Donna servo mi sento	Ballata di francho detto	p(ri)ma intonata | mag(ister) Laurenzius de Florenzia sonu(m) dedit	Ballata	Lorenzo da Firenze		
3r	Se crudelta damor sometta fe	Ballata di francho detto	ija intonata | Ottolinus de Brecia sonum dedit	Ballata	Ottolino da Brescia		*Raccolta Aragonese*
3r	Se bella palla e di valor di petra	Madriale di francho detto	iija intonata | Mag(ister) Gherardellus de florentia sonu(m) dedit	Madrigal	Gherardello		*Raccolta Aragonese*
3v	I sento pena o me p(er) tali amanti	Ballata di francho detto	iiija intonata | Ottolinus de Brescia sonu(m) dedit	Ballata	Ottolino da Brescia		
4r	Sovra la riva dun chorrente fiume	Madriale di francho detto	va intonata | Mag(ister) Laurentius de florentia sonu(m) dedit	Madrigal	Lorenzo da Firenze	Sq; FP; Pit	FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213; Magl. VII 1187; Paris 554; Patetta 352
4r	Se ferma stesse giovenezza e tempo	Ballata di francho detto	via intonata | S(er) Iacobus frater S(er) Gherardelli sonum dedit	Ballata	Jacopo da Firenze		*Raccolta Aragonese*
5r	Lontan ciaschun ucel damor si trova	Madriale di francho detto	viia intonata | S(er) Jacobus S(er) Gherardellj sonum dedit	Madrigal	Jacopo da Firenze		*Raccolta Aragonese*
5v	Verso la vagha tramontana e gita	Madriale di francho detto	viiia i(n)tonata | Ottolinus de brixia sonu(m) dedit	Madrigal	Ottolino da Brescia		*Raccolta Aragonese*

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[89] The text concordances for poems with extant musical settings are complete, to the best of my knowledge. The text concordances for poems whose musical settings have been lost remain a work in progress due to the difficulty of obtaining full inventories of the relevant manuscripts. For that reason, I have indicated which poems were included in the *Raccolta Aragonese* without specifying in which copies they appear.

Fol.	***Incipit***	***Rubric***	***Marginalia***	***Genre***	***Composer***	***Musical Concordances***	***Text Concordances***
5v	Chome selvaggia fera fra le fronde	Madriale di francho detto	viiija intonata | Magister niccolaus pro positi sonu(m) dedit	Madrigal	Niccolò del Proposto	Sq	FL XC. Inf. 37; Vat. lat. 3213; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Magl. VII 1187
6r	Chome la gru quando p(er) laera vola	Madriale di francho detto	xa intonata | S(er) nicolaus pro positi sonum dedit	Madrigal	Niccolò del Proposto	Sq	FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352
8r	Temer p(er)che po chesser pur convene	Ballata di francho detto	xia intonata | Mag(ister) Laurentius sonu(m) dedit	Ballata	Lorenzo da Firenze		
8r	Chorendo giu del monte ale chiaronde	Madriale di francho detto	xiia intonata | S(er) Nicolaus propositi sonum dedit	Madrigal	Niccolò del Proposto		*Raccolta Aragonese*
9r	Di diavol vecchio fem(m)ina a natura	Ballata di francho detto	xiiia intonata | Magister Nicolaus propositi sonum dedit	Ballata	Niccolò del Proposto		*Raccolta Aragonese*
9r	Fortuna adversa del mio amor nemica	Madriale di franco detto | p(er) altrui	xiiija intonata | Magister donatus p(re)sb(ite)r de chascia sonu(m) dedit	Madrigal	Donato da Firenze	none	*Raccolta Aragonese*
9r	Nel mezzo gia del mar la navicella	Madriale di francho detto	xva intonata | Magister Niccolaus propositi sonum dedit	Madrigal	Niccolò del Proposto	Sq; FP; Pit	BNCF Pal. 315; Chigi L.VIII.300
13v	Di tempo in tempo di martiro i(n) pena	Ballata di francho detto	xvia intonata | S(er) Iacobus s(er) Gherardelli sonu(m) dedit	Ballata	Jacopo da Firenze		
14v	Volgiendo i suo begliocchi i(n) ver le fiam(m)e	Madriale di francho detto	Magi(ster) donatus de casseya sonu(m) dedit	Madrigal	Donato da Firenze		*Raccolta Aragonese*

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Marginalia*	*Genre*	*Composer*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
16r	Vana sp(er)anza che mia vita festi	Madriale di francho detto	xviia i(n)tonata | Jacobus s(er) Gherardelli sonu(m) dedit	Madrigal	Jacopo da Firenze		
16r	Passando chon pensier p(er) verde boschetti	Chaccia di fra(n)cho detto	S(er) Nicolaus p(ro)posto sonum dedit	Caccia	Niccolò del Proposto	Sq; Pit	FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Marucelliana C.155; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
18v	Chi piu ci crede fare colui men fa	Ballata di francho sacchetti	[x]viiia intonata | Giovannes S(er) Gherardelli sonum dedit	Ballata	Giovanni di Jacopo da Firenze		Chigi L.VIII.300
19r	Una angiolletta amore di pen(n)a mora	Madriale di francho Sacchetti fatto p(er) altrui	xviiija intonata | Magister Nicolaus p(re)sb(ite)r sonum dedit	Madrigal	Niccolò del Proposto		
19r	Sella mia vita co(n) vertu singiegna	Ballata di francho detto	xxa intonata | S(er) giovanes s(er) gherardelli sonu(m) dedit	Ballata	Giovanni di Jacopo da Firenze		
19r	Chil ben sofrir no(n) po	Ballata di francho detto	xxia intonata | [M]ag(ister) Niccolaus p(ro)positi sonu(m) dedit	Ballata	Niccolò del Proposto	Sq; Lo	Redi 184; Chigi L.VIII.300
21v	La neve el ghiaccio e venti doriente	Madriale di francho detto	xxiia intonata | Mag(ister) Guiglielmus pariginus fr(ater) romitanus sonu(m) dedit	Madrigal	Guiglielmus de Francia	Lo	FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213; Paris 554; Chigi L.VIII.301

Fol.	***Incipit***	***Rubric***	***Marginalia***	***Genre***	***Composer***	***Musical Concordances***	***Text Concordances***
21v	Povero pelegrin salito al monte	Madriale di francho Sacchetti	xxiia intonata | Mag(ister) Niccolaus d(omi)ni p(ro)positi sonu(m) dedit	Madrigal	Niccolò del Proposto	Sq; Lo	FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; FL XL 43; Ricc. 1118; Parmense 1081; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213; Paris 554
22r	Mai non sero contento i(m)maginando	Chanzonetta di franco detto	xxiija | p(er) francu(m) Sacchettj	Ballata	Franco Sacchetti		*Raccolta Aragonese*
22v	Ne te ne altra voglio amar gia(m)mai	Chanzonetta di francho detto	xxiiija intonata | Franciscus de organis sonu(m) dedit	Ballata	Francesco degli organi		*Raccolta Aragonese*; Magl. VII 1040; Magl. VII 1041; Chigi L.VIII.300
24r	No(n) creder don(n)a che nessuna sia	Ballatina di francho detto	xxiiijja intonata | franciscus dorganis sonu(m) dedit	Ballata	Francesco degli organi	Sq; FP; Pit	FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1040; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
24v	Lasso sio fu gia preso	Ballata di franco fatta p(er) altrui	xxvia intonata | Mag(ister) Nicolaus sonu(m) dedit	Ballata	Niccolò del Proposto		*Raccolta Aragonese*
25v	Inamorato pruno	Ballata di francho detto	francus dedit sonu(m)	Ballata	Franco Sacchetti		*Raccolta Aragonese*; Magl. VII 1041; Chigi L.VIII.300
26v	State su don(n)e che dobiam noi fare	Caccia di franco detto	xxvjja intonata | Mag(ister) Nicolaus p(ro) positi sonu(m) dedit	Caccia	Niccolò del Proposto	Lo	FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213; Paris 554; Patetta 352
26v	Chi vide piu bel nero	Ballata di franco	xxvijja intonata | mag(ister) Nicolaus p(ro) positi sonu(m) dedit	Ballata	Niccolò del Proposto		*Raccolta Aragonese*; Magl. VII 1041

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Marginalia*	*Genre*	*Composer*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
30v	P(er)che virtu fa luom costante e forte	Ballata di francho detto	fra(n)ciscus dorganis sonum dedit	Ballata	Francesco degli organi	FP	FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
48v	Altri navra la pena et io il dan(n)o	Balatina di franco sachetti		Ballata	Francesco degli organi	Sq	Chigi L.VIII.300

At the same time, Sacchetti was very much interested in the polyphonic garments that came to robe his *rime*, making careful note of each poem's musical setting, as shown above in Table 2.2. What is interesting about these annotations is not simply their existence, noteworthy though it is that Sacchetti was deeply invested in the musical life of his poetry, but rather the specifics of how they are included. Placed in the internal margin of the page and aligned at the top of each relevant poem, the majority of the annotations start by numbering the musical poems, "*prima intonata*," "*ija intonata*," and so on. Sacchetti entered this text in red ink using a simplified gothic script during his final round of work on the manuscript's first section—the rubrication and insertion of colored paragraph signs. While much of this rubrication seems to have been entered in a single layer of scribal activity, some of the colored ink was added at a later time. For example, the red ink on fol. 8r used to attribute the setting of the ballata *Temer perché, po' ch'esser pur convene* to Lorenzo da Firenze is a different color than the red ink on surrounding folios.

Below the red numeric label, preceded by either a red or blue paragraph marker, is the composer indication itself. Sacchetti copied these attributions, like the main text, in a *mercantesca* script using black ink. Many were clearly entered at the same time as the poems to which they are attached, but not all of them. Differences in the tempering of the pen reveal that occasionally Sacchetti went back later to insert the composer attributions. This is the case for poems incorporated into the primary numbering scheme for the *poesie tonate* and with some that were only identified as musical after that system of rubrication was complete. The rubrics attached to the poems in this latter category do not participate in the numbering scheme and are copied much more sloppily than the other annotations. Examples of these more haphazard labels are found on fol. 14v (the annotation attributing *Volgendo i suo' begli occhi invèr le fiamme* to Magister Donatus de Cascia) and fol. 16r (the annotation attributing *Vana speranza, che mia via festi* to Jacobus ser Gherardelli).

From this system of musical marginalia, we can make a few key deductions about Sacchetti's relationship with his song texts. First, by placing the annotations in Ashburnham 574's margins rather than by incorporating them into the main rubrics indicating genre, Sacchetti is free from the need to include them in his original planning of the manuscript. In the margins, they can easily be inserted after the main copying effort without interfering with the completed text or the orderly *mise en page* maintained throughout the manuscript's first section. Moreover, their exclusion from a position of higher prestige within the main writing block itself creates a hierarchy of rubrics—genre indication, poet attribution, and sometimes brief historical background first, status as song second. Physically prioritizing his non-musical rubrics, Sacchetti shows the reader that these song texts are poetic above all else. Their musical settings are integral to their identity, but only in a secondary way.

The marginal placement also hints at the possibility that in Sacchetti's mind any poem, or at least those in the appropriate genres, might be set to music. We know from the correspondence sonnets that Sacchetti did send specific poems to composers with requests that they clothe them polyphonically. We also know he had strong opinions about what kind of poems where best suited for musical treatment, as the discussion of his sonnet *Ben che io senta* in Chapter 1 highlights. Nevertheless, Sacchetti's approach to composer attribution in Ashburnham 574 suggests that he did not necessarily compose certain texts expressly to be set polyphonically and all others to remain "purely" literary. The material form of Ashburnham

574 therefore supports my reading of *Ben che io senta*, in which I propose that the sonnet serves as evidence against rather than for the existence of *poesia per musica* as an autonomous literary genre.

A unique manuscript indeed, Ashburnham 574 is one of the only sources to include poems because of their role in a literary tradition while simultaneously showing an appreciation of and interest in their parallel musical lives. In fact, precisely because it overtly recognizes the musical nature of its song texts, Sacchetti's manuscript offers proof that music and "high art" literature were not mutually exclusive phenomena. If Ashburnham 574 was designed, as Battaglia Ricci argues, to guide the transmission and reception of the poet's output, then these marginalia are evidence that Sacchetti accepted each poem's polyphonic setting as a vital part of its identity, even in a fully literary context. Thus, in a way that most of the other text-only manuscripts do not, Ashburnham 574 reveals traces of active contact between musical and literary traditions at the close of the trecento.

Canonizing Song:
The Raccolta Aragonese and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 204

For whatever reason, Sacchetti's composer attributions never made it out of Ashburnham 574 and into the subsequent material tradition of his *canzoniere*, even though many of the later sources likely derive from the poet's autograph. One explanation for the omission of these annotations in all other manuscripts is the impact of time. Sacchetti's works enjoyed only limited circulation during the years in which the polyphonic settings were still in Florence's active musical repertoire, or at least so it would appear from the extant sources.[90] In fact, Sacchetti's

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[90] On the transmission of Sacchetti's poetry, see Roberto Ballerini, "Per la fortuna di Franco Sacchetti nel Quattrocento: Il caso del Pataffio," *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 25 (1982).

canzoniere seems not to have circulated in its entirety until the eighteenth century when a few manuscript copies derived from Ashburnham 574 were made.[91] Nevertheless, this is not to say that he was unknown from his death up until this point; both individual poems and larger cycles are found in many mid to late fifteenth-century poetic anthologies. Perhaps by the time these later collections of his *rime* were compiled, the musical annotations were archaic enough to be essentially irrelevant and were therefore abandoned.

The most substantial of the larger cycles is found in the *Raccolta Aragonese*, a summa of Tuscan poetry assembled in the latter half of the fifteenth century, years after the musical settings of Sacchetti's poems would have fallen out of fashion. It includes 88 of Sacchetti's poems, or approximately one third of his lyric output and is believed to descend directly from the poet's holograph. Given that the *Raccolta Aragonese* may not be as well known to musicologists as it is to literary scholars, the collection's background merits a brief synopsis. It was compiled in 1476 by Lorenzo de' Medici and Poliziano as a gift for Federigo d'Aragona, heir to the throne of Naples, upon the prince's own request.[92] Setting the stage for the major printed anthologies of Italian poetry first published in the early sixteenth century, for example the famous *Giuntina*, this selective and well-ordered anthology self-consciously aims to build a venerated canon of Tuscan lyric, leading up to and culminating in the work of Lorenzo himself. The *Raccolta Aragonese*'s contents attest to its historicizing intent. Organized partially by canonic hierarchy opening with Boccaccio's *Life of Dante* followed by Dante's own *Vita nova,* it presents the lyric poetry of all the major Tuscan authors from Guinizelli and Guittone on.[93] The dedicatory letter written by Poliziano makes the collection's aims even more explicit.[94] In introducing Federigo to the most important protagonists in early Tuscan literary history, Poliziano overtly portrays Dante and Petrarch as central canonic figures and works to associate this tradition with the celebrated cultural heritage of ancient Rome and Greece.

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[91] Ibid., 5–6.

[92] The *Raccolta Aragonese* is the subject of numerous studies including Michele Barbi, "La Raccolta Aragonese," in *Studi sul canzoniere di Dante, con nuove indagini sulle raccolte manoscritte e a stampa di antiche rime italiane* (Florence: Sansoni, 1915); Domenico De Robertis, "La Raccolta Aragonese primogenita," *Studi Danteschi* XLVII (1970); Mario Santoro, "Poliziano o il Magnifico? (Sull'attribuzione dell'Epistola a Federigo d'Aragona)," *Giornale italiano di filologia* I (1948); and Giuliano Tanturli, "La Firenze laurenziana davanti alla propria storia letteraria," in *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo tempo*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence: Olschki, 1992).

Although the original manuscript is now lost, the *Raccolta Aragonese* comes down to us today in the form of several derivative sources that date from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, indicated with asterisks in Table 2.1. I examine Franco Sacchetti's place in the collection through Florence Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 204, the most complete of these copies.[95] Though smaller in its dimensions than Ashburnham 574 (measuring 281 x 210 mm), with 313 folios, BNCF Palatino 204 is among the longest of the text-only manuscripts.[96] Its ample margins and elegant humanistic cursive bookhand as well as the occasional space reserved for decorated initials all suggest that this early sixteenth-century copy was planned to be relatively sumptuous, even if it is not the kind of truly deluxe book one imagines the original must have been. Today, however, BNCF Palatino 204 is a modest manuscript. The planned illumination was never added, leaving it devoid of any decoration, even simple pen flourishes. What is more, the book's current form is fragmented and inconsistent in appearance. Its two primary sections, fols. 1-35r and fol. 114r to the end, are elegant in their form, copied as described above in a graceful cursive bookhand. The middle section, by contrast, was compiled by a different principal scribe in a sloppier hand. These folios seem to be more informal by design, for on them no space is reserved for decorated initials.

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[93] On the original order of the Raccolta Aragonese, see Barbi, Studi, 228–231.

[94] For further information regarding the dedicatory letter and its attribution, see Santoro, "Poliziano o il Magnifico?".

[95] De Robertis dates BNCF Palatino 204 to after 1514. Domenico De Robertis, "L'Appendix Aldina e le più antiche stampe di rime dello stil novo," in *Editi e rari: studi sulla tradizione letteraria tra Tre e Cinquecento* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1978), 27, 35–36.

[96] For a brief description of BNCF Palatino 204 and its contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante Alighieri. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1 (Florence: Le lettere, 2002), 304–07.

In BNCF Palatino 204, Franco Sacchetti is placed in the midst of an esteemed Tuscan literary tradition, the first of the post-*stil novo* poets to be included. While the work of earlier authors is ordered by genre, Sacchetti's poems appear as they do in Ashburnham 574, with different metric forms freely mixed together. Moreover, the poems with musical settings, listed in Table 2.3, are scattered throughout, not grouped together and not differentiated from the "non-musical" poems that surround them. But here Sacchetti's composer attributions have disappeared, erasing all unambiguous traces of musicality the song texts once carried. In BNCF Palatino 204 and the other sources derived from the *Raccolta Aragonese*, these "musical" poems have become exclusively literary. Fully incorporated into a lyric tradition where they appear both alongside other madrigals, ballate, and cacce not selected for musical treatment and alongside canzoni and sonnets, they offer no hint that they might have a different past or a different literary status.

TABLE 2.3: SONG TEXTS IN BNCF PALATINO 204

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
137v	Sovra la riva dun corrente fiume	Lorenzo da Firenze (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213; Magl. VII 1187

Fol.	***Incipit***	***Composer (Poet)***	***Genre***	***Musical Concordances***	***Text Concordances***
140v	Come selvaggia fera fra le fronde	Niccolò del Proposto (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Vat. lat. 3213; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Magl. VII 1187
142v	Come la gru quando p(er) laer vola	Niccolò del Proposto (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	Sq	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352
156v	Passando co(n) pensier p(er) un boschetto	Niccolò del Proposto (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Caccia	Sq; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Marucelliana C.155; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
161v	La neve il ghiaccio e venti doriente	Guiglielmus de Francia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
162v	Povero pelegrin salito al mo(n)te	Niccolò del Proposto (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; FL XL 43; Ricc. 1118; Parmense 1081; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
168v	No(n) creder don(n) a che nessuna sia	Francesco degli organi (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1040; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
170v	Inamorato pruno	Franco Sacchetti (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	none	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Vat. lat. 3213; Magl. VII 1041
173r	State su don(n)e: che dobian noi fare	Niccolò del Proposto (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Caccia	Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
175v	Perche virtu fa lhuom consta(n)te et forte	Francesco degli organi (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	FP	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
250v	Con gliocchi assai ne miro	Francesco degli organi (*Cino Rinuccini*)	Ballata	Sq; Florence 5; FP; Pit	Ricc. 1118; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213

The *Raccolta Aragonese* thus has interesting implications for our understanding of the literary life of trecento song. As we saw at the opening of this chapter, modern anthologies treat song texts as tangential to the Italian literary tradition as a whole. Even those by known authors such as Sacchetti are appended to rather than integrated with "main stream" poetic production. Both physically and conceptually, they are isolated from the work of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, essentially the only fourteenth-century poets to receive much attention. BNCF Palatino 204, on the other hand, identifies Sacchetti as central to the literary canon it builds. In fact, the *Raccolta Aragonese* contains more poems by Sacchetti than any other poet—substantially more. The only other author to be granted comparable space is Cino da Pistoia, who has 87 *rime* in BNCF Palatino 204. We tend to think of song texts, even those by Sacchetti, as being relatively insignificant from a poetic perspective. But the *Raccolta Aragonese* demonstrates that in the fifteenth century, some "*poesia per musica*" achieved remarkable literary success. Not merely appearing here and there in casual miscellanies, a few poems—namely those by Sacchetti and Rinuccini—managed to enter the literary canon. Moreover, they do so on equal footing with "non-musical" lyrics and wholly independent from their polyphonic identities.

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1100: Niccolò Soldanieri and Song in Pre-Aragonese Anthologies

The second most prominent author of trecento song texts, Niccolò Soldanieri, did not enjoy the lasting success of Sacchetti. Still, although Soldanieri's work was not granted space in the *Raccolta Aragonese*, it does appear in other important lyric anthologies from the late fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century—including Riccardiana 1100, Redi 184, and

BNCR 1147. Perhaps the most intriguing of these collections is Riccardiana 1100, for it bears witness to the presence of song in one little-studied material tradition: manuscripts copied by professional scribes working "*a prezzo*," or on commission.[97] As such, it is more formal than the many text-only sources created by amateur scribes for their own personal use. Nonetheless it is still an extremely modest book, in line with other vernacular codices created within the "*a prezzo*" system in and around Florence during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Its paper folios contain two neat columns of text copied in a carefully executed *mercantesca* script. The anthology's one planned illuminated initial was never inserted, leaving it unadorned by decorative elements, with the exception of very simple frames surrounding the catchwords.

While it was owned by a certain Stefano di Cione,[98] Riccardiana 1100 was created by an anonymous professional scribe working in Florence during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries who collaborated with other professional bookmakers on various vernacular codices, mostly containing large-scale narrative works.[99] This manuscript is somewhat unusual among the codices copied by our anonymous Florentine and those copied by his colleague, Ghinozzo di Tommaso Allegretti, in that it contains an extensive anthology of lyric poetry. Opening with a large portion of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, Riccardiana 1100 collects *rime* by all the major trecento poets and several minor poets as well. Although it is thus similar in scope to the *Raccolta Aragonese*, this anthology does not seem to have as its primary aim the construction of a venerated lyric tradition. Table 2.4 lists the authors collected in Riccardiana 1100 in the order in which they appear. The texts are grouped by author but the logic behind its ordering is not chronological nor is it canonically significant, beyond the prestigious positioning of Petrarch's lyric oeuvre. Still, it undoubtedly displays historicizing if not canonizing tendencies in its rigorous organization, scrupulous attribution, and its comprehensive selection of poets. In fact, Riccardiana 1100 is one of the very few formal, well-ordered anthologies of Italian lyric poetry to be copied between the great *canzonieri* created around the turn of the fourteenth century (Vat. lat. 3793, Banco Rari 217, and Redi 9) and the *Raccolta Aragonese*, assembled nearly 200 years later.[100] As such, like BNCF Palatino 204, this manuscript clearly integrates song into the broader world of trecento lyric poetry.

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[97] For a discussion of the practice of copying books "*a prezzo*" in trecento Florence, see Marco Cursi, "Ghinozzo di Tommaso Allegretti e altri copisti 'a prezzo' di testi volgari (XIV-XV Sec.)," *Scrittura e civiltà* XXIII (1999) and "Fare scrivere il Boccaccio: codici e copisti 'a prezzo' fra Bologna e Firenze all'inizio del sec. XV," *Studi sul Boccaccio* 30 (2002).

[98] Located on the manuscript's final original flyleaf, the *ex libris* reads "Qusto [sic.] libro è di Stefano di Cione delle Dote over delle Gran Dote." It is likely that this is the same Stefano di Cione who resided in the Santo Spirito quarter (under the *Ferza* Gonfalone) and who appears in the *catasto* of 1427. Cursi, "Fare scrivere," 340.

[99] See Cursi, "Copisti 'a prezzo'."

Table 2.4: Authors identified in Riccardiana 1100

Francesco Petrarca (fols. 12r–36r)
Lancillotto Anguissola (fols. 36v–37r)
Bruzio Visconti (fols. 37r–38v)
Dante Alighieri (fols. 38v–47r)
Sennuccio del Bene (fols. 47v–49v)
Giovanni Boccaccio (fols. 50r–51v)
Riccardo di Franceschino degli Albizzi (fols. 51v–54v)
Franceschino di Riccardo degli Albizzi (fol. 54v)
Matteo di Landozzo degli Albizzi (fol. 55r)
Ser Iacopo Cecchi (fols. 55v–56r)
Niccolò Soldanieri (fols. 56r–58v)
Fazio degli Uberti (fols. 58v–61v)
Antonio da Ferrara (fols. 61v–63v)
Tommaso di Piero de' Bardi (fols. 64r–65r)
Ricciardo da Battifolle (fol. 65r)
Guido Cavalcanti (fol. 65r–65v)
Meghino Mezzani (fol. 65v)
Piero Alighieri (fols. 65v–66r)
Pagolo dall'Abaco (fols. 65v–66r)

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[100] Furio Brugnolo, "La poesia del Trecento," in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 10, *La tradizione dei testi*, ed. Enrico Malato (Rome: Salerno, 2001).

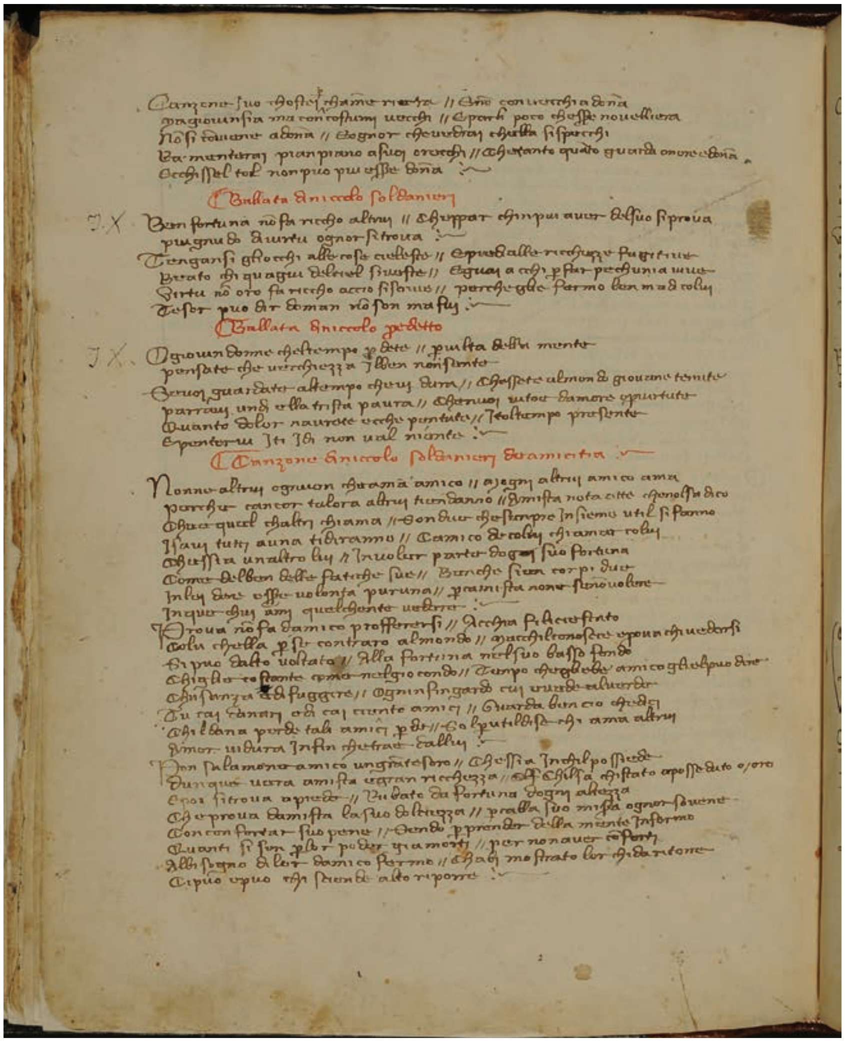
Federigo di messere Gieri (fol. 66r)
Anon. (fols. 67v–68r)
Francesco di Tura (fol. 68v)
Anon. sonnet "di una donna di Siena per Giov. del Paffiera Cavalcanti" (fol. 68v)
Ser Durante da San Miniato (fol. 68v)
Messer Gregorio calonista di Firenze (fol. 68v)
Ser Rinaldo da Ciepperello (fol. 69r)
Iacopo Ghini d'Arezzo (fol. 69r)
Franco Sacchetti (fol. 69r–v)
Messere Lapo da Colle (fols. 69v–70v)
Niccolò da Ferrara (fols. 70v–71r)
Pandolfo Malatesti (fol. 71v)
Gregorio d'Arezzo (fols. 71v–80v)
Simone dell'Antella (fol. 80v)
Bindo Bonichi (fols. 80v–89r)
Fazio degli Uberti (fol. 89r)
Anon. (fols. 90r–93v)
Matteo Correggiatto (fol. 93v)
Giovanni Boccaccio (fols. 93v–94v)

Table 2.5 lists Riccardiana 1100's four poems with musical concordances. The first, *Non al suo amante più Diana piacque* on fol. 22r, falls into the section containing Petrarch's *rime* and follows the reading presented in the poet's *canzoniere* rather than the variant version set by Jacopo. The second two, *Ben fortuna non fa riccho altrui* (pictured in Figure 2.1) and *Donne e fu credenza di madonna*, are both ballate by Niccolò Soldanieri and appear in the short section dedicated to his works. The last musical ballata, attributed to "messer Greghorio calonista di firenze," appears in a section dedicated to single poems, mostly ballate, of minor authors. As in the *Raccolta Aragonese,* no indication is given that these texts are musical. They have no rubrics mentioning their musical settings, and they are not physically segregated from the poems that surround them. By mixing its song texts amongst canzoni and sonnets, as well as amongst "non-musical" madrigals and ballate, Riccardiana 1100 adds its force to Ashburnham 574 and BNCF Palatino 204 in dissolving the boundary between "musical" and "non-musical" poetry. It too suggests that medieval readers did not differentiate between song texts and "purely literary" texts as we do today. Furthermore, like the *Raccolta Aragonese*, Riccardiana 1100 places its song texts within an established literary tradition, lengthening by four the list of "musical" poems whose poetic significance is undeniable.

Table 2.5: Song texts in Riccardiana 1100

Fol.	***Incipit***	***Composer (Poet)***	***Genre***	***Musical Concordances***	***Text Concordances***
22r	Non al suo amante piu diana piaque	Jacopo da Bologna (*Petrarch*)	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina	Vat. Lat. 3195; Ricc. 1100; Redi 184; FL XL 43 and many others
57v	Ben fortuna non fa riccho altrui	Niccolò del Proposto (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Ballata	Sq	Redi 184
58v	Donne e fu credenza di madonna	Lorenzo da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Ballata	Sq	Redi 184; Chigi L.IV.131
68v	Sento damore la fiamma al gran podere	Lorenzo da Firenze (attrib. here to *messer Greghorio calonista di firenze*)	Ballata	Sq	none

Figure 2.1: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1100, fol. 57v[101]



Ben fortuna non fa riccho altrui (Niccolò Soldanieri)

Other Kinds of Scribal Rationale: Genre and Thematic Material

Having shown how certain song texts are granted cultural prestige through their association with specific authors in anthologizing, author-organized collections, I now turn to the second and third groups of sources identified in Table 2.1—manuscripts that include song texts because of their genre and manuscripts that include song texts because of their moralizing subject matter. The two sources in the third subgroup merit detailed discussion here because they are among those most often singled out in the secondary literature for their links to the trecento musical tradition: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Ashburnham 569 and Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081. Both contain short cycles of madrigals intercalated into collections of refined canzoni and sonnets by Dante and Petrarch. Gianluca D'Agostino, among others, has argued that the song texts in these two manuscripts descend from musical exemplars. The material evidence, however, points away from such a reading. Although all the madrigals have known polyphonic concordances, the two scribes seem to be more interested in the madrigal as a literary genre than in the musicality of the texts they copy. I argue, therefore, that the classification of song texts as "musical" was not of primary concern to the compilers of Ashburnham 569 and Parmense 1081.

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[101] Image provided by the Biblioteca Riccardiana and reproduced here by permission. Further reproduction prohibited.

Such is the situation as well with the collections of moralizing poetry transmitting *O cieco mondo*: FL Palatino 105, Bologna 1072, and Barb. lat. 3695. Free of overt musicality, Jacopo's madrigal seems to be selected not because of its fame as a polyphonic song but because its subject matter fits well with each manuscript's literary context. But there is one other collection in the second subgroup whose compilational rationale takes into account the musicality of the song texts it transmits. While the three sources containing *O cieco mondo* make no reference at all to the poem's musical setting, Genova A.IX.28 attributes its four song texts to their composer "*Cieco delli horgani*" (Francesco degli organi, better known today as Francesco Landini). These musical poems are in line with the manuscript's general lyric panorama in terms of their moralizing message, and yet as their attribution implies, the motivation behind their selection goes beyond shared thematic material. Genova A.IX.28 is thus extremely significant in the context of the text-only sources because it offers a rare example of a literary manuscript in which the musicality of song texts is integral to both their identity and to their function within the manuscript. As I will illustrate, there can be no doubt that the song texts are placed alongside more traditionally prestigious texts in Genova A.IX.28, such as Bruni's *Vita di Dante* and Brunetto Latini's *Le Trésor*, precisely because their association with Francesco degli organi made them a prime example of Florence's elite cultural heritage in the eyes of the books' compilers. Copied in the second half of the fifteenth century, Genova A.IX.28 is also significant because it raises interesting questions about the longevity of the trecento repertoire in general and, more specifically, about Francesco's prolonged centrality in Florentine culture.

Donato da Firenze's Madrigals and Dante's Rime in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ashburnham 569

Ashburnham 569 is quite elegant compared to the majority of text-only manuscripts, but it is also somewhat peculiar in its construction. Dating from the late fourteenth century or the early fifteenth century, this short book is a composite manuscript made from two distinct units that were compiled at separate times by a single scribe.[102] The first unit (fols. 1-7), more simple than the second, is likely the older of the two and features ample margins, careful frame ruling, and fairly elegant cursive script. Its poems, all canzoni by Dante, are meticulously labeled with their genre and author, but no colored ink is used and decorated initials were neither planned nor executed.

The second unit (fols. 9–28) is separated from the first by one blank folio clearly bound in at a much later date. Although reasonably uniform in its appearance, changes in ink and script size suggest that this unit was produced in several different sittings. In contrast with the first unit, the wider margins, use of red ink for rubrics, and the space left for decorated initials all lend an air of increased formality. The script, too, is executed with more care and precision, visible in the basic letter forms themselves and in the elegant elongated descenders used to decorate the bottom margin. Overall, Ashburnham 569's comparatively formal *mise en page* and high-quality script suggest that it may well be the work of a professional or semi-professional scribe operating within the same kind of "*a prezzo*" system that produced codices like Riccardiana 1100, even if the original manuscripts of which its units were to be a part were never completed as planned. In addition to their unique codicological features (different paper, different preparation, etc.), the fact that two units contain overlapping repertoire suggests they were destined for two separate lyric collections, and furthermore, that they were most likely not copied for personal use. The second unit opens with a collection of seventeen canzoni by Dante, which repeats the eight copied in the first unit maintaining their order.[103] It closes with a collection of shorter poetry copied in a separate layer that consists of sonnets by Petrarch with a few by other authors, including Cino da Pistoia, Antonio Pucci, and Dante, mixed in as well.

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[102] Ashburnham 569 is briefly described in De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime,* vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, 151–52. While no old foliation remains in either to confirm any hypothesis regarding the original form of the two units, both give the impression that they were intended to be part of larger, more comprehensive lyric collections.

Nestled in amongst these sonnets, in the middle of the manuscript's final gathering, are four madrigals with known musical concordances. Listed in Table 2.6, these song texts, which were all set to music by Donato da Firenze, are the only representatives of "musical" genres in Ashburnham 569. With the exception of a short excerpt from the opening of Dante's

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[103] According to De Robertis, fols. 9 and 10 (a single bifolio re-folded backwards) were incorrectly bound and should in fact be placed after fol. 16. It is following this original arrangement that the texts appear in the same order as in the first unit. De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, 151–52.

Paradiso on fol. 27v, all other texts are canzoni and sonnets. Focusing on the disposition of the madrigals in a compact group with no intervening non-musical poems, D'Agostino has argued that they are isolated from their surroundings and therefore likely derive from a musical exemplar, possibly a single fascicle of pieces by Donato.[104] To describe them as "isolated," however, is misleading. While the four madrigals are copied consecutively in a single layer of activity, they are neither paleographically nor codicologically separated from the rest of manuscript. Examination of ink color reveals that they were entered along with several texts on either side, part of a layer of copying that extends from the top of fol. 27r through the end of the manuscript (fol. 28v). In addition to "musical texts," this layer also includes sonnets by Dante and Petrarch, as well as the excerpt from the *Divine Comedy*. What is more, the entire second unit is codicologically and paleographically coherent, the change to grey ink at the top of fol. 27r notwithstanding. All gatherings in the second unit are made from the same paper with ink and pen changes occurring internally rather than between gatherings. Additionally, the red rubrics copied throughout the second unit were added together, certainly not much later than the main text.

TABLE 2.6: SONG TEXTS IN ASHBURNHAM 569

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
27r	I fugia biancho uciel chon piuma doro	Madriale di messer antonio degli alberti	Donato da Firenze (*Anonymous*)	Sq; SL; Lo	Chigi M.IV.79
27v	Lucida pechorella son schanpata	Madriale di nicchola Soldanieri	Donato da Firenze (*Anonymous*)	Sq; FP; SL; Pit	none

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[104] Gianluca D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento: una revisione per dati e problemi. (L'area toscana)," in *Con dolce suon*, 412–13.

Fol.	***Incipit***	***Rubric***	***Composer (Poet)***	***Musical Concordances***	***Text Concordances***
27v	Io perduto lalbero el timone	Madriale di righo belondi	Donato da Firenze (*Arrigo Belondi*)	Sq; SL	none
27v	Laspido sordo el tiroello schorzone	Madriale di righo belondi	Donato da Firenze (*Arrigo Belondi*)	Sq; SL; Lo	none

The material evidence thus argues against rather than for the use of a musical exemplar. Copied at the same time as several sonnets, which would never have been set polyphonically, it is much more likely that these four madrigals originate from the same literary exemplar used for the poems that flank them. Also suggesting literary origins are the rubrics themselves, which attribute all four song texts to known poets rather than to Donato. Because the madrigals lack concordances in other literary sources, we cannot be sure these attributions are accurate. Nonetheless, it is highly improbable that they derive directly from a notated source. Applying the criteria for establishing musical origins laid out in Chapter 1, Ashburnham 569 fails the test. As the discussion above makes clear, it meets neither criterion 1 (exact concordance in order with a musical source), nor 2 (high percentage of musical texts in a discrete section), nor 5 (musically significant rubrics or marginalia). Furthermore, if we look at the readings of the poems themselves, it fails to meet criterion 3 (all or most musical poems appearing without the residual text) and 4 (variants concordant with a musical source) as well.

Like the other manuscripts discussed thus far, Ashburnham 569's musicological value lies in its traces of an independent literary tradition belonging to what are—for us—musical poems, not in any tenuous connections we might be tempted to find with hypothetical lost notated sources. Incorporating this group of madrigals into its poetic fabric, Ashburnham 569 offers another example of a purely literary manuscript in which *poesie per musica* are stripped of their musical associations and re-positioned in the world of *poesia aulica*. With no implication that their status is any different from that of the sonnets and canzoni on neighboring folios, the latent musicality of these song texts seems to be entirely secondary to their inclusion here and perhaps even unknown completely. The most logical explanation for their inclusion is that Ashburnham 569's scribe or commissioner, or possibly the scribe of its exemplar, had an interest in the madrigal as a poetic genre and perhaps in the work of the individual poets to whom they are attributed. In other words, at least one reader intended to enjoy these texts as poems in a literary context wholly autonomous from their musical settings.

It should also be said that Ashburnham 569's madrigals were not added as an afterthought, nor are they included because they happen to fall within the output of a poet whose works were being collected on a large scale, as is the case with the song texts in the first group of sources discussed in this chapter. They form an integral but independent piece of this carefully planned collection of *poesia aulica*. Placed on equal footing with canzoni by Dante and Petrarchan sonnets, they are part of the manuscript's original conception. Unlike many of the other text-only sources, including several relevant to the present section (Barb. lat. 3695, Parmense 1081, Genova A.IX.28, and Magl. VII 1041 to name a few), Ashburnham 569 is not a casual miscellany assembled gradually over time by an amateur scribe for his own personal use. Unusually meticulous in its attributions, this manuscript is on par with Riccardiana 1100 in terms of its formality. Though still firmly situated in the world of mercantile, bourgeois reading, Ashburnham 569 is one of the few literary sources contemporary with the trecento notated *canzonieri* to fully integrate song texts into a pre-planned anthology characterized by relatively refined graphic panorama. In so doing, it demonstrates that even before the *Raccolta*

Aragonese's creation of a venerated Tuscan lyric canon, some readers viewed trecento song texts as participating in a poetic tradition that was sufficiently significant culturally speaking to warrant careful dissemination in elegant sources.

Niccolò da Perugia as Poet in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081 is known to musicologists for its attribution of several poems to the prominent trecento composer, Niccolò del Proposto (also known as Niccolò da Perugia). Like Ashburnham 569, its song texts are madrigals and seem to be included, at least in part, due to a specific interest in that genre. At the same time, Parmense 1081 also seems to embody the compositional rationale of subgroup 1, displaying a decided interest in collecting works by specific authors as well. Beyond the initial similarities in their choice of song texts, Ashburnham 569 and Parmense 1081 differ significantly in terms of their physical form and compilational scope. Parmense 1081 is a medium sized book, measuring 268 x 200 mm.[105] It is thus smaller than Sacchetti's autograph but comparable in size to most of the other text-only sources. While it sports relatively ample margins throughout, Parmense 1081 is far from luxurious, with no decoration of any sort and no colored ink aside from a few red rubrics on fols. 20v-23v. Like most of the literary sources discussed in this chapter, it is copied in a legible but not especially elegant cursive hand with influences of *mercantesca*. The hand belongs to a single amateur scribe who rather unusually signs his name, Gaspar Totti, in the outer margin next to nearly every poem. Totti's identity unfortunately remains unconfirmed, but his script and orthography suggest he was a Tuscan copyist—mostly likely Pisan—working during the early fifteenth century.[106]

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[105] The measurements given reflect the current size of Parmense 1081's folios, which have been clearly cut down at least once over the years. The current binding measures 285 x 207 mm and houses a number of extra folios—nine blank folios at the beginning and 24 folios at the end, some of which are filled with an eighteenth-century index and the rest of which are blank. A brief codicological description can be found in Domenico De Robertis, ed. *Dante . Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 2 (Florence: Le lettere, 2002), 578.

Judging from the uniform visual appearance of Parmense 1081's primary layer, Totti copied the main portion of the manuscript in a compact time frame. Variations in ink, general formatting, and overall visual appearance of the text reveal that with this base in hand, Totti continued to add to the collection for quite some time, filling blank pages and spare space within the main writing block first, and later adding poems in the margins. Its ultimately heterogeneous form clearly sets this manuscript apart from books like Riccardiana 1100 that were copied professionally to be sold to other readers. With so many additions gradually added by Totti himself, Parmense 1081 can be nothing other than a collection of poetry assembled and copied by an amateur scribe for his own personal use. Moreover, the deterioration it suffered before its recent restoration along with the assorted minor additions by other hands show the book had a long life of heavy use not just by Totti but also by subsequent readers. Two hands more or less contemporary with Totti inserted texts on fols. 97r, 107v, and 109v, and one eighteenth-century hand added corrections, notes, and attributions throughout the manuscript along with an index on fols. I'r-IX'r.[107]

The foundation of Parmense 1081's lyric collection is Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, and its organization is noteworthy given the manuscript's fifteenth-century origins. Petrarch's poems do not follow their ordering in the RVF, which is driven by narrative concerns rather than metric classification. Instead, Totti turns to the pre-Petrarchan *canzoniere* model, dividing poems into sections according to their genre. Mixed in with Petrarch's oeuvre, mostly respecting the generic ordering, are lyrics by numerous other poets including Dante, Boccaccio, Cecco Angiolieri, Guittone d'Arezzo, and Cino da Pistoia, as well as several anonymous poems.[108] The sonnet section, which runs from fol. 1r to 49v, is fairly consistent in appearance through fol. 43r, copied up to this point in what is essentially a single layer of scribal activity. The last few folios (fols. 43v–49v), mostly containing sonnets by authors other than Petrarch, were filled in separately. The first portion of the canzone section (fols. 50r–90v) matches the collection of sonnets in appearance, presumably planned in tandem. After the last of Petrarch's *rime* on fol. 90v, the manuscript becomes much less cohesive both in terms of paleographic features and contents. Canzoni still represent the general organizational underpinning, but they no longer dominate the metric panorama. Scattered throughout this final section we also find numerous sonnets along with madrigals, ballate, and one caccia. This structure is illustrated in Figure 2.2.

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[106] Ibid., and Emilio Costa, "Il codice Parmense 1081," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* XII (1888).

[107] According to De Robertis, this hand may belong to the eighteenth-century bibliophile, Pietro Vitali. De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 2, 578.

FIGURE 2.2: STRUCTURE OF PARMA, BIBLIOTECA PALATINA, PARMENSE 1081

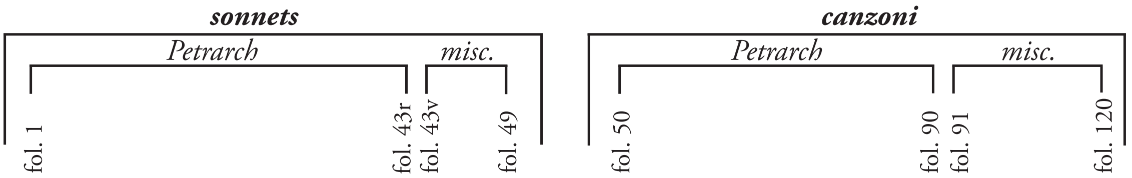

Table 2.7 lists Parmense 1081's ten song texts. Codicologically and paleographically speaking, they appear in three autonomous groups: Petrarch's *Non al suo amante* on fol. 55v, the seven madrigals on fols. 91v and 92r, and finally the ballata and caccia on fol. 111v. The

presence of *Non al suo amante* is straightforward. It, along with several other Petrarchan madrigals, is fully incorporated into the beginning of the manuscript's collection of canzoni. The second two groups, less easily explained, are the most interesting from a musicological point of view, for they raise questions about the meaning of composer attributions in literary manuscripts and provide evidence that Niccolò may have been active as a poet.

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[108] A complete inventory of Parmense 1081 can be found in Costa, "Il codice Parmense 1081." However, this inventory does not always indicate commonly accepted attributions if they are not noted in the manuscript itself. Also, where texts were added in later layers of copying, Costa's inventory does not necessarily faithfully portray the order of those poems on the page.

The seven madrigals on fols. 91v and 92r, shown in Figure 2.3, are copied in an independent layer of scribal activity, added right after the end of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. Each is preceded by a rubric, written by Totti, specifying genre and author. Five are attributed to well-known *rimatori*—Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Sacchetti. Curiously, the remaining two texts are attributed to the composer of their musical settings, Niccolò del Proposto. Given that in literary sources song texts are rarely attributed to their composers, Totti's rubrics are somewhat perplexing.[109] How did Niccolò's name get here? And does Totti intend to imply that he is the poet or the composer, or both?

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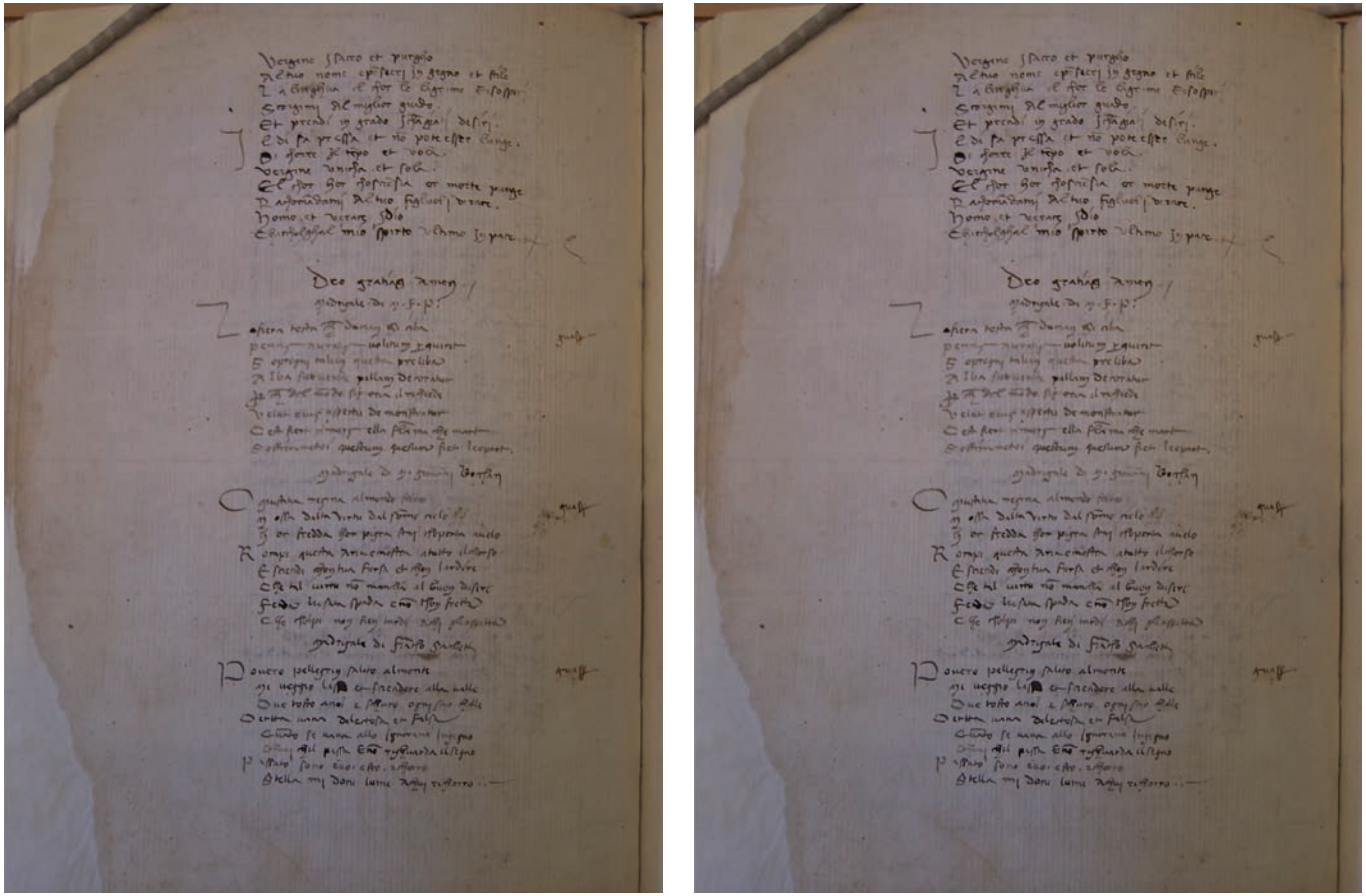
[109] The only other manuscripts in which poetic texts are attributed to their composers are Genova A.IX.28, Magl. VII 1041, and Chigi L.IV.131.

FIGURE 2.3: PARMA, BIBLIOTECA PALATINA, PARMENSE 1081, FOLS. 91V AND 92R[110]



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[110] My photos, reproduced with permission from the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma.

Table 2.7: Song texts in Parmense 1081

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Composer (poet)*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
55v	Non al suo amante piu diana piacque	madriale d.f.p.	Jacopo da Bologna (*Petrarch*)	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina	Vat. Lat. 3195; Ricc. 1100; Redi 184; FL XL 43 and many others
91v	La fiera testa ch(e) duman si ciba	madrigale di m.f.p.	Niccolò da Perugia and Bartolino da Padova (*Petrarch*, false attrib.?)	For Bartolino: Sq; SL; Pit. For Niccolò: Sq	Trivulziana 193
91v	O giustitia regina al mondo freno	madrigale di m. giova(n)ni Bocchacci	Niccolò da Perugia (*Boccaccio*)	Sq	FL XL. 43
91v	Povero pellegrin salito al monte	madrigale di fra(n)cho sacchetti	Niccolò da Perugia (*Sacchetti*)	Sq; Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; FL XL.43; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
92r	Agnel son biancho e tuo belando be	madrigale di fra(n)cho sacchetti	Giovanni da Cascia (*Sacchetti*, dub.)	Sq; FP; SL; Pit; Reina	
92r	Tal mi fa ghuerra mi mostra pace	madrigale di s(er) niccholo del p(ro)posto	Niccolò da Perugia	Sq	
92r	Non dispriegar virtu ciecho villano	madrigale di (ser) niccholo del p(ro)posto	Niccolò da Perugia (*Stefano di Cino*)	Sq; Lo; Pit	Redi 184; FL XL.43; FL XL.43; Barb. lat. 3695
92r	So(m)ma felicita so(m)mo tesoro	madrigale di francescho sacchetto	Francesco degli organi (*Sacchetti*, dub.)	Sq	FL XL.43
111v	Tosto che lalba del bel giorno appare	chaccia di s(er) Niccholo del p(ro)posto	Gherardello da Firenze	Sq; FP; SL; Lo; Pit	
111v	Non piu diro omai chosi faro	frottola di s(er) Niccolo del p(ro)posto	Niccolò da Perugia	Lo	Redi 184; FL XL.43; BNCF II.II.61

D'Agostino has suggested that Totti worked from a notated source when he copied the madrigals on fols. 91v and 92r and the two poems with musical concordances on fol. 111v as well. This exemplar, D'Agostino hypothesizes, may even have been a fascicle manuscript belonging to Niccolò himself.[111] There are indeed good reasons to believe that these madrigals derive from a musical source. In addition to the rare mention of a composer's name, here we also have the equally exceptional phenomenon of song texts copied in a single, unified, and discrete paleographic section. Although they are flanked on both sides by poems that surely would never have appeared in a notated *canzoniere*, these seven madrigals all have known musical concordances and were likely entered into blank space fairly late in the compilation process. Therefore, while Parmense 1081 does not meet criterion 1 (exact concordance in order with a musical source) as defined in Chapter 1, it does meet criterion 2 (high percentage of song texts in a discrete section) and, in the case of *Non dispriegar virtu cieco villano*, criterion 6 (attribution to a composer instead of a poet).

However, the fact that several other poems are attributed to poets rather than to composers may shed doubt on the hypothesis of direct derivation from a notated source. D'Agostino proposes that Totti, taking his own initiative, amended the attributions found in his notated exemplar, substituting poet names for composer names where he could, and leaving Niccolò's name where he knew of no separate author for the text at hand.[112] But this sort of initiative is not consistent with Totti's treatment of rubrics and attribution in Parmense 1081 as a whole. The inaccuracy of certain attributions aside, an issue D'Agostino himself notes, the vast majority of the poems in Parmense 1081 were originally copied anonymously. Most of the attributions currently preserved in the manuscript were added after the main copying effort by the eighteenth-century hand responsible for other corrections and notes. In fact, this brief cycle of madrigals is anomalous in its thorough labeling. Nowhere else in the manuscript are so many poems in a row so carefully labeled with their genre and authors by Totti himself at the moment in which the main text was copied. It seems unlikely that a scribe who is otherwise quite nonchalant about attributions would go out of his way here to change information in his exemplar as he copied. The simpler, more plausible explanation is that Totti's exemplar for these two pages was a literary source in which these seven madrigals appeared with the attributions we see in Parmense 1081, including those to Niccolò. In other words, Totti's collection suggests that these madrigals were in circulation as poems without music, and that in the literary tradition Niccolò was attached to them as poet not as composer, even if the second of the two attributions is now considered to be erroneous.[113]

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[111] D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria," 415.

[112] Ibid.

The two song texts on fol. 111v provide further evidence that Totti used one or more literary sources when copying Parmense 1081's song texts. D'Agostino argues that these two poems, also attributed to Niccolò, originate from the same source as the madrigals on fols. 91v and 92r—that is, from the notated fascicle manuscript possibly belonging to Niccolò himself. Yet separated by twenty folios and several changes in ink and pen, these two groups of song texts have no clear codicological link to support the hypothesis that they derive from a single exemplar, much less from a single exemplar used only for them. In fact, the two musical poems on fol. 111v (Figure 2.4) present a rather different codicological situation than do the madrigals copied earlier. They are not isolated from their surroundings in an independent layer but were instead copied at the same time as the canzoni on either side. Particularly intriguing is the rubric attached to the amorous canzone on fol. 112r (Figure 2.5), the first poem to follow *Non più dirò* in Parmense 1081's original form:[114] "chansona chontra amore per uno innamorato di una giovane et ella di lui volendosi chongiungere di uno volere lo giovane perdeo la virtu ativa et no poteo advegna che sperasse tornare al disiato chaso e fecela Niccholo soprascrito" (*canzona against love [that tells of] one in love with a young girl, who wishing to marry him, lost her virtue and could do nothing but hope to return the desired fate, and it was written by Niccholo who is named above*).[115] Not the kind of poem that would have been set polyphonically, this canzone strongly supports my argument that the attributions to Niccolò reflect his status not as composer but as poet and suggests that at least this section of Parmense 1081 derives from a literary exemplar.

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[113] Based on Riccardiana 1100, *Non dispregiar* has been attributed to Stefano di Cino merciaio. See Natalino Sapegno, *Poeti minori del Trecento* (Milan: Ricordi, 1952), 495.

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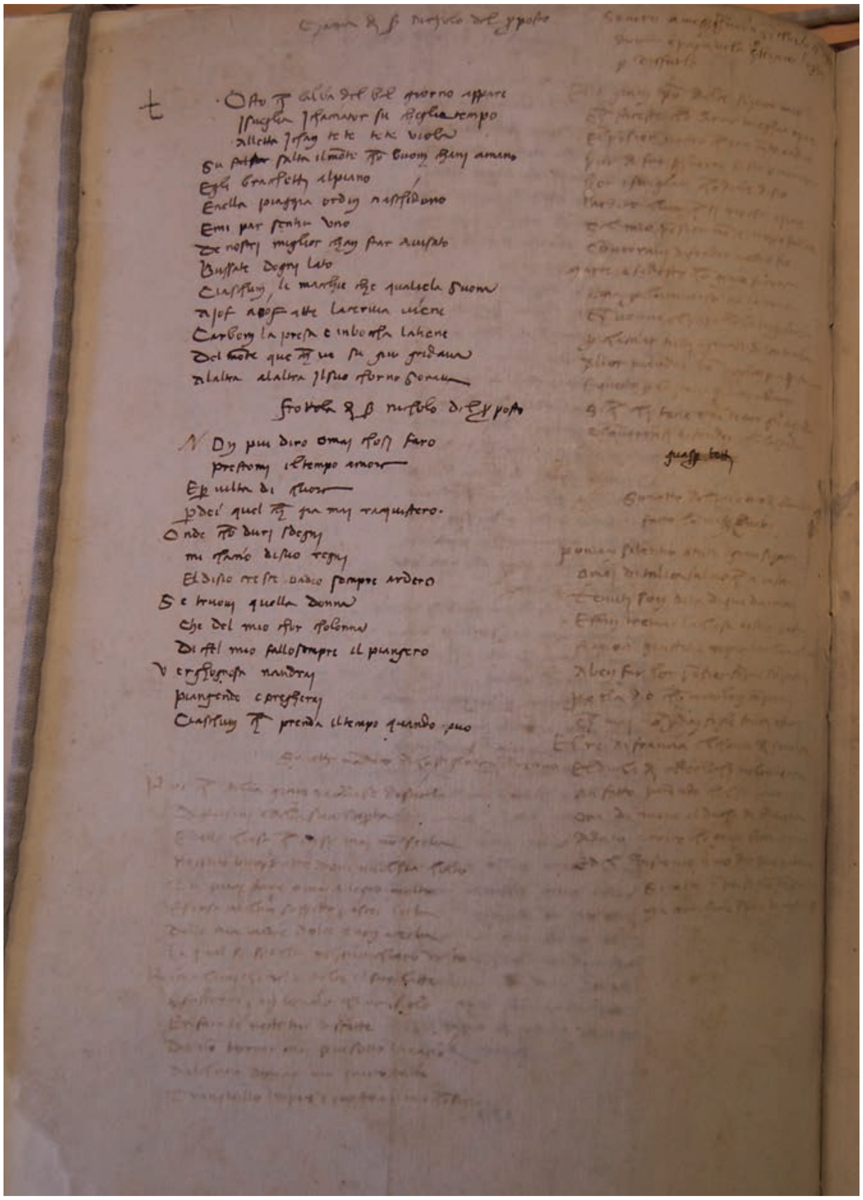
[114] Judging from variation in the color and subsequent fading of the ink on folio 111v, the sonnets copied between Niccolò's ballata and canzone were added by Totti later.

[115] Emphasis added.

FIGURE 2.4: PARMA, BIBLIOTECA PALATINA, PARMENSE 1081, FOL. 111V[116]



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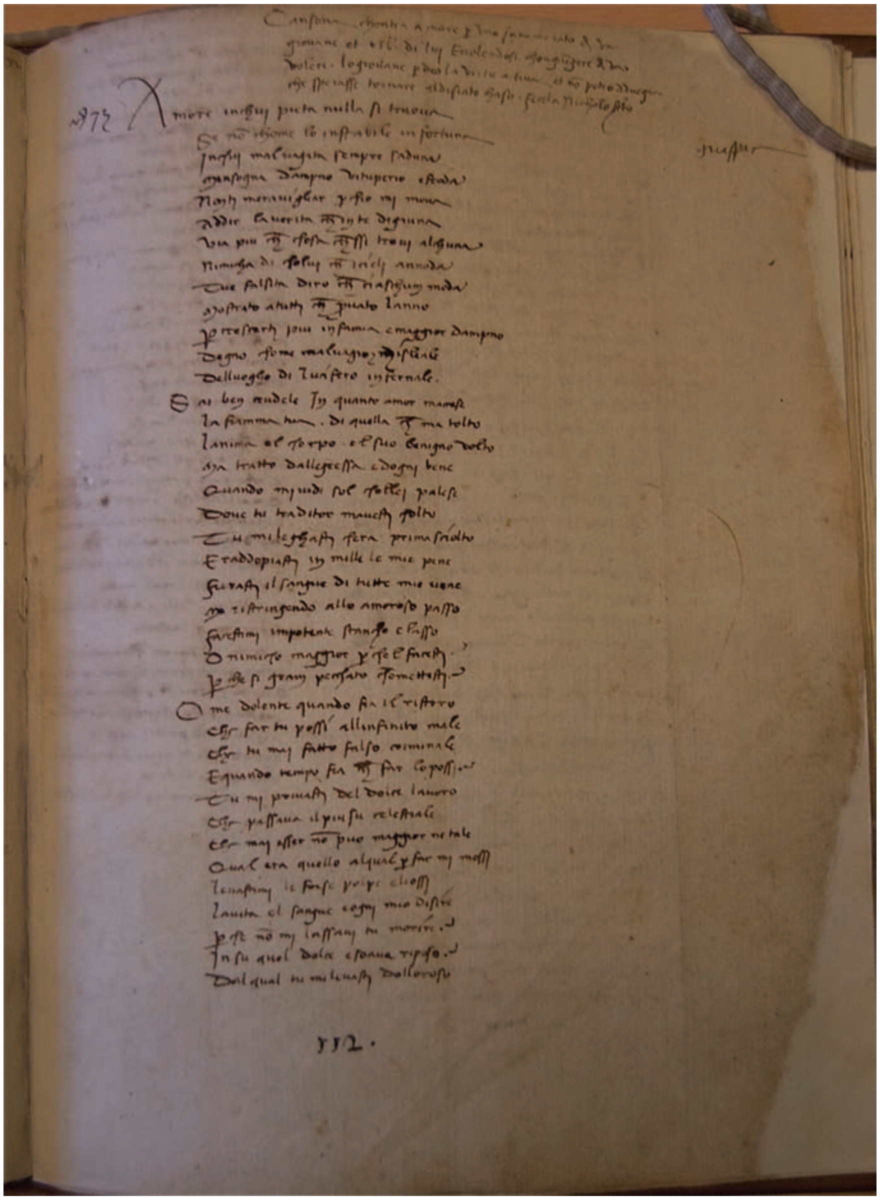
[116] Figures 2.4 and 2.5 are my photos, reproduced with permission from the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma.

Figure 2.5: Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081, fol. 112r



Moreover, when considering the potential musical implications behind Parmense 1081's rubrics we should remember that *Tosto che l'alba* is attributed to Gherardello rather than to Niccolò in London 29987, its only extant musical source. Though it is possible to write this seeming contradiction off as a simple case of misattribution, it is just as plausible that Totti is correct in his association of the poetic text with Niccolò. There are certainly other cases in which we suspect composers to have written their own song texts.[117] Furthermore, there can be no doubt that Niccolò himself was a very literary-minded composer. Clearly interested in setting serious, elevated poetry, he stands out among trecento polyphonists for using an unusually large number of attributable texts. At least eight, and possibly nine of the forty-one poems he selected for musical treatment are by known authors: seven by Sacchetti, one by Boccaccio, one by Soldanieri, and one dubiously attributed to Petrarch. Given the interest in poetry evident in his musical output, it is possible that Niccolò was himself a poet as well as a composer and that his *rime* may have circulated both with and without musical notation.

Thus, while at first glance Parmense 1081's rubrics seem to confirm the musicality of the madrigals to which they are attached, upon closer reflection they may be more indicative of extensive cross-pollination between musical and literary traditions. Furthermore, despite their interest to musicologists, the rubrics themselves are to a certain extent less significant than the sophisticated literary context Totti associates with trecento song. By situating its "musical" texts in the midst of an extensive collection of sonnets and canzoni by Petrarch, Parmense 1081 demonstrates that medieval scribes and readers deemed song texts worthy of cohabiting space mostly dedicated to the same elite texts from which they are isolated by collections like the Segre/Ossola anthology and by much of modern scholarship.

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[117] Song texts most commonly believed to be written by the composers themselves are those that are believed to be autobiographical and those that are invectives against bad musicians, such as Francesco degli organi's *Musica son*, Jacopo da Bologna's *Oselletto selvaggio*, and Bartolino da Padova's *Se premio virtù*.

Francesco degli organi and Illustrious Florentine Culture in Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX.28

Thus far, I have argued for the need to move beyond the musical nature of song texts in our analysis of literary sources transmitting so-called *poesia per musica*, and I have stressed that their polyphonic settings have little or no impact on their meaning to the scribes, compliers, and readers of these manuscripts. It may come as a surprise, then, that this next source employs four song texts set by Francesco degli organi in good part because of the intellectual and cultural prestige of their celebrated composer. Genova A.IX.28 thus presents an exceptional situation, unique among the text-only manuscripts in having concrete, definable links to trecento polyphony that extend far beyond the mere presence of song texts. Consequently, it—perhaps even more so than Ashburnham 574—offers a useful model for how we might clearly identify and meaningfully articulate musical influence in non-musical manuscripts.

As we have seen, it is relatively rare for literary sources to attribute poems with polyphonic settings to their composers, and even more rare for them to do so while openly acknowledging the text's musicality. Genova A.IX.28, however, does both. This *zibaldone*, or personal miscellany, was copied between 1462 and 1485 by two Florentine brothers, Giovanni and Filippo Benci. On fol. 205 (pictured in Figure 2.6), written in a casual, almost sloppy *mercantesca* hand and preceding four ballate set to music by Francesco degli organi, are the words: "*canzone del ciecho delli horgani*." The use of the label "canzone" as a nonspecific classification rather than a precise reference to the genre of *poesia aulica* is certainly not unheard of, but Genova A.IX.28 is one of the few places where it seems certain that the term carries musical significance—in other words, where it truly means "song."[118] What interest, we must wonder, might the Benci brothers have had in Francesco in the second half of the fifteenth century? How familiar were they with his music? And why was he selected to be one of the few vernacular poets not part of the Benci family to be included in this *zibaldone* that primarily highlights prose texts of humanistic interest? These questions are, of course, difficult to answer for certain. Nevertheless, clues about the Benci family's cultural interests and about their connection to Florence's musical life can be found in Genova A.IX.28 and in the rest of the family's library as well.[119]

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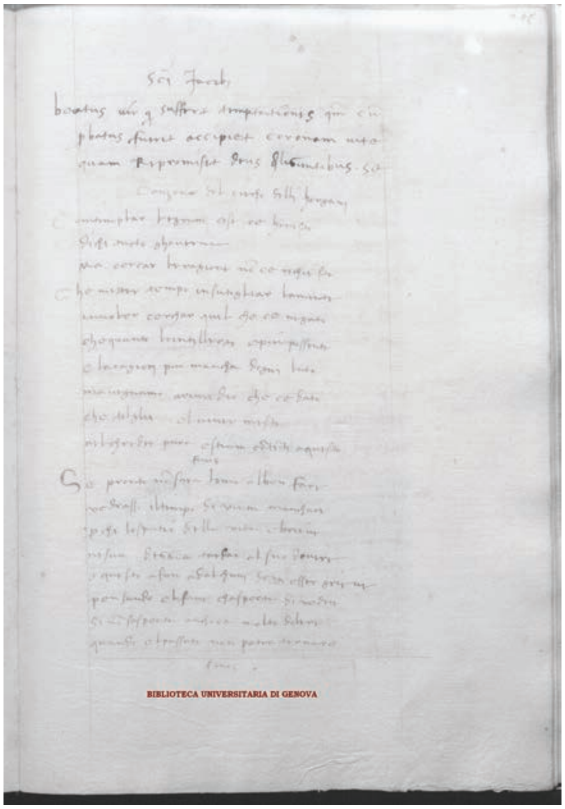
[118] On rubrics that use canzone in a generic sense and thus may have musical significance, see

Figure 2.6: Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX.28, fol. 205r[120]


BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA DI GENOVA

On the outside, Genova A.IX.28 looks like a typical fifteenth-century humanistic manuscript. Covered in a tooled leather binding, it opens with an index and a cover page cop-

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D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria."

[119] The Benci family library has been reconstructed and studied by Giuliano Tanturli. See Tanturli, "I Benci copisti: Vicende della cultura fiorentina volgare fra Antonio Pucci e il Ficino," *Studi di filologia italiana* 36 (1978).

[120] Image provided by the Biblioteca Universitaria in Genova and reproduced here by permission.

ied in high-grade humanistic scripts. Beyond this elegant facade, however, Genova A.IX.28 is quite heterogeneous in its construction and often informal in its appearance. Copied by the Benci brothers as individual fascicles over a span of twenty years, the last phase of the manuscript's compilation was its organization and binding as a single volume, a process most likely overseen by Giovanni. The manuscript's 219 paper folios vary considerably in appearance, though almost all share similar preparation—frame ruled for text in a single column with ample margins. Many texts are similar to Francesco's ballate in appearance, their script a casual, quickly executed and highly cursive *mercantesca*. Others, for example Bruni's *Vita di Dante*, are much more carefully copied in humanistic cursive, sometimes even decorated with pen flourishes and enlarged colored initials in alternating red and blue ink.[121]

TABLE 2.8: SONG TEXTS IN GENOVA A.IX.28

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Composer*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
205r	Contemplar le gran cose ce honesto	Canzone del ciecho delli horgani	Francesco degli organi	Sq; FP; Lo; Pi; SL; Mod A	Ricc. 2786[11]
205r	Se pronto no(n) sara homo al bene fare		Francesco degli organi	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit; SL; Mod A	
205v	Nesun ponga isperanza		Francesco degli organi	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit; SL	
205v	Che pena e questa al chore che si non posso		Francesco degli organi	Sq; Florence 5; FP; Pit; Paris 4917; SL; Fa	Treviso 43; Ricc. 2786[11]

As mentioned above, Genova A.IX.28 is dominated by prose texts of humanistic interest, by authors from Plato and Aristotle to Petrarch. The four song texts, listed with their concordances in Table 2.8, appear towards the end of the manuscript in a section copied by

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[121] For a full inventory of Genova A.IX.28 and information on the scribal breakdown, see Oriana Cartaregia, ed. *I manoscritti "G. Gaslini" della Biblioteca Universitaria di Genova* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1991), 15–29.

Giovanni Benci. Written consecutively, they appear in a single layer of scribal activity that extends from the first ballata on fol. 205v through the bottom of fol. 208r and includes a short excerpt by Cicero on the immortality of the soul and an oration to the Virgin Mary in addition to Francesco's poems. Like many of the texts in the Benci *zibaldone*, both those in prose and those in verse, these musical ballate are moralizing and philosophical, referencing William of Ockham's beliefs on faith and reason, warning about the fleeting nature of life, and extolling good virtues. Their tone and subject matter is likely an important motivating factor behind their inclusion here. Significantly, though, their literary and cultural significance seems to be shaped by, rather than independent from, their musical settings.

Still, as is the case with the majority of song texts copied in literary sources, there is no firm evidence that the four "musical" ballate in Genova A.IX.28 derive from a notated exemplar. Moreover, even if he did copy from a musical source, we cannot help but wonder if Giovanni, in the late fifteenth century, would have intended the polyphony itself, as a sounding reality, to impact the poems' reading in any literal, direct way. At the same time, the rubric introducing these ballate is undeniably musical, a gesture unusual for the text-only sources and particularly intriguing given the *zibaldone*'s comparatively late date of compilation. If the label alone were not enough to prove Giovanni's awareness of their musical settings, fol. 201v confirms the Benci brother's appreciation of their composer's identity. Here, also copied by Giovanni but at a separate time,[122] is Francesco's epitaph as inscribed on his tombstone in San Lorenzo:

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[122] The catalogue description ascribes the texts on fols. 196r–202v to the hand of Giovanni Benci. Tanturli, however, ascribes the same texts to the hand of Filippo Benci. Nearly identical in appearance to fol. 205 which is certainly copied by Giovanni, fol. 201v (and the surrounding folios) must also be his work in spite of Tanturli's indication otherwise. See ibid., 15 and Tanturli, "Benci copisti," 288.

> *Luminibus captus Franciscus menti capaci*
> *Cantibus organicis, quem cunctis Musica solum*
> *Pertulit, hic cineres, animam super astra reliquit.*
>
> Deprived of the light [i.e. of sight], Francesco—who alone is extolled above all others by Music, for his great intellect and his instrumental music—rests his ashes here, his soul above the stars.[123]

In placing these words alongside inscriptions from the Baptistery in Florence and the temple at Delphi, Giovanni implicitly recognizes and emphasizes Francesco's status as a key figure in Florentine cultural heritage. Thus, in light of fol. 201v, it is clear that the composer himself and his role in the city's artistic and intellectual life must have influenced the decision to include his ballate in Genova A.IX.28.

Giovanni Benci's interest in Francesco speaks to the composer's ongoing fame in later quattrocento Florence. Consideration of other volumes in the Benci family library as well as the other texts in Genova A.IX.28 sheds light on the context of Francesco's continued cultural relevance and on the Benci's connection to Florentine musical life. Genova A.IX.28 itself offers a microcosm of the family's cultural and literary world, setting the stage immediately with Marsilio Ficino Tommaso Benci's Italian translation of the *Pimander*, completed in 1463. The first humanist to revisit Florence's early fourteenth-century tradition of *volgarizzamenti*, Ficino is credited by Giuliano Tanturli as being the motor behind the mixing of humanistic and vernacular culture in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Bridging the gap between these two worlds so often seen as diametrically opposed, he played a foundational role in restoring the vernacular to a position of intellectual significance.[124] The remainder of Genova A.IX.28

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[123] Translation by Leonard Ellinwood in "Francesco Landini and His Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (1936): 205.

[124] Tanturli, "Benci copisti."

continues in a similar fashion, juxtaposing Latin and the Tuscan *volgare* and referencing both Florentine and classical culture. For example, Donato Acciaiuoli's *Vita Karoli* appears here in a vernacular translation while various devotional texts, letters, and some short excerpts by classical authors are written in Latin. Also included are texts of direct relevance to Florence's political and cultural scene during the fifteenth century, most notably Antonio Cornazzano's *Florentinae urbis laudes*, with a prologue in Latin and main text in Italian verse.

The other 26 books Tanturli identifies as being part of the Benci library paint a similar picture of the family's cultural tastes and influences. Overall, they are grounded in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Florentine intellectual life, and yet they are simultaneously idiosyncratic in their mixing of vernacular and humanist culture and in their interest in certain old texts.[125] Most of the Benci's books feature large-scale historical works in Latin and in the *volgare*, such as Acciaiuoli's *Vita Karoli* (included in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. XXIC 147 as well as in Genova A.IX.28) and Gregorio Dati's *Istoria di Firenze*. Other large-scale texts found in the family's library include Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo*, Coluccio Salutati's *De nobilitate legum et medicinae*, Ficinio's *Commentarium in Convivium Platonis De amore*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (in Latin), and the *Divina commedia*. Only a few miscellanies contain lyric poetry of any variety, most of which primarily highlight works by Petrarch and works by members of the Benci family.[126]

In the context of Genova A.IX.28, and in fact the entire Benci library, Francesco degli organi's four ballate are situated in a literary environment considerably different from that which generally characterizes the text-only sources with musical concordances. The vast majority of these literary manuscripts are collections of lyric poetry in line with the other manuscripts detailed in this chapter in which song texts are surrounded by sonnets, canzoni, ballate, madrigals, and poems in other metric forms by a wide variety of authors and covering a wide variety of thematic material. The remaining codices present lyric poetry along with large-scale narrative works, but their non-lyric content is, for the most part, amorous, fictional, and not of humanist interest. They place song texts alongside Boccaccio's *Filostrato* (FL Palatino 105 and Marucelliana C.155), Italian translations of Ovid's *Heroides* (FL Palatino 105 and BNCF II.II.61), Petrarch's *Trionfi* (FL XL 43 and Riccardiana 2786^{11}), and Dante's *Divine Comedy* (BNCF Palatino 315)—all works that played a central role in the vernacular culture of middle-class mercantile Florence. The only manuscript to locate poems with musical concordances in an environment at least partially characterized by classical texts of humanistic interest is BNCF Conv. Sopp. C.I.1746, a vast miscellany from 1458–1459 containing a collection of lyric poetry by Francesco d'Altobianco Alberti and others along with a substantial assortment of prose texts, many of which are philosophical in nature.[127]

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[125] I bid.

[126] For a list of the manuscripts known to have been part of the Benci library and brief descriptions of their form and contents, see ibid., esp. 247–313.

In its idiosyncrasy and its variety, the cultural and literary milieu displayed in Genova A.IX.28 reveals potential connections between the Benci family itself and Florence's fourteenth-century musical heritage. A few texts found on the manuscript's final folios are particularly important for understanding the family's connections to early humanist circles through Lorenzo (Giovanni, Filippo, and Tommaso's father) and thus their link to Francesco's own milieu. The series of correspondence sonnets between Lorenzo Benci, Bernardo medico (Lorenzo's teacher), and Coluccio Salutati offers evidence that the three were involved in the same intellectual circle. Furthermore, it suggests that Salutati and the cultural world of *fin de siècle* Florence, described by John Nádas,[128] had a continued impact on the Benci brothers well into the second half of the fifteenth century.[129] The Benci family was connected to Salutati not only through Lorenzo, but also through his father, Giovanni di Taddeo, who is known to have been friends with the Florentine humanist.[130] Via Salutati, then, we have a link between the Benci family and Francesco himself—indirectly if not directly. Fictionally associated with the composer in Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*, Salutati was also acquainted with Francesco in real life, as his 1375 letter to the Bishop of Florence praising the musician's skills reveals.[131]

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[127] For a description of BNCF Conv. Sopp. C.I.1746 as well as information on Francesco d'Altobianco Alberti and his poetry, see Francesco D'Altobianco Alberti, *Rime*, ed. Alessio Decaria (Bologna: Commissione per i testi in lingua, 2008), esp. XIV–XIX.

The shared intellectual circle of Francesco degli organi and Lorenzo Benci extends to Franco Sacchetti as well, for both exchanged correspondence sonnets with the poet. However, more explicit evidence of Lorenzo's involvement in Florentine musical life and of the brothers sustained interest in trecento polyphony is found in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VII.266, the vast collection of laude, many with *cantasi come* designations, copied by Filippo Benci between 1448 and 1464—the same Filippo who worked with his brother

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[128] John Nádas, "Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence," in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. Angelo Pompilio et al. (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1990).

[129] Tanturli, "Benci copisti," esp. 199 and 244.

[130] Ibid., 199.

[131] Kurt von Fischer and Gianluca D'Agostino. "Landini, Francesco," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:4124/subscriber/article/grove/music/15942 (accessed January 18, 2011).

Giovanni on Genova A.IX.28.[132] The texts Filippo selected, and their *cantasi come* models, span a relatively wide chronological period extending from the mid thirteenth century up until the compilation of Chigi L.VII.266 itself. According to the introductory rubric on fol. 18r and the *explicit* on fol. 19v, a number of the pre-fifteenth-century texts have their origins in the religious processions of the Bianchi in 1399 and were copied from a book belonging to Lorenzo Benci.[133] Given that several of the Bianchi laude have *cantasi come* models by Landini and his contemporaries, Lorenzo Benci, who participated in the Bianchi processions, must have been well versed in late trecento vocal polyphony.[134]

Throughout the manuscript, Filippo rigorously indicates not just models for contemporary laude undoubtedly still in active repertoire during the second half of the fifteenth century but also those for older texts—trecento polyphonic ballate generally believed to have fallen out of fashion by the mid fifteenth century. Were the codicological situation of Chigi L.VII.266 straightforward, the passé *cantasi come* indications could be explained by Filippo's direct and faithful copying from a book owned by his father.[135] But frequently changing ink, pen size, and *ductus* suggest that the *laudario* was compiled from multiple exemplars over the course of numerous sittings. What is more, the texts are not ordered chronologically at all, and those with Trecento *cantasi come* models, listed in Table 2.9, are scattered throughout the manuscript in many scribal layers, as the foliation in the table demonstrates.

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[132] Laude, devotional lyric poems, were often modeled after secular ballate, *contrafacta* intended to be sung to a pre-existing melody. Un-notated lauda collections therefore often include *cantasi come* rubrics, which are labels that instruct the singer to which secular ballata melody the devotional poem should be sung. For further information on Chigi L.VII.266 and the *cantasi come* tradition of lauda singing in Florence, see Blake McDowell Wilson, "Song collections in Renaissance Florence: the cantasi come tradition and its manuscript sources," *Recercare* 10 (1998) and *Singing Poetry In Renaissance Florence: The Cantasi Come Tradition* (1375–1550) (Florence: Olschki, 2009).

[133] Although laude are found on earlier folios, immediately following the index, the collection originally started on fol. 18r with the laude of the Bianchi. Running out of room at the end the manuscript, Filippo later returned to fill available blank space between the index and the first lauda with extra texts. See De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 2, 748–50.

[134] Wilson, *Singing Poetry*, 44.

[135] On fol. 19v, at the end of the first lauda in the collection, Filippo includes a caption which ends "...e Io lo copiato da una copia di mio padre chessi trovo essere vivo i(n) quel tempo e pero la metto p(er) cierto vero che n(on) era huomo avesse schritto le frasche" (*and I copied it from a copy of my father, who lived during that time, but who I admit was not the man to have written it*). This rubric may indicate that a manuscript belonging to Lorenzo served as Filippo's exemplar for all of the older laude, but it is

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equally possible that the rubric applies only to this first lauda and that the others derive from different sources. See Bernard Toscani, ed. *Le laude dei Bianchi contenute nel Codice vaticano chigiano L.VII 266* (Florence: Libreria editrice fiorentina, 1979), 35.

Table 2.9: Laude with trecento *cantasi come* indications in Chigi L.VII.266

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Cantasi come rubric*	*Composer*
31r	Tutta smarita si va amirando	cantasi in su Tutta soletta si gia mormorando	Guiglielmus de Francia
32v, & 126v	Nostra avocata se	cantasi in su dedutto se a quel che mai non fusti	Antonio Zacara da Teramo
34r	O pecchatore p(er)che	cantasi come ognun faccia perse	Niccolò da Perugia
36v	Or che non mi piangi	Come la bionda treza	Francesco Landini
39r	Si to fallito giesu e mi dispiacie	Va questa lauda chome Si to fallito dona mi dispiace	Anon.
43r	Ongni omo con pura fe	come ongnium faccia perse	Niccolò da Perugia
70v	Signiore merze ti chieggio	va in su quella ballata va come dio mi guardi di peggio	Niccolò da Perugia
71v	Laudian giesu piatoso i(n) chui si truoua	va chome donna che damor sente	Francesco degli organi
71r	Creata fusti o vergine maria	va come q(ue)sta fanciulla amor falla mie pia	Francesco degli organi
71r	Cholla mente chol chor pecchator	va come cholagrime bangniandome nel viso	Johannes Ciconia
74r	Altro chette non voglio amar gia mai	cantasi nette ne alra voglio amar giamai falsa poche tradito mai	Francesco Landini
103r	Mercie ti chiamo vergine maria	Lauda di nostra donna Cantasi come Merze ti chiamo dolze anima mia	Anon.
106v	Se vuoi saper quale el veramore	in su Savesse forza sdegno quantamore	Bonaiuto Corsini?
107r	O huom fatto da dio p(er)che mal fai	In su o chor del corpo mio p(er)che mi fai	Anon.
115v	O sacra stella, vergin umile e pia	In su o rosa bella, o dolze anima mia	Johannes Ciconia
120r	Dolce signor de donallalma pace	cantasi in su Dolze fortuna omai rendimi pacie	Johannes Ciconia
121v	O falso amore privato di pace	cantasi in su Va pure amore isollereti tue	Francesco degli organi
175r	Per lallegrezza del nostro signore	cantasi come perlla allegreza del parlar damore	Francesco degli organi
196v	Ciascun fedel cristian coriverenza	Lauda sopra p(er) allegreza de parlare damore	Francesco degli organi
197r	Beato al pecchatore che a giesu chrede	Cantasi come Provar lopossa chi nol chrede	Anon.
201v	Virgo maria madre di cortesia	cantasi come de mascholtate donne i(n)namorate	Anon.
203r	Con sicurta ritorna opecchatore	cantasi come nette nealtra voglio amar giamai	Francesco degli organi
203v	Battista da Dio amato	cantasi come de sospirar sovente	Francesco degli organi

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Cantasi come rubric*	*Composer*
204r	Preghian la dolcie vergine maria	cantasi come Non creder donna che nessuna sia	Francesco degli organi
204r	Or ti correggi miser del tuo difetto	cantasi come De lucie del mie cor no(n) voler chio	Anon.
204v	Sempre laudata e benedetta sia	cantasi come Si ti sono stato e voglio esser fedele	Francesco degli organi
206r	O signor iesu i ti vo cierchando	cantasi come nette ne altra giamai amar non voglio	Francesco degli organi
208r	Come se da laudar piu caltrui assai	cantasi come nette ne altra voglio amare giamai	Francesco degli organi
241v	Tutta gioiosa c(rist)o vachiamando	cantasi come Tutta soletta sigia mormorando	Guiglielmus de Francia
284r	Non creder alma chella dolze fiamma	cantasi in su non credere donna che lardernte fiamma	Anon.
290r	Di virtu grazie e doni o magnore	cantasi come De vogli liochi tuoi piatosi ingiu	Francesco degli organi
291v	A tte ritorna piangendo o signore	Cantasi come una ballata chedicie per crudel donna vostrugendol core	Andrea da Firenze
291v	El cor mi si divide	cantasi come una ballata che comincia Cosa chrudel mancide	Andrea da Firenze
298r	Merze con gran piata	cantasi come quella canzona arai tu mai piata	Francesco degli organi

Meanwhile, the *cantasi come* indications themselves create further complications. Both those referring to new models and those referring to old ones were not always copied at the same time as the texts to which they correspond.[136] To cite just one example, the *cantasi come* rubric on fol. 208r indicating that lauda n. 430 should be sung to *Né te né altra voglio amar giammai*, a ballata by Franco Sacchetti set to music by Francesco degli organi, has clearly been added after the main texts, copied in a different ink and not incorporated into the original plan for the folio's *mise en page* (see Figure 2.7). This evidence indicates that Filippo added to and revised his book over an extended period of time, gradually inserting rubrics into the late fifteenth century. In many cases it is thus not clear if the *cantasi come* indications pertaining to the trecento laude originate from Lorenzo's old manuscript or if they were compiled separately from various different sources. Moreover, their gradual addition independent from the main text suggests that Filippo himself was specifically interested in the early polyphonic models. It is certainly possible that his motivation was more historical than musical—that he worked hard to compile a thorough and accurate collection even if not all of the models cited would have been familiar to him or to other readers. On the other hand, we must also consider the possibility that Filippo, and perhaps Giovanni too, was familiar with the music of Francesco and his contemporaries as a sounding reality and that the old *cantasi come* references served not just as a reminder of the historical and cultural background of Florentine lauda singing but were still useful as practical performance indications.

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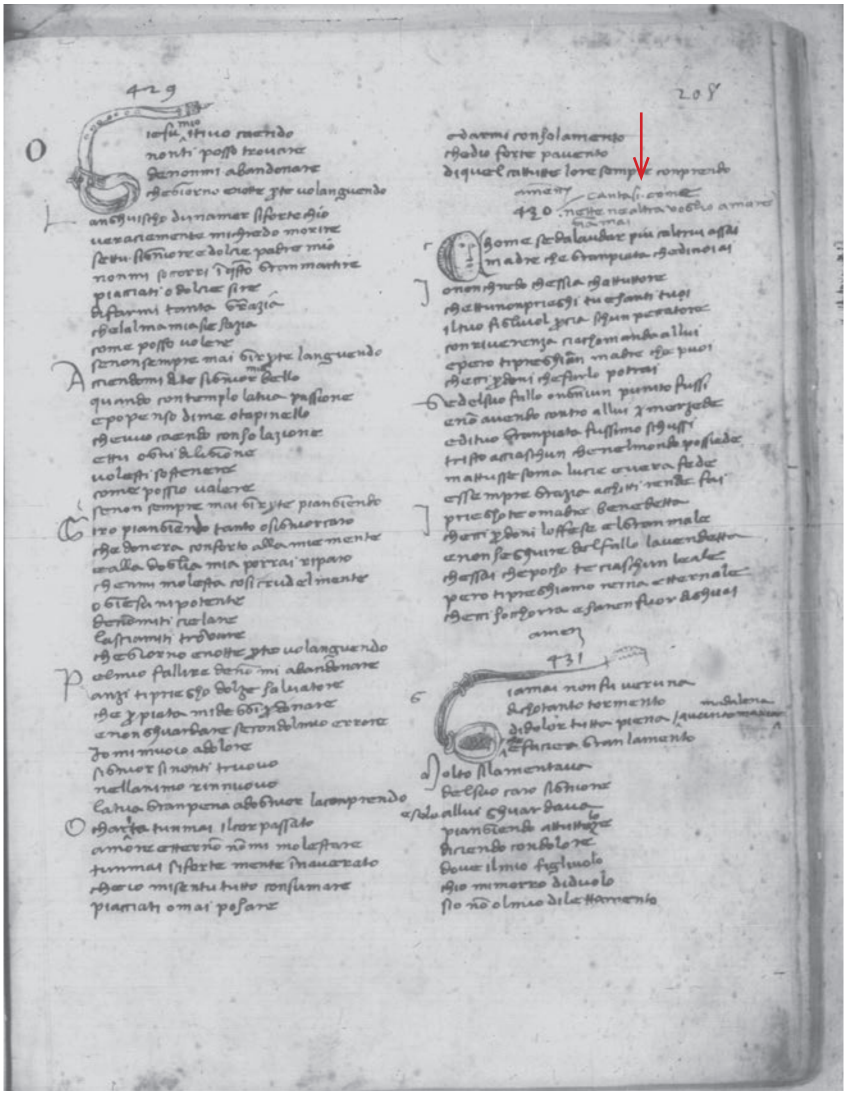
[136] Luisi, ed. *Laudario giustinianeo*, 199 and Wilson, *Singing Poetry*, 14.

Figure 2.7: Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Chigiano L.VII.266, fol. 208r



The *cantasi come* rubrics in Chigi L.VII.266 naturally have ramifications for our understanding of Francesco's ballate in Genova A.IX.28. If it is possible that Filippo knew the trecento ballate on which the laude in Chigi L.VII.266 were to be sung, it is also possible that both brothers were more than merely aware of Francesco's polyphonic settings of the four ballate on fol. 205. In other words, while in nearly all of the other text-only sources musical awareness on the part of the scribe is tenuous at best, in Genova A.IX.28 we have good reason to interpret the rubric "*canzone del ciecho delli horgani*" as a sign that the song texts do carry concrete musical associations and that knowledge of their composer, and perhaps even of the settings themselves, impacted their meaning and cultural import as understood by Filippo and Giovanni Benci.

When we take into consideration the context of the manuscript as a whole as well as the broader context of the Benci family library, Genova A.IX.28 is extremely significant for our understanding of the relationship between musical and literary traditions in trecento and quattrocento Florence. It clearly demonstrates what can be gained from shifting the focus of our discussion away from questions of notated exemplars and the possible dependence of the literary circulation of song texts on their musical tradition. Paramount here is not the presence or lack of philological dependence on notated sources, it is Genova A.IX.28's inclusion of poems whose function and significance in this literary setting is shaped by their association with Florence's most renowned fourteenth-century composer. Genova A.IX.28 thus bespeaks the close interaction between musical and literary culture in late medieval Florence, offering strong evidence that these two traditions cannot and should not be understood in isolation from one another. Rather, they are deeply intertwined on multiple levels, and only by placing them in dialogue can we access the full range of meaning within the complex cultural and intellectual milieux in which manuscripts like Genova A.IX.28 circulated.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, PALATINO 315 AND APPENDED SONG TEXTS

In this next section, we will consider the last subgroup of sources in Table 2.1, those in which the rationale behind the inclusion of song texts is unclear. Some of the sources in question differ considerably from the manuscripts we have consulted thus far in terms of their approach to collecting song texts and in terms of the literary contexts they construct. These manuscripts do not incorporate song into their main bodies or into their primary organizational schemes. Instead, the "musical" poems are appended, copied later into blank space. We take as our example a manuscript filled with a work whose extreme literary prestige cannot be doubted. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 315 is the sole literary manuscript to place song texts alongside Dante's illustrious *Commedia*. This source is particularly noteworthy from a musicological perspective for two reasons. First, dating from the late fourteenth century, it is one of the few text-only sources that is contemporary with the notated sources and, consequently, with the period in which trecento polyphony was actively performed. Second, it places in a literary context one particular poem believed to have been written specifically for its musical setting by the composer himself: Jacopo da Bologna's *Aquila altera*. Thus BNCF Palatino 315, like Genova A.IX.28, speaks specifically to the interweaving of musical and literary life in late medieval Florence, showing that even texts most likely intended to be paired with music could and did take on independent poetic lives.

This manuscript is one of only four codices in which song texts do not appear to have been part of the compiler's original conception, clearly inserted after the primary texts where space allowed.[137] What is more, its musical poems—listed in Table 2.10—are by far the least integrated of all, added in two tertiary layers to the already-appended brief lyric collection following the *Commedia*. While BNCF Palatino 315 may link its song texts to a literary environment more weighty and more refined than that of any other text-only source, it does so purely through physical juxtaposition, leaving the extra-musical significance of *poesia per musica* in this particular context somewhat ambiguous.

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[137] The other manuscripts that fall into this category at least to some degree are Parmense 1081 (specifically the cycle of madrigals copied on fols. 91v–92r), Riccardiana 2786^{11}, and BNCF II.II.61 (discussed in detail in Chapter 3).

Table 2.10: Song texts in BNCF Palatino 315

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Form*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
88v	Nel meço del mar la navicella	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; BNCF Pal. 315; Chigi L.VIII.300
88v	Nel bel giardino che'ella dice çinçe	Jacopo da Bologna	Madrigal	FC; Sq; FP; SL; Pit; Reina	none
88v	O ciecho mondo di lusinche piena	Jacopo da Bologna	Madrigal	Sq; FP; SL; Pad A; Pad C; Pit; Reina	Bologna 1072; Magl. VII 1041; FL Pal. 105; Chigi L.IV.131; Barb. lat. 3695
97v	Sotto linperio del possente prinzo	Jacopo da Bologna	Madrigal	Sq; FP; SL; Pit; Reina	none
97v	Aquila altera ferma in sulla vetta	Jacopo da Bologna	Madrigal	Sq; FP; SL; Pit; Reina	none

The final folios of BNCF Palatino 315 can hardly be described as transparent codicologically or paleographically speaking. Fortunately though, the majority of the manuscript is quite straightforward. Filling BNCF Palatino 315's first 88 folios, the *Divine Comedy* is copied in a relatively neat *mercantesca* by Bartolomeo di Matteo, self-identified on fol. 88r. Completed in 1383, the text is the product of a reasonably compact copying effort. Numerous marginalia, mostly written in Latin, grace BNCF Palatino 315's pages and offer commentary on Dante's narrative. Added later by a different hand, these notes show no solid paleographic link with the lyric texts entered on the final folios. Within the graphic panorama created by the other text-only sources, BNCF Palatino 315 is a relatively refined manuscript—neat and orderly with red ink for rubrics and highlighting as well as decorative pen flourishes scattered throughout. On the other hand, in the context of fourteenth-century *Commedia* sources, this codex is among the least luxurious. Copied on paper, with relatively modest dimensions, nothing more than the simplest of decoration, and a script that looks to be at best the work of a skilled semi-professional, BNCF Palatino 315 does not mirror the prestige of Dante's text in its physical form, as do so many other copies of the *Commedia*.[138]

The manuscript's early history is difficult if not impossible to untangle. With its marginalia added by one hand and the various texts on fols. 88–100 added by several others during the very late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, it would appear that Bartolomeo did not copy the *Commedia* for his own personal use. If not the product of the "*a prezzo*" system, BNCF Palatino 315 soon passed out of his direct possession regardless and into the hands of other readers who, to judge from their script, operated in similar cultural circles. Taking advantage of available blank folios, these readers filled the back of the manuscript with assorted sonnets and one canzone by Dante, a canzone by Fazio degli Uberti, a madrigal by Franco Sacchetti, several anonymous poems, and a few assorted other texts (see Table 2.11).

TABLE 2.11: APPENDED POEMS IN BNCF PALATINO 315

Fol.	***Incipit***	***Poet***	***Genre***	***Scribe***
88v	Per quella via che la bellezza core	Dante	Sonnet	Scribe B
88v	Due donne in cima dalla mente mia	Dante	Sonnet	Scribe B
88v	Nel mezzo del mar la navicella	[Franco Sacchetti]	Madrigal	Scribe C
88v	Nel bel giardino che l'Adice cinçe		Madrigal	Scribe C
88v	O ciecho mondo di lusinga piena		Madrigal	Scribe C
89r	Negli occhi porta la mia donna amore	Dante	Sonnet	Scribe B
89r	Vede perfectamente ogni salute	Dante	Sonnet	Scribe B
89r	Ben che l'avaro riccho con perfondo	[Alberto della Piagentina trans. of Boethius]	4 terzine	Scribe C

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[138] See Sandro Bertelli, *La Commedia all'antica* (Florence: Mandragora, 2007), esp. 47 and Marisa Boschi Rotiroti, *Codicologia trecentesca della Commedia: Entro e oltre l'antica vulgata* (Rome: Viella, Libreria editrice, 2004).

Fol.	***Incipit***	***Poet***	***Genre***	***Scribe***
89v-90r	Le dolci rime d'amor ch'i solia	Dante	Canzone	Scribe D
90r	I' mi son pargholetta bella e nova	Dante	Ballata	Scribe D
90v-91v	Blank			
92r-v	Udirò tuttavia sanza dire nulla	[Matteo Correggiaio]	Canzone	Scribe E
93r-96v	Blank			
97r-v	Se io sapessi formar quanto son belli	Fazio degli Uberti	Canzone	Scribe F
97v	A lagrime di femina mondana		Sonnet	Scribe F
97v	Amaestrando ciascun va sonetto		Sonnet	Scribe F
97v	Sotto l'imperio del possente prinçe		Madrigal	Scribe F
97v	Aquila altera, ferma in sulla vetta		Madrigal	Scribe F
98r-v	S. Bernardo letter to Calvaliere messer Ramondo			Scribe C
99r	Index of canti in the Commedia			Scribe C
99v	Description of Padiglione di Mambrino			Scribe C
99v	Alesandro lasciò la signora		Sonnet	Scribe C
99v	Il giovane che vuole avere honore	[Antonio Pucci]	Sonnet	Scribe C
100r	various Latin verses			Scribe G (16th c?)

The codicological situation for the final section of BNCF Palatino 315, the section in which we find the five song texts, is much more complex than that of the manuscript's primary body. The book's first 96 folios are divided into twelve *otterni*, which are regular and uniform in construction. As illustrated in the images below, the twelfth *otterno* (fols. 81–96) and the final gathering, a *quaterno*, are rather less homogeneous, containing a variety of paper types and several partial bifolios. Although paper analysis is complicated by the fact that fol. 91 has a watermark (the full body of a running unicorn) and fol. 93 does not, based on the distances between the chain lines and the general appearance of the paper, these two folios seem to represent a single paper type not found elsewhere in the manuscript. Furthermore, the last folio of the penultimate gathering (fol. 96) and the first three folios of the final gathering are yet another unique paper type. Finally, fol. 100, which also lacks a watermark, is clearly much more modern than the rest of the manuscript, perhaps added when the manuscript was rebound. The hybrid construction of BNCF Palatino 315's last two gatherings, when contrasted with the uniformity displayed by the rest of the manuscript, draws into question whether its current physical form is original. Several factors indicate that the final gathering may be a later addition appended by one of the manuscript's earlier readers, perhaps one of the scribes responsible for the texts it contains: the different paper used for fols. 96–99, the variation in discoloration between them and the preceding pages, and the fact that fols. 93–96 are left blank.[139]

The codicological complexity in these last two gatherings is of direct musicological interest, for it strongly argues against the hypothesis that BNCF Palatino 315's song texts stem from a single source. As the diagram in Figure 2.10 shows, the first three madrigals, copied by scribe C on fol. 88v (Figure 2.8), are codicologically and paleographically distinct from the final two, which were copied by scribe F on fol. 97v (Figure 2.9).[140] D'Agostino proposes that all of BNCF Palatino 315's madrigals were derived from a musical exemplar, most likely a fascicle manuscript transmitting a homogenous repertoire, because the four madrigals by Jacopo appear in the same order here as in Sq, Pit, and Reina.[141] Yet the complete lack of a codicological link between Jacopo's first two madrigals—*Nel bel giardino* and *O cieco mondo*—and his last two—*Sotto l'imperio* and *Aquila altera*—suggests that the intriguing ordering of these pieces is coincidental rather than indicative of their presentation in a single stem source.

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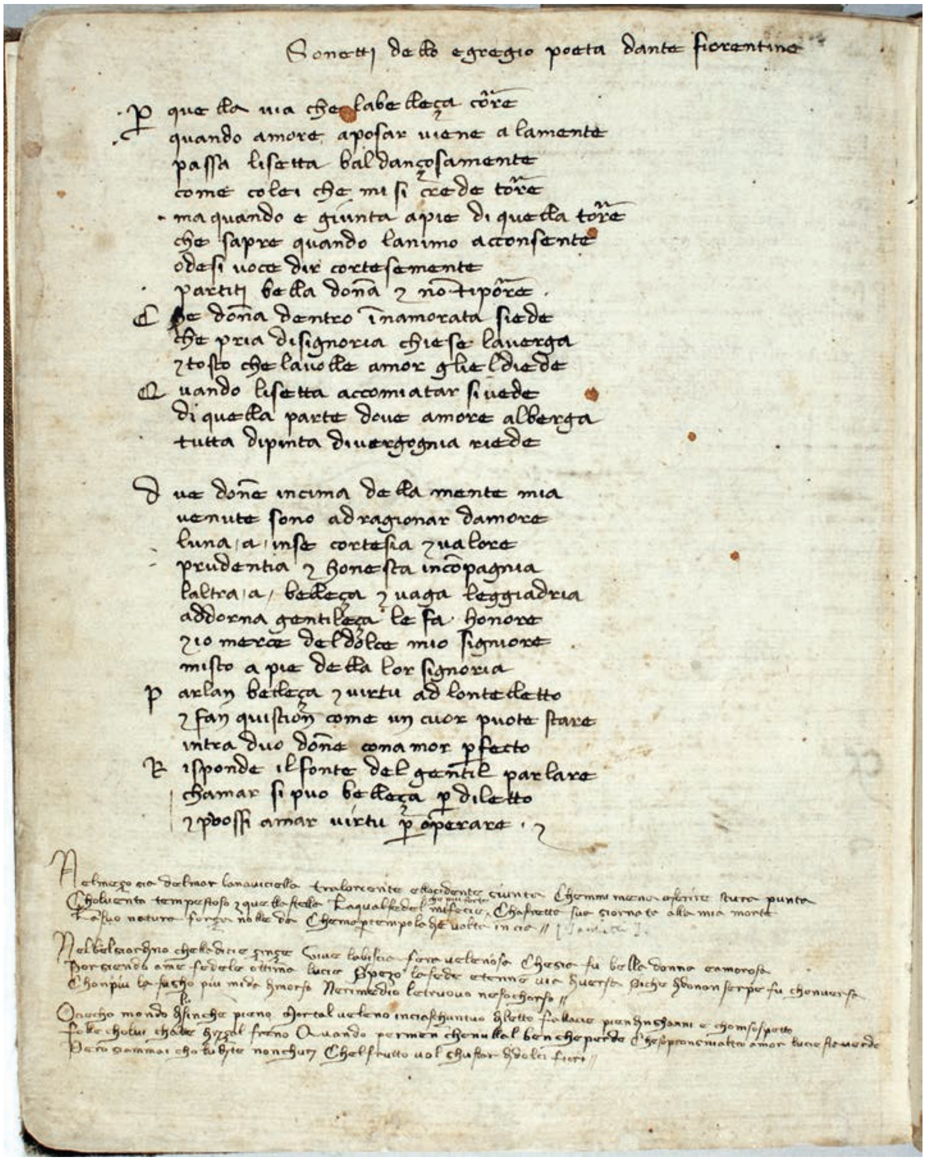
[139] It should be noted that original foliation is present only at the very beginning of BNCF Palatino 315 on the first 15 folios. The foliation in the rest of the manuscript is modern.

[140] These scribal attributions, based on my own observations, are confirmed by descriptions of BNCF Palatino 315 in Simona Bianchi, ed. *I manoscritti datati del fondo Palatino delle Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze, Manoscritti datati d'Italia* (Florence: SISMEL, 2003), 33 and De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, 308–09.

[141] D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria," 412.

FIGURE 2.8: FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, PALATINO 315, FOL. 88V[142]



Sonetti dello egregio poeta dante fiorentino

P quella uia che la belleça cõre
quando amore aposar uiene a lamente
passa lisetta baldançosamente
come colei che mi si crede tõre
ma quando e giunta apie di quella tõre
che sapre quando lanimo acconsente
odesi uoce dir cortesemente
partiti bella dona ⁊ no tipõre.
C he dona dentro inamorata siede
che pria disignoria chiese lauerga
⁊ tosto che lauolla amor gliel diede
Q uando lisetta accomiatar si uede
di quella parte doue amore alberga
tutta dipinta diuergogna riede

D ue dõne incima della mente mia
uenute sono adragionar damore
luna a in se cortesia ⁊ ualore
prudentia ⁊ honesta incopagnia
laltra a belleça ⁊ uaga leggiadria
addorna gentileça le fa honore
⁊ io merce del dolce mio signore
misto a pie della lor signoria
P arlan belleça ⁊ uirtu ad lontelletto
⁊ fan quistion come un cuor puote stare
intra duo dõne con amor pfetto
R isponde il fonte del gentil parlare
chamar si puo belleça p diletto
⁊ possi amar uirtu p operare. ⁊

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[142] The images in Figures 2.8 and 2.9 are by Mario Setter. They are reproduced here by permission from the Ministero per Beni e Atti Culturali, Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze.

Figure 2.9: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 315, fol. 97v

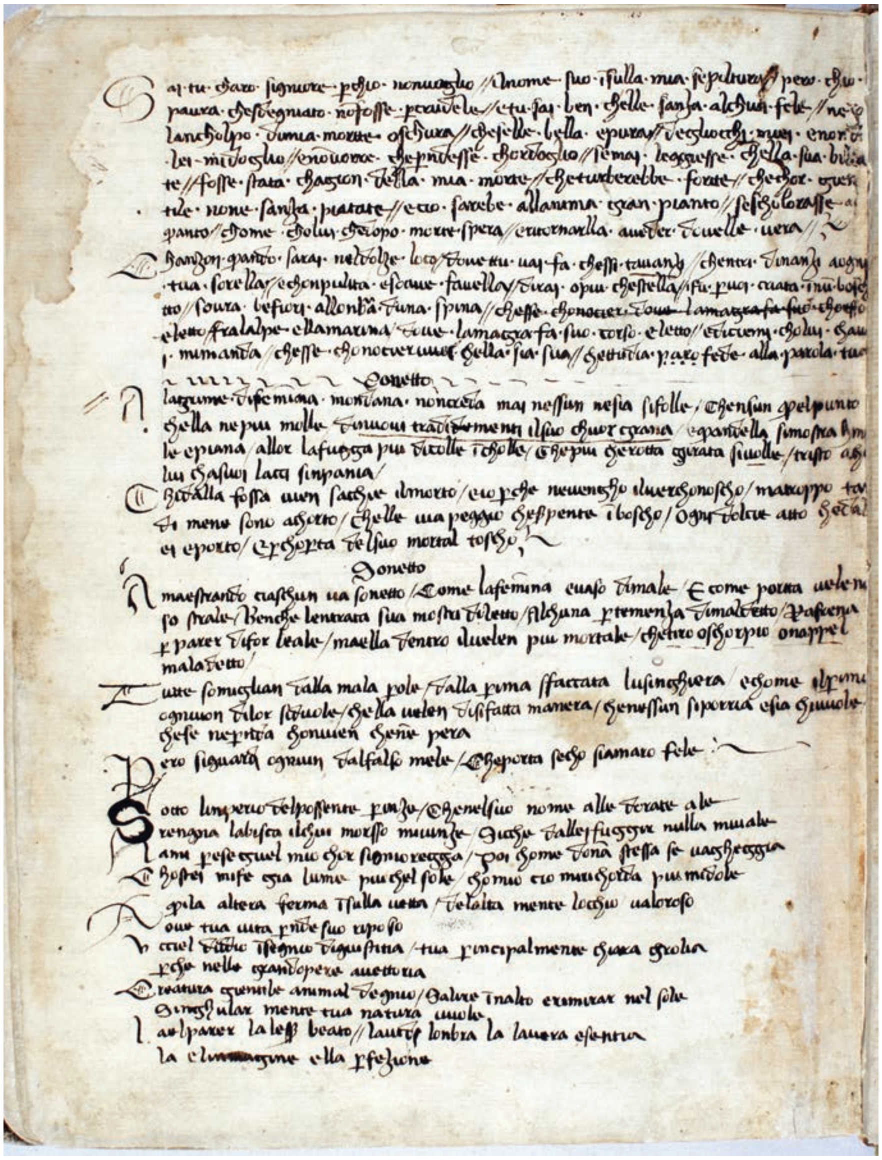
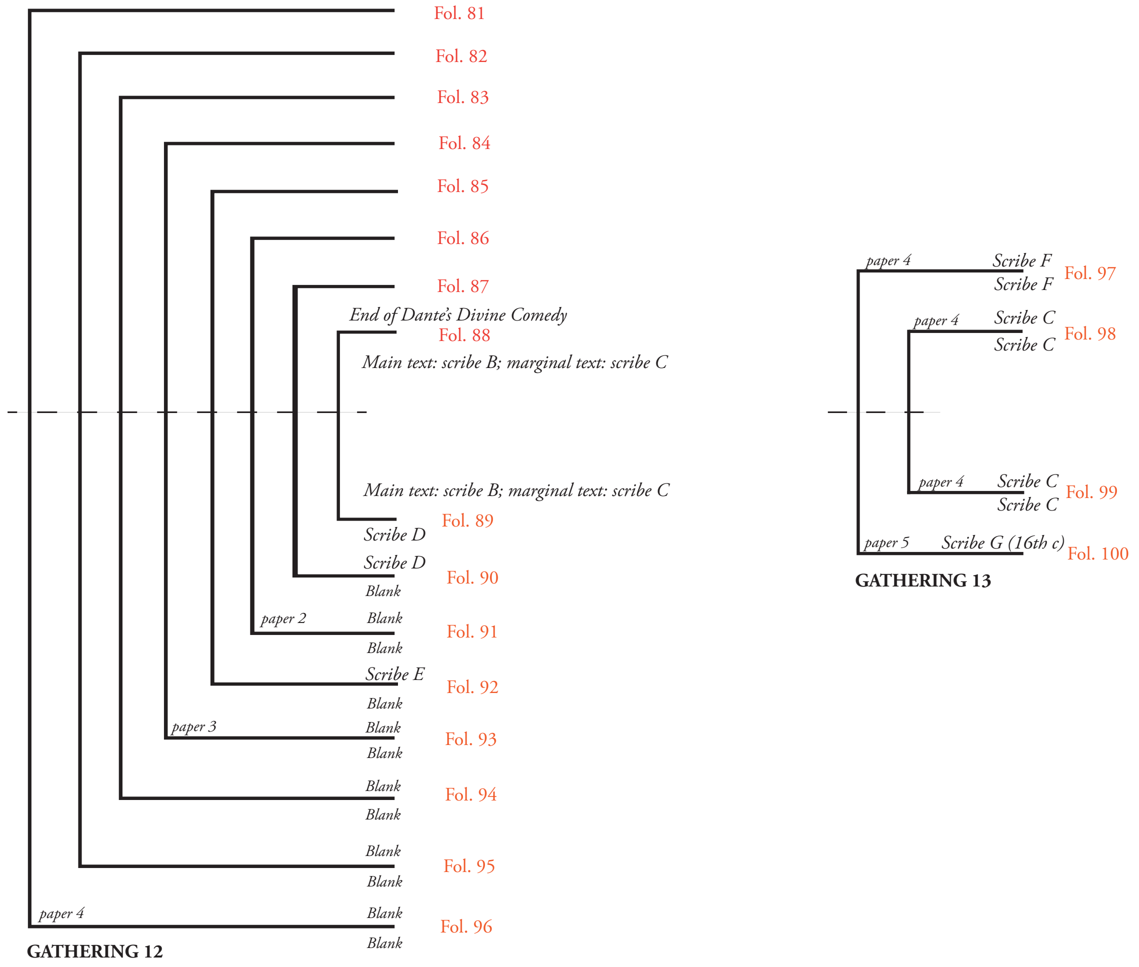


Figure 2.10: Structure of the final gatherings in BNCF Palatino 315
[paper type 1 (the manuscript's primary paper type) used where no other type is indicated.]


Fol. 81
Fol. 82
Fol. 83
Fol. 84
Fol. 85
Fol. 86
Fol. 87
End of Dante's Divine Comedy
Fol. 88
Main text: scribe B; marginal text: scribe C
Main text: scribe B; marginal text: scribe C
Fol. 89
Scribe D
Scribe D
Fol. 90
Blank
paper 2
Blank
Fol. 91
Blank
Scribe E
Fol. 92
Blank
paper 3
Blank
Fol. 93
Blank
Blank
Fol. 94
Blank
Blank
Fol. 95
Blank
paper 4
Blank
Fol. 96
Blank
GATHERING 12
paper 4
Scribe F
Scribe F
Fol. 97
paper 4
Scribe C
Scribe C
Fol. 98
paper 4
Scribe C
Scribe C
Fol. 99
paper 5
Scribe G (16th c)
Fol. 100
GATHERING 13

The texts themselves betray other reasons to doubt musical origins. Not only do they fail to meet any of the criteria laid out in Chapter 1 when codicological analysis is taken into account, those on fol. 97v have features that point decidedly away from the use of a notated exemplar. Scribe F, who copied all the texts on fol. 97, clearly delineates the start of each poem with either a rubric or an enlarged initial in all cases except for one, *Aquila altera*. Pictured in Figure 2.9, this madrigal follows directly on the heels of *Sotto l'imperio* as if the scribe misinterpreted the two as being one single lyric. Reading from a notated source, though, one would be very unlikely to mistakenly combine adjacent madrigals in this way. Only working from an un-notated exemplar would a scribe be likely to misread where one text ends and the next begins in this way. What is more, scribe F's interpretation of Jacopo's polytextual madrigal is unusual in its disposition of the verses. Rather than placing each single-verse *ritornello* directly after its corresponding *terzina*, he collected all three together, copying them at the end as a complete and independent fourth *terzina*. The sense of the text is not ruined by this alternate approach, only shifted slightly and rendered more vague.[143] But, importantly, to arrive at this reading directly from a notated version of the madrigal would require a fair amount of scribal initiative, pulling apart the text copied below each voice and reassembling it in a new order. The more simple explanation is that scribe F worked from a text-only source in which the madrigal was already laid out in this variant form.[144]

Freed from hypothetical musical origins, BNCF Palatino 315 joins the other manuscripts discussed in this chapter as evidence that trecento *poesia per musica* did in fact enjoy independent literary circulation. Here, as in the majority of the text-only sources, song texts are copied with poetry and as poetry. Though peripheral to Dante's *Commedia* and even to the brief collection of the poet's *rime* appended after, by physical juxtaposition all five of BNCF

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[143] There has been much ink spilled on elucidating the meaning of this madrigal, full of opaque allegory and symbolism. It is generally believed to be a celebratory piece written either for the coronation of Charles IV (according to Kurt von Fischer and Nino Pirrotta) or for the wedding of Gian Galeazzo Visconti and Isabella Valois (according to Pedro Memelsdorff and Oliver Huck). Recently, however, Elena Abramov-van Rijk has offered a different interpretation linking Jacopo's description of the eagle, which she sees as an allegorical reference to the power of human intellect, to medieval bestiaries. See Elena Abramov-van Rijk, "The Madrigal *Aquil'altera* by Jacopo da Bologna and Intertextual Relationships in the Musical Repertory of the Italian Trecento," *Early Music History* 28 (2009).

[144] It should be noted that Pirrotta reads *Aquila altera*'s three texts as incomplete, suggesting a second *terzina* and a second verse in the *ritornello* are missing from each voice part. However, given that all sources—both musical and literary—present the same text (even if not in the same order), it seems more likely that the linked madrigal texts are simply irregular in their form. See Nino Pirrotta, ed. *The Music of Fourteenth Century Italy*, vol. 4, CMM (Amsterdam: American Institute of Musicology, 1954), IV.

Palatino 315's madrigals are nonetheless associated with some of the most prestigious texts in the Italian literary tradition. Their placement here alongside Dante suggests that at least in the minds of their scribes, these *poesie per musica* were not isolated from the greater vernacular lyric production. Moreover, derived from literary rather than musical exemplars, BNCF Palatino 315, like many of the other text-only sources, hints at traces of a much wider material tradition of song texts without notation, extending beyond currently extant sources to their exemplars, in which "musical' poems are made to participate in the broader tradition of Italian literature through physical proximity at the very least. Significantly, in this manuscript it is not just the song texts we most expect to have literary lives—those by Sacchetti, Soldanieri, and other known poets—that are implicated in a possible series of un-notated exemplars. BNCF Palatino 315's transformation of Jacopo da Bologna's *Aquila altera* from song into poem, a text that may have been written specifically to serve as the basis for a musical setting, shows that the literary tradition of trecento song could encompass even those texts most firmly bound to their musical settings.

SCRIBES AND OWNERS: DEFINING THE READING PUBLIC

Without a doubt, the text-only sources are first and foremost important because of what they reveal about the literary reception of song texts, but this is not their only value to us as musicologists. While notated sources of trecento song rarely offer specific clues regarding the identity of their scribes, early owners, and early readers, many of the text-only sources are rather more forthcoming about their provenance. Several of the manuscripts discussed in this chapter are signed and dated, sometimes by their scribe and sometimes by an early owner. It is unfortunately not always possible to track down further details on these readers' lives. Nevertheless, we can deduce quite a bit about the social and cultural contexts in which this repertoire was consumed. Furthermore, the specific chronological information found in several manuscripts serves as scaffolding onto which we can insert sources whose dating is less certain, providing the structure necessary to sketch a map of this segment of the literary tradition through time.

Table 2.12 lists the text-only sources featuring *poesia aulica* that contain specific information regarding their provenance and/or the identities of their early readers. Some scribes, namely Gaspar Totti, Bartolomeo di Matteo, and Alegroto di Galoti, unfortunately remain mysterious in terms of their profession and social status, but it is possible to uncover some biographical information for others. Two manuscripts stand out for their associations not with the upper echelons of Florentine society but instead with the artisanal world. As noted above, early in its history Riccardiana 1100—the rich lyric anthology copied within the "*a prezzo*" system by an identifiable but anonymous scribe around the turn of the fifteenth century—belonged to a certain Stefano di Cione, self-identified in an *ex libris* on the manuscript's final flyleaf. Though we cannot be certain, it is highly probable that Marco Cursi is correct in deducing that this owner is the Stefano di Cione surveyed in Florence's 1427 *catasto*. If so, Riccardiana 1100 is an example of a well-copied though not at all deluxe book circulating in comparatively low social circles. Stefano di Cione was a *farsettaio* (doublet maker) who had only 124 florins worth of assets, minimal accumulation of wealth compared to others surveyed in the *catasto*. An indeterminate age in 1427, Stefano was the head and only member of his household.[145]

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[145] *Online Catasto of 1427*, Version 1.3, ed. David Herlihy, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, R. Burr Litchfield and Anthony Molho, machine-readable data file based on D. Herlihy and C. Klapisch-Zuber (Florentine Renaissance Resources/STG: Brown University, Providence, RI, 2002).

As a doublet maker, Stefano di Cione was almost certainly excluded from the guild system and thus from Florentine political life. In fact, in the early fifteenth century, *farsettaii* would have garnered particular animosity from the ruling class. They were among the three groups of artisans and workers to force their way into the guild structure for a short time after the Ciompi rebellion in 1378. While the Ciompi, unskilled textile workers, were crushed relatively quickly, their uprising was followed by three years of radical guild rule, during which the *popolo minuto* (minor guildsmen) dominated the city's highest offices. In a revolutionary move on September 22, 1378, the government approved the formation of two new minor guilds, the *Arte dei Tintori* (wool dyers) and the *Arte dei Farsettaii*. In addition to doublet makers, the latter guild included shearers, tailors, hatters, and several other groups of artisans.[146]

The wool guild, one of Florence's most elite, was far from pleased to lose control over these artisans and laborers and felt threatened by the power the new guilds afforded their members. In January 1382, the *lanaiuoli* mounted a counterrevolution, permanently changing Florentine political life by bringing about the end of guild republicanism. With the oligarchy restored, the *Arte dei Tintori* and the *Arte dei Farsettaii* were disbanded, and the new government set up measures to ensure the laboring classes would never again acquire political influence. The final years of the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth century were thus characterized by a strong anti-working class, anti-poor sentiment, and the short-lived revolutionary guilds served as a symbol of the danger these groups posed.[147] As a *farsettaio* in early quattrocento Florence, Stefano di Cione's social status was therefore undoubtedly low.

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[146] Samuel Kline Cohn, Jr., *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 68.

[147] John Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200–1575* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 177-81.

Not even a member of the *popolo*, he was far removed from the elite circles with which Italian *ars nova* polyphony is generally associated.

Table 2.12: Sources with known provenance and/or early ownership

Manuscript	***Provenance/Ownership***
Ashburnham 574	Franco Sacchetti (scribe, Florence, after 1380)
Redi 184	Baroncino di Giovanni Baroncini (scribe, Florence)
Riccardiana 1100	Anon. scribe associated with Ghinozzo di Tommaso Allegretti; Stefano di Cione (owner, Florence, early 15th c)
Genova A.IX.28	Filippo and Giovanni Benci (scribes and owners, Florence), 1462–1485
Vat. lat. 3195	Petrarch, (started in 1366)
Barb. lat. 3695	Alegroto di Galoti (scribe, Venice), familial records dating from 1382–1414
Parmense 1081	Gaspar Totti (scribe, Pisa?)
BNCF Conv. Sopp. C.I.176	1458–59
Magl. VII 1041	Household accounts dating from 1533–1541, Florence
BNCF Palatino 288	Benedetto Varchi (owner)
BNCF Palatino 315	Bartolomeo di Matteo (scribe, Florence), signed 1383; Piero di Berto di Lorenzo Berti, (owner, mid 15th c)
Chigi M.IV.79	Tommaso Balinotti (scribe, Pistoia)

Redi 184, partially copied by Baroncino di Giovanni Baroncini, is another lengthy lyric anthology linked to Florentine artisanal culture. Based on information gathered in the *Online Tratte of Office Holders*, Baroncino was a *spadaio* (sword maker) and *corazzaio* (armor maker) active in the city's political life during the second half of the fifteenth century.[148] Of a higher social standing if not an economic one than Stefano di Cione, Baroncino was elected to the *Buonuomini* in 1456, to the *Priori* in 1468, and to the *Gonfalonieri di compania* in 1470, 1486, 1490, 1502, and 1507—Florence's highest executive offices. He also served as an elected official several times within the *Arte dei Corazzai e Spedaii*, one of the minor artisanal guilds.[149]

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[148] *Florentine Renaissance Resources, Online Tratte of Office Holders, 1282–1532,* machine readable data file, ed. David Herlihy, R. Burr Litchefield, Anthony Molho, and Roberto Barducci, (Florentine Renaissance Resources/STG: Brown University, Providence, RI, 2002).

[149] Ibid.

Although he was therefore not a member of the elite, his extensive political activity shows Baroncino was nevertheless part of Florence's ruling class, certainly a mark of social distinction in the latter fifteenth century when the Medici controlled the commune's political life. An avid scribe, Baroncino is responsible for at least four other manuscripts still preserved in Florentine libraries: Biblioteca Riccardiana 1330,[150] 1376,[151] and 2580 and Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XXXV 101.[152] These books, very different from Redi 184 in their contents, primarily feature devotional texts in prose written in the vernacular.

In contrast to these two artisanal readers, one of the early owners of BNCF Palatino 315, Piero di Berto di Leonardo Berti was a member of one of the Florence's three major guilds. Also active in the city's political life, he was elected to the *Gonfalonieri di compania* in 1460, to the *Priori* in 1461, and to the *Buonuomini* in 1462.[153] Records show that for two elections, Piero's name was selected from the purse dedicated to members of the *arti maggiori* (major guilds) and for two others from the *borsellino*. The latter was a select purse containing names of men hand-picked for their true loyalty to the Guelf party and to the oligarchy. Piero was either a silk merchant or manufacturer by profession, for his name was drawn in the *Arte della Seta*'s elections in 1470. Given his political and professional activity, Piero was in all likelihood well-off financially and in favor with the Medici. Even if a member of the *popolo* as was most of the silk guild, he, like Baroncino, must have moved in Florence's highest social and cultural circles.[154]

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[150] Teresa De Robertis and Rosanna Miriello, eds. *I manoscritti datati della Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze,* vol. 2: *Mss. 1001–1400, Manoscritti datati d'Italia* (Florence: SISMEL, 1999), 34.

[151] Ibid., 39.

[152] See De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, 177.

[153] See Herlihy, et al. *Online Tratte of Office Holders*.

[154] On the relationship between the *Arte della Seta* and the *popolo*, see Najemy, *A History of Florence*,

Two other manuscripts offer clues about their scribes and owners in the form of family and household records following their lyric collections. Barb. lat. 3695, copied by Alegroto di Galoti, ends with three pages of *ricordi* in which Alegroto lists the birth and death dates of his six sons and daughters as well as his own marriage in Venice to a certain Albertina in 1382. While these *ricordi* confirm Barb. lat. 3695's northern origins and suggest a date of compilation sometime after 1382, they tell us nothing about who Alegroto was. Conversely, the household accounts found on fols. 90v–91v and 94v–99r of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1041, an informal poetic miscellany copied during the early sixteenth century, provide us with neither the name of a scribe nor the family to which the manuscript belonged. Still, dated between 1533 and 1541, they do contain useful information regarding the chronology of the collection, providing us with an end date for its initial compilation.

More importantly, though, these accounts offer clues about the economic status of Magl. VII 1041's compilers and readers. Presumably copied by the head of the household, the accounts show that their scribe was a landowner who had a house in the city of Florence and a villa in the surrounding countryside, likely north of Prato in the Val di Bisenzio.[155] Payments to family members and various other expenses, such as furnishings for certain rooms, reveal that he had a wife (Alexandra), a son (Giovanbattista), and a sister (Caterina), all of whom he sup-

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[155] It is difficult to say which of Magl. VII 1041's several scribes is responsible for copying the accounts because of inconsistency in the appearance of the script throughout the book. However, their script very closely resembles that of scribe B, the scribe responsible for copying the majority of the manuscript's song texts. For more on the inclusion of trecento song in Magl. VII 1041, see Lauren Jennings, "Technologies of Un-Notated Transmission: Trecento Song as Literature in One Early Sixteenth-Century Poetic Anthology," in *Cantus scriptus: Technologies of Medieval Song. Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Lawrence J. Schoenberg Symposium on Manuscript Studies in the Digital Age* (Georgia Press, forthcoming).

ported. Detailing more than just routine household expenses, the accounts also show the scribe was active in the Florentine stock market, purchasing *accatti* several times during the 1530s and early 1540s. His investment in these high-interest, high-priority loans to the city government suggests that he was likely among the upper echelons of Florentine society economically if not politically.[156] There is no indication in the accounts themselves that he was a member of one of Florence's guilds. He may, however, have been a merchant who kept his business records elsewhere. Judging from the focus on agricultural expenses, servants, and rental income, though, it is most likely that he was simply a well-to-do land and farm owner.[157]

Differences between the notated and un-notated traditions of trecento song will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. For now, I will make only a few observations on the sociocultural contexts with which each tradition is associated. In general, we have little concrete information regarding the provenance and early ownership of the musical sources. Those manuscripts whose origins are fairly certain, however, are associated with ecclesiastical institutions despite the profane nature of their contents. The Squarcialupi codex, for example, has been linked to the *scriptorium* of the Florentine monastery S. Maria degli Angeli, and several of the Paduan fragments were copied at the monastery of S. Giustina in Padua.[158] The text-only manuscripts with identifiable scribes and owners, on the other hand, were copied and read by

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[156] For more information on *accatti* and Florentine public finance in the early sixteenth century, see Melissa Meriam Bullard, *Filippo Strozzi and the Medici: Favor and Finance in Sixteenth-century Florence and Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

[157] I am grateful to Claudia Scala Schlessman at the University of Pennsylvania for her generous help in interpreting these accounts.

[158] See F. Alberto Gallo, ed. *Il codice Squarcialupi: Ms. mediceo palatino 87, Biblioteca laurenziana di Firenze* (Florence: Giunti Barbera, 1992); Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 36, no. 2/3 (1964); and Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006).

Florentine merchants and artisans, lay citizens rather than clerics, some politically active and well-to-do and others who seem to have led more modest lives. Only a very small number of the notated manuscripts that transmit trecento song, fragments included, can be loosely associated with this kind of milieu: Assisi 187, Ivrea 105, Padua 656, Rome 1419, London 29987, and Bologna 23 (linked with a notarial context). For none of these sources, however, do we have firm details regarding their provenance and early use. It is their physical appearance that suggests their connection with mercantile rather than ecclesiastic culture.

The performance of secular song in a variety of lay settings is, of course, described in literary works such as Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*, and Simone Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*.[159] It is also depicted visually in manuscript illuminations, for example those in the Squarcialupi codex, and in frescos such as the panels painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico.[160] In extrapolating details regarding the performance, reception, and circulation of the Italian *ars nova* repertoire from these kinds of sources, however, we must be cautious. Because their citation of music fills various purposes (narrative, allegorical, etc.), we cannot necessarily be certain that their portrayal of song accurately reflects performance practices and situations. The text-only sources, therefore, add significantly to our view of this repertoire's reception in that they offer tangible evidence of trecento song's circulation amongst merchants, politicians, literati, and even artisans. With the context they provide taken into account, unusual musical sources like London 29987 and composer/

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[159] On the role of secular music in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, see Eleonora M. Beck, *Singing in the Garden: Music and Culture in the Tuscan Trecento* (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 1998). On Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*, see John Nádas, "A Cautious Reading of Simone Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*," *Recercare* 10 (1998).

[160] On visual representations of secular music in fourteenth-century Italy, see Beck, S*inging in the Garden*.

artisans such as Boniauto di Corsini and Jacopo Pianelaio da Firenze are no longer anomalous. Instead, they are representative of an active facet of trecento musical life nearly hidden from view in the notated manuscripts but clearly perceptible in a variety of other sources.

In terms of chronology, using the benchmarks provided by the various dated manuscripts we can place the text-only sources featuring *poesia aulica* on a rough time line. At the early end of the spectrum we have BNCF Palatino 315 and Barb. lat. 3695, both copied by the 1380s.[161] In the middle is Genova A.IX.28—copied between 1462 and 1485—and on the late end lies Magl. VII 1041, copied around the 1530s. Using this scaffolding, Table 2.13 presents all the *aulica* sources organized in approximate chronological order. Considering this table alongside Table 2.1 and the contents of the manuscripts (discussed above and listed in Appendix 1), we can observe an interesting shift in the literary tradition of song over time. As already noted, many of the musical texts circulated in text-only sources long after their polyphonic settings must have fallen out of fashion. It is in these later sources that we tend to find song texts included in single-author cycles. In those manuscripts copied in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, "musical" poems are more often included for other reasons, such as subject matter and genre. Moreover, the song texts most represented in the later manuscripts are those by Sacchetti, which are connected to collections of the poet's oeuvre both in the *Raccolta Aragonese* and elsewhere. In the early and middle years, however, Sacchetti's song texts are encountered only occasionally outside of Ashburnham 574. Soldanieri, on the other hand, is found in several early and middle sources but in only two of the later sources, Magl. VII

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[161] Although the text of Dante's Commedia was copied in 1383, it should be remembered that the song texts and other lyric poems in BNCF Palatino 315 were added later, perhaps as late as the early quattrocento.

1041 and Chigi L.IV.131. Similarly, song texts by anonymous authors and minor poets appear frequently in the early sources and almost never in the later ones, again with the exception of Magl. VII 1041 and Chigi L.IV. 131.

Table 2.13: *Poesia aulica* sources in rough chronological order

Vat. lat. 3195 (started 1366)
Ashburnham 574 (after 1380)
BNCF Palatino 315 (1388 and after)
Barb. lat. 3695 (after 1397)
Marciana 233 (late 14th c)
Ashburnham 569 (late 14th, early 15th c)
Riccardiana 1100 (early 15th c)
Ambrosiana E 56 sup (early 15th c, 1408?)
Parmense 1081 (15th c, 1st half)
Riccardiana 1764 (15th c, 1st half?)
Riccardiana 2786[11] (15th c, 1st half?)
Perugia 43 (15th c)
FL Palatino 105 (15th c)
Bologna 1072 XI 9 (15th c)
Grey 7 b 5 (15th c)
BNCF Conv. Sopp. C.I.1746 (1458–1459)
Genova A.IX.28 (1462–1485)
Redi 184 (mid 15th c and 16th c)
Chigi M.IV.79 (late 15th c)
FL XL.43 (late 15th c)
FL XC. Inf. 37 (late 15th c)
Magl. VII 1187 (composite, 15th c and 16th c)
BNCF Palatino 204 (after 1514)
Magl. VII 1041 (pre-1533?)
Vat. lat. 3213 (16th c, 1st half)
BNCF Palatino 288 (16th c)
Magl. VII 640 (16th c)
Chigi M.VII.142 (16th c)
Paris 554 (16th c)
Paris 1069 (16th c)
Chigi L.IV.131 (16th c and 17th c)
Bologna 117.3 (early 17th c)
Chigi L.VIII.300 (17th c)
Patetta 352 (19th c)

Thus, in spite of the fact that several of the text-only sources featuring *poesia aulica* date from the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century, it is essentially only the musical poetry of Sacchetti that lives on in a noteworthy way after the decline of the trecento musical tradition. The majority of song texts not written by Sacchetti fall out of circulation after the early quattrocento, around the time their music too ceased to be performed. Magl. VII 1041 and Chigi L.IV. 131 are therefore anomalous in their inclusion of trecento song texts by authors other than Sacchetti. Their unusual repertoire selection, which is more in line with that of the manuscripts falling on the earlier end of the chronological spectrum outlined above, is likely due to their derivation from a late fourteenth-century source. [162]

All of the text-only manuscripts featuring *poesia aulica*, whether they are contemporary with trecento music making or not, bear witness to a well-established literary tradition paralleling the polyphonic tradition of *poesia per musica*. The song texts copied in these sources are not merely "poems for music," they are poems in their own right—poems that build their meaning, like other literature of their time, through allusion to and association with a rich and complex lyric tradition. They appear in a wide variety of contexts, juxtaposed not only with lofty canzoni by Dante, Petrarch's most artfully crafted sonnets, and many poems by minor authors but also with large-scale works such as the *Divine Comedy* and the *Vita Karoli*. Their smooth incorporation into these literary contexts suggests that we would do well to engage in more close readings, focusing not just on the few song texts by known authors but also exploring intertextual allusions and other literary aspects of anonymous song texts that have up until now been overlooked by both philologists and musicologists. Copied by scribes of varying skill level and sociocultural background, these manuscripts reflect a wide range of uses and compilational strategies. Some, like Riccardiana 1100, are neat and orderly, and others, like Magl. VII 1041 and Genova A.IX.28, are informal *zibaldoni* assembled gradually for personal or familial reading. All, even those with overt musical references, create a certain equality between "musical" and "non-musical" poetry. By so doing they hint that perhaps we should take Dante more literally when he discusses the inherent musicality of the canzone and of poetry in general in his *De vulgari eloquentia* and *Convivium*.[163] Is it possible that for Dante, and for later trecento poets as well, music unites rather than divides poetic production? Perhaps in spite of the increasing division of labor between poets and professional musicians (composers and performers), music and poetry remained, in some way, fundamentally linked. Certainly, the evidence presented in this chapter and in the following chapters shows that to understand this repertoire (musical and poetic) on its own terms, we must resist the temptation to lean on modern taxonomies that eject music from the poetic tradition, and vice versa.

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[162] Michele Barbi has shown that Magl. VII 1041, Chigi L.IV.131, and Redi 184 make up a small family of manuscripts partially derived from a common stem source. Likely the exemplar used for most if not all of the trecento song texts in these codices, the now-lost source must have been an extensive collection of fourteenth-century lyric poetry including works by both major and minor authors. While its extant descendents are all separated from trecento musical life by the better part of 50 years at the least, the stem anthology was copied in the 1390s. Michele Barbi, *Studi sul canzoniere di Dante, con nuove indagini sulle raccolte manoscritte e a stampa di antiche rime italiane* (Florence: Sansoni, 1915), esp. 469–71.

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[163] The question of Dante's understanding of the relationship between poetry and music is complicated and deserves careful and serious consideration. Sofia Maria Lannutti has shown the need to reconsider the traditional view that Dante's invocation of music and melody in his description of the canzone is purely metaphorical. Noting the influence of Boethian and Augustinian definitions of music and *musicus* on Dante's thought, she convincingly argues for a more literal (and more nuanced) reading of the poet's discussion of the musical base for poetic composition. See Lannutti, "'Ars' e 'scientia,' 'actio' e 'passio': Per l'interpretazione di alcuni passi del 'De vulgari eloquentia'," *Studi medievali* 41 (2000). Margaret Bent, on the other hand, has argued against interpreting Dante's references to song and melody as carrying literal rather than metaphorical significance. See Bent, "Songs Without Music in Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*: *Cantio* and Related Terms," in «*Et facciam dolçi canti*» *Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65 compleanno*, ed. Teresa Maria Gialdroni, Bianca Maria Antolini, and Annuziato Pugliese (Lucca: LIM, 2003), 161–82.

Chapter 3

Colto or *Popolare*? Song as Literature in the Untold Histories of the Miscellany Manuscript

Chapter 2 introduced a new outlook on the literary life of trecento song texts in the context of *poesia aulica*. Through a variety of case studies, we saw that scribes and readers often allowed *poesia per musica* to share center stage with *rime* by Dante, Petrarch, and others. In these manuscripts, then, song texts are identified as protagonists rather than bystanders in the Italian vernacular lyric tradition. The sources examined in this chapter also allow song to share center stage with its literary counterparts, but, as we will see, both the metaphorical sets (i.e. the manuscripts) and the other characters (i.e. the poems) have changed substantially in nature.

If called upon to imagine the book culture of vernacular poetry, the modern scholar would be forgiven for conjuring a library of lavish codices. The manuscripts best known to us today certainly fit within the profile of formalized, standardized commercial bookmaking. They are deluxe manuscripts copied by professional scribes who employed highly conventionalized techniques of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*.[165] From the three famous anthologies of early Italian lyric (Vat. lat. 3793, Banco Rari 217, and Redi 9) to later Italian sources like Chigi

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[165] The role of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* in medieval book culture was first outlined in Malcolm Parkes' seminal article, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

L.VII.305 and Petrarch's famous autograph manuscript (Vat. lat. 3195), from *chansonniers* transmitting troubadour song to the Machaut manuscripts, these sources all represent carefully planned and carefully executed compiling efforts. Often organized by author and genre and featuring colored ink, enlarged decorated initials, and indices, they are both easy to navigate and clear in their aim to order and historicize the poetic traditions they assemble. It is of course within this familiar material context that trecento song most often finds its home as well. So-called *poesia per musica* is monumentalized as a musical tradition in ornate, sophisticated manuscripts like the Squarcialupi codex and Pit that project authority and prestige through clear visual references to high medieval book culture.

While much more informal than the majority of the notated sources, to some extent even the manuscripts featured in Chapter 2 position themselves in relation to this material world. In stark contrast, the manuscripts featured in this chapter embody a rather different approach to lyric anthologizing and bookmaking. Like many of the sources mentioned in Chapter 2, they are the work of amateur scribes—private collections intended for personal, practical use. Their quickly-executed cursive scripts reinforce the air of informality that stems from a dearth of decoration and rubrics. In short, they seem to disregard the standard material world of medieval manuscripts. Partially because of their form and partially because they feature repertoire other than the *poesia aulica* championed by anthologies like the *Raccolta Aragonese*, the manuscripts discussed below have been classified by both literary and musicological scholarship as "*popolare*" or "folk-like."

But visual appearances can be misleading, and although not completely out of line for manuscripts of such a low grade, this kind of characterization abounds with difficulties. Close examination of themes, linguistic registers, and metric schemes present within each manuscript highlights the inadequacy of modern scholarship's traditional approach to "courtly" and "popular" style in medieval literature and music. As material objects, these sources are certainly not connected to a high sociocultural milieu, but at the same time the repertoire they transmit is not universally "low." In their hybridity, they elude to the imperfection of the very binary "high" versus "low," masking the complexity of the social and cultural interactions that characterized urban life in late medieval Italy. Still, in spite of the inaccuracy inherent in grouping them all together as popular, these books do indeed display meaningful similarities both in what they include and in what they conspicuously omit. While the occasional lyric by a well-known poet can be found, the poetic collections in these sources primarily showcase unprestigious genres (ballate, strambotti, and poems of irregular metric form) and unattributed, anonymous works with few known concordances.

Five of the text-only manuscripts fall into the category of "popular" anthologies: Magl. VII 1078, Magl. VII 1040, BNCF II.II.61, Marucelliana C. 155, and Treviso 43. Between them, they transmit thirty-seven different poems chosen for polyphonic setting by trecento composers with concordances in ten notated sources, ranging from Sq to the Paduan fragments to London 29987. Thirty-five of their song texts appear anonymously and are unattributable. This group of text-only sources therefore offers strong evidence that all *poesia per musica*—not just the madrigals and ballate by Sacchetti and Soldanieri collected in many of the manuscripts discussed in Chapter 2—had the potential to be more than a mere by-product of vocal polyphony. Copied as literature and with literature, only a few of the thirty-plus poems with musical concordances owe their literary lives to the prominence and prestige of their authors. Free from overt musical associations and signs of derivation from notated exemplars, the song texts in these five sources add their force to those we have already seen illustrating the literary side of trecento song.

Because of the level of detail inherent in the kind of study necessary to fully understand such unconventional sources, I limit the bulk of my discussion to Magl. VII 1078, Magl. VII 1040, and BNCF II.II.61. The latter two, composite manuscripts, are treated together because their relevant units were originally part of a single codex. Coming to grips analytically with these manuscripts is a formidable challenge not only because of their obscure and mostly unedited repertoire but also because of the complex and convoluted codicological situations they present. Complicating matters is the fact that both poetic collections have received little scholarly attention since the late nineteenth and very early twentieth centuries, perhaps due in part to their lack of material refinement and in part to the misplaced interpretation of their contents as mediocre. I argue that both have significant implications for our understanding of literary and musical history around the turn of the quattrocento and thus merit careful reassessment, not in spite of but because of their contrast with the sources addressed in Chapter 2. Each stemming from a different cultural background and representing different poetic priorities, these two case studies provide a valuable opportunity to reconsider the oft-perceived opposition between *poesia colta* and *poesia popolare* and between "musical" and "non-musical" poetry. Moreover, they too expand the audience of trecento polyphony beyond the elite circles with which the written tradition is most often associated. Placing song texts in highly informal material environments, they empower this repertoire to assume new meanings and new associations through the literary backdrops they create and the cultural milieux in which their scribes and readers operated.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, MAGLIABECHIANO VII 1078

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1078 is distinctive among the manuscripts surveyed in this study both in its origins and in its contents.[166] A paper codex copied in the early fifteenth century not in Tuscany but instead in Emilia, it collects an array of anonymous ballate and strambotti, for the most part eschewing the canonic repertoire of *poesia aulica* found in manuscripts like Riccardiana 1100 and Ashburnham 569.[167] Scattered amongst Magl. VII 1078's now-obscure lyrics are several texts well known to musicologists: seventeen anonymous and unattributed ballate with concordances in notated manuscripts (see Table 3.1 on page 165). Because of its temporal proximity to trecento polyphonic sources, its sizeable collection of song texts, and the unusual nature of its contents and appearance, this manuscript has much to tell us about the literary life of *poesia per musica*. Previous discussions have argued that Magl. VII 1078's significance to musicological scholarship lies in its links to oral tradition. In the analysis that follows, I turn this assertion on its head, proposing that Magl. VII 1078 reflects an oral and aural interaction with the written tradition. My reading thus reorients this manuscript in relation to Italian literary history and in relation to the material transmission of both poetry and music.

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[166] Tommaso Casini "Da un repertorio giullaresco," in *Studi di poesia* (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1913); first published in the *Propungatore* in 1889.

[167] Casini associates this manuscript with the area around Emilia based on a list of names on fol. 14v indicating people who owed money to the restoration fund for the oratory of Madonna Sancta Maria de Terrabora. The list consists of family names and place names linked with the territory of Reggio in Emilia. Moreover, Magl. VII 1078's spelling is characteristic of the *settentrionale* region. See Casini, "Repertorio giullaresco," 120 and Gianluca D'Agostino, "La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento: una revisione per dati e problemi. (L'area toscana)," in *Con dolce suon,* 423.

Notoriously elusive, Magl. VII 1078 has proven to be a difficult manuscript to interpret. The one scholar to have paid the manuscript much detailed attention is Tommaso Casini. His work is shaped by the same Romantic ideals of Italian *Volksgeist* we saw in the writing of Giosuè Carducci and focuses on Magl. VII 1078's abundant collection of "popular" ballate.[168] Although he acknowledges the inclusion of "literary" poetry ("*di forma puramente letteraria*") alongside popular lyrics, he classifies the manuscript as a "*repertorio giullaresco*" that is primarily "*popolare*" in nature.[169] Associating this fifteenth-century manuscript with the medieval minstrel tradition, however, is problematic and misleading. One of Magl. VII 1078's most intriguing characteristics is indeed that it shows signs of being designed more for recitation than silent reading, but the figure of the *giullare*—traveling poet/musicians associated with thirteenth-century court culture—was no longer present as such by the end of the trecento and thus does not provide a useful cultural framework for this manuscript.[170]

Familiar to modern scholars thanks largely to Casini's early work, Magl. VII 1078 is referenced in more recent studies as well.[171] In spite of recognizing variety and difference in the manuscript's contents and exercising caution in perpetuating its association with the minstrel tradition, scholars have continued to classify its repertoire as popular, generally avoiding discussion of the implications behind this terminology. Yet the adjective *popolare* is at least as problematic as *giullare* or *giullaresco*.[172] It is difficult to define with any precision features considered "folk-like" in the eyes of medieval poets and readers—or for that matter to what specific *popolo* the term refers. The more one reads poetry described as *popolare* or *popolareggiante* and the more one examines the material contexts in which it is found, the less clear these terms become. While some texts collected in Magl. VII 1078 are characterized by playful and sometimes scandalous subject matter, witty language, and light metric forms, the line between *popolare* and *colto* is in fact rather blurry. As is not uncommon in trecento and quattrocento poetic collections, Magl. VII 1078 both juxtaposes and combines linguistic and cultural registers.[173] Poems that are relatively obvious in their invocation of low style stand alongside others belonging to the tradition of *poesia aulica*, and many employ the standard lexicon of refined courtly love poetry while exploring rather un-elevated subject matter.

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[168] For more on the influence of political and social agendas on the nineteenth-century scholarship that stands at the beginning of our modern academic tradition, see Chapter 1.

[169] Casini, "Repertorio giullaresco," 120.

[170] Pasquini, "Letteratura popolare," 921.

[171] See D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria" and "On the Ballata Form(s) of Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Case of Historical Misunderstanding," in *'Et facciam dolçi canti': Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleano,* ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Teresa M. Gialdroni, and Annuziato Pugliese (Lucca: LIM, 2004). In addition, Magl. VII 1078 is recognized as a source of *letteratura popolare* by Emilio Pasquini. See Pasquini "Letteratura popolare e popolareggiante," in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 2, *Il Trecento*, (Rome: Salerno, 1995), 926.

Adding to any confusion its contents alone may provoke is Magl. VII 1078's atypical visual appearance. Its unassuming modern binding—cardboard covered in brown paper with a floral design and parchment spine—mirrors its casual, inelegant interior. Inside, paper folios are filled with text copied in an extremely simple cursive script, plain and unadorned, with minimal margins and frequently changing page layout. Devoid of the standard tools employed by late-medieval scribes to organize and order their manuscripts (indices, rubrics, hierarchical systems of initials and scripts, use of colored ink, et cetera), Magl. VII 1078 is extraordinarily difficult to navigate. And yet while it is sure to frustrate anyone who opens its cover, its visual chaos is what makes this manuscript such a unique and intriguing cultural object. It may have a considerable number of concordances with the major notated sources of trecento polyphony, but in its material form it is the antithesis of these *canzonieri*. Magl. VII 1078 does not anthologize or canonize, and although it is retrospective in nature, it does not exhibit historicizing tendencies. It is a practical collection of lyric poetry, calling on a variety of styles and registers, created by an amateur scribe who has limited familiarity with professionally-copied books.

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[172] While there has been little critical discussion of the taxonomies of *popolare* and *colto* in relation to the Italian lyric tradition, scholars have begun to break down such dichotomies in the context of French literature, highlighting the inadequacy of labels such as "high" and "low," "courtly" and "uncourtly." See especially Elizabeth Aubrey, "Reconsidering 'High Style' and 'Low Style' in Medieval Song," *Journal of Music Theory* 52 (2008); Richard Trachsler, "Uncourtly Texts in Courtly Books: Observations on MS Chantilly, Musée Condé 475," in *Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness: selected papers from the Eleventh Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 29 July–4 August 2004,* ed. Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz (Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 2006); and Leonard W. Johnson, *Poets as Players: Theme and Variation in Late Medieval French Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

[173] See Pasquini's description of Magl. VII 1078 and *letteratura popolare* in the Veneto, Pasquini, "Letteratura popolare," 929. Also see Furio Brugnolo, "La poesia del Trecento," in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 10, *La tradizione dei testi*, (Rome: Salerno, 2001), 224–226.

Hints of Orality? Visual Ambiguity and the Problem of Mise en Page

Magl. VII 1078's relatively small dimensions add to the impression that it is a private book. Measuring 240 x 165 mm, it is slim and easily portable, well suited to being read or performed from in a variety of locations. Its forty-one folios are arranged in six gatherings, varying in size from two to fifteen folios. In all likelihood, however, the gathering structure was modified at the time of the last rebinding, if not before. As a result Magl. VII 1078's current state may have little bearing on its initial physical form, and because of various repairs and a dearth of catchwords, signatures, and original foliation it is impossible to accurately hypothesize what the original structure may have been.[174] The modern foliation is mostly regular and continuous throughout, but traces of ink on a small stub hiding between fols. 36 and 37 hint that the manuscript was damaged after the original copying effort.[175] A few folios remain blank at the end of both the first and second gatherings: fols. 14r, 15v and 17v. Fol. 14v, originally blank, was filled by a later scribe with a list of people owing money for the restoration of the oratory, Madonna Sancta Maria de Terrabora. Fols. 15r and 28v were also originally blank, their text added by a third fifteenth-century hand.

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[174] The most we can say is that the first gathering probably remains intact. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that its outer pages were originally blank (the text on fol. 15v was added later than the rest of the poems in the first gathering). Moreover, judging from the discoloration of these two outer pages, it seems likely that the gathering remained unbound for some period of time. I thank Professor Stefano Zamponi for his generous help in interpreting Magl. VII 1078's complicated codicological situation and most especially for his observations regarding the temporary independence of the first fifteen folios.

With the exception of these few additions, Magl. VII 1078 is the work of a single scribe, whose low sociocultural status and lack of formal training is evidenced by the simplicity and coarseness of his hybrid cursive script.[176] From the frequent changes in ink, pen, and *mise en page,* we can deduce that Magl. VII 1078 was produced in multiple phases of scribal activity, varying in length and intensity of labor, spread out over a significant period of time. While there are very few corrections and changes by the original scribe, a later hand has mutilated several poems by violently crossing out offensive and sacrilegious words and phrases.[177] These edits, along with physical damage and subsequent repair to certain folios, suggest that the manuscript enjoyed a long history of use in the hands of various readers in spite of its unusual repertoire and low grade of construction.

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[175] For more specific information on the foliation and its few irregularities, see the codicological description in Appendix 1.

[176] The main scribe's hand shows influence of both *mercantesca* and *cancellaresca* scripts. Long, pointed descenders and angular flags added frequently at the top of ascenders are typical of chancery scripts while the consistent use of a ligature between the letters *c* and *h* with a rounded eyelet is a tell-tale sign of *mercantesca*. The high degree of simplification that characterizes the hand is seen particularly clearly in letters such as *a* and *g*.

[177] To cite a musically relevant example, the words *monicho* and *monastero* have been crossed out each time they appear in the ballata *Monicho son tuto çoyoso sença nula fede* on folio 27v. The texts of *Kyrie kyrie pregne per le monache* on fol. 3v, *De ben feci la gran pacia* on fol. 6v, *Laxa mi como faraço* on fol. 18v-19r, *E do laxa mi topina sagurata* on fol. 19r, *Dime bruneta dal polito viso* on folio 31v, and *Sapete el ben fida mia* on fol. 32r have been similarly mutilated.

Owing to its unusually vague and inconsistent formatting, Magl. VII 1078's contents are elusive to modern readers and likely would have been to contemporary ones as well. With very few visual cues and no organizational apparatus, the reader is left to work out for himself the metric form and structure of each poem and even where one lyric ends and the next begins. In short, he is forced to act as both editor and reader at once.[178] Such a haphazard approach to *mise en page* and disposition of verses is at odds with the trecento poetic mentality. At a time when a poem's identity and literary status were so closely tied to its genre, prosody, and rhyme, one would expect a manuscript's visual appearance to highlight rather than conceal these features.[179]

Indeed, in most lyric collections from the late thirteenth through the fourteenth century, poetic structure and transcriptional format are strongly correlated. So common are certain conventions frequently disregarded in Magl. VII 1078 that its bizarre *mise en page* hints at an unusual relationship between its scribe and his repertoire. Although he clearly worked from numerous written exemplars, it would seem that his interaction with the poems once entered into this particular book was primarily aural rather than visual. This is not to say, however, that Magl. VII 1078 should be described as *giullaresco* after all or that it is a material manifestation of oral tradition. Contrary to implications by D'Agostino, Corsi, and others, Magl. VII 1078 stands on the sidelines of oral literature and on the sidelines of so-called popular culture. It reflects an aural and vocal interaction with poetry that was fully literate in its conception and arrived in this manuscript through systems of written rather than oral transmission.

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[178] Wayne Storey remarks on the editorial aspects of reading, particularly in regards to thirteenth-century readers who were often faced with texts that were visually ambiguous in a variety of ways. See H. Wayne Storey, *Transcription and Visual Poetics in the Early Italian Lyric* (New York: Garland, 1993), 75–76.

[179] On the importance of metric genre in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian lyric, see ibid., 97–98. The centrality of genre is of course also illustrated by early treatises on the art of vernacular poetry from Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* to Antonio da Tempo's *Summa artis rithmicis vulgaris dictaminis*, as is the emphasis on prosody and rhyme.

Establishing the Norm:
Visual Transparency of Poetic Structure in Late-Medieval Manuscripts

In order to understand what Magl. VII 1078's material form reveals about its scribe and about his relationship with the poems he copied, we must first lay out a set of guidelines for thinking about orality and literacy in a visually oriented manuscript culture. Wayne Storey's work on visual poetics in duecento and trecento lyric brings to light the extent to which *mise en page* was co-opted by poets and scribes as a tool to construct poetic meaning.[180] Focusing on unconventional visual presentation used for expressive purposes by authors such as Guittone and Petrarch, Storey proposes that "the most innovative of these experimenters integrated scribal forms as part of their written poetics and codes of meaning."[181] These authors, well aware of the liberties scribes notoriously took when copying poetry, turned to new, complex visual forms in an attempt to assert authorial control over their works and guard against misreadings and editorial re-readings that could sneak in during the process of written transmission.[182]

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[180] Storey has published extensively on visual poetics and material aspects of early Italian poetry. In addition to his monograph, *Transcription and Visual Poetics in Early Italian Lyric*, see idem, "Cultural Crisis and Material Innovation: The Italian Manuscript in the XIVth Century," *Revue belge de philogie et d'histoire. Belgische tijdschift voor philologie en geschniedenis* 83 (2005); "Canzoniere e Petrarchismo: un paradigma di orientamento formale e materiale," in *Petrarchismo: un modello di poesia per l'Europa*, ed. Loredana Chines (Rome: Bulzoni, 2006); "The Early Editorial Forms of Dante's Lyrics," in *Dante for the New Millennium*, ed. Teodolinda Barolini and H. Wayne Storey (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003); "Sulle orme di Guittone: i programmi grafico-visivi del codice BNCF Banco Rari 217," in *Studi vari di lingua e letteratura italiana: in onore di Giuseppe Velli* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Universitario, 2000); and "Di libello in libro: problemi materiali nella poetica di Monte Andrea e Dante," in *Da Guido Guinizelli a Dante: nuove prospettive sulla lirica del Duecento*, ed. Furio Brugnolo and Gianfelice Peron (Padua: Poligrafo, 2004).

[181] Storey, *Transcription*, xxi.

[182] Ibid., xxiv.

While Storey's analysis of the visual dimension of Italian lyric highlights the extent to which literacy pervades this repertoire, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe's work on manuscripts of Old English poetry explores ways in which written sources may hide traces of orality.[183] The tradition she deals with is, admittedly, distant from that at hand both temporally and geographically. Nonetheless, there is much in O'Brien O'Keeffe's analysis that is applicable to Magl. VII 1078, for the material panorama she describes is a similar one. Her analysis points to the temporality of speech as the primary factor separating oral from written transmission. In oral delivery, surprise, emphasis, and clarity are produced through vocal manipulation of time and sound—that is, through inflections of the voice and careful use of silence. In written texts, these aural signals are transformed into visual ones. Where the orator manipulates time, the scribe manipulates the physical space of the page, and "literacy thus becomes a process of spatializing the once-exclusively temporal."[184] Consequently, the fewer non-lexical graphic cues a scribe provides for the reader, the more difficulty the reader will have decoding the text through purely visual consumption. Contrasting the presentation of Old English poetry with that of Latin poetry in contemporary sources, O'Brien O'Keeffe argues that the comparative graphic poverty of the vernacular sources provides strong evidence for a "persisting residual orality."[185]

Like the Latin manuscripts in O'Brien O'Keeffe's study, manuscripts of Italian lyric are rich in non-lexical cues. First and foremost, as Storey's work illustrates, the visual world of medieval Italian poetry is characterized by the widespread adaptation of standard scribal forms for each metric genre. Already in the famous *canzonieri* copied in the late duecento and very early trecento, scribes adhere rigorously to certain conventions that aid in the visual recognition of poetic structure.[186] Sonnets, for example, are usually copied such that the two quatrains appear on four lines, each with two verses. The tercets, more mutable in their presentation, may appear on three lines (with two verses per line), on four lines (with either the first or last verse copied on its own line), or on two lines (with each tercet contained entirely on one written line).[187] In these early sources and in subsequent lyric collections, verses are always separated from each other by a clearly visible *punctus* or *virgula*. Moreover, the sonnet's division into its component parts (octet and sestet, or two quatrains and two tercets) is generally highlighted through the use of marginal brackets or parentheses or through the use of internal paragraph markers as well as enlarged and/or colored initials. As Figure 3.1 demonstrates, the natural effect of these scribal conventions is that the structure of each poem is visually transparent and the metric genre is discernible at first glance even without the aid of rubrics. This kind of visual clarity was key to a reader's interaction with a poetic manuscript, for genre identification was likely the first step in the reading process.[188]

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[183] Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[184] O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, 5.

[185] Ibid., 5–6.

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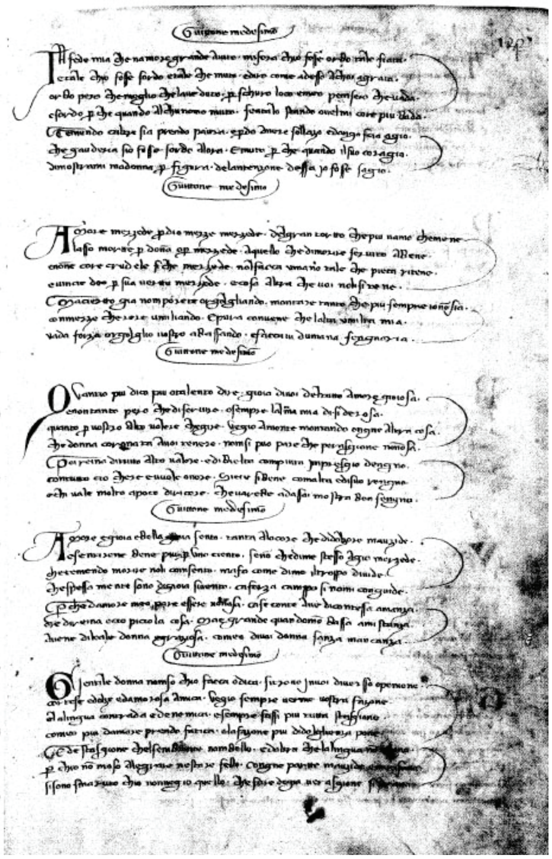
[186] I refer here to the three major *canzonieri* that transmit early Italian lyric poetry, mentioned in this chapter's introduction: Vat. lat. 3793, Banco Rari 217, and Redi 9. These manuscripts are available in facsimile edition with a volume of extensive commentary: Lino Leonardi, ed. *I canzonieri della lirica italiana delle origini*, 4 vols. (Florence: SISMEL, 2001).

[187] This last situation can be found in Madrid, Biblioteca del Monasterio, Escorial e. III. 23. See Storey, *Transcription*, 173. The second, with the first verse of each tercet copied on its own, characterizes the presentation of sonnets in Banco Rari 217. See Teresa De Robertis' description of the poetic formatting in the Palatino *canzoniere*: "Descrizione e storia del canzoniere Palatino," in *I canzonieri della lirica italiana delle origini*, 324–336. Finally, the first is exemplified by the Vatican *canzoniere*, Vat. lat. 3793.

[188] See Storey, *Transcription*, 97–98.

Figure 3.1: Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vaticano latino 3793, fol. 122r



Other genres, too, tend to follow certain formulae. In the case of canzoni, blank space and/or enlarged initials and paragraph markers in alternating colors set one stanza apart from the next.[189] Within a strophic unit, the text is copied in prose format with two or more verses per line, and, as with sonnets, the end of each verse is always clearly delineated by a *virgula* or *punctus*. Scribal forms for ballate lie somewhere in between those for the sonnet and those for the canzone, sometimes emphasizing the whole strophe as a unit and sometimes highlighting the division into *ripresa*, *mutazioni*, and *volta*. Figure 3.2 illustrates one example of ballata format found in the Palatino *canzoniere* (Banco Rari 217) in which the poem is parsed very clearly into its component parts.[190]

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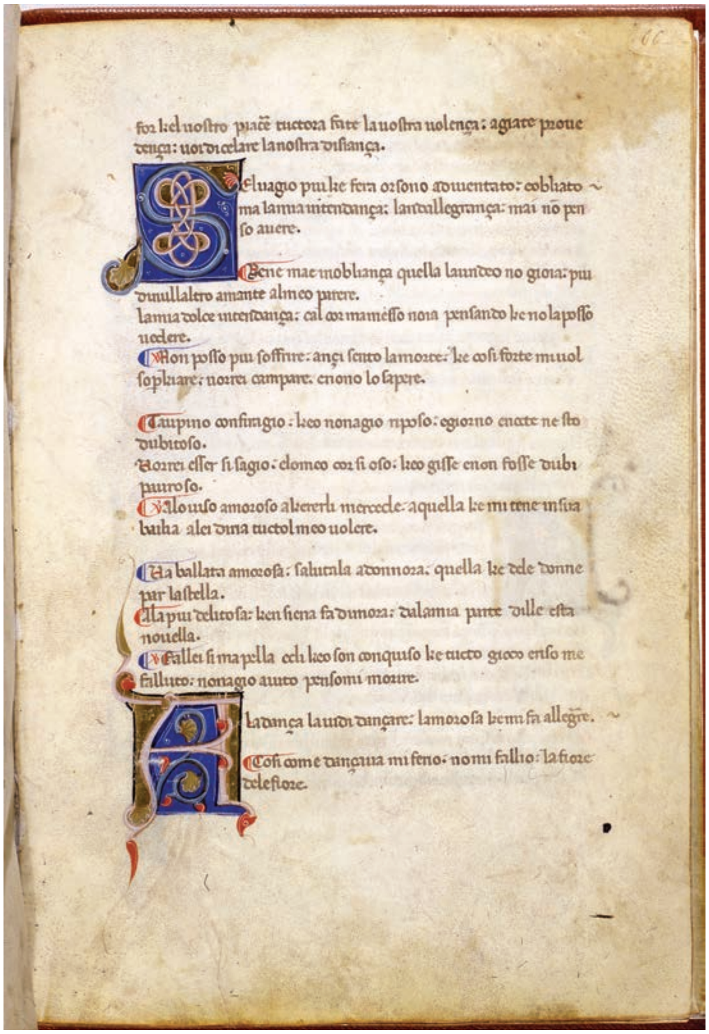
[189] See, for example, the formatting of the canzoni in Banco Rari 217 and Vat. lat. 3793.

Figure 3.2: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 217, fol. 66r[191]



Example of typical mise en page used for ballate

Moving forward chronologically, closer to the turn of the fifteenth century and to Magl. VII 1078, there is ample evidence of continuing concern for the visual presentation of poetry. Most famously, Petrarch is known for experimenting with visual poetics and for attempting to revise standard scribal forms to further emphasize generic difference.[192] For both sonnets and ballate, he increases the visual separation between the two verses copied on a single line by dividing the page into distinct columns to be read horizontally rather than vertically (see Figure 3.3). But Petrarch's experimental use of double columns never became standard practice, and soon after his death scribes were quick to abandon the poet's own formatting in favor of a more conventional approach to the split page (i.e., each column to be read vertically left before right, with lyrics copied in verse rather than prose format). Untouched by Petrarch's visual influence, many traditionally-oriented manuscripts from the late trecento and early quattrocento continued to use various versions of prose format, producing a visual effect similar to that of the early collections discussed above.[193]

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[190] In contrast with Magl. VII 1078, each ballata in Banco Rari 217 has its *ripresa* copied only once, at the start of the poem, with no indication of subsequent repetitions after each stanza. For more on the formatting of ballate in Banco Rari 217, see T. De Robertis, "Descrizione e storia del canzoniere Palatino."

[191] All photos in this chapter of manuscripts held at the Biblioteca Nazionale are by Mario Setter and are reproduced by permission of the Ministero per Beni e Atti Culturali, Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze.

Significant in the context of Magl. VII 1078's *mise en page* is the shift from a preference for prose format to a preference for verse format that begins around the turn of the fifteenth century. By the mid fifteenth century, verse format that looks "normal" to our modern eyes dominates poetic transcription. While not completely out of line with early quattrocento trends, our scribe's predilection for prose format is thus somewhat antiquated as is much of the poetry he collects. Regardless of their fundamental transcriptional choices, scribes continued to focus on the clear presentation of poetic structure. Early sources copied in verse often maintain conventions from prose formatting, including now-obsolete signs such as *virgule* to mark the end of each verse.[194] In most cases, various methods to show the internal divisions of the poem are retained as well. For sonnets, the first tercet is often set off from the octet by an enlarged initial and sometimes a paragraph marker in the left-hand margin. The texts of ballate are generally less differentiated than in early sources such as the Palatino *canzoniere*, with only the division between the *ripresa* and the stanza highlighted through the use of enlarged initials or blank space. Figure 3.4 and Figure 3.5 illustrate common approaches to verse format for sonnets and ballate respectively.

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[192] See especially Chapters 5 and 6 in Storey, *Transcription*. Also see Storey "Petrarchismo."

[193] Manuscripts from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century that fit this description include Sacchetti's autograph (Ashburnham 574, dating from the late trecento); Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.IV.114 (a fifteenth-century collection of *rime antiche*); Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 624 (a late fourteenth-century collection including poems by Alesso di Guido Donati, Dante, and Sennuccio); and the penultimate fascicle of Magl. VII 1040 (a fourteenth-century collection of canzoni by Dante and others). For more information on this particular section of Magl. VII 1040, see Domenico De Robertis, "Un codice di rime dantesche ora ricostruito (Strozzi 620)," *Studi Danteschi* 36 (1959).

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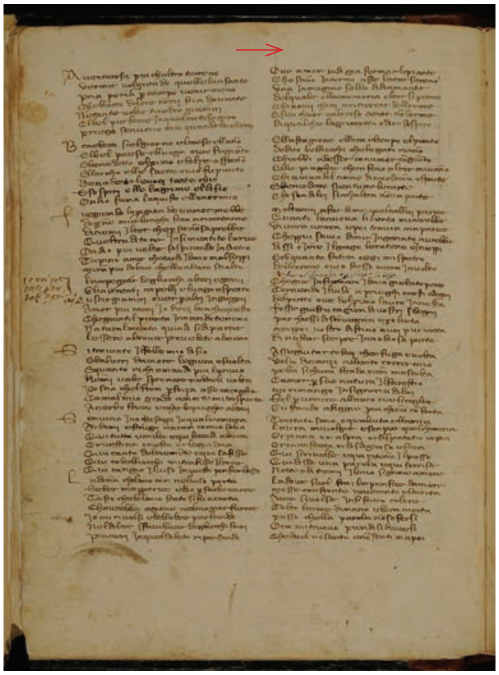
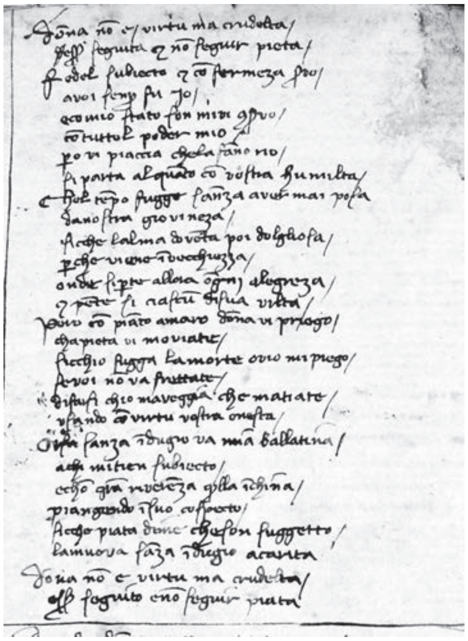
[194] See, for example, the last fascicle of Magl. VII 1040 (to be discussed in more detail shortly) and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1060.

Figure 3.3: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1100, fol. 13v[195]



Example of Petrarchan double-column format
(arrow indicates direction in which the columns are to be read)

Figure 3.4: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61, fol. 100v (detail)



Example of typical mise en page for sonnets in verse format

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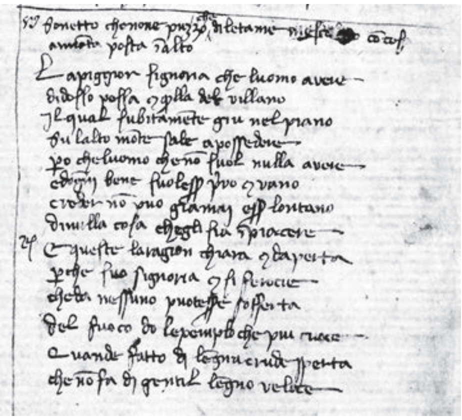
[195] Image provided by the Biblioteca Riccardiana and reproduced here by permission. Further reproduction prohibited.

Figure 3.5: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61, fol. 98v (detail)



Example of typical mise en page for ballate in verse format

Creating Poetic Fog: Unconventional Mise En Page in Magl. VII 1078

Within a scribal context that privileges visual clarity, Magl. VII 1078 stands out for its inconsistency in formatting and general inattention to poetic structure. Trying to decipher the metric form and verse structure of the poems in this haphazard collection is rather like trying to read road signs through a dense fog. Our scribe's approach to formatting varies significantly from poem to poem and folio to folio, hinting at a reliance on multiple exemplars with differing appearances. Ballate are the only poems consistently recognizable by their visual appearance alone due to the repetition of the *ripresa* after each stanza. Still, even a few monostrophic ballate appear incognito, their *ripresa* copied only at the beginning. In these instances, the clues to their metric form are left hidden in the rhyme scheme.

The poems in single-column sections are generally copied in prose format, but the correspondence between written line and poetic verse is as inconsistent as the method of notating verse breaks. In some poems, the end of each verse is indicated with *puncti* while in others the verses are marked with single or double *virgule* and in others still with two parallel, horizontal dashes (=). Often, however, close spacing and ambiguous pen strokes obscure these markers and compel the reader to scrutinize the text in order to parse out the verses. Discerning the poetic structure is further complicated by the scribe's tendency to split verses between lines haphazardly when he runs out of space. Only in the double-column section of strambotti and other short lyrics on fol. 9r through 13v is he particularly concerned with maintaining the integrity of the poetic verse. Plentiful, however, are the poems in which there is no visible effort at all to demarcate the verse structure, thoroughly depriving the reader of the usual tools used to identify the genre, rhyme scheme, and prosody—all of which are elements central to the analysis of trecento lyric poetry.

Inconsistent, too, in his delineation of stanzas and entire poems, Magl. VII 1078's scribe often leaves the reader guessing about even the most basic feature of the lyrics he collects: namely which text belongs to which poem. On fol. 23v, shown in Figure 3.6, the long horizontal stroke placed at the end of the single-stanza ballata *Donna sperar poss'io* would seem to indicate that the first three paragraphs on the page were three stanzas of the same ballata rather than the three separate ballate they actually are. This impression is heightened by the fact that the end of the following monostrophic ballata is set off with an identical horizontal stroke. We encounter the converse situation on fol. 31r where Fazio degli Uberti's canzone *Ahi donna grande, possente e magnanima* (Figure 3.7) appears with the same kind of horizontal stroke at the end of each stanza. However, in the canzone by Antonio da Tempo copied on the facing page (Figure 3.8), each stanza is separated only by a small amount of blank space. This juxtaposition heightens the bewilderment created by horizontal lines on fol. 31r. Does our scribe really intend these marks to be interpreted in the standard way as indicators of the end of a poem?

Is he misreading Fazio's pluristrophic canzone as a series of single-stanza, independent lyrics? Or is he breaking convention and adopting this sort of sign for a variety of uses simultaneously within a single manuscript?

Figure 3.6: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VII 1078, fol. 23v

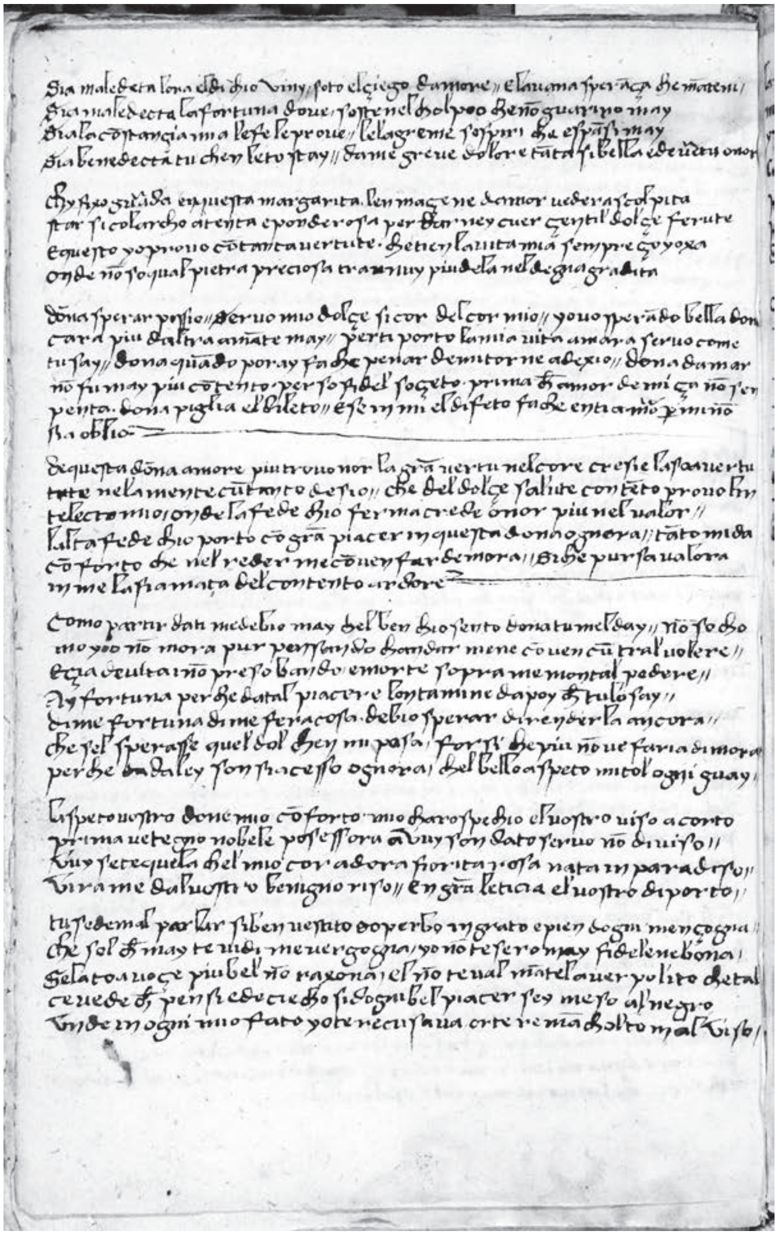
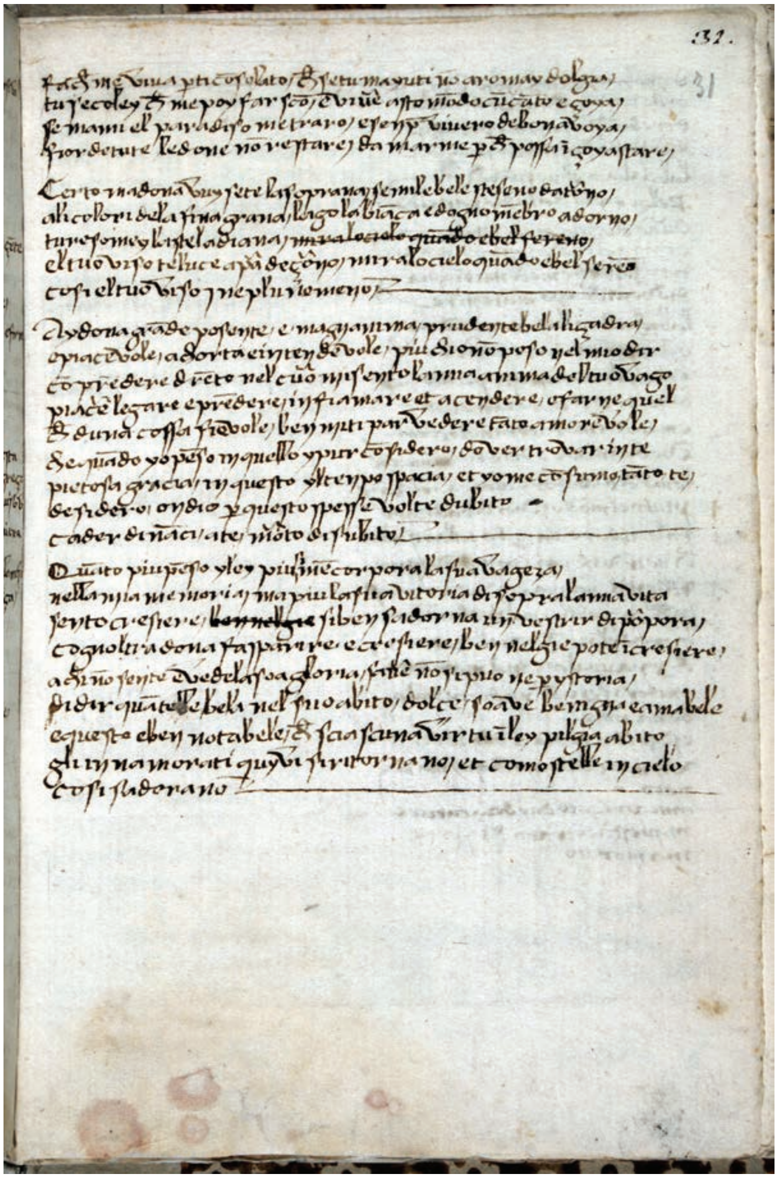
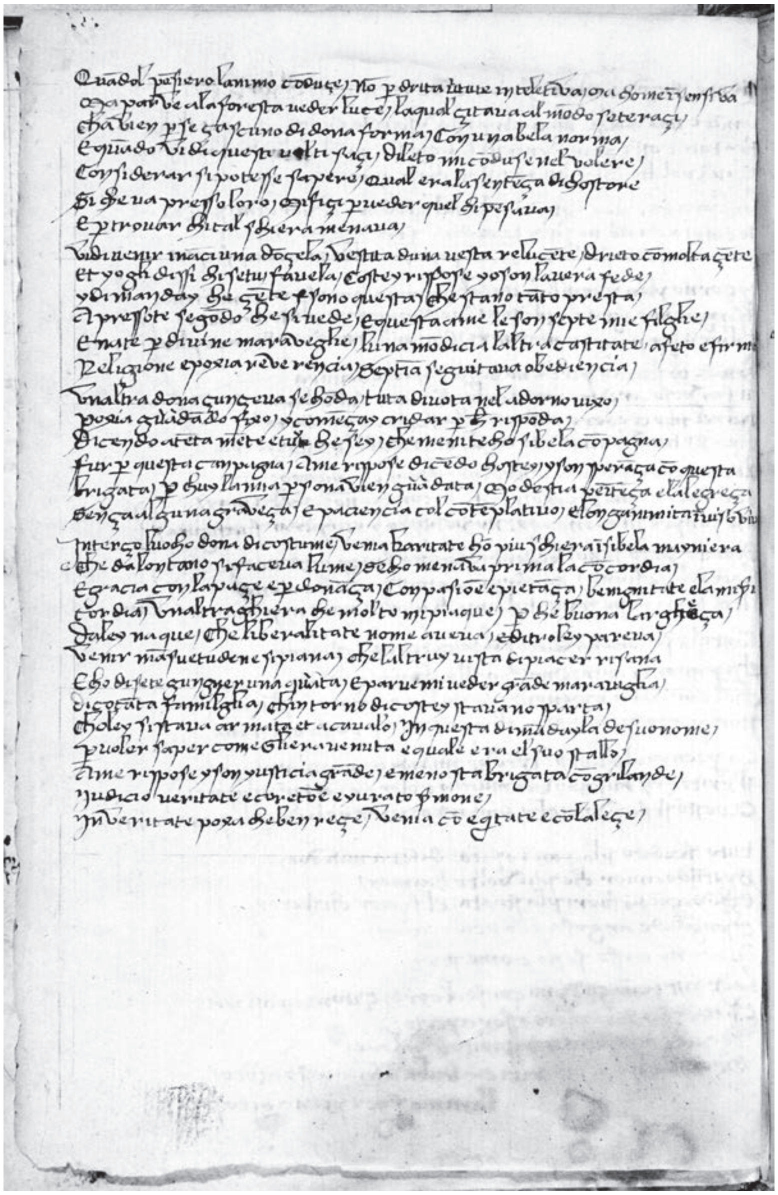


Figure 3.7: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VII 1078, fol. 31r



Ahi donna grande, possente e magnanima (Fazio degli Uberti)

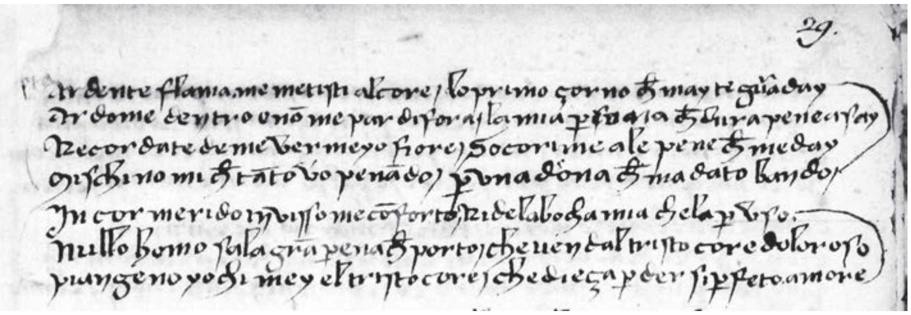
Figure 3.8: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VII 1078, fol. 30v



Quando 'l pensiero l'animo conduçe (Antonio da Tempo)
Five stanza copied with only blank space to separate one text from the next.

Frustratingly vague in so many respects, Magl. VII 1078's scribe does occasionally employ brackets analogous to those used in the Vatican *canzoniere* (Vat. lat. 3793) to highlight the internal division of certain poems, although even in these cases it is not always obvious where one lyric ends and the next begins. On fol. 29r, shown in Figure 3.9, we can observe traces of standard sonnet format: the octet presented on four lines and the sestet presented on three (always with two verses per line) with the division into two component parts illustrated through faint brackets in the margin.[196]

Figure 3.9: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VII 1078, fol. 29r (detail)



Ardente flama me metisti al core (Sonnet), with brackets outlining the octet and sestet

As we struggle to untangle the contents of Magl. VII 1078, we cannot help but wonder how a manuscript that is so extremely hazy and inconsistent in its visual presentation might have been used. Might the scribe's primary interaction with these lyrics have been oral, and aural, rather than visual? The easiest and most logical entry into the majority of Magl. VII 1078's *rime* is not with the eye but rather with the ear. Read silently, the meter, rhyme, and prosody of each poem remain well hidden, only decipherable through syllable counting and multiple re-readings. Read aloud the rhyme scheme and verse structure are more easily perceived. The impression of an oral rather than visual relationship with the text is further emphasized by the scribe's approach to the *mise en page* of ballate. While he indicates the return of the *ripresa* after every stanza in pluristrophic ballate, he does so through heavy abbreviation, sometimes writing no more than the first word. The complete poem, therefore, comes out only through a performative act on the part of the reader. Only by reading aloud or at the very least reciting the poem mentally, with the whole *ripresa* inserted in the place of the abbreviations, do we have access to the full text.

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[196] The texts on fol. 29r are, to the best of my knowledge, anonymous *uniche*.

This kind of oral relationship with written poetry stands in opposition to the picture of the late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian literary world I set out above. Speaking of poets' perspectives on their compositions during the latter part of the duecento, Wayne Storey notes that "the issue of performance is superseded by the poem's written textuality in an environment of literary exchange based on the transcribed text."[197] Interacting with their poems as written entities, authors such as Guittone and Dante are concerned not with performative poetic codes but rather with written transmission and with the distinct possibility of liberal interpretation, or misinterpretation, on the part of the scribe.[198] Of course, this does not mean that poetry was no longer performed or that oral transmission ceased to exist.[199] Still, both Storey's analysis and the attention to visual presentation of poetry displayed by so many manuscripts from the late thirteenth century on strongly suggest that the text's written, material form was primary. In this context, Magl. VII 1078's minimal regard for the physical, visual presentation of the poetry it contains is highly unusual. The occasional gesture towards visual clarity, such as the parenthesis markings on fol. 22v, hints that a concern for the written presentation of poetic structure was present in at least some of the exemplars. The manuscript itself, however, gives the impression that ease of interpretation through direct interaction with the written text was not a priority, superfluous to its intended use. Like the Old English sources discussed by O'Brien O'Keeffe that are similarly opaque in their visual presentation of verse,

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[197] Storey, *Transcription*, 113.

[198] Ibid., 114–115.

[199] This is a point Storey himself emphasizes. Ibid., 114.

Magl. VII 1078 is suffused with traces of "residual orality."

The possibility that it is a manuscript intended for recitation has already been suggested by other scholars, most especially Gianluca D'Agostino and Tommaso Casini. [200] Yet, discussion of Magl. VII 1078's performative nature has until now been limited to passing observations, unsupported by analysis of its physical form or the substantial body of *poesia aulica* it contains. Such observations have to reinforce its association with popular culture by characterizing it as a written testimony of oral tradition. As the preceding discussion suggests, however, there are several aspects of Magl. VII 1078, including its contents and even its form that cast doubt on the aptness of a straightforward classification as either *popolare* or oral.

Recent studies on orality and literacy in the Middle Ages underscore the difficulties of defining medieval literature as either purely oral or purely literate, suggesting that it is more fruitful to recognize a continuum stretching between these two poles.[201] With the binary division between oral and written tradition de-emphasized, the over-simplicity inherent in equating oral with popular and literate with cultivated becomes all the more apparent. In fact, in his 2008 assessment of orality in medieval studies, Alaric Hall goes so far as to question the usefulness of the concept at all in the analysis of medieval literature. Stressing the dangers of applying the orality/literacy axis too widely and too uncritically, Hall warns that it tends to subconsciously perpetuate the earlier ideas of primitivity it aims to move beyond.[202]

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[200] As mentioned above, Casini suggests that Magl. VII 1078 belonged to a minstrel (*giullare*). See Casini, "Repertorio giullaresco," 119. Also see D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria," 424–425 and "Ballata forms," 302–303.

[201] See for example, Lori Ann Garner, "Medieval Voices," Oral Tradition 18, no. 2 (2003) and O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*. Also see Ruth Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality: Studies in the Technology of Communication* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), esp. Chapter 8.

[202] Alaric Hall, "The Orality of a Silent Age: The Place of Orality in Medieval Studies," in *Methods and the Medievalist: Current Approaches in Medieval Studies*, ed. Jesse Keskiaho, Marko Lamberg,

Meanwhile, Storey and D. H. Green both remind us of the importance of maintaining a clear distinction between oral tradition and oral performance. In other words, oral delivery (either from memory or from physical text) of both poetry and music created as part of a thoroughly literate tradition must be considered separately from and on different terms than true oral poetry, composed and transmitted without writing.[203]

What, then, of Magl. VII 1078? Previously, scholars have connected this source not just with performance but also with oral tradition by proposing that several of the poems it collects were written down from memory.[204] While this may perhaps be true for a few isolated texts, the bulk of the manuscript was certainly copied from written exemplars, albeit several different ones. This point is absolutely key to understanding the traces of orality in Magl. VII 1078 and its seventeen song texts and is therefore worthy of further elaboration. There are many signs that Magl. VII 1078's scribe worked from physical exemplars. For example there are two instances in which a poem is erroneously copied twice in close proximity, clearly the result of an eye-skip: Petrarch's *Benedetto sia 'l giorno* on fol. 3r and 3v and a strambotto on fols. 11v and 12r, *Mostra me y ochi y quay tengo nel core*.

Further indication of recourse to a written exemplar is found in the organization of the texts copied in the double-column section extending from fol. 9r to 13v. The first group in this section is a series of hendecasyllabic sestets with simple rhyme scheme that are arranged in

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Elina Räsänen, and Olga Timofeeva with Leila Virtanen (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008).

[203] D. H. Green, "Orality and Reading: The State of Research in Medieval Studies," *Speculum* 65, no. 2 (1990): 271.

[204] The possibility that some of Magl. VII 1078's texts were copied by memory has been most directly commented upon by Giuseppe Corsi and by Casini. See Giuseppe Corsi, *Poesie musicali del Trecento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970), 156 and Casini, "Repertorio giullaresco," 165, 206, and 223.

alphabetical order, each poem opening with a different letter. In the end, the complete alphabet unfolds through these amorous texts that detail the development of the poet's love for his donna, Katerina. Following this collection is another alphabetically-ordered section of similar strambotti and strambotto-like lyrics, this time with several representatives for each letter. Appreciation of such organizational games is dependent on visual contemplation of physical folios, for this careful ordering would likely go un-noticed, or at the very least would be severely de-emphasized, in an oral performance. Finally, it must be said that in spite of its haphazard material form, Magl. VII 1078 is not a manuscript abounding with the kinds of corrections and hesitations one expects to see in work transcribed from memory. That most of the poems are clean, copied to the scribe's satisfaction the first time, strongly argues for the use of written exemplars.

Magl. VII 1078 thus straddles the line between written and oral transmission. Once the act of copying was complete, the scribe's interaction with the poems he collected seems to have been more through performance and recitation than silent reading. The poems themselves, though, have material origins, copied from other written sources at least some of which must have prioritized transparent *mise en page*. This manuscript does not offer us a rare glimpse of an oral tradition that is otherwise absent from the written record, as has previously been suggested. On the contrary, Magl. VII 1078 is an orally/aurally-oriented collection of poetry that is at heart extremely visual. Magl. VII 1078 is not a written testimony of oral tradition. It is, in a sense, an oral account of written tradition—a strikingly anti-visual book, derived from physical exemplars, that collects poems in low linguistic registers alongside an ample assortment of *poesia aulica* born in the visual, literate poetic world described by Storey and outlined above.

Song Texts in Magl. VII 1078: Disposition and Questions of Musical Origins

If we view Magl. VII 1078 in this light, our interpretation of its song texts must change. On the one hand, the above analysis allows Magl. VII 1078 to act as a tangible bridge between what are often considered to be two opposing camps: the purely literary and literate camp of *poesia aulica* and the performative, sound-driven camp of *poesia per musica*. Its traces of orality offer us a ready-made hook on which to hang the latent musicality of its song texts. Conceptually, it is thus tempting to view Magl. VII 1078's poems with concordances in notated *canzonieri* as instances of literal, full-fledged orality bolstering the more subtle traces of performativity hiding in the manuscript's chaotic visual panorama. The physical evidence in Magl. VII 1078, however, suggests a different reading, one that highlights the "literariness" of the song texts while still recognizing the manuscript's oral/aural rather than visual orientation. Previous musicological scholarship has based its interpretations of Magl. VII 1078 on the assumption that its song texts derive from musical sources. The next section sets out to question these claims, for an accurate understanding of the exemplars used is crucial to interpreting the role of song in this manuscript.

Magl. VII 1078's "musical" ballate are peppered throughout its pages, a few appearing in isolation and others grouped together in brief cycles of song texts. Based on consistency or inconsistency in pen and ink and on changes in page layout, Magl. VII 1078's song texts can be divided into seven groups, as summarized in Table 3.2. Although codicologically discrete from each other, all groups are visually and physically integrated into their surroundings. No distinction is made, either through the use of unique visual format or through rubrics, between texts that are "musical" and texts that are not. Rather, Magl. VII 1078 unabashedly juxtaposes *poesia per musica* with "pure" poetry of various different genres, leaving the reader no indication that the two repertories can be or should be considered independent and separate entities.

Table 3.1: Song texts in Magl. VII 1078 and their concordances

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*	*Group*
13v	La dona mia vol eser el misiere	Niccolò da Perugia	Sq, 93v-94r; Lo, 27r		A
20v	Gia perch i penso ne la tua partita	Francesco degli organi	FP, 1v; Pit 68v-69r; Lo, 59v-60r; Sq 169r; Reina, 48v		B
23r	Alma liçadra del tuo viso pio	Francesco degli organi	FP, 13r; Sq, 155v-156r		C
23r	Piacese a dio che e non fosse may nata	Guiglielmus da Francia	Sq, 173v; Pit 5v-6r		C
23r	Laso per mia fortuna posto amore	Francesco degli organi	Sq, 131v; Lo, 48v		C
23r	Guarda duna volta in ça verso l tuo servo	Francesco degli organi	FP, 21r; Sq, 161v; Lo, 24v		C
23v	Sia maledeta lora el di chio viny	Francesco degli organi	Sq, 170v; Pit, 67v-68, FP, 6v; Reina 28r		C
24r	La mala lengua dogni mala radice	Francesco degli organi	Pit, 107r; Sq, 140v	Magl. VII 1041, 47v	D
24r	Ochy piançeti e tu cor tribulato	Anonymous (siciliana)	Reina, 37v		D
24r	Con lagreme sospiro	Anonymous (siciliana)	Reina, 27v		D
24r	Cum doyosi martiri	Antonellus da Caserta	Manc, 69v		D
24r	De sospirar sovente	Francesco degli organi	Sq, 149v; Fsl, 41r	Magl. VII 1040, 48v	D
24v	Dona la mente mia e si nvagita del tuo	Francesco degli organi	FP, 13v		D
27v	Monicho son tuto çoyoso sença nula fede	Anonymous	Sev, 57v-58v (only text is incipit)		E
36r	Fenir mia vita mi convene	Anonymous (siciliana)	Reina, 26r; Pad 553 6v		F
36r	Gran piant a gli ochi grave	Francesco degli organi	FP, 26r; Pit, 67v-68; Lo, 29v; Sq 133v; Reina, 34v; Padua 684, 51v		F
36r	Vita non e piu misera e piu ria	Francesco degli organi	Sq, 167r; FP, 10v; Pit, 103v; Fsl, 100r; Reina, 49r	Triv. 145v; Magl. VII 1041, 47v; Grey 7 b 5, 92r-v	F

Given the disparate disposition of the song texts, it is highly unlikely that all seventeen were copied from the same exemplar, and therefore they cannot all derive from a single notated source. The more complicated question to answer is whether they might derive from several different notated exemplars. D'Agostino and Corsi have both proposed musical origins for at least some of Magl. VII 1078's song texts, but neither author offers detailed analysis to support such claims. D'Agostino points vaguely to several signs of musical origins, including repetition of words and syllables ancillary to the original poetic text and the omission of the second *piede* and the *volta* in several ballate.[205] However, he cites no specific examples and does not clarify if his observations refer only to the manuscript's verifiably "musical" texts or if he means to imply that adjacent poems without musical concordances descend from notated sources. As argued in Chapter 1, the statement that an un-notated poetic manuscript like Magl. VII 1078 derives from one or several musical exemplars—an assertion that undermines the literary nature of these texts—demands concrete supporting evidence and clear articulation of its intended scope. A close examination of Magl. VII 1078's song texts following the six criteria laid out in Chapter 1, however, reveals that such claims cannot be sustained, as the physical evidence negates the hypothesis that any of the poems were copied from a musical exemplar.[206]

It is immediately clear that criterion one (exact concordance in order with a notated source) and criterion six (attribution to a composer) are not met by any single poem or group of poems. The manuscript's adherence, or lack there of, to the remaining four criteria is not quite as clear-cut and thus requires systematic explanation:

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[205] D'Agostino, "Ballata forms," 303.

[206] Not only, as will soon be shown, do the songs texts fail to exhibit the characteristics D'Agostino associates with musical origins (namely, repetition and lack of the second *piede* and *volta*), for the most part the ballate without musical concordances do as well. He himself cites no examples, but in my own reading of Magl. VII 1078's ballate, I have found only one fragmentary text and very few cases of repetition in any poems, "musical" or not.

- Criterion two—High percentage of musical texts within a discrete section.

  In the case of groups A, B, and E, each of which consists of only one text, this criterion is not applicable. The question is more complicated in the case of groups C, D, and F. Each group represents a small cluster of musical texts most of which are adjacent to each other. However, not one of these groups is codicologically distinct from the poems that flank it. The poems in group C are copied using the same pen and ink as all the poems on fols. 23r and 23v. Group C makes up five of the fourteen poems in this section (36%). The poems in group D are copied with the same ink and pen as all the poems on fols. 24r through 27r. Group D makes up six of the fifteen poems in this section (33%). Group F is copied with the same ink and pen as all the poems on the bottom of fol. 27r through fol. 28r. It is thus one of four poems in this short section (25%). Based on these observations, we can conclude that groups C, D, and F do not meet criterion two.

- Criterion three—Presence of poems lacking the text that would be copied as *residuum* or omitted in a musical manuscript.

  This criterion is met by only one of the seventeen ballate with musical concordances, *Fenir mia vita*. All but two song texts in Magl. VII 1078 are fully complete and some contain extra text not present in their notated sources: *La donna mia vuol esser el messere* appears in here with two stanzas rather than one and *Piacesse a Dio* includes the *mutazioni* of a second stanza. Of the two poems that are incomplete in Magl. VII 1078, one, *De sospirar sovente*, is a pluristrophic ballata that is complete only in Magl.

VII 1040, another text-only source.[207] Thus the sole fragmentary song text is *Fenir mia vita*, which lacks its second *mutazione* and *volta* as it does in the Reina codex as well.

- Criterion four—Irregular readings stemming from anomalies in musical sources.

  Corsi argues that the syllabic repetition in *Piacesse a Dio* proves this work was copied from a notated source.[208] In his opinion, the repetition cannot be part of the poem's original text because it turns verse 10 into a hypermetric verse. However, a notated manuscript would be unlikely to transmit this particular repetition, "*faza quy me me de marito*,"—at least not for musical reasons—because this portion of the poem would appear as *residuum*, as it does in Pit.[209] Of Magl. VII 1078's other variants, none can be linked to or easily explained by notated exemplars either.

- Criterion five—Rubrics or marginalia that indicate musical origins.

  The only potential visible trace of song in Magl. VII 1078 comes in the form a few scattered rubrics labeling certain lyrics as "*cantilene*." On fols. 21v and 22r, two consecutive ballate neither of which have known musical settings appear with the rubric "*alia cantilena*." A similar rubric is found at the top of fol. 24v before another ballata with no known musical setting. Centered in the top margin and using the plural *cantilene*, this rubric may possibly be intended to refer to all poems on the page and thus may encompass one known song text, Francesco degli organi's *Donna la mente mia*. Finally, the canzone that ends at the bottom of fol. 25v is identified as a *cantilena* in a short explicit. Given the vague nature of this designation and its association with a variety of genres including those not considered to be "musical," it is impossible to assert with certainty that the word *cantilena* carries specific musical significance in this context. Thus, of Magl. VII 1078's verifiable song texts, at most one meets criterion 5. Furthermore, whether or not they were ever selected for musical treatment, it is unlikely that those poems designated *cantilena* derive from a notated exemplar. The marginal brackets on fol. 24v (identical to those discussed above in relation to the *mise en page* of sonnets) indicating the internal metric divisions of the ballata *Amor che may conduta in l'ultim'ora* serve as proof that this poem was copied from a text-only source in spite of being labeled "*cantilena*." In light of our scribe's noteworthy disregard for poetic structure, it is doubtful that he is responsible for adding such marks without prompting from an exemplar.

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[207] Corsi suggests that Magl. VII 1078's truncation of *De sospirar* to a single stanza could be seen as a sign that the poem was copied from a musical exemplar. In his opinion, however, this poem was copied from memory, a hypothesis that he supports by pointing out several variants between Magl. VII 1078's reading and what he takes as the poem's standard form. Ibid., 156–157. As I have already discussed, I do not agree with the conclusion that this poem or any other was copied from memory. Moreover, we should not forget that notated sources are inconsistent in the number of stanzas they include for pluristrophic ballate, and thus the amount of text copied in a given manuscript is not conclusive in terms of proving or disproving musical origins.

[208] Ibid., 90–91.

[209] Pit's reading of *Piacesse a Dio* differs from Magl. VII 1078's in several places including verse 10, which contains no syllabic repetition in that manuscript.

Based on Magl. VII 1078's very limited adherence to the six criteria, we must conclude that the song texts do not have verifiable direct musical origins. However, based on the disposition of the texts in groups C, D, and F and on the fact that each of these groups marginally satisfies criterion two, we must also allow that they and the sections in which they appear could derive indirectly from notated fascicle manuscripts or *rotuli*. If the song texts here are at best indirectly derived from musical sources, Magl. VII 1078 does more than demonstrate that these poems circulated in one isolated literary source. It also suggests the tantalizing possibility that behind this single manuscript lie multiple exemplars in which so-called *poesie per musica* are transmitted not as song texts but instead as poems. While it is dangerous to place too much stock in the existence of hypothetical exemplars, we must nevertheless consider the possibility that derivation from a musical source, and most especially indirect derivation, does not diminish the literary significance of Magl. VII 1078. Rather, in some cases, it may be an indication that *poesia per musica* enjoyed a more extensive literary tradition than the extant material record would seem to suggest at first glance. This, then, begs the question of why these songs spoke to their readers as literature. What might they have meant to Magl. VII 1078's scribe and how do they relate conceptually to the other texts he collected?

Song In Context: The Literary Fabric of Magl. VII 1078

With the physical connection between Magl. VII 1078's musical and literary contents established, it is clear that the meaning of song in this context lies largely in its integration within the manuscript's internal literary fabric. In other words, considering what kinds of poetry Magl. VII 1078's scribe selects to copy alongside the musical texts is as important as considering which songs he does or does not choose to include. As we have seen, Magl. VII 1078 is often described as a source of *poesia popolare*, but when examined more closely, it is a manuscript that defies simple categorization in terms of its contents as well as in terms of its physical form—a web of contrasting genres, linguistic registers, and varied subject matter.

Through Magl. VII 1078's collection of ballate, we confront the problems and ambiguities of classifying poems, genres, or individual sources as either *popolare* or *colto*. Refusing to fit neatly into one category or the other, often mixing allusions to "high" and "low" style, these ballate challenge the usefulness of such binaries. Based on their form as it is represented by Magl. VII 1078's scribe, the ballate divide into two categories: 1) pluristrophic ballate where the *ripresa* is repeated after each stanza; and 2) monostrophic ballate where the repeat of the *ripresa* is sometimes indicated at the end. In the second category, we can also place ballate with a few but not many stanzas in which the *ripresa* is only repeated after the final one, if at all.

This division of Magl. VII 1078's ballate parallels that proposed by D'Agostino for the ballata repertoire in general. There is, however, one key difference: D'Agostino's taxonomy links form to linguistic and cultural register. He identifies two separate lines of development that extend through the entire history of the ballata. The first is a high-level typology consisting of refined poetry that deals with themes of courtly love, has one or a few stanzas of seven- and eleven- syllable verses, and does not repeat the *ripresa* between stanzas. The second is a low-level typology consisting of multi-stanzaic poems that are "more popular," "often rustic," and written in a "more prosaic language."[210] These low-level ballate consist of all seven-syllable, all eight-syllable, or occasionally all eleven-syllable verses and have the *ripresa* repeated after each stanza. Although *ars nova* composers generally selected poems in the first category for their musical settings, it is the second category that is traditionally associated with music and dance, often referred to in rubrics as *canzone da ballo* or *cantilena* and sometimes including internal references to singing and dancing.[211]

The distinction between these two categories, and between *popolare* and *colto* in general, is rife with difficulty although there are numerous signs that some kind of division was recognized by poets.[212] Magl. VII 1078 offers an excellent demonstration of the potentially fluid boundary between subgenres, particularly in terms of their association with "high" and "low" cultural-linguistic registers. Not all ballate that adhere to the formal characteristics of the second category (low-level typology) can be described as *popolare* or even *popolareggiante* in style. For example, *Amor amaro quanto me fay languire* on fol. 20v and *Post'à nel tuo volere signor mio* on fol. 21v are pluristrophic ballate with *riprese* that are repeated after every stanza. Both, however, feature hendecasyllabic verses and the elevated language and imagery of courtly love codified in the canzoni of the *stilnovisti*.[213]

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[210] D'Agostino, "Ballata forms," 298.

[211] According to D'Agostino, "these poems [that is, low-type ballate] ought primarily to be sung or danced, and only incidentally to be written as literary products." D'Agostino, "Ballata forms," 299.

The reverse situation is found as well. There are some poems that correspond to D'Agostino's first category in terms of their form but that are risqué and indecorous in their subject matter and vocabulary. The monostrophic ballata *Do mala vechia lo mal fuogo t'arda* (fol. 36v), typical of such lyrics, is both hendecasyllabic and copied with no indication at all that the *ripresa* should be repeated. A crude invective against an old lady who has imprisoned the poet's *donna*, it invokes rather unrefined, colloquial language and tone to mirror its subject matter in spite of its relatively weighty form.[214] One of Magl. VII 1078's musical texts, *Piacesse a Dio che non fosse may nata* (fol. 23r), also falls into this category. While its monostrophic form with mixed seven- and eleven-syllable verses can be considered elevated, its theme—the unpleasant marriage of a young woman—and its tone are not.

The short lyrics on fols. 9r-13v as well as the various sonnets, canzoni, and one madrigal scattered throughout Magl. VII 1078, are more consistent in style and subject matter than the ballate, all employing the characteristically lofty language of *fin' amours*. With the exception of the strambotti and strambotto-like lyrics, these poems are not grouped by genre nor are they segregated (as a group or individually) from the ballate surrounding them. Although they represent only a small portion of the texts collected in Magl. VII 1078, the canzoni and sonnets serve to further complicate the manuscript's literary world. Along with the ballate that can be associated with D'Agostino's high-level typology, these poems reveal that Magl. VII 1078's scribe was not only interested in collecting light, vulgar, low-style poetry. He was also interested in the artistically prestigious genres—canzone and sonetto—that are firmly rooted in the written tradition of *poesia aulica* by Dante, Petrarch, and their predecessors.

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[212] Poets such as Petrarch, Franco Sacchetti, and Lorenzo de' Medici wrote and organized their poetry with this kind of division in mind. Ibid., 300–301.

[213] Both poems are singled out by Casini as being particularly "literary" in their metric and prosody, tone, and language. See Casini, "Repertorio giullaresco," 173 and 186.

[214] The metric form of this poem is not particularly clear from its *mise en page*. However, in spite of some irregularities Casini classifies it as a ballata. Ibid., 217.

Questions of anonymity also come into play. As already noted, all poems in the collection are unattributed, and the vast majority of them are anonymous to the best of our knowledge. A few, however, are the work of well-known poets, all of whom were active in northern Italy at some point during their careers.[215] Table 3.2 lists all the firmly attributable poems in Magl. VII 1078 most of which, not just by virtue of their respective authors but also because of their style, fall firmly into the category of *poesia aulica*. Just as with the various genres discussed above, these poems by known authors are not isolated from their surroundings. Even in the one case where several poems by the same author appear together copied in a distinct layer of scribal activity (the four ballate by Antonio da Tempo on fol. 22v), the attributable texts are not set apart visually from the anonymous poems on either side. They, too, illustrate the extent to which the varied lyrics of Magl. VII 1078 are presented as a single, unified literary patchwork that challenges modern classifications and binary oppositions.

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[215] All of these identifiable poets have Florentine origins, even though they were based in the *settentrionale* region at least for a short period of time.

Table 3.2: Attributable texts in Magl. VII 1078

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Poet*	*Genre*
3r	Benedetto sia l giorno el mese e lanno	Petrarch	Sonnet
4r	Poy che la fortuna el mondo me vuol piu contra star	Frate Stoppa dei Bostichi	Ballata
22v	A ti signor la mia vita comando	Antonio da Tempo	Ballata
22v	Mercede ella parola che piu chiama	Antonio da Tempo	Ballata
22v	Quando di preva vede mio inteleto	Antonio da Tempo	Ballata
24v	Yo so la mala pianta di suberbia	Fazio degli Uberti	Sonnet
27r	Or si disparte la speraça mia	Giovan Matteo di Meglio	Ballata
30r	Tuto fredito per la gran rosata	Antonio da Tempo	Madrigal
30v	Quando l pensiero lanimo conduçe	Antonio da Tempo	Canzone
31r	Ay dona grande posente e magnanima	Fazio degli Uberti	Canzone
32r	La quynta pave una dona çentile (the rest of the canzone from folio 30v)	Antonio da Tempo	Canzone
34r	Mentre damor pensava yo odigri	Giannozzo Sacchetti	Caccia
36v	Perche la biancha neve cader vidi	Antonio da Tempo	Madrigal

How then do Magl. VII 1078's song texts fit into this mélange conceptually and stylistically speaking? All but one of the anonymous ballate conform to the genre's second formal category: monostrophic poems with the repeat of the *ripresa* indicated only at the end, if at all.[216] The majority, including those that have been categorized as siciliane, are among the more refined lyrics in Magl. VII 1078.[217] Narrated by the male lover these thirteen ballate invoke the language, themes, and imagery typical of elevated amorous poetry: the beauty of the *donna*, the pain of unrequited love, the *donna angelica*, and the theme of *partenza* or separation of the *amanti*. Describing the lady's eyes and her *viso pio*, the various male narrators tell us of their fidelity, their *martiri*, and their tears, begging the *donna* for pity and mercy. In addition to the widespread generic references to fourteenth-century *poesia aulica*, we can point to at least one specific intertextual reference to that tradition. S*ia maledetta l'ora e 'l dì ch'io venni* (fol. 23v), set to music by Francesco degli organi, loosely parodies Petrarch's famous sonnet *Benedetto sia 'l giorno, e 'l mese et l'anno* (RVF, LXI), which as noted above appears in Magl. VII 1078 without attribution on fol. 3r.[218]

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[216] The one exception to this is *Monicho son tuto çoyoso sença nula fede* (fol. 27v). In addition, one other poem, *De sospirar sovente*, is actually a pluristrophic ballata, but it is transmitted here (as in all its musical sources) with only its *ripresa* and first stanza.

[217] For more on siciliane, including the history of the genre and its associations with oral tradition, see F. Alberto Gallo, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del II Quattrocento: Due 'siciliane' del Trecento," *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1964-77); Nino Pirrotta, "Tradizione orale e tradizione scritta della musica," in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento 3*, (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1970); "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition," in Music and culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the baroque: a collection of essays (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); and "Musica polifonica per un testo attribuito a Federico II," in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento 2* (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'Ars Nova del Trecento, 1968).

But like the non-musical ballate, Magl. VII 1078's song texts do not fit exclusively into one registral category or another. Four are rather less refined in their subject matter and lexicon, touching on themes common amongst trecento poetry that invokes a low style: *malmaritata*, invectives against and criticism of women and wives, and accounts of the scandalous exploits of monks.[219] The most bawdy and scandalous of the collection's musical poems, *Monicho son tuto çoyoso sença nula fede*, is highly unique amongst trecento polyphonic song texts for its crude nature and pluristrophic form. Narrated by a self-professed faithless monk, this ballata details his scandalous exploits in love, which of course take place within the monastery's walls, through a series of not-so-subtle double entendres. The witty *ripresa*, repeated after every stanza, hammers the reader over and over again with the poem's sacrilegious premise:

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[218] See Pasquini, "Letteratura popolare," 926–927. For a modern edition of *Sia maledetta*, see Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 220–221.

[219] Poems detailing the inappropriate behavior of monks and nuns (often told from the monk's point of view, lamenting the hardships of monastic life—i.e. the lack of women) are found in relative abundance in Magl. VII 1078. Other examples include *Kyrie, kyrie pregne per le monache* on fol. 3v, *Amor a ti me inclino e dico* on fol. 5r, *Adoro te ançoleta lucida* on fol. 5v, *De, be feci la gran pacia* on fol. 6v, and *Laxa mi como faraço* on fol. 18v. The theme of the *malmaritata* is represented by several poems including *Ch'io me so' mal maritata* on fol. 34r and *Dona che sia donzella* on fol. 40r. See Casini, "Repertorio giullaresco," 187–194. Finally, various criticisms of women include *Done siatene pregate* on fol. 8r and the several invectives against the *vecchia* protecting the chastity of the young girl, such as *La vecchia d'amor m'a biasemata* on fol. 25v and *Laida vecchia stomegosa* on fol. 37r.

> monicho son tuto çoyoso sença nula fede
> biancho bello et amoroso mato chi me crede.
>
> *monk I am, joyous and without faith*
> *white, handsome, and loving, anyone who believes me is crazy.*

Ultimately, it becomes hard to escape the conclusion that this monk might be right. Perhaps it is ludicrous to have faith in the sanctity of clerics. In fact, one of Magl. VII 1078's readers must have feared such a conclusion, for all the religious references have been carefully crossed out in a half-hearted attempt at censorship. Were one seeking a text that exemplifies the stereotypical characteristics of popular song and low-level ballate, standing in blatant opposition to the elegant, intellectual, and elite tradition of *ars nova* polyphony, *Monicho son* would fit the bill.

Magl. VII 1078's seventeen musical poems are thus fully integrated into the manuscript's literary patchwork, separated neither physically nor conceptually from the other lyrics. Those in groups C and D, incorporated into the cycle of monostrophic ballate on fols. 22r–24v, appear within a group of formally and thematically similar lyrics. Others, as we have seen, are scattered elsewhere in the manuscript mixed in among pluristrophic popular ballate and refined sonnets and canzoni. Although Magl. VII 1078's scribe does loosely group lyrics by genre and linguistic register in some places, he is not at pains to delineate or separate different literary traditions. Polyphonic song texts stand alongside "non-musical" poems and intellectual canzoni next to ballate on disreputable themes. Placing polyphonic song texts within such a varied and flexible literary context, Magl. VII 1078 reminds us again that the division between poetry and music in late medieval Italy was not as firm or as unambiguous as we are often inclined to think.

Although it makes the musicological significance of this manuscript more difficult to articulate, we have much to gain by avoiding the temptation to view Magl. VII 1078 more as a phantom musical source than as a truly literary one. Following the physical evidence and treating the "musical" texts here as poems in their own right, we allow the manuscript's performative nature to take on increased significance. Traces of voice and orality in a book that is in some respects inherently musical are neither surprising nor particularly telling. In contrast, a non-visual approach to poems whose identity is inextricably bound to written tradition—composed on paper, transmitted through writing, and primarily intended to be contemplated through reading—demonstrates that the reception of poetry in the Middle Ages was varied and multifaceted. Separated from the intrinsic musicality musicologists may see lurking in its song texts, Magl. VII 1078's performative nature helps dissolve modern disciplinary boundaries between literature and music. Pushing written poetry into the realm of oral performance and aural reception, this manuscript brings *poesia* and *musica* closer together conceptually, imbuing poetry of all genres, from ballate to sonnets, with musicality in some sense. At the same time, it makes song "literary." Divorcing texts from their musical settings, placing them on the page as poetry and with poetry, Magl. VII 1078 also illustrates how *poesia per musica* could participate in one medieval scribe's personal literary world. By turning music into poetry while simultaneously forcing its readers to contemplate lyrics aurally rather than visually, and by freely mixing elements of "courtly" and "popular" style within a low material context, Magl. VII 1078 is thus a manuscript that challenges us to look beyond standard modern taxonomies and develop new ways of understanding cultural consumption in the late Middle Ages.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE II.II.61 AND MAGLIABECHIANO VII 1040

If Magl. VII 1078 reveals its mysteries slowly, our next object of study is just the opposite. The few folios of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.II.61 containing lyric poetry flaunt their individuality through their arresting visual appearance.[220] It is fitting, then, that we begin not with music or with poetry but rather with an image. Figure 3.12 shows fol. 100r of BNCF II.II.61. Here, we find two ballate that were set to music by Niccolò da Perugia, *Non più dirò giamai così farò* and *Ciascun faccia per se*, presented with a rather unusual *mise en page*. Not ruled in any sort of traditional way, this folio is divided into two columns, each of which is further subdivided into boxes, by a thick line casually drawn freehand. The eye is immediately struck by both the informality of the "ruling" itself and the unequal proportions of the columns.

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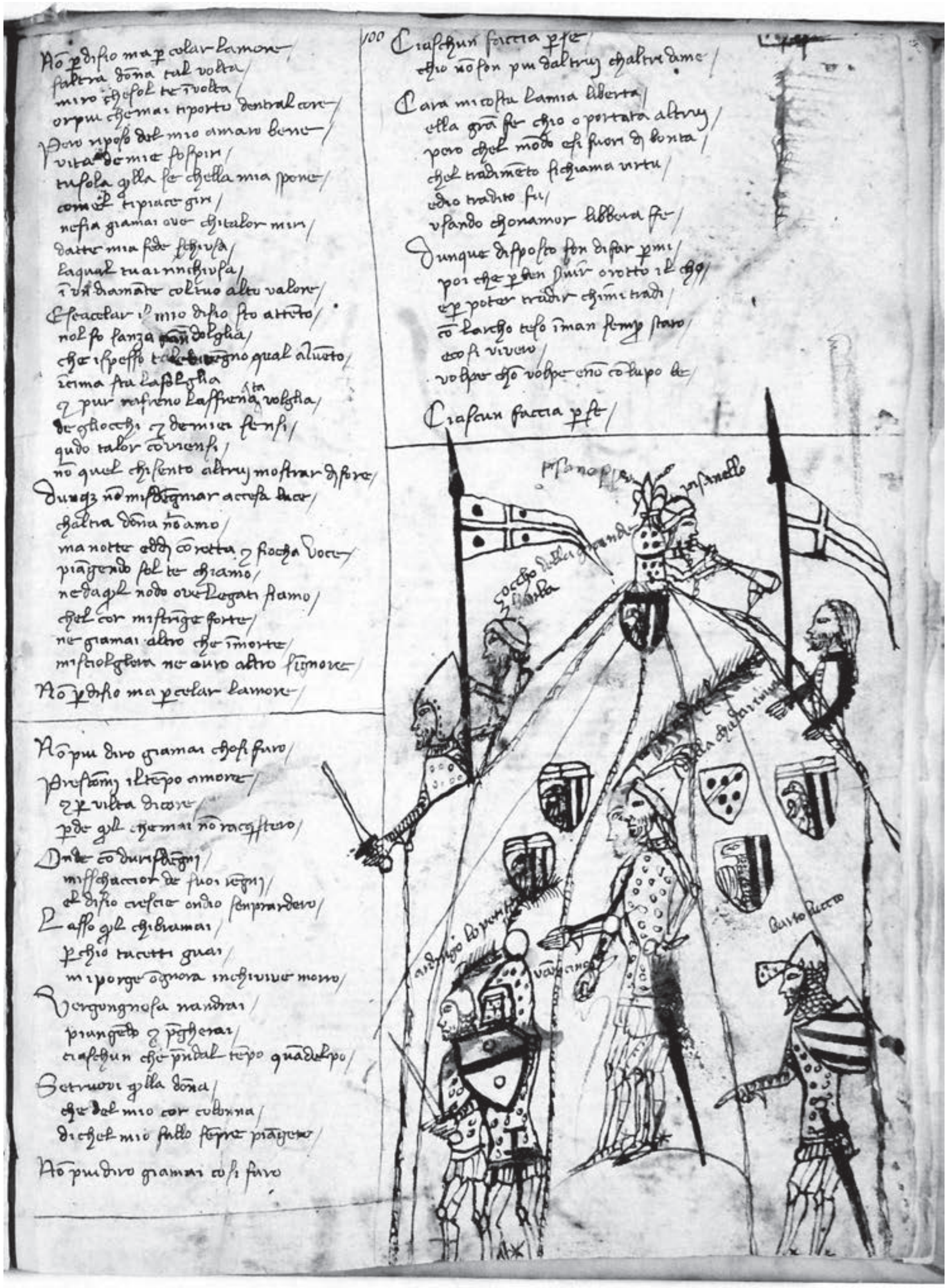
[220] The poems in BNCF II.II.61 appear in a modern edition by Adolfo Bartoli. See Bartoli, ed. *I manoscritti italiani della biblioteca nazionale di firenze*, vol. 2 (Florence: Tipografia e Litografia Carnesecchi, 1880).

FIGURE 3.10: FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, II.II.61, FOL. 100R



Even more bizarre than the lopsided layout is what fills the surplus space at the bottom of the right-hand column. Sketched against the background of a large dome-like pavilion, we see several knights in armor and one man in quotidian medieval clothing. Scattered amongst the men are several shields and flags with various family stems, and on the top of the pavilion a trumpeter peeks out, instrument to mouth, perhaps calling the knights to battle. The men, far from being randomly nondescript, are given labels relating their names or titles, while their shields display the heraldry of specific families. The simple heraldic devices are too vague to identify without the assistance of color. However, the most prominent shield—that with an eagle, repeated several times not just on this folio but on surrounding pages as well—is specific enough even in this black and white sketch to be identified as the stem of the Bonaguisi family.[221]

The Bonaguisi's heraldry on the last few folios of BNCF II.II.61 is no coincidence. Rather, it strongly suggests that the entire book, in spite of being a composite manuscript, was the property of and most likely copied by a certain Amelio Bonaguisi, the self-named scribe of its first section. Across the opening, on the top of folio 99v, we have another scene (pictured in Figure 3.13) that confirms Amelio's connection with this final section. Above a group of knights in armor riding into battle brandishing their lances and sporting the Bonaguisi stem on their shields and banners is a small inscription, "*Amelio fugire dinanzi ard[...] e lasciato padiglione*."[222]

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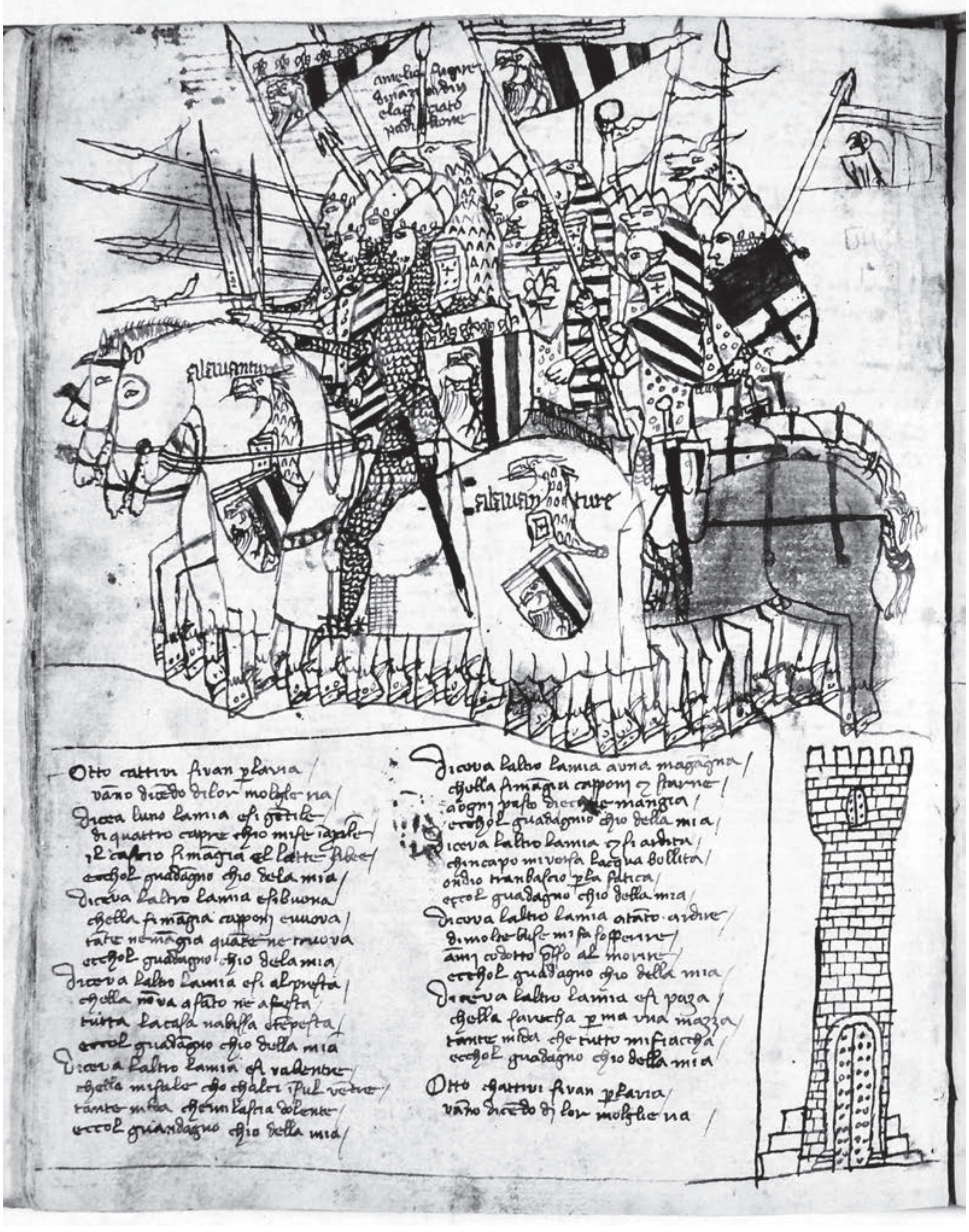
[221] This observation is noted by Casparis Gaddi in his description of BNCF II.II.61 that is bound into the front of the manuscript and also by Bartoli, and it is confirmed through consultation of the online database of Florentine family heraldry: http://wappen.khi.fi.it/it/. The Bonaguisi, a Florentine merchant family, are mentioned several times in Ricordano and Giacotto Malispini's late thirteenth-century chronicle, *Storia fiorentina*. The family and its connections with this manuscript will be discussed in more detail below. Both Gaddi and Bartoli suggest that the presence of the Bonaguisi stem indicates that Amelio was not only scribe but also poet of at least the first few of the otherwise anonymous poems in BNCF II.II.61's final section. While it may be that he composed the ballate, such a hypothesis cannot be proved.

[222] What precisely this inscription means is unclear. The gist would seem to be, "Amelio flees in front of [...] and left the pavilion," though the use of the infinitive "*fugire*" is perplexing and difficult to account for.

Figure 3.11: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61, fol. 99v



Otto cattivi si van p(er) la via /
vano diciendo di lor molglie na /
Diceva luno lamia e si gentile /
di quattro capre chio misi i[n] [illegible] /
il castro si magia el latte [illegible] /
eccho l guadagno chio dela mia /
Diceva laltro lamia e si buona /
chella si magia capponi e uova /
tante ne magia quante ne truova
eccho l guadagno chio dela mia
Diceva laltro lamia e si al presta /
chella nova a fato ne a festa
tutta la casa na bella e che presta /
eccho l guadagno chio della mia
Diceva laltro lamia e si valente /
chella mi fa lo chaldo i[n] sul ventre /
tanto mi da che mi lascia dolente /
eccho l guadagno chio della mia /

Diceva laltro lamia a una magagna /
chella si magia capponi e starne /
a ogni pasto dice [illegible] mangia /
eccho l guadagno chio della mia /
Diceva laltro lamia e si ardita /
che in capo mi versa lacqua bollita /
ondio tran balzo p(er) la fatica /
eccho l guadagno chio della mia /
Diceva laltro lamia a tanto ardire /
di molte busse mi fa sofferire /
anni condotto presso al morire /
eccho l guadagno chio della mia /
Diceva laltro lamia e si paza /
chella savecha p(er) ma una mazza /
tante mi da che tutto mi fiaccha /
eccho l guadagno chio della mia
Otto chattivi si van p(er) la via /
vano diciendo di lor molglie na /

It would seem, then, that the drawings in BNCF II.II.61 represent more than generic medieval scenes—they are windows into the specific exploits (real or imagined, we cannot know) of the manuscript's owner, reader, and scribe. Useful not only because they shed light on the group of ballate copied on the last few folios of BNCF II.II.61, these drawings help us to reconstruct the cultural context surrounding an unusual collection of poetry found at the end of another manuscript also housed in Florence's Biblioteca Nazionale: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1040. The last fascicle of this composite manuscript, described and inventoried by Domenico De Robertis,[223] is well known to musicologists for its short section of siciliane. It also collects Italian ballate, sonnets, and strambotti (including a few poems by noteworthy poets such as Dante and Cavalcanti) as well as a selection of short, playful French lyrics in various refrain forms.[224] Copied with the same conspicuously unconventional *mise en page*, the last fascicle of Magl. VII 1040 and last fascicle of BNCF II.II.61 were originally part of a single manuscript that contained not only a distinctive collection of lyric poetry but also an Italian translation of Ovid's *Heroides*.

On the surface, this poetic collection split seems to have much in common with Magl. VII 1078. Their visual appearance, unconventionally sloppy, distances them from an elite cultural sphere. Moreover, aside from a few poems by famous authors, both primarily feature anonymous, pluristrophic ballate and other lyrics that are more low than high in their linguistic register and style. Because of these characteristics, the final section of Magl. VII 1040, like Magl. VII 1078, has been singled out on more than one occasion as being *popolare* in nature. Yet in spite of their similarities, these manuscripts are two very different cultural objects. Together they hint at the wide variety of environments that were home to trecento song as polyphony and as poetry. It may be seemingly haphazard and informal, but the collection of poems in BNCF II.II.61 and Magl. VII 1040 shows none of the traces of oral performance so characteristic of Magl. VII 1078. Containing far more clues about its provenance, Amelio's manuscript places its song texts not only within a clearly definable material context but also within a specific sociocultural milieu. Through analysis of its contents and investigation into the identity of its scribe and owner, we can firmly link BNCF II.II.61 and the final fascicle of Magl. VII 1040 to middle-class, mercantile Florence at the turn of the fifteenth century. In the process, we learn about Amelio's personal reading practices and about the role he assigns to song texts as he crafts his cultural identity through writing and reading vernacular literature.

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[223] De Robertis, "Rime dantesche."

[224] None of the French lyrics have musical concordances, though they mostly represent genres that were sometimes sung. These foreign poems are edited and discussed in Rudolf Adelbert Meyer, *Französische Lieder aus der Florentiner Handschrift Strozzi-Magliabecchiana, cl. VII 1040: Versuch einer kritischen Ausgabe*, vol. 8 in *Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (M. Niemeyer, 1907) and Austin Stickney, "Chansons françaises tirées d'un ms. Florence," Romania 8 (1879). Though detailed discussion of the French texts is beyond the scope of this study, it is worth noting that many of the non-Italian poems Amelio collects are quite antiquated in style—examples of *popolareggiante* refrain forms common during the duecento, before their transformation into *formes fixes* genres and thus into "high art" poetry. Only a few rondels and bergerettes fall into the category of *poesia aulica*.

A Zibaldone Reconstructed

Like Magl. VII 1078, both BNCF II.II.61 and Magl. VII 1040 are complex codicologically and paleographically. Any analysis must, therefore, begin by sorting out their physical structure. Specifically, the next section re-unites the two extant fragments of Amelio's *zibaldone*, for the relationship between them has hitherto escaped scholarly notice. In its current form, BNCF II.II.61 consists of three distinct units. The first and third were originally part of two separate and larger books, their initial forms revealed by the older foliations that appear in each section: the first unit (fols. 1–40) is numbered consecutively throughout starting from 315, and in the third unit (fols. 62–100) traces of an old foliation can be read starting on fol. 65r, which is labeled 121. The first gathering of the second unit (fols. 41–61) also has an older foliation, this time starting from 1 and running only as far as 16 (on fol. 56r). When exactly the three fragments were joined together, we cannot be sure. However, we do know that they were already united by 1755 when the manuscript passed from the hands of the Biblioteca Gaddiana to the Biblioteca Magliabechiana.[225]

The question of the original relationship between BNCF II.II.61's units is complicated. Although the fragments clearly stem from three separate books each characterized by its own codicological and paleographic features, there is enough evidence to argue that the entire manuscript is primarily the work of a single scribe, who operated in close collaboration with a second copyist in the prose section of the final unit.[226] The slight differences in script and punctuation preferences observable within the main hand from one unit to another can be explained by each being copied at a different point in the scribe's life. Given the flexibility in the *ductus* and style of the script found in the relevant section of Magl. VII 1040, a certain amount of variation in paleographic features is not surprising. However, by far the most compelling link between BNCF II.II.61's composite parts is the pictorial evidence discussed above. The illustration of Amelio on fol. 99v and the frequently appearing heraldic device of the Bonaguisi family—all copied at the same time and with the same ink as the poetic texts adjacent to them—strongly suggest that the scribe of the first unit, self-identified on fol. 40v as Amelio Bonaguisi son of Giachino and *podestà* of Cerreto Guidi, was responsible for the third unit as well.

Magl. VII 1040, also a composite manuscript, consists of ten fragments from various different sources. In contrast with BNCF II.II.61, its units are completely unrelated in terms of their provenance, each the product of a different scribe and dating from a different era.[227] The manuscript's cardboard binding is modest and modern, covered with paper and a parchment spine, and as is the case with BNCF II.II.61, we cannot say exactly when this miscellany was first gathered together into its current form.[228] Because Magl. VII 1040 has already been described, inventoried, and discussed in detail by Domenico De Robertis, we shall proceed immediately to considering the relationship between its final section and BNCF II.II.61.[229]

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[225] The inventory bound into the front is complete and was written in 1755 by Casparis Gaddi, owner and seller of the manuscript.

[226] The scribal situation in BNCF II.II.61 is extremely difficult to discern for certain. The possibility always remains open that the two hands in the final unit are one in the same—both the work of a single scribe who varied the style of his script slightly from sitting to sitting.

The tenth and final codex in Magl. VII 1040 (fols. 48–57) is a single quintern of normal construction. Its paper folios, trimmed heavily, are not all preserved in excellent condition. The particularly harsh wear and discoloration on fol. 48r suggests that the gathering was kept unbound and uncovered for some period of time. Yet, traces of an old numbering in the top right hand corner of each recto confirm that this fascicle was originally part of a much larger manuscript. Not always completely legible due to the severe trimming, the original foliation, with each number enclosed in a three-sided box, appears to number the whole gathering starting from 155 on modern fol. 48r.

The most striking feature of this section—its casual division into columns with sloppy freehand lines—encourages comparison with the end of BNCF II.II.61, which is uncannily similar in its layout (see Figure 3.12 and Figure 3.13). Examined side-by-side, the last section of

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[227] The fragments bound together in Magl. VII 1040 date from the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries.

[228] The various different sigla visible in several of the sections indicate that many had independent lives as fragments before being bound together as they are today. The tenth section (and the ninth as well) bears the old siglum "767," presumably a number from its days in the Strozzi library.

[229] For a brief codicological description of Magl. VII 1040, see Domenico De Robertis, *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, 243–245. For a more detailed discussion of the manuscript and its contents, particularly as relates to its penultimate fascicle, see De Robertis, "Rime dantesche," 138.

Magl. VII 1040 and the poetic collection at the end of BNCF II.II.61 are not only identical in their *mise en page*, they are also linked through the old foliation which is continuous between the two sections. As shown in Figure 3.14, the final folio in BNCF II.II.61 is labeled “154” by the same hand and with the same format as the old foliation in the final section of Magl. VII 1040. There, on modern fol. 48r we find traces of the number 155 and can see quite clearly the number 156 on modern fol. 49r. Visible in several other places as well, this older foliation also tells us that the pages in Magl. VII 1040 are no longer in their original order. Following the older numbers, modern fol. 55 (old number 158) should be placed between modern fols. 50 and 51 (old numbers 157 and 159, respectively).

Figure 3.12: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61, fol. 98v

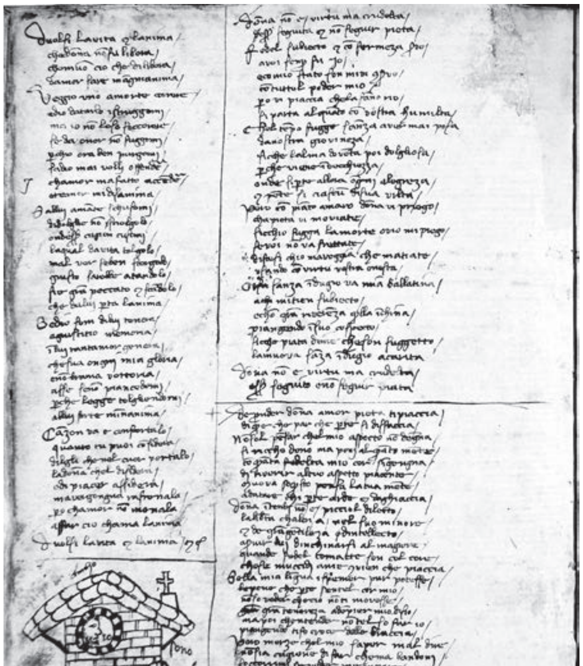


Figure 3.13: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VII 1040, fol. 57v

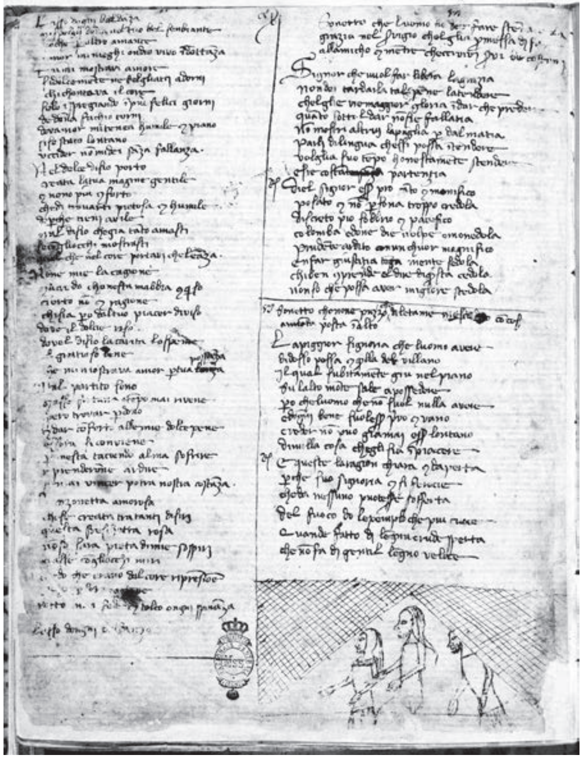
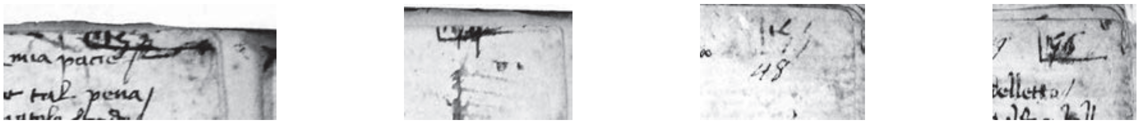


Figure 3.14: Original foliation in BNCF II.II.61 and Magl. VII 1040



BNCF II.II.61, fol. 99r (153) *fol. 100r (154)* *Magl. VII 1040, fol. 48r (155)* *fol. 49r (156)*

Mention must also be made of the similarity of hands in the two fragments. The visual appearance of the poems at the end of BNCF II.II.61 is relatively consistent. They are copied in a single scribal layer and form a comparatively unified collection to which only a few later additions were made. The continuation in Magl. VII 1040, however, is much more inconsistent in its outward appearance—pen, ink, and even *ductus*, size, and style of the script changing from poem to poem. While the Italian lyrics are copied in a (usually) clear *mercantesca* that strongly resembles the hand in BNCF II.II.61, the script used for French lyrics has a conspicuous *bastarde* influence. Despite the fickle nature of the script throughout Magl. VII 1040's last unit, De Robertis suggests that a single scribe is responsible for the majority of the poems. He attributes only one poem, *Si jay rien fait qui soyt vous desplasa(n)se* on fol. 53v, securely to a second hand. Regarding several others, for example the texts on fol. 54v, De Robertis expresses doubts, questioning whether the presence of a second scribe or simply a change in the size of the script best account for this folio's disparate appearance.[230] His hesitance speaks to the fragment's complexity and ambiguity. The constant changes in pen and ink combined with the frequently shifting appearance of the script make it difficult to say anything for certain. Nevertheless, the numerous similarities between poems and the consistent *mise en page* suggest that the entire poetic collection, including the words and phrases in gothic script, is most likely the work of a single copyist who is extremely flexible in his ductus, perhaps modifying the style of his script to mirror the style of the exemplar from which he copied.

Combining the last fascicle of Magl. VII 1040 and the final unit of BNCF II.II.61, we have the second half of a relatively large paper codex copied by Amelio Bonaguisi for personal, private use. If the Magliabechiano fragment was indeed the final fascicle, Amelio's *zibaldone* had 165 folios, the last 49 of which remain today. Heterogeneous in its contents, the manuscript's extant portion features a translation of Ovid's *Heroides* into the Tuscan vernacular, created, its introduction tells us, to teach young men and women the art of love. It is fitting, then, that Amelio appends to it a collection of vernacular poetry prominently featuring amorous themes. I have chosen the word "appends" intentionally because codicological signs show that the hodgepodge poetic anthology was compiled gradually in blank space left over at the end of an otherwise orderly codex.

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[230] De Robertis, "Rime dantesche," 174.

The section containing Ovid's *Heroides*, various fourteenth- and seventeenth-century repairs aside, is comparatively consistent in appearance. It is copied in a tidy *mercantesca* script with simple enlarged initials marking the start of each section, and it has rubrics announcing the subject of each letter.[231] Ruled to accommodate typical full-page prose layout, this section is quite average in the context of trecento *volgarizzamenti* and prose manuscripts copied for private reading.[232] It is unfortunately impossible to know what the first 116 folios of the manuscript may have contained. We can only hypothesize that they were filled with *volgarizzamenti* like the Heroides or with other prose works in the *volgare* in line with those collected by other Florentine merchants, much like the current first half of BNCF II.II.61, which features Marco Polo's *Milione* in its first unit and various texts related to classical philosophy in its second. With this *zibaldone* reconstructed, we are now in a position to consider its contents more closely and to situate Amelio's literary tastes in the broader context of private reading in late fourteenth-century Florence.

An Ovidian Cornice: Literary Rational in Amelio Bonaguisi's Zibaldone

Amelio's *zibaldone* presents an eclectic assortment of poetry.[233] Juxtaposing poems in a high style with playful lyrics in a low style and mixing various metric genres, themes, and even languages, this collection defies simple categorization. It would be easy to be swayed by the informal visual presentation of the poems, especially in Magl. VII 1040, and to immediately classify the collection as *popolare*. While it is true that many of the *zibaldone*'s lyrics are in a low, humorous style, the standard dichotomy between *popolare* and *colto* is not particularly helpful in understanding Amelio's literary tastes. A closer look shows the song texts are placed in a flexible and multifaceted lyric environment where distinctions between "high" and "low" and between "musical" and "literary" are smoothed over. Juxtaposing texts and images with strong and often divergent cultural associations, Amelio uses his *zibaldone* to navigate the complex and swiftly changing social matrix driving civic life in *fin de siècle* Florence. Conceptually framing Amelio's eclectic lyric collection and providing coherent thematic motivation behind many of his poetic selections is the prose text filling the earlier pages of his *zibaldone*, the vernacularization of Ovid's *Heroides*. Ovid's text is central to understanding Amelio's book, for it provides important clues regarding the cultural world in which this book was compiled and subsequently read. The Roman author was extremely popular in Florence during the late Middle Ages, and his *Heroides* circulated widely in both the original Latin and in the *volgare*. This version, translated not by Alberto della Piagentina as the manuscript tells us but instead by the Florentine notary Filippo Ceffi, dates to circa 1325.[234] The fame of Ceffi's *volgarizzamento* is evidenced by the fact that it is transmitted in fifty-seven different fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts as well as in four printed editions published at the end of the quattrocento.[235] Thus with the possible exception of the few sonnets by Dante and Cavalcanti, Ovid's *Heroides* is by far the most well known work in Amelio's *zibaldone*.

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[231] The initials and rubrics are all copied in the same ink and at the same time as the main text.

[232] Heavy trimming, especially on the outer edge, along with the poor condition of the paper makes it impossible to tell if this section was ruled at all, and if so how. The only mild oddity in the construction still visible in the manuscript's current form is the mixing of two paper types each linked to a distinct system of *mise en page*, suggesting that Ovid's *Heroides* was first repaired early in the manuscript's life by the original scribe himself.

[233] For a complete inventory, see Appendix 3.

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[234] Massimo Zaggia, ed. *Ovidio Heroides: Volgarizzamento fiorentino trecentesco di Filippo Ceffi,* vol. 1 *Introduzione, testo secondo l'autografo e glossario* (Florence: SISMEL, 2009), 25.

[235] Ibid., 101.

The cultural status of Roman classics transmitted in the *volgare* has been well studied, and the place of Ceffi's translation within this tradition tells us much about Amelio's sociocultural status. Ceffi was active during a period in Florentine history when *volgarizzamenti* were granted a position of high prestige. Early copies of these texts are generally found in luxurious manuscripts, and most of the translations themselves were dedicated to wealthy and powerful patrons.[236] Almost entirely localized to Florence and its immediate environs, the trend of translating the great classics into the vernacular is directly linked to the city's economic boom in the late duecento and early trecento. These *volgarizzamenti* made famous Latin texts accessible to Florence's mercantile elite, lay people many of whom lacked a formal university education.[237]

Amelio's copy of the *Heroides* comes out of a rather different cultural and literary context, however. In the second half of the century with Petrarch, Coluccio Salutati, and the new humanism centered on the careful contemplation of the great classics in their original Latin, vernacular translations lost their earlier prestige.[238] With their physical form mirroring their declining cultural status, they begin to appear in basic, plain books created by amateur scribes for their own personal use. Deluxe manuscripts, on the other hand, were now reserved for untranslated classical texts. Shunned by Florence's intellectual and social elite and read instead by average middle-class merchants, *volgarizzamenti* in the later trecento and quattrocento are associated with the middle and lower echelons of cultural production.[239]

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[236] Ibid., 3. Ceffi's *Heroides* is somewhat of an exception in its dedication, addressed not to a powerful male but instead to a woman—the wife of Simone Peruzzi. Ibid., 133–137.

[237] Ibid., 3–9.

[238] Alison Cornish offers a detailed account of the shifting attitudes towards *volgarizzamenti* among Florence's avant-garde intellectuals at the end of the fourteenth century. See Cornish, *Vernacular Translation in Dante's Italy: Illiterate Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), esp, Chapter 6.

[239] Ibid., 3–4. On the decline of the cultural status of *volgarizzamenti*, also see Carlo Dionisotti,

Turning from the cultural to the literary, Ovid's *Heroides* lends thematic coherence to a lyric collection that otherwise seems random and scattered. Instead of emphasizing fidelity, many of the poems with amorous subject matter in Amelio's *zibaldone* explore themes of betrayal and abandonment from both the male and female perspective. Several adopt a moralizing tone, echoing the negative emotions expressed by the mythological women in the *Heroides* and emphasizing the evils of perfidy.[240] Others are more light-hearted, justifying from the male perspective the kind of fickle behavior that Ovid's women find so objectionable in their lovers and husbands. In these poems rather than declaring his steadfast fidelity as do Petrarch, Dante, and the *stilnovisti*, the male poet joyfully relates his capriciousness in love.[241] Another theme explored is the impermanence of youth and beauty. In the ballata giocosa *Che farai giovinetta* (fol. 48v of Magl. VII 1040) after asking his *donna* if she will ever love him, the poet threatens that her youth will not last forever and neither will his love if her attitude towards him does not improve. Poems such as this, jarring within the context of *fin' amours*, though by no means uncommon in the wider panorama of trecento lyric, tie in nicely with the Ovidian cornice: they provide warning of and justification for the infidelity—both perceived and actual—described in the *Heroides* and criticized by the *zibaldone*'s moralizing sonnets and gnomic sayings.

While many poems in the lyric section of Amelio's *zibaldone* can be read as responses from the male perspective to the laments of the female lovers related in Ovid's fictional letters, from time to time women are given a voice as well. In *De sospirar sovente*, a contrasto set to

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Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana (Turin: Einaudi, 1967).

[240] Poems addressing themes of abandonment and betrayal include *Si com ai fatto a me* (fol. 99r in BNCF II.II.61), *Ciascun faccia per se* (fol. 100r in BNCF II.II.61), and *Né te né altra voglio amar giammai* (fol. 48r in Magl. VII 1040).

[241] For example in Magl. VII 1040, see *Non per ben chi ti voglia* (fol. 49) and *La mente mi riprende* (fol. 55v).

music by Francesco degli organi, the lady converses with her lover, asking him to clarify his intentions. Expressing the *donna*'s uncertainty regarding her lover's fidelity, this ballata is reminiscent of Helen's reply to Paris in Ovid's *Heroides*. Similarly concerned with her honor, Helen is disgusted that Paris has requested she commit adultery and refuses to return his affection.

In the context of the *Heroides*' anti-amorous sentiments, those poems presenting a conventional approach to *fin' amours* take on new significance. Usually representing the norm against which poems like the aforementioned *Che farai giovinetta* are read as ironic re-interpretations, here the depictions of idealized love found in the sonnets and ballate that fall into the category of *poesia aulica* are the exception. Even if they are not technically in the minority, these poems act as corrective counter-examples to the unusually gloomy shadow cast by the *Heroides*. If, as Ceffi's introduction indicates, Ovid's epistles are to teach young men and women about love through negative example, then poems such as Cavalcanti's *Donna mia non vedesti colui* and *Uno amoroso isguardo spiritale* balance the lesson by being positively didactic, showing the young male lover how he should properly treat his lady.

Considering Amelio's *zibaldone* as a whole, we can thus begin to construct a relatively detailed picture of the literary and cultural context in which its collection of polyphonic song texts is situated. Indeed, the manuscript itself fits quite comfortably within the greater context of *volgarizzamenti* in the late trecento. Unadorned, the peculiar line-drawings excepted, and copied by a competent but clearly amateur hand, the material features of Amelio's book are consistent with the cultural status of its literary contents. Neither the manuscript nor the texts it transmits are particularly prestigious, and yet at the same time, it is an over-simplification to classify the poetic collection as "popular" in the traditional sense of the word. Rather, both its form and its contents situate this *zibaldone* firmly within the culture of Florence's *popolo*. Here and in Chapter 2, I use the term *popolo* not to reintroduce the binary of "*popolare*" and "*colto*," or "high" and "low," but to associate Amelio's *zibaldone* with a narrowly circumscribed socio-political reality—that of the minor guildsmen and non-elite major guildsmen in late medieval Florence—which I will discuss in more detail towards the end of this chapter.[242]

Song as Literature: The Physical and Conceptual Unity of "Poesia per Musica" and "Pure" Poetry within the Zibaldone's Lyric Collection

By redefining Amelio's *zibaldone* in this way, we set out a concrete cultural and literary background for its ten song texts, listed along with their concordances in Table 3.3 on page 196. These poems are in no way differentiated from their "purely" literary neighbors. Like the majority of the other poems in the collection, they lack attribution and rubrics presenting generic designations or other relevant background information.[243] Thus there is no evidence here to suggest that these song texts are musical rather than literary. That is, based on the way poems with concordances in notated sources are incorporated into the overall context, Amelio's *zibaldone* is another example of a manuscript in which *poesia per musica* assumes a lyric rather than a musical identity, actively participating in a literary tradition.

Because Magl. VII 1040, in particular, has been misrepresented in musicological scholarship, it is worth taking a moment to examine the disposition of the song texts in more detail. None of the six "musical" poems are adjacent in the Magliabechiano fragment, and no two are copied in the same layer of scribal activity. The situation is slightly different in the portion of the collection contained in BNCF II.II.61. In this much more homogenous section, the two ballate set by Niccolò da Perugia are adjacent while the two set by Francesco degli organi (*O retta l'alma mia* and *Duolsi la vita e l'anima* on fols. 98r and 98v respectively) are separated by only one non-musical ballata. In addition, each pair was copied in a single scribal layer. The two texts set by Francesco are part of the section's primary layer, which includes all but five of the nineteen poems in BNCF II.II.61. Meanwhile, the two set by Niccolò, along with the one ballata that immediately precedes them, *Non per disio ma per celar l'amore,* were copied in a different sitting using a thinner pen. Although the song texts in BNCF II.II.61 are less isolated from each other than those in the Magliabechiano fragment, it cannot be said that they are linked because of their musicality. On the contrary, they are all the more thoroughly woven into the manuscript's poetic fabric.

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[242] On class distinctions in late medieval Florence, see John Najemy, *A History of Florence* 1200–1575 (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), esp. Chapters 1 and 2.

[243] The one exception is the first ballata in the Magliabechiano fragment, *Né te né altra voglio amar giammai*, which appears with the rubric "*ballata dolorosa piena dj martiri*," (fol. 48r, Magl. VII 1040).

Just as it is clear that the song texts in Amelio's *zibaldone* are functioning as literary texts, not as musical residue, it is equally clear that they were not copied from a musical exemplar. Of the six criteria for musical derivation, criteria one, five, and six are not applicable. Criterion two—high percentage of musical texts in a given codicological section—is only met by the two "musical" ballate on fol. 100r of BNCF II.II.61. Criterion three—fragmentary texts copied without the verses that would appear as the *residuum* in a notated manuscript—is not met in any case. In reality, the opposite situation prevails here. All of the ballate with musical concordances are pluristrophic, each with more stanzas than are included in their notated sources.[244] Finally, Amelio's *zibaldone* also fails to meet criterion four—irregular readings that correspond to those found in notated sources.

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[244] There is one fragmentary text in the Magliabechiano fragment, the madrigal *Tu che l'opere altruj vuoj giudicare* set by Francesco. It appears in Magl. VII 1040 with only the first three verses, missing

Table 3.3: Song texts in BNCF. II.II.61 and Magl. VII 1040[245]

Fol.	***Old Fol.***	***Incipit***	***Composer (Poet)***	***Musical Concordances***	***Text Concordances***
98r	152r	O retta l'alma mia	Francesco degli organi	Sq, 141r*; FP, 7v-8r*; Pit, 108v*	
98v	152r	Duolsi la vita e l'anima	Francesco degli organi	Sq, 145r*	
100r	154r	Non più diro giamai chosi faro	Niccolò da Perugia	Lo, 74r	FL XL.43, 49r; Parma 1081, 111v; Redi 184, 49
100r	154r	Ciascun faccia per se	Niccolò da Perugia	Sq, 90r; Lo, 70v; Pit, 31r	Trivulziana 193, 220v (old fol.)
3v		Non so qual io mi voglia	Lorenzo da Firenze (attrib. *Boccaccio*)	Sq, 47r	Chigi L.IV.131, 437v
48r	155r	Ne te ne altra voglio amar gia mai	Francesco degli organi (*Franco Sacchetti*)		Ashburnham 574, 22v
48v	155v	Di sospirar sovente	Francesco degli organi	Sq, 149v*; Fsl, 41r	Magl. VII 1078, 24r*
54v	162v	Donna l'animo tuo pur fugie amore	Francesco degli organi	Sq, 151v*; FP 2v-3r*; Padua 1475, 47r	
54v	162v	Tu che l'opere altruj vouj giudicare [Madrigal]	Francesco degli organi	Sq, 122v; FP, 42v-43r	
55r	158r	Parche la vita mia	Anonymous	Padua 553, 6r	
55v	158v	La mente mi riprende	Francesco degli organi	Sq, 150v*, FP, 26v-27r*	

*** Indicates manuscripts in which poems appear with ripresa and first stanza only.**

We must conclude, then, that Amelio's *zibaldone* does not have direct musical origins. And in fact, given the predominance of pluristrophic ballate copied here in full form it is unlikely that these song texts have indirect musical origins either. While it is not uncommon for notated sources to present multiple stanzas of text in *residuum*, in about 50% of cases musical

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the *ritornello* text that would also be laid out under the music in a notated manuscript as well as the second two *terzine*, which would most likely appear in the *residuum*.

[245] The ballata on fol. 3v of Magl. VII 1040, listed here for the sake of completeness, has nothing to do with Amelio's *zibaldone*. Copied in the manuscript's first gathering, *Non so qual* (which is attributed in Magl. VII 1040 to Boccaccio) appears at the end of this section's collection of *rime* by Alberto degli Albizi, added in a separate layer of activity. Dating from the sixteenth century, this gathering is copied in a humanistic cursive.

manuscripts omit one or more.[246] Like Magl. VII 1078, BNCF II.II.61 and Magl. VII 1040 thus offer us a glimpse at a literary tradition for these so-called *poesie per musica* that is far more widespread than previously thought. In these two fragments—poetic rather than musical in their nature and origins—are traces of exemplars, and exemplars of exemplars, in which song texts must also have been transmitted as "pure" poetry, copied and re-copied to be enjoyed as literature regardless of whether or not the scribes and readers were aware of their polyphonic forms.

"Chome fu da Paribbi Oenone lasciata": Song and Ovid's Heroides

Intertwined codicologically with the rest of Amelio's *zibaldone*, the song texts are also linked thematically and linguistically with their neighboring "non-musical" poems. All nine of the ballate deal with amorous themes but often feature the same kinds of twists noted above in the discussion of the *zibaldone*'s overall poetic rationale. Even more so than the lyric collection as a whole, the musical poems have a strong conceptual link with the translation of Ovid's *Heroides* that precedes them, most relating tales of betrayal and abandonment. In *La mente mi riprende* (fol. 55v in Magl. VII 1040), for example, the male lover addresses *Amore*, stating his intention to abandon his Lady for another who is more beautiful. Successful both in redirecting his affection and in enlisting Love's assistance, in the final stanza the poet even compares himself to Paris, directly referencing one of the many mythological betrayals retold in the *Heroides*:

> Come fu da Parissi
> Oenone lasciata,
> poi che punto sentissi

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[246] This statistic is based on a survey of the pluristrophic ballate published in Corsi, *Poesie musicali*.

d'Elena disiata,
così da me è stata
abandonata quella
per questa, ch'è si bella...

Just as Paris left Oenone, when he found Helen to be more desirable,
so did I leave this woman for that other, who is so beautiful...

In contrast, two other song texts—*Ciascun faccia per se* (fol. 100r in BNCF II.II.61) and *Né te né altra voglio amar giammai* (fol. 48r in Magl. VII 1040)—take a more critical stance on infidelity, reflecting themes explored in Ovid's epistles and Amelio's propensity for moralizing poetry.

Three of the song texts in Amelio's *zibaldone* pick up on one key feature of the *Heroides* that is particularly conspicuous against the background of male-dominated courtly love: the prevalent use of the female voice. In addition to *De sospirar sovente* already mentioned above, two poems with musical concordances are narrated by the Lady rather than the male lover. Reversing the scenario underlying each of Ovid's imagined epistles, the anonymous siciliana *Parche la vita mia* (fol. 54v in Magl. VII 1040) presents the words of a woman who weeps not because her lover abandons her but because she must soon leave on a long journey and thus abandon him.[247] Also told from the female perspective is *Duolsi l'anima e la vita mia* (fol. 98v in BNCF II.II.61).[248] In this ballata, the female protagonist laments that women, unlike men, are not in control of their own actions. Prevented by social convention from expressing her affection and relieving her lover's pain herself, she instead instructs the ballata to bring him the comfort she herself cannot.

In terms of language and register, the variety found in the poems with musical concordances is also consistent with the *zibaldone*'s global literary fabric. Like the majority of the poems in Amelio's collection, the song texts invoke the standard lexicon of courtly love, whether they use that vocabulary to describe classic scenes of *fin' amours* or to turn those situations on their heads. Somewhat less elevated in tone and register than the sonnets of Dante and Cavalcanti but not as unrefined as simple, playful poems like *Lo giorno chi non vi veggio mamietta* (fol. 51r in Magl. VII 1040), the song texts are in line with the ballate and many other lyrics that occupy a middle ground.

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[247] For an edition of this text, see Gallo, "Siciliane," 45–46.

[248] For an edition of this ballata, see Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 166–167.

As a poetic elaboration of Ovid's *Heroides*, the song texts in Amelio's *zibaldone* aid their literary neighbors in bringing this classical text fully into the vernacular realm. While Ceffi's *volgarizzamento* translates the language itself from Latin to Italian, Amelio transforms Ovid's ancient mythological world into a contemporary medieval one. The lyric poems he assembles take Ovid's characters and refashion them as protagonists who act out various quintessential medieval courtly and not-so-courtly love scenes. With this *zibaldone*, Amelio does more than read the *Heroides* in a form that is linguistically accessible to him, he co-opts it, and through the act of copying and compilation he recontextualizes it at the heart of his own literary and cultural world.

Song, Poetry, and Florentine Politics: Who was Amelio Bonaguisi?

But there is a paradox in the world Amelio constructs, a paradox that raises questions about who this scribe really was and what his social aspirations may have been. The conceptual frame of Ovid's *Heroides* in vernacular translation, as we have seen, anchors this manuscript to middle-class Florentine culture. The visual frame created by Amelio's drawings of knights in armor and courtly-looking men and women in castles have opposing connotations. Knighthood and courtly stlyle were obsessions not of the *popolo*—modest merchant and artisan guild members—but of the elite. Because they were not legally defined with titles, Florence's powerful families were not technically nobility. Nonetheless, lineage and chivalric culture were central to their pride and self-image. As John Najemy has explained, it was not just economic status that separated the elite from the *popolo*. Knighthood, even if it was ultimately more ceremonial than actual, played a crucial role in that distinction. For the elite, knighthood was a valuable symbol because it "carried with it the courtly ethos that linked [them] to the social world of the upper classes in both the Lombard principalities to the north and the Neapolitan kingdom to the south."[249] Heraldry became an important part of the elite's self-image too, as both a emblem of courtliness and an expression of lineage. In effect, heraldic devices, like surnames, were status symbols in late medieval Florence.[250]

The *popolo* looked with disdain on the elite's love of knighthood and the courtly extravagance that grew up around it during the second half of the thirteenth century. So strongly was knighthood associated with the elite and with the threat their feuding posed to the commune that it was singled out as one of the three criteria by which civic officials could determine who was a magnate and thus excluded by law from governing during periods of guild rule.[251] While Amelio's literary tastes would seem to identify him as a member of the *popolo*, his drawings clearly depict an elite world where family lineage, manifested through heraldry, and courtly style are prized.

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[249] Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 12.

[250] Carol Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 156.

[251] Ibid., 146.

Who, then, was Amelio Bonaguisi? What was his role in Florentine society at the close of the fourteenth century? And how does that impact the musicological significance of his *zibaldone*? While sometimes bafflingly idiosyncratic, Amelio's manuscript is valuable precisely because it places trecento song texts in a literary and cultural context that is both unique and narrowly definable. By focusing on Amelio as amanuensis and reader, we can thus construct a concrete sociocultural background, which along with the Ovidian cornice provides a framework for understanding the juxtapositions and mixings of style and register that on their own leave us struggling to classify this manuscript according to the traditional dichotomies of "*popolare*" and "*colto*" or "high" and "low."

The historical record preserves little information regarding Amelio's life and family beyond what can be gleaned from BNCF II.II.61 itself. The Bonaguisi, though an old Florentine merchant family important already in the duecento, receive little mention in contemporary or secondary sources other than Malispini's *Storia fiorentina*, which was compiled in the late thirteenth century. Malispini refers to the Bonaguisi family several times, identifying them as one of Florence's first noble families, and traces lineage back to the Roman emperors.[252] The family's links to ancient Rome are likely more myth than reality, but regardless, Malispini's account confirms that drawings in BNCF II.II.61 are grounded in Amelio's family heritage. The Bonaguisi, however, must have fallen into obscurity long before Amelio was born, because the surname is not listed among the elite and magnate families that shaped Florence's socioeconomic life during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Given that their alliances were to the *parte ghibellina,* it is likely that they lost their power and wealth after the Guelf victory in 1267, if not before. Information on Amelio himself is lacking, but records show his son Niccolò was born in 1396.[253] Niccolò, later to become a silk merchant, also appears in the matriculation book of the *Por Santa Maria* (Florence's silk guild), where he is listed as joining the guild in October of 1430.[254] It would seem that Niccolò did not follow in the footsteps of either his father or grandfather, for neither Amelio nor Giachino (Amelio's father) appear in the matriculation records.[255]

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[252] Ricordano Malispini, *Storia fiorentina*, ed. Vincenzio Follini (Florence: Gaspero Ricci, 1830), 26-27. On the origins and identity of the Bonaguisi family, also see Roberto Ciabani, *Le famiglie di Firenze*, vol. 1 (Florence: Bonechi, 1992), 127.

Thus we can know very little about Amelio beyond what he tells us himself in BNCF II.II.61 and Magl. VII 1040. As we learn from the colophon on fol. 40v of BNCF II.II.61, he was the *podestà* of Cerreto Guidi, a commune in the Florentine *contado*, when he copied Marco Polo's *Il Milione* in 1392.[256] We also know, from the later *ex libris* added on the same folio, that he was a member of the *popolo* of Orsanmichele in Florence. Amelio's status as *podestà* of Cerreto Guidi confirms that he was a politically active Florentine citizen. The period around the turn of the fifteenth century witnessed a consolidation of power and tightening of the oligarchy both within Florence's city government and within territorial offices. While it was a time when non-elite major guildsmen assumed a greater role in civic government, the years following the final fall of guild republicanism saw the disenfranchisement of the laboring classes and the minor guilds.[257] To hold office, either in Florence or in the *contado*, one had to meet a series of basic requirements: be a Florentine citizen, be loyal to the Guelf party, pay taxes regularly, be a member of a guild, and be over a legislated minimum age. Those who met these criteria were placed on a list and then examined carefully and voted upon by an assembly. Through this process, those in power were able to shape the ruling class. Only if approved by the assembly was the candidate's name placed in one of three bags organized according to sociopolitical status—members of the major guilds in one bag, members of minor guilds in another, and magnates in a third. When a territorial position opened up, the next officer was determined by picking a name out of the appropriate bag, the more prestigious offices being awarded to those of higher political and social status.[258]

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[253] *Online Tratte of Office Holders, 1282–1532*, machine readable data file, ed. David Herlihy, R. Burr Litchfield, Anthony Molho, and Roberto Barducci (Florentine Renaissance Resources/STG: Brown University, Providence, RI, 2002.) Although Amelio provides us with some useful starting points for uncovering documentation pertaining to his own life and career—the archives of Orsanmichele and the archives of Cerreto Guidi—attempts to locate him in the historical record have thus far been unsuccessful. Unfortunately, the records of the *podesteria* of Cerreto Guidi housed partially in the archives there and partially in Empoli contain little relevant to the period before the mid-fifteenth century. Though the archives of Orsanmichele preserve several account books and other documents from the late Trecento, none mention Amelio or the Bonaguisi family.

[254] Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Arte della Seta*, piece 7 (*La matricola dell'Arte Por S. Maria 1328–1433*), folio 144.

[255] It is worth noting that Amelio and his father do not appear in the matriculation records of the *Arte della Lana* either. See Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Arte della Lana*, piece 18.

[256] Not only does Amelio identify himself as the *podestà* of Cerreto Guidi, he is also listed as such in the *tratte* that deal with Florence's external offices. See Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Tratte*, piece 932, *Uffici Estrinseci*, fol. 105.

Holding territorial office was an important part of one's political career within the Florentine Republic.[259] During the earlier trecento, serving as a territorial officer was seen as a necessary inconvenience, bothersome because it stole one away from moneymaking opportunities within the city. But by the turn of the fifteenth century, these offices had potential to be lucrative themselves and thus became quite desirable, particularly given the economic difficulties faced by Florence's oldest powerful families during and after the Ciompi rebellion.[260] Cerreto Guidi was not a particularly important community compared to others in Florence's territory and therefore not a prestigious assignment.[261] Still, Amelio's status as *podestà* in 1392 implies not merely that he was a Guelf supporter, in spite of his family's historic loyalties, and a guild member but also that he had sufficient political connections to have passed the assembly's scrutiny. If as Laura de Angelis says, the government of the territorial state was a "principal tool of Florence's ruling elite," then Amelio was at the very least in league with the newly forming oligarchy, if not technically a member of it.[262]

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[257] On the political situation in Florence at the end of the fourteenth century, see Najemy, *A History of Florence*, Chapter 6. Also see Anthony Molho, "Politics and the Ruling Class in Early Renaissance Florence," *Nuova rivista storica* 52 (1968): 401–20.

[258] For more on this procedure and on the social and political identity of territorial officers during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, see Laura De Angelis, "Territorial Offices and Office Holders," in *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power*, ed. William J. Connell and Andrea Zorzi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 166–167.

[259] Ibid., 167–168.

Looking beyond the colophon he copied at the end of the *Milione*, the contents of both BNCF II.II.61 and Magl. VII 1040 offer a glimpse into Amelio's cultural world. Based on the texts in all of BNCF II.II.61's three units, he was an avid amateur scribe, well-read in vernacular literature. Like many merchants of his time, he had a healthy interest in ancient Greek and Roman texts and culture, evidenced not only by the translation of Ovid's *Heroides* he included in his *zibaldone* but also by the moral teachings and lives of the classical philosophers copied in BNCF II.II.61's second fragmentary codex. As we have already seen, the presence of these texts in translation affirms that Amelio was not among the city's avant-garde intellectuals. Moreover, the moralizing and gnomic texts and the focus on classical philosophy are further evidence that Amelio's literary taste are distinctly non-elite in addition to non-intellectual. Many of the teachers who instructed Florence's middle classes were notaries. As a result, Roman politics, history, law, rhetoric, and moral philosophy became, in the words of John Najemy, "the bedrock of the education and culture of the *popolo*."[263] Before humanism came to dominate Florentine intellectual life during the fifteenth century, the elite preferred courtly literature, from love poetry to novellas, that conjured associations with aristocratic society in France and southern Italy.[264]

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[260] Ibid., 173–174.

[261] A reliable measure of the importance of individual *podesterie* in *contado* is the salary and personnel allotted to the *podestà*. In 1377, the *podestà* of Cerreto Guidi was given a salary of 300 lire per semester and a staff of one *notaio*, two *famigli*, and one horse. See Vanna Arrighi, "Saggio introduttivo," in *L'archivio storico del comune di Cerreto Guidi*, ed. Veronica Vestri (Florence: Olschki, 2004), XIII-XIV. This is in line with the compensation and personnel given to the minor *podesterie* discussed by De Angelis, and quite a bit less than that given to a *podestà* of a powerful commune. For example, in 1424, the Captain of Security at Pistoia had a salary of 3000 lire and a staff of 10 administrators and 25 attendants (and six horses). See De Angelis, "Territorial Offices," 171–172. The most powerful and politically influential families in Florence during the late trecento are listed by Andrea Zorzi in his 1989 article on judicial matters in territorial Florence. See Zorzi, "Giusdicenti e operatori di giustizie nello stato territoriale fiorentino del XV secolo," *Ricerche storiche* 19 (1989): 531.

[262] De Angelis, "Territorial Offices," 166. Being a member of the elite ruling class did not necessarily go hand in hand with economic success at the end of the fourteenth century. Particularly as some older families ran into greater financial difficulty, the ruling class was characterized by a surprisingly high degree of economic diversity. See Ibid., 169.

Amelio's *zibaldone* privileges the Tuscan vernacular, but it also shows he had at least a basic knowledge of Latin and was exposed to other languages as well. Although we can know little for sure about his career, this book suggests Amelio had some interaction with international cultures and literature, if not through personal travel then through contact with foreigners, either mercenary soldiers or merchants, and foreign books within the confines of Florentine territory. He seems to have the greatest familiarity with French, even if frequent phonetic spelling, Italianisms, and errors expose his improficiency.[265] The practice gothic script on fol. 96v of BNCF II.II.61 and elsewhere in the last several pages of Amelio's *zibaldone* betrays a limited knowledge (or at least awareness) of English as well. Therefore, even though he was not connected to Florence's circle of leading early-Renaissance humanists, Amelio was relatively well educated.

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[263] Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 46.

[264] Ibid., 28.

[265] For a detailed discussion of the French texts in Magl. VII 1040 and their unusual linguistic characteristics, see Meyer, *Französische Lieder*. On the linguistic peculiarities of Amelio's transcription, see especially pages 12–13.

In this *zibaldone*, then, we have two conflicting Amelios. Its physical form and its content link its scribe to the Florentine *popolo*, suggesting he may have been a modest merchant. Meanwhile, through his drawings, Amelio seems to express a desire to construe himself as elite. The ultimate impression is that courtly culture is nostalgic for him, fundamental to his family pride and sense of self but no longer part of his own daily life. It is, however, also possible that the sketches do depict something of Amelio's own experiences. Their emphasis on knights and war raises the question of a connection to the *condottieri* residing in and fighting for Florence, a connection that could explain the eclectic internationality that characterizes his *zibaldone*. Indeed, members of aristocratic families who had fallen from power or experienced financial hardship often offered their services to mercenary companies.[266] Fantasy or not, with the sketches featuring knights in armor and finely dressed ladies in castles, Amelio places himself quite literally in the midst of the very chivalric culture portrayed in the more refined poems he collected and read. In a sense, these drawings and the characteristics of the *zibaldone* itself are a physical manifestation of the fluid boundaries between "high" and "low" style observed in the literary contents. Clearly associated with elite culture in some respects but not in others, Amelio's *zibaldone* occupies a middle ground that reflects the highly complex socioeconomic relations that shaped late fourteenth-century Florence.

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[266] William Caferro, *John Hawkwood: An English Mercenary in Fourteenth-century Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 63. For more information on foreign mercenary soldiers in Italy, also see Michael Edward Mallett, *Mercenaries and Their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy* (London: Bodley Head, 1974).

Magl. VII 1078, Amelio's *Zibaldone*, and The Materiality of Trecento Song

It has long been recognized that the handful of intact notated manuscripts and fifty-plus fragments still extant today provide us with an incomplete and deceptively skewed picture of trecento musical life.[267] Famously described by Pirrotta as the tip of the musical iceberg, these sources focus almost exclusively on a narrow repertoire of intellectually-minded polyphony. Through careful anthologizing and often-elegant construction, they place song in refined and elevated sociocultural contexts. To judge from the musical sources remaining today, it would seem that all of trecento polyphonic song was enjoyed by a rather limited, highly educated, wealthy audience and was isolated from other "lower" forms of musical entertainment.

The twenty-seven song texts transmitted in the two text-only sources we have explored in this chapter have seventeen concordances in the Squarcialupi codex, eight in FP and Pit, seven in London 29987 and Reina, four in the Paduan fragments (two in Pad A and two in Pad 553), two in San Lorenzo, one in the Lucca codex, and one in Seville 25. All of the manuscripts on this list, with the possible exception of London 29987, have little in common with either Magl. VII 1078 or Amelio's *zibaldone* beyond their shared repertoire. These two literary miscellanies are not—nor were they ever planned to be—well-ordered anthologies. They are not the work of professional scribes, they are not associated with cultural or political institutions, and they do not collect an intellectually and culturally prestigious repertoire for posterity. To be sure, not all of the musical sources are anywhere near as luxurious in appearance or as elite and conformist in their repertoire choices as the Squarcialupi codex. The status of the notated trecento sources as cultural objects, both complete codices and fragments, is both complicated and under-explored. Worthy of serious consideration, the materiality of trecento musical sources and the clues it holds regarding the audience for secular polyphony and the contexts in which this repertoire circulated as sounding, written, and imagined (read, but not performed) music is discussed in Chapter 4.

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[267] Nino Pirrotta, for example, devoted much of his work to exploring traces of oral tradition in written sources. See especially Pirrotta, "Tradizione orale e tradizione scritta della musica," in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento 2* (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1970) and "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition," in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984). More recently, Michael Cuthbert has argued for the need to reconsider the role of sacred polyphony in trecento musical life. Through his study of numerous fragmentary sources, he demonstrates the existence of a tradition of sacred polyphony that is much more extensive than previously thought. See Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (Harvard University, 2006) and "Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of Schism," *Musica Disciplina* 54 (2009).

For now, I will limit my discussion to a few general observations. Many of the notated manuscripts, especially those that come down to us as complete codices, encourage the drawing of boundaries and building of strict repertorial taxonomies. At first glance, they tempt us to separate secular from sacred, "art" polyphony from "popular" monophonic song, written from oral traditions, and so on. The musical sources alone portray an intellectual "high" art tradition consisting primarily of secular vocal polyphony consumed by a privileged few and isolated from other forms of music-making and cultural activities. The Squarcialupi codex, for example, and the conservative repertoire it collects can be directly associated with the elite intellectual milieu surrounding the Florentine Studio at the turn of the fifteenth century. Linked with the cultural world of Coluccio Salutati and Luigi Marsili, portrayed fictionally in Giovanni Gherardi's *Paradiso degli Alberti*, Sq participates—if not directly, at least indirectly—in the university's efforts to restore Florence's celebrated artistic heritage to the height it reached in the earlier trecento.[268]

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[268] John Nádas, "Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence," in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed.

While the song texts in BNCF II.II.61 and Magl. VII 1040 have more concordances with the Squarcialupi codex than any other notated source, Amelio's *zibaldone* could hardly create a more different material and cultural environment. By implicating ballate famously set to music by Francesco degli organi, Niccolò da Perugia, and others in a process of linguistic and cultural "vulgarization" of Ovid's *Heroides*, Amelio wrenches this repertoire away from the world of "high" art and humanist thought—divorcing it from the prestige of un-translated classical literature and recontextualizing it in the midst of the base, practical, mercantile world that Salutati, Gherardi, and other Florentine intellectuals sought to escape. These hints of more varied musical and poetic reception found in literary sources like Amelio's *zibaldone* and Magl. VII 1078, in large-scale narrative works like Prudenzani's *Liber Saporecti*, and even hidden within the notated manuscripts themselves, prompt us to reconsider the weight we give to the elite, scholarly side of trecento song.

We can be certain that there is a large repertoire of less elevated song, likely both polyphonic and monophonic, that for various reasons has either been lost from or was never part of the material record. It is thus enticing to conclude that both Magl. VII 1078 and Amelio's *zibaldone* allow us to view parts of the iceberg obscured by the ocean's surface, not just in terms of reception and consumption but also in terms of the music itself. These poetic collections could be interpreted as phantom musical manuscripts, with the implication being that the song texts they contain were copied from notated sources in which poems set by Francesco degli organi stood alongside more crude settings of bawdy, pluristrophic ballate. As noted above, this

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Angelo Pompilio et al. (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1990), 129–131. On the Florentine Studio and its connection to the rise of humanism in the city, see Jonathan Davies, *Florence and its University during the Early Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

is particularly tempting in the case of Magl. VII 1078 given its performative nature.

But at the risk of complicating rather than simplifying arguments about the musical significance of these text-only sources, I would like to resist the temptation to belittle their "literariness." My analysis of both sources in this chapter has shown that they should not be understood as echoes of lost notated codices. Furthermore, it has emphasized the extent to which "musical" and "literary" texts are integrated with each other, demonstrating that the poems with musical concordances were copied not as song but as literature. By taking these manuscripts at face value, that is as poetic sources illustrating the participation of song texts in an independent literary tradition that runs parallel to their notated transmission, we allow them to help all the more in breaking down misconceived modern taxonomies. In their free mixing of *poesie per musica* and "purely literary" poems, they provide a glimpse of a world where music and poetry were not necessarily the two independent and mutually exclusive artistic categories we see them as today. Viewed in this light, they invite cross-disciplinary studies that treat the literary status of song texts as an integral facet of trecento polyphony, and one which can offer valuable insight into its transmission and reception.

Through juxtaposition of canzoni and sonnets by Antonio da Tempo, Dante, and others, ballate set elsewhere by learned composers, and vulgar sing-songy lyrics detailing the exploits of misbehaving monks, Magl. VII 1078 and Amelio's *zibaldone* simultaneously raise and lower the status of so-called *poesia per musica*. As literary sources independent from the world of musical transmission, they provide strong evidence that song texts were seen as having poetic merit. At the same time, in breaking down the boundary between "high" and "low," between *popolare* and *colto*, both lyric collections suggest that polyphonic song was much more than the elite, intellectual tradition the Squarcialupi codex works so hard to project. These sources, both in spite of and because of their lack of notation and concrete musical connections, place song in a cultural environment that is much more fluid, much more inclusive, and much more free than do the concordant musical sources.

In Magl. VII 1078 and Amelio's *zibaldone*, song is not co-opted to monumentalize and historicize the elite cultural activity of a city or court. Instead, it becomes part of an individual scribe's fashioning of the self through literary anthologizing. To call upon an extremely modern analogy, these medieval scribes used their casual poetic miscellanies much the way we use our iPods today. The personal sound tracks we create for ourselves through these digital compilation devices, like the literary collections discussed above, are disparate and heterogeneous. Juxtaposing contrasting styles and incongruous musical genres—even music as distant in origin, sound, and cultural connotation as Notre Dame polyphony and hip-hop—these audio collections represent our own tastes, backgrounds, and personalities. They may have very little bearing on the academic interpretation of the music we collect, but they have a lot to say about our construction of self-image through cultural consumption.

Similarly, both Amelio and the scribe responsible for Magl. VII 1078 assembled texts they found interesting, pleasing, and perhaps even perplexing, for their own continuing poetic explorations. The value in these books is thus not so much in what they reveal about the significance of trecento song and poetry in any absolute or global sense but in what they tell us about the ways literature can assume meaning on a personal level. This kind of approach focusing on a specific scribe's relationship with the texts he copies offers an honest interpretation of highly unique books that are ill-suited to large-scale extrapolation. By allowing idiosyncratic manuscripts such as these to introduce us to the experience of song and poetry on a quotidian and individual level, little by little we can gain access to a more flexible and more nuanced cultural panorama. As that comes into focus, the need to artificially categorize and compartmentalize in order to comprehend and rationalize the evidence begins to recede.

Chapter 4

Singing Poetry and Writing Music: The Notated Transmission of Trecento Song Texts

In preceding chapters, we have considered the presentation of song texts as poetry through the examination of numerous text-only sources. Chapter 2 addressed poetic collections in which song texts are placed alongside *poesia aulica* and demonstrated their independence from musical sources. By setting song texts on equal footing with their literary neighbors, these manuscripts argue against the idea of *poesia per musica* as an autonomous and poetically inferior genre. Through our focus on scribes and readers, we have also seen that song circulated without its notation in a variety of sociocultural circles, read by merchants, notaries, and intellectuals throughout central and northern Italy. In contrast with Chapter 2, Chapter 3 highlighted song texts in informal literary miscellanies. Through two very different manuscripts, Magl. VII 1078 and Amelio Bonaguisi's *zibaldone*, we saw how labels such as "high," "low," "*popolare*," and "*colto*" fit uncomfortably with the material evidence. Moving away from these traditional categorizations, which inadequately account for the most characteristic features of these two books, the analysis in Chapter 3 demonstrated how an alternative approach that centers on each scribe's unique relationship with the repertoire he copied can open up new, more nuanced ways of understanding trecento song and its connections to the complex and multifaceted cultural world that surrounds it.

With this new context in place, I turn in the final chapter to a re-evaluation of sources more familiar to the musicologist: the notated codices and fragments that transmit trecento song as music. In Chapters 2 and 3, we saw that the literary sources show little awareness, if any, of the musical tradition attached to the song texts they transmit. The musical sources, by contrast, seem extremely sensitive to the poetic identity of their contents. From the most formal codices to the most informal fragments, they abound with unmistakable references to poetic structure, calling on a wide array of graphic signs to mark versification and prosody. Precise and consistent in their texting, these sources highlight the close correspondence between poetic and musical form that is characteristic of trecento secular polyphony, and, as I shall demonstrate, they reflect a desire on the part of scribes and composers to remain faithful to the text's structure both visually and aurally. Although it is rarely granted more than passing attention in musicological discourse, the presentation of song texts in notated manuscripts in fact warrants careful consideration, as it is one of our most valuable keys to deciphering the relationship between poetry and music in this repertoire. Identifying the poetic elements emphasized not only aurally through the composer's musical setting but also visually through the use of various notational devices, we can see clearly how trecento musicians and scribes perceived these texts, and we can observe the ways in which their interpretation was influenced by contemporary reading practices and poetic aesthetics.

Comparing the visual presentation of poetry in the musical sources with that seen in the text-only sources discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, signs of a certain affinity between the two traditions emerge. Text sources may give little indication of a poem's musical setting, but musical sources display a marked awareness of trends in literary transmission, such as conventions of *mise en page*. And yet in terms of their material characteristics, the notated and un-notated traditions of trecento song are diametrically opposed. Looking closely at the way poetic texts are copied in notated sources, the existence of a significant intellectual bond between the worlds of trecento song and poetry cannot be doubted. At the same time, however, the conspicuous physical contrast between musical and literary manuscripts containing this repertoire suggests a high degree of independence and difference between the function and the cultural status of poetry with and poetry without musical notation.

In this chapter, I examine the presentation of song texts in all of the known sources with Italian origins that contain Italian-texted secular song commonly considered to be part of the Italian *ars nova* tradition.[269] These sources, and their primary physical characteristics, are outlined in Table 4.2 on page 232.[270] Considering fragments, even scraps of parchment as small as those used to reinforce the binding in Perugia 15755 and the snippets of song copied in non-musical sources like Bologna 23 or Assisi 187, gives us a much more complete picture than considering the intact, or nearly intact, codices alone. Many of the sources under consideration here have been left out of text-book narratives of trecento music making. Our awareness of some—those that contain sacred as well as secular works—has been raised recently by Michael Cuthbert's influential study, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex."[271] Others, however, continue to hide in the margins of trecento scholarship, their existence acknowledged and their contents known but their individual characteristics unexplored. Only by piecing together all of the evidence available to us, no matter how small or how scrappy, are we able to analyze accurately the circulation of the trecento repertoire, both in terms of the material characteristics of the sources in which it is copied and in terms of the text-music relationship as it was understood by scribes and by composers.

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[269] This study does not take into account sources that transmit *ars subtilior* repertoire if they do not also contain music by composers firmly linked to what is commonly classified as trecento polyphony. Because they appear in both "trecento" sources and sources that focus on the next generation of composers, a few Italian-texted works by Ciconia and his contemporaries are considered as part of this study. They remain mostly on the sidelines, however, as works that are transitional not just in terms of their compositional style but also in terms of the poetry they set. In particular, both the different poetic preferences and the more free approach to text setting that characterize the song of Ciconia's generation require that this repertoire be treated as distinct for the purposes of the present study.

[270] Complete shelfmarks for all sources referenced, along with the abbreviations and sigla used in this dissertation, are provided in the front matter.

[271] Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (PhD diss.,

This chapter takes a two-fold approach. I begin with a comparison of the two material traditions, outlining the primary physical characteristics that typify each group of sources: material used, quality and category of script, organization of the contents, and decorative plan. Focusing on the relative formality of the musical sources both in construction and ordering, I argue that with the added decoration of polyphony, vernacular poetry assumes a degree of cultural prestige that it is often otherwise denied. The existence of a few informal musical sources, most notably Bologna 23 and Pistoia 5, strongly suggests that the refined material form of the musical sources is in fact indicative of intentional scribal choice rather than an inevitable reflection of the high degree of skill necessary to write and read mensural notation. The second half of the chapter considers details of textual presentation in the notated sources, addressing issues of text underlay, the use of graphic signs to demarcate poetic structure, and the treatment of *sinalefe/sineresi* and *dialefe/dieresi*.[272] Through this analysis, links between the

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Harvard University, 2006).

[272] *Sinalefe* refers to the contraction of two adjacent vowels (one at the end of one word and one at the beginning of the next) into a single syllable for the purposes of syllabic count only. In other words, all vowel sounds are pronounced even though they are treated as a single syllable in the scansion of the verse. The opposite phenomenon—when adjacent vowels that would normally be united as single syllable according to the principle of *sinalefe* are instead counted as two distinct syllables in the verse's scansion—is termed *dialefe*. *Sineresi* and *dieresi* are similar to *sinalefe* and *dialefe* in concept but refer to the treatment of adjacent internal syllables (within a single word). For a further explanation of *sinalefe*, *dialefe*, *sineresi*, and *dieresi* in Italian verse, see Pietro G. Beltrami, *La metrica italiana*, 5th ed.

notated and un-notated transmission of trecento song come into high relief revealing that both scribes and composers were not only attentive to their texts but were also familiar with the rules of scansion and prosody as well as with the written transmission of lyric poetry as literature. Like the previous three, this chapter thus paints a more complete picture of trecento song—its composition, its performance, and its reception—through the re-integration of the tradition's musical and literary facets.

CHE PENA È QUEST' AL COR AND THE MATERIAL LIFE OF TRECENTO SONG

With a noteworthy number of concordances (listed in Table 4.1), Francesco degli organi's three-voice ballata *Che pena è quest' al cor* is well suited to serve as a case study of the differences between the material life of trecento song with and without notation. Appearing in six musical sources and three text-only manuscripts, it is second only to Jacopo da Bologna's *O cieco mondo* in the breadth of its circulation both as an independent poem and as a polyphonic song. The three poetic sources paint a picture of the ballata's literary transmission that is consistent with the material panorama of the text-only manuscripts presented in Chapters 2 and 3. None directly reference Francesco's musical setting, although as we saw in Chapter 2, Genova A.IX.28 attributes the poem to the composer himself. Meanwhile, all informally incorporate *Che pena è quest' al cor* into their own unique literary contexts. While the miscellaneous nature of the Benci brother's *zibaldone* and the place of Francesco's song texts in the collection have already been discussed, the contexts in which Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale 43 (Treviso 43) and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2786^{11} (Riccardiana 2786^{11}) situate this ballata merit brief

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(Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011), 171–78 and Aldo Menichetti, *Metrica italiana*, (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1993), Chapters 3 and 4.

attention here, for they offer a useful summary of the material contexts that typify the literary transmission of song texts in the sources closest chronologically to the musical manuscripts.

TABLE 4.1: CONCORDANCES FOR *CHE PENA È QUEST' AL COR*

Musical Concordances	***Text Concordances***
Sq, fol. 130v; Florence 5, fol. 138v; FP, fol. 36v-37r; Pit, fol. 100v-101r; Paris 4917, fol. 19v-20r; SL, fol. 41v; Fa, fol. 79v-80v	Treviso 43, fol. 7r; Genova A.IX.28, fol. 205v; Ricc. 2786^{11}, fol. 36v

Treviso 43 is a composite manuscript containing eight independent and unrelated units dating from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century.[273] Its first unit, copied in the fifteenth century, is the only one to contain poems with musical concordances. Consisting of ten folios divided into two gatherings, this small-format unit (210 x 145 mm) shows no clear sign that it was originally part of a larger manuscript. It collects thirty anonymous *rime* along with some Latin prose, copied by two different scribes. Its lyric repertoire, which has seven concordances with Magl. VII 1078, is characterized by Vittorio Cian as not merely *popolareggiante* but fully *popolare* in nature. While this kind of characterization is just as problematic as it is with Magl. VII 1078, there is a marked difference between the repertoire collected in Treviso 43 and that found in more formal and elevated sources such as Riccardiana 1100 and the *Raccolta Aragonese*. In the midst of this brief collection of light and playful lyrics, we find *Che pena è quest' al cor*, copied on fol. 7r in an elegant but casual cursive hand characterized by strong *cancellaresca* tendencies. Unlike Magl. VII 1048, Treviso 43 is transparent in the visual presentation of its poems. Not only is each lyric separated from the next by blank space, the internal structure of the each poem is reflected visually through layout in verse format and physical separation between sections. In the case of *Che pena è quest' al cor*, this separation can be seen between the *ripresa* and the first *piede*, between the first *piede* and the second *piede*, and between the second *piede* and the *volta* (see Figure 4.1).

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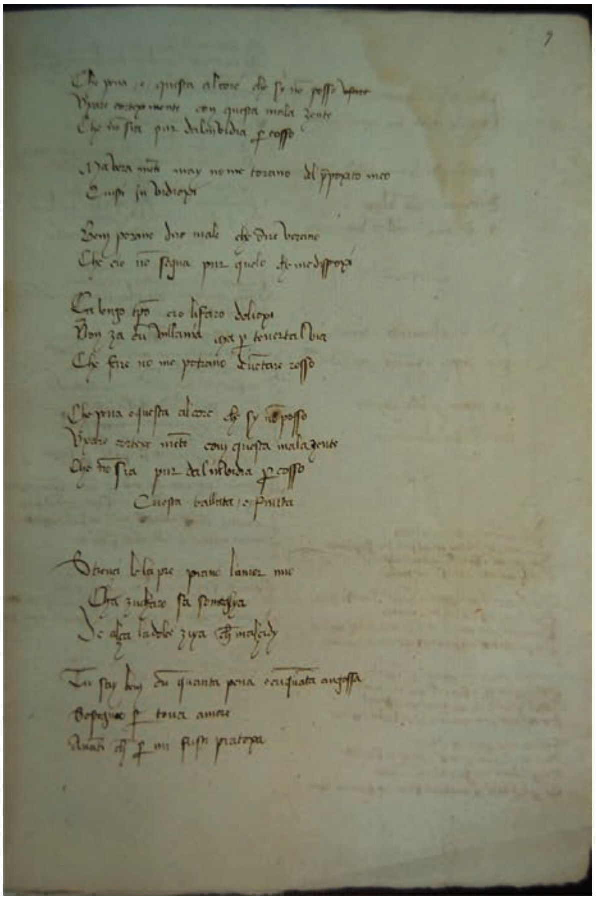
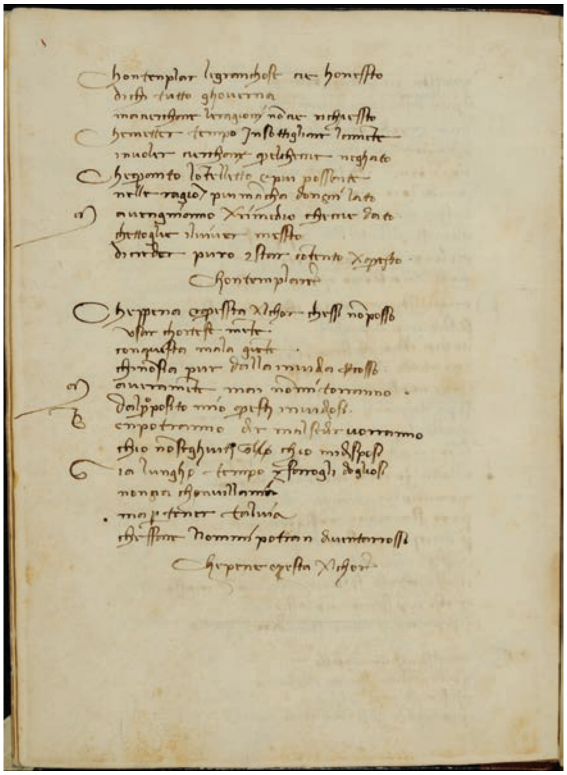
[273] Treviso 43 has been briefly described and discussed by Emilio Lippi, "Su un autografo di Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti," *Studi trevisani: bollettino degli istituti di cultura del Comune di Treviso* II, no. 4 (1985): 117–26. The manuscript's first unit has also been discussed by Vittorio Cian in an article published in 1884, which also provides an edition of the brief collection of poems in the unit. Though a useful point of departure, both Cian's discussion and his edition are rather dated and consequently subject to some of the same criticism as Tommaso Casini's work on Magl. VII 1078 (see Chapter 3). Vittorio Cian, "Ballate e strambotti del sec. XV tratti da un codice trevisano," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* IV (1884): 1–55.

Figure 4.1: Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale 43, fol. 7r



Riccardiana 2786^{11}, a paper manuscript copied during the early fifteenth century, presents its lyric poems with similar visual clarity and similar informality, although its codicological situation is rather different from that of Treviso 43. It is filled primarily with works by Petrarch: his *Trionfi* and several sonnets. The bulk of Riccardiana 2786^{11}, up through fol. 33v, was copied by a single scribe in a careful *mercantesca* bookhand. Fols. 34r–38r are the work of a different but roughly contemporary copyist who writes in a sloppier and more informal cursive, characterized by *mercantesca*-like features but more generic in its formation. These final pages are filled with miscellaneous lyric poems copied anonymously and without any identifying rubrics. In the middle of this appendix-like section are two poems of musical interest—*Contemplar le gran cose* and *Che pena è quest' al cor*—copied consecutively on fol. 36v without reference to their polyphonic settings (see Figure 4.2).

FIGURE 4.2: FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA RICCARDIANA, 2786^{II}, FOL. 36V[274]



Each of these text-only sources places Francesco's ballata in a fully literary context, and through physical proximity each associates *Che pena è quest' al cor* with various different poetic traditions. As discussed in Chapter 2, Genova A.IX.28 links Francesco's song texts with other lyric poems featuring moralizing and political subject matter as well as with humanistic texts, creating a context that blurs the usual boundaries between the classical literary tradition celebrated by Florentine humanists and vernacular culture. Meanwhile, Treviso 43 juxtaposes *Che pena è quest' al cor* with playful, amorous ballate and strambotti, and Riccardiana 2786[11] links it to the tradition of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, a popular text in Florentine mercantile culture. Yet none of these sources are systematic in their presentation of the literary traditions they transmit or deliberate in their association of *Che pena è quest' al cor* with them. They are not rigorously organized collections that construct literary canons like Banco Rari 217 or, later, the *Raccolta Aragonese*. Rather, they are more informal in their approach to the idea of collection, closer to private miscellanies than to proper anthologies.

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[274] Image provided by the Biblioteca Riccardiana and reproduced here by permission. Further reproduction prohibited.

In this respect they are in line with the vast majority of multiple-author poetic collections dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries still extant today. As Furio Brugnolo has observed, while the late duecento saw the compilation of several extensive historicizing anthologies, among them Banco Rari 217, in the second half of the trecento these kinds of miscellaneous collections became progressively more disorganized. After the copying of Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.305 and before the compilation of the *Raccolta Aragonese*, lyric collections were most often ordered roughly by thematic area and linguistic register with their texts left anonymous rather than rigorously assembled according to author and genre.[275] What is more, both the text-only sources and the majority of the poetic collections from this period in general are books whose structure and physical appearance connect them with the middle and lower echelons of manuscript production. Copied on paper in cursive hands of varying quality—from simply sloppy to moderately neat but not especially refined—all of the literary sources containing *Che pena è quest' al cor* have little or no decoration. Along with most of the manuscripts discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, they are either the work of amateur scribes collecting texts for their own use or products of the "*a prezzo*" system, created by semi-professional scribes to be sold at a low price to merchants and other literate members of middle-class society who lacked the time, the materials, or the skills to copy manuscripts themselves.

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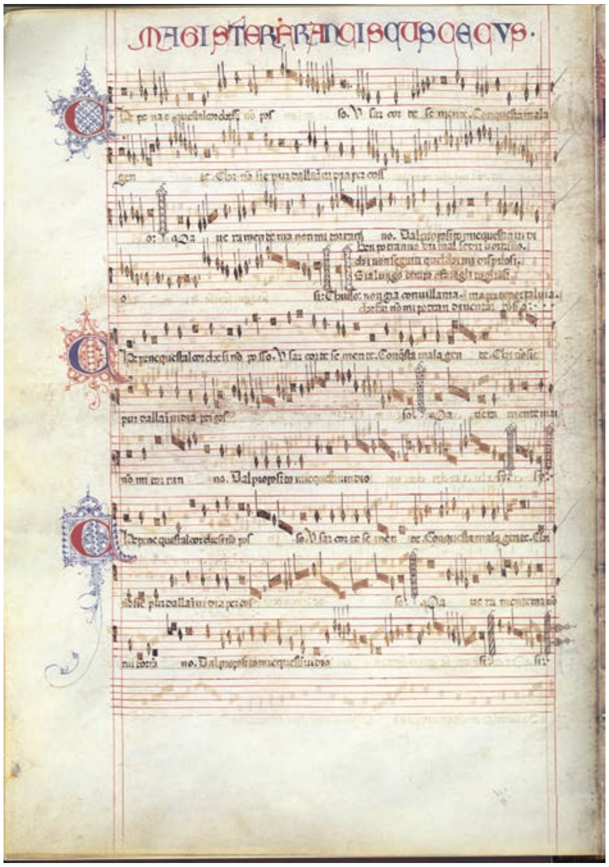
[275] Furio Brugnolo, "La poesia del Trecento,"in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 10, *La tradizione dei testi* (Rome: Salerno, 2001), esp. 225 and 228–29.

In some cases, in spite of their low grade, we saw that the text-only sources did belong to culturally and socially elite readers, for example the Benci brothers. But in most cases, as their physical form suggests, their readers were of modest socioeconomic status and only moderately well educated. Like Amelio Bonaguisi, they were informal consumers of culture, gathering poems that they found personally appealing but without aiming to historicize, monumentalize, or canonize. In these manuscripts, song is not so much implicated in the construction of a glorified cultural heritage or an esteemed literary tradition as it is in each scribe's individual construction of his own self-image through collecting, copying, reading, and re-reading.

To be sure, material aspects of poetic transmission during the later trecento and the quattrocento require further study. Perhaps due to their inelegance and their seemingly miscellaneous nature, few manuscripts from this period have received detailed scholarly attention. Moreover, the only study to consider the material panorama of this tradition in a broad sense is Brugnolo's investigation, which is intended not as an in-depth analysis but rather as an introduction to the manuscript transmission of trecento poetry. Nevertheless, the physical informality of the text-only sources and of contemporary multiple-author collections in general must not be overlooked. While the current lack of secondary scholarship allows only for the formation of initial hypotheses, it is hoped that further studies on the circulation of Italian lyric poetry during this period will shed additional light on the material differences between musical and literary sources introduced here.

Very different both visually and conceptually, the notated sources place Francesco's ballata in a much more elevated setting, both in terms of their material form and of the care with which they craft associations to an elite cultural milieu. Found on fol. 130v of the Squarcialupi codex (Sq), *Che pena è quest' al cor* is not one of the most elegantly copied works in the collection, its *residuum* made to fit awkwardly into a small square of space at the end of the cantus (see Figure 4.3). Still, nearly every aspect of this folio emphasizes the contrast between the luxurious nature of Sq and the simplicity of the text-only sources. The poem itself is copied in a formal *littera textualis*, the work of a well-trained professional scribe. Each voice is set off by an enlarged initial in red or blue ink adorned with an elaborate frame of pen flourishes in a contrasting color. Though by no means the most lavish of the decorations in Sq, these initials are far more ornate and of a far higher quality than anything found in even the most elegant of the literary sources. Finally, spread across the top of every opening in the manuscript, the conspicuous composer attributions serve as a constant reminder of Sq's monumental anthologizing project. In contrast with the informal collections haphazardly assembled for personal use in which we find so many of the trecento song texts circulating sans notation, Sq presents its repertoire with great care. The selective nature of its contents, its rigorous organization chronologically by author, and its overt visual references to ecclesiastical, academic, and courtly book culture leave no doubt that this is a manuscript whose project is the self-conscious construction of an elite, refined tradition of secular song.[276]

Figure 4.3: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino 87 (Sq), fol. 130v



Sq may be by far the most ornate and the most well-organized of the notated sources but many of the salient characteristics that set it apart from the text-only sources can be found in the majority of trecento musical sources. The three other largely complete manuscripts that transmit Francesco's ballata—FP, Pit, and San Lorenzo 2211—are also extensive collections that show similar anthologizing tendencies. Of the three, Florence, Archivio Capitolare di San

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[276] The connection between Sq (its luxurious form and its ambitious as well as conservative anthologizing project) and Florence's intellectual elite, discussed by John Nádas, is addressed in more detail in Chapter 3. See Nádas, "Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence," in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. Angelo Pompilio et al. (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1990), 126–35.

Lorenzo 2211 (San Lorenzo 2211) stands out for its particularly high grade of construction, its current palimpsest state notwithstanding. Like Sq, both its text and music are elegantly copied, the musical hand characterized by a skilled and precise *ductus*, thin stems, and well-formed note heads.[277] The text hand, a refined *littera textualis*, is again much more elegant and more formal than any hand found in the text-only sources. Traces of yellow ink used for highlighting and carefully copied attributions in red ink heading many pages provide further visual links with Sq.

While they display somewhat lower grades of construction than either Sq or San Lorenzo 2211, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26 (FP) (Figure 4.4) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 568 (Pit) (Table 4.5), too, call upon the conventions of formalized, professional book culture to organize and present the works they collect. Both employ red rubrics and colored initials to help guide the reader through their repertoire. Both also employ *littera textualis*, although their scripts are characterized by the use of simplified letter forms. Most importantly, both Pit and FP are extensive collections that are clearly driven by anthologizing tendencies—organization by author, genre, and sometimes chronology. Like Sq and San Lorenzo 2211, they exhibit a desire to collect and order an extensive and culturally significant repertoire.

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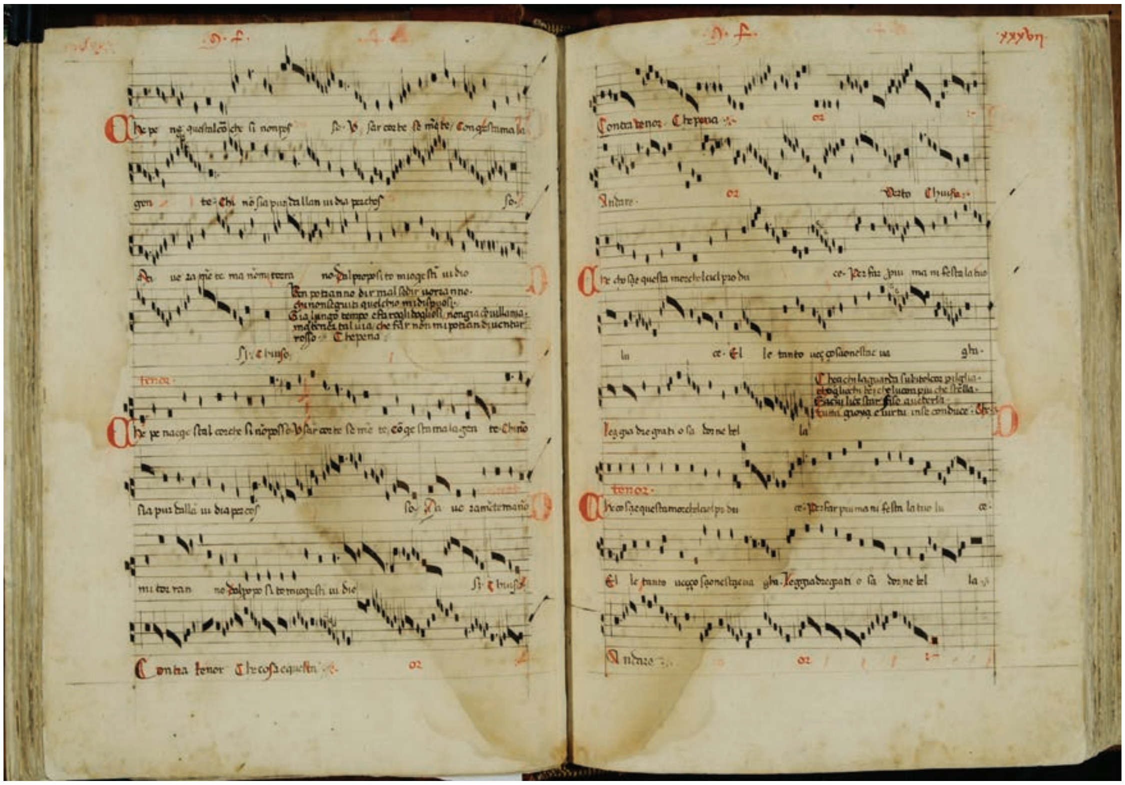
[277] Unfortunately, even under UV light *Che pena è quest' al cor* itself remains almost entirely illegible. Nevertheless, because of the general consistency displayed in the folios of San Lorenzo 2211 which are legible, it is reasonable to assume that fol. 41v was originally similar in its visual appearance.

FIGURE 4.4: FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, PANCIATICHIANO 26, FOL. 36V-37R[278]



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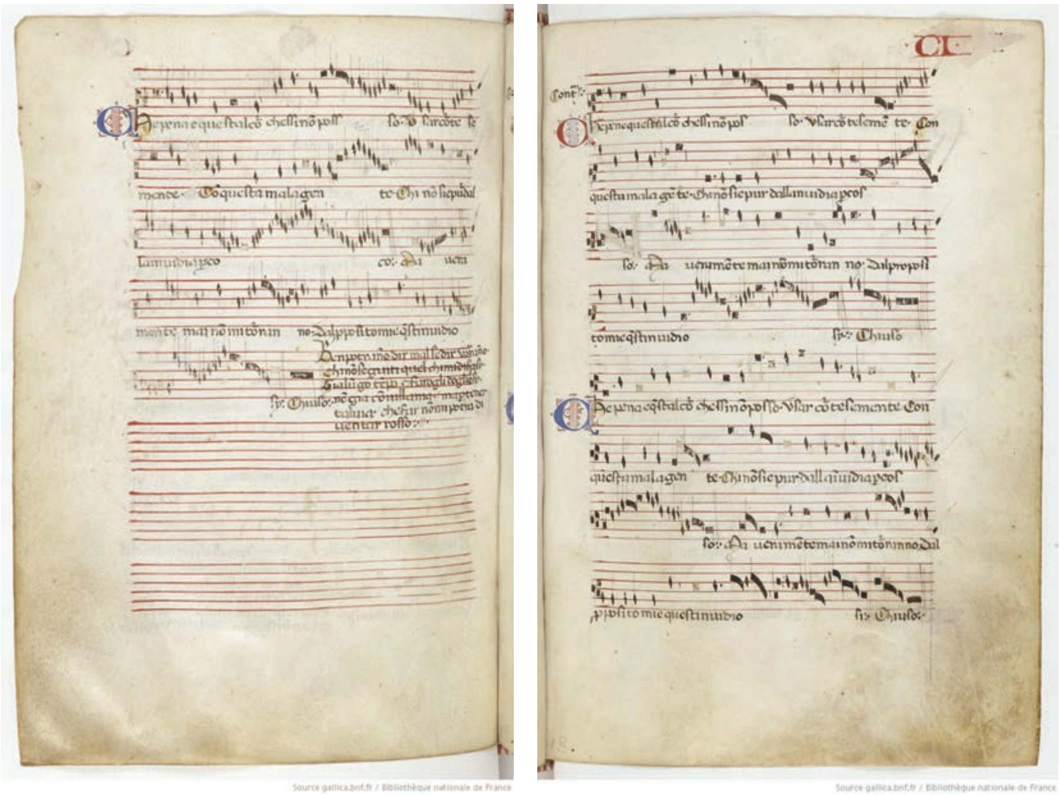
[278] All photos in this chapter of manuscripts held at the Biblioteca Nazionale are by Mario Setter and are reproduced by permission of the Ministero per Beni e Atti Culturali, Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze.

Figure 4.5: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 568, fol. 100v-101r[279]


Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Francesco's *Che pena è quest' al cor* is also found in two small incomplete sources: Florence Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Incunab. F.5.5 (Florence 5), an incunabulum with fly-leaves from a manuscript containing trecento polyphonic song, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 4917 (Paris 4917). Consisting of two high-quality parchment leaves, the fragment attached to Florence 5 was once part of a large anthology like the four manuscripts discussed above (Figure 4.6). The original source was presumably dismembered sometime in the mid to late fifteenth century, and these leaves were then reused as binding material. Given that all of the pieces in Florence 5 are ballate by Francesco degli organi organized in alphabetical order and that the leaves display the folio numbers

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[279] Images of Pit and Paris 4917 were obtained from gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France and are reproduced in accordance with the BnF's stated conditions for the non-commercial use of Gallica's content.

137 and 138, it is likely that the full manuscript was carefully organized and ordered chronologically by author.[280] The hand has been identified by Mario Fabri and John Nádas as that of the scribe responsible for coping fols. 99v–111r in Pit, a professional copyist who, again, uses a simplified *littera textualis* for the verbal text.[281] Florence 5 is similar to Pit in its decoration and *mise en page* as well, with colored ink used for enlarged initials and for highlighting. Finally, Paris 4917, an incomplete manuscript consisting today of 28 folios, fits comfortably into this material context as well.[282] It too is made of parchment and neatly copied in a simplified *littera textualis* with enlarged initials in alternating red and blue ink marking the start of each voice part. Moreover, the indentation of the first staff at the top of each page, which leaves more than enough space for the manuscript's relatively simple colored initials, suggests that more elaborate decorations may have originally been planned (see Figure 4.7).

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[280] See Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 47–48 and Mario Fabbri and John Nádas, "A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concordances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts," *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 73.

[281] Nádas, "Scribal Concordances," 76–77. The same scribe is also likely responsible for one other trecento source, the fragment Brescia 5. This scribal concordance was first noted by Stefano Campagolo in his paper "Un nuovo frammento di polifonia del Trecento" presented at the conference Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo (December 2002). While the paper was omitted from the conference proceedings, the scribal concordance is cited by Michael Cuthbert. See Cuthbert "Trecento Fragments," 328–329.

[282] Regarding the possible northern Italian origins of Paris 4917 see CCMS 3, 32 and David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 39.

Figure 4.6: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Incunab. F.5.5, fol. Iv

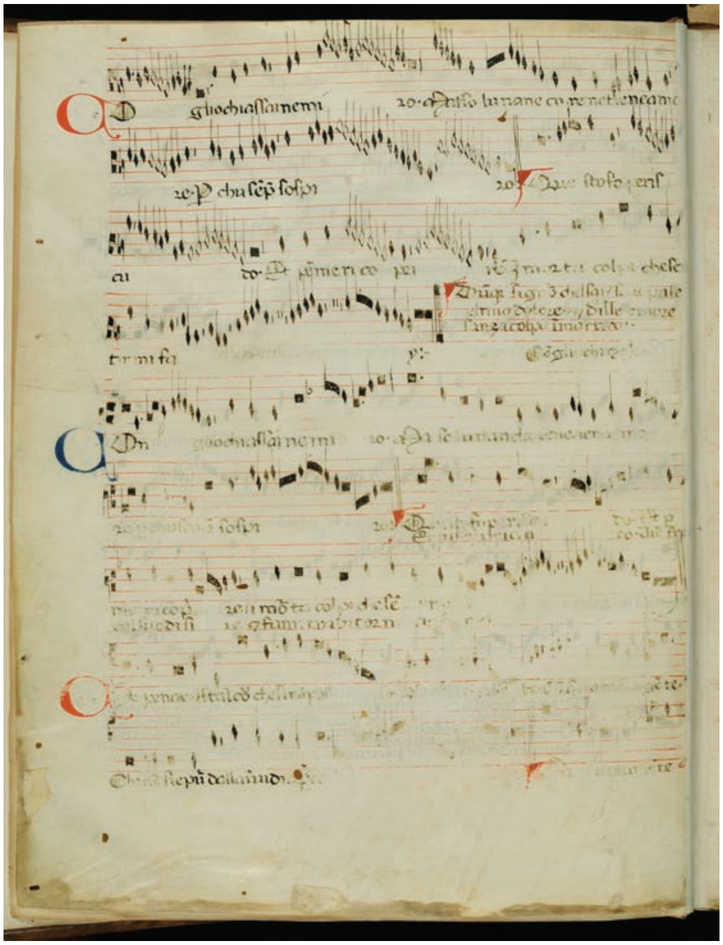
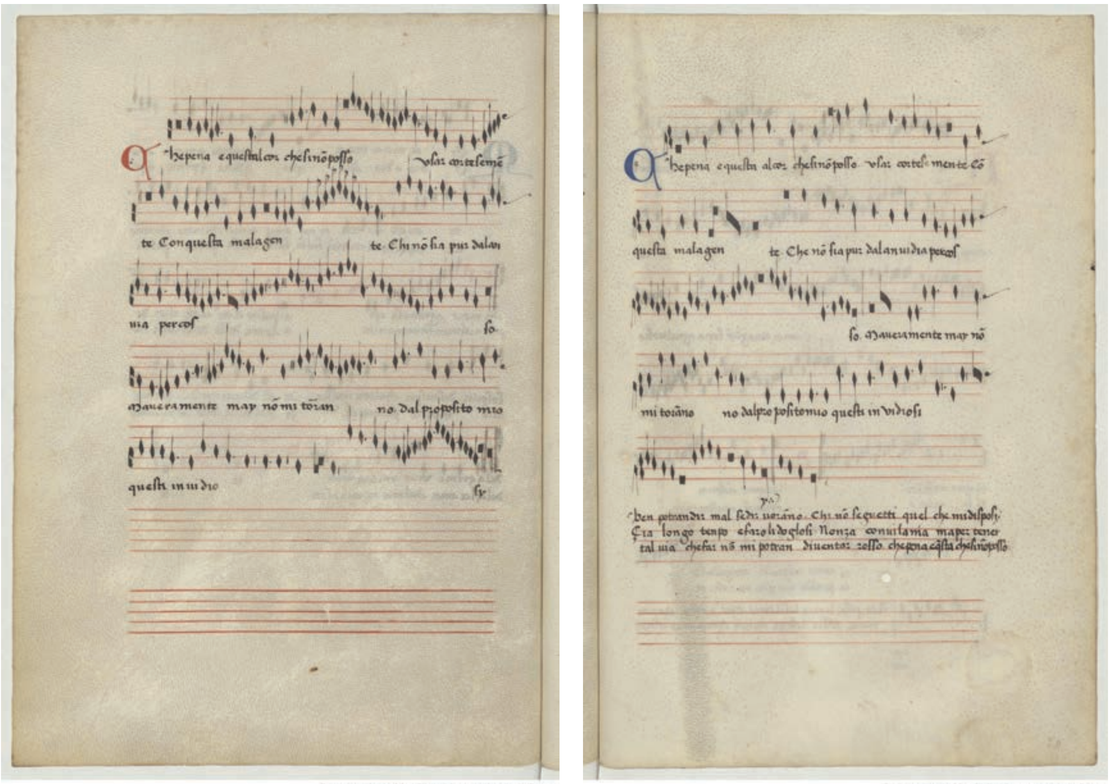


Figure 4.7: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 4917, fol. 29v-30r



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Just as the literary sources containing *Che pena è quest' al cor* are representative of the un-notated transmission of trecento song as a whole, so too do its musical sources reflect the general material world of notated song. Table 4.2 lists all of the known musical sources with Italian origins that contain trecento secular polyphony, including fragments and non-musical codices that transmit individual works with notation, and summarizes the salient physical and repertorial characteristics of each. As it clearly illustrates, the vast majority of trecento musical sources are physically and conceptually in line with the elite and formalized sectors of medieval manuscript production. In fact, many of the extant sources—including Sq and most of the Paduan fragments—have been associated with monastic *scriptoria* whose output would surely have consisted largely of formal, high-quality liturgical books. Additionally, only a handful of the sources in Table 4.2 were not originally part of moderate to large, pre-planned, organized collections. Significantly, the situation remains essentially the same if we expand the corpus of sources to include manuscripts of polyphony with Italian origins that preserve sacred works, Latin-texted motets, and French-texted secular song. In his extensive study and classification of trecento fragments, Michael Cuthbert observes that the majority of fragmentary sources appear to have once been part of collections similar to the few fully intact manuscripts remaining today, such as Pit, Reina, and FP.[283] The only fragments not originally incorporated into larger anthologies of either secular or sacred music are those found in music theoretical treatises (Barcelona 883, Siena 30, Siena 36, and Seville 25) or as later additions in text manuscripts with no relation to music (Assisi 187, Padua 656, Rome 129, and Rome 1419).[284] Only two exceptions, to be addressed in more detail below, fall outside the above categories: Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, B.3.5 (Pistoia 5) and Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *Notarile, Rolando Castellani*, filza 23, *miscellanea di documenti* (Bologna 23), both of which are independent fragments (i.e. they are not incorporated into books, musical or non-musical) used as binding material for archival documents neither of which seem to have been originally connected to a large *canzoniere*.

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[283] Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," esp. 42–44 and Michael Cuthbert, "Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of Schism," *Musica Disciplina* 54 (2009): 56–58.

[284] Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 41. Barcelona 883 and Rome 129 contain only sacred polyphony—a Kyrie setting (Barcelona 883) and a Benedicamus Domino (Vatican 129). As Cuthbert has explained, the term "fragment" is misleading in these cases because the musical excerpts are not fragmentary remains of longer codices but rather scraps and isolated intrusions of mensural notation in non-musical books or collections of monophonic chant, complete in and of themselves, that remain more or less in their original form. Other fragments that may fall into this category include Cividale 79, Rome 1067, and the Manganeli Fragment, as well as Bologna 23. I thank Michael Cuthbert for sharing his thoughts about Cividale 79 and Rome 1067 and his doubts that they were ever part of larger collections.

TABLE 4.2: CODICOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE NOTATED SOURCES OF TRECENTO SECULAR POLYPHONIC SONG

Source	*Material*	*Type of Source*	*Script*	*Rubrics*	*Enlarged Initials*	*Pen flourish decoration*	*Illum.*	*Colored ink*	*Amateur scribe*
Assisi 187	paper	"fragment" (snippet in non-musical source)	(cursive)		n/a				yes
Berlin 523	parchment	"fragment" (polyphony in monophonic source)	cursive		none for the trecento section	none for the trecento section		none for the trecento section	maybe (for the trecento section)
Bologna 23	parchment	"fragment" (musical excerpt in notarial record)	littera textualis (simplified)/ cursive						
Bologna 1549	parchment	"fragment" (gradual with added polyphony)	cursive (for the trecento section)		none for the trecento section	none for the trecento section		?	probably (for the trecento section)
Brescia 5	parchment	fragment (LC)	bastarde	none visible	a (p)			red staves	
Boverio	paper	fragment (LC)	littera textualis (most simplified and with chancery characteristics)/ cursive	none visible	yes	some simple decoration		red ink initials, red coloration	
Ciliberti*	parchment	fragment (LC, anth.)	littera textualis (simplified)	yes	yes			red staves, yellow highlighting	

Source	***Material***	***Type of Source***	***Script***	***Rubrics***	***Enlarged Initials***	***Pen flourish decoration***	***Illum.***	***Colored ink***	***Amateur scribe***
Egidi*	parchment	fragment (LC?)	littera textualis (simplified)	?	?	some simple decoration		red staves	
Faenza 117	parchment	partial palimpsest (LC)	littera textualis	yes (some)	n/a			red staves, red coloration	
FC	parchment	fragment (LC, anth.)	bastarde	yes	a (p)			red staves	
Florence 5	parchment	fragment (LC, anth.)	littera textualis (simplified)	yes	yes			red and blue initials, red staves	
FP	paper	intact (LC, anth.)	littera textualis (simplified)	yes	yes			red initials, red highlighting	
Frosinone 266 & 267	parchment	fragment (LC)	littera textualis (simplified)	none visible	yes			red initials, red staves	
Grot. 219	parchment	fragment (LC)	littera textualis/ bastarde (later layer)	none visible	yes	yes (simple)		red and blue initials	
Ivrea 105	paper	"fragment" (musical excerpt in non-musical source)	cursive (?)						yes
Lo	parchment	incomplete (LC)	littera textualis (simplified)/ cursive/ bastarde	yes	yes (sometimes only planned)			red staves, red initials, traces of yellow highlighting	?

Source	***Material***	***Type of Source***	***Script***	***Rubrics***	***Enlarged Initials***	***Pen flourish decoration***	***Illum.***	***Colored ink***	***Amateur scribe***
Lowinsky	parchment (partially on palimpsest)	fragment (LC?)	littera textualis (simplified)	none visible	a (p), with simple initials included on fol. 1r and fol. 4r	yes (simple)		red staves	
Mancini	parchment	fragment (LC, anth.)	littera textualis (med. grade)	yes	yes	some very simple decoration		red and blue initials, red highlighting, red coloration	
Manganelli*	parchment	fragment	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
ModA	parchment	intact (LC)	littera textualis	yes	yes	yes	some illuminated initials	red and blue initials, red coloration, red staves, some other colors including gold in illuminations	
PadA	parchment	fragment (LC)	littera textualis/ bastarde		yes			red and blue initials and highlighting, red staves	
PadB	parchment	fragment (LC)	littera textualis/ bastarde (later layer)		a (p)			red staves, red coloration	
PadC	parchment	fragment (LC)	littera textualis		yes	yes (simple)		red and blue initials, red staves, red coloration	
Padua 553	paper	fragment (3 different sources)	littera textualis (simplified)						

Source	***Material***	***Type of Source***	***Script***	***Rubrics***	***Enlarged Initials***	***Pen flourish decoration***	***Illum.***	***Colored ink***	***Amateur scribe***
Padua 656	parchment	"fragment" (snippet of music on page of short texts in non-musical source)	cursive						yes
Pit	parchment	intact (LC, anth.)	littera textualis (simplified; hand of scribe G has strong bastarde tendencies)	yes	yes	yes	1 full-page illumination	red staves, red coloration, red and blue initials, yellow highlighting	
Reggio Emilia Mischiati	parchment	fragment (LC)	littera textualis (simplified)/ bastarde		yes	yes (simple)		red staves, red and blue initials and pen flourishes	
Reina	paper	intact, composite (LC, anth.)	littera textualis (simplified)		a (p)			red staves, red coloration	
Parma 75	parchment	fragment (LC)	littera textualis		yes				
Paris 4917	parchment	incomplete (LC?)	littera textualis (simplified)		yes			red staves, red coloration, red and blue initials	
Perugia 15755	parchment	fragment (LC, anth. of three sources)	littera textualis (simplified)		yes	yes		red staves, red and blue initials, red highlighting	

Source	***Material***	***Type of Source***	***Script***	***Rubrics***	***Enlarged Initials***	***Pen flourish decoration***	***Illum.***	***Colored ink***	***Amateur scribe***
Pistoia 5	parchment (on palimpsest)	fascicle manuscript	littera textualis		a (p)				
Rome 1067	parchment (on palimpsest)	partial palimpsest "fragment" (independent "fragment" now in unrelated non-musical source)	littera textualis (with some bastarde aspects)						? (not without skill, but messy)
Rome 1419	paper	fascicle manuscript (bound into unrelated non-musical source)	cursive		yes	some (simple)		some red initials	
Rossi	parchment	incomplete (LC, anth.)	littera textualis		yes	yes		red and blue initials, red staves, red highlighting	
SL 2211	parchment	palimpsest (LC, anth.)	littera textualis		a (p)			red staves, traces of yellow highlighting, red rubrics, red foliation	
Seville 25*	parchment and paper	composite theory source	littera textualis (simplified, varying quality)		yes (fol. 59r)	yes (simple decorated initial fol. 59r)		?	maybe for fol. 22v
Siena 30	paper	theory source with intercalated polyphony	n/a (treatise is in humanistic cursive)						yes

Source	*Material*	*Type of Source*	*Script*	*Rubrics*	*Enlarged Initials*	*Pen flourish decoration*	*Illum.*	*Colored ink*	*Amateur scribe*
Siena 207	parchment	fragment (LC, sacred repertoire in main layer, secular repertoire added)	littera textualis (simplified textualis for secular works)		yes (for main layer)	yes (for main layer)	illuminated initial in main layer	red staves, red coloration (in main layer), red initials (in main layer), and purple, green, blue, and red ink as well as gold leaf in the illuminated initial	
Squarcialupi	parchment	intact (LC, anth.)	littera textualis	yes	yes	yes	illuminated initials with decorative page frame	red and blue initials, red staves, some yellow highlighting	
Stressa 14*	parchment	fragment (LC)	littera textualis?		?	?		red staves, red coloration	
Trent 60	parchment (on palimpsest)	fragment (LC?)	littera textualis (simplified)		a (p)				

* Indicates manuscripts that I have been unable to consult in original or in good reproduction.

LC=large collection, anth.=anthologizing source, a=absent, p=planned, "fragment" indicates sources that have been traditionally described as fragments but are not truly fragmentary.

Table 4.3 takes the matrix used for the musical sources in Table 4.2 and adapts it for application to the text-only sources. Comparison of the two tables emphasizes the differences between the notated and un-notated transmission of song texts discussed above in relation to *Che pena è quest' al cor*. The consistent contrast in the material used (parchment versus paper) as well as in the paleographic traits of the two traditions is striking. It is possible that the corpus of extant musical sources is so dominated by parchment not because paper was rarely used for notated song collections but because parchment sources are those most frequently preserved today. To a certain extent, a higher survival rate for parchment sources is expected, partially due to the practice of recycling parchment as binding material in books and as simple covers for archival registers and partially due to the fact that paper manuscripts are less resistant to age and heavy use.[285] Yet the pronounced prevalence of paper among the text-only sources, not just those dating from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but those roughly contemporary with the notated sources as well, suggests that the high percentage of parchment musical manuscripts may be more indicative of conscious, intentional choice on the part of the scribes and compilers than on differing rates of survival between more and less durable materials.

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[285] Ibid., 43.

Table 4.3: Codicological Summary of the Un-Notated Sources of Trecento Secular Polyphonic Song

Source	*Material*	*Type of source*	*Organization*	*Script*	*Rubrics*	*Enlarged initials*	*Pen flourish decoration*	*Colored ink*	*Type of scribe*	*Date*
Ambrosiana E 56 sup.	parchment	Miscellany, moralizing/devotional poetry	logic not clear	bastarde (2 hands; high grade)	yes, ff. 1–32	yes, ff. 1–32	yes, ff. 1–32	red initials, rubrics, and highlighting (ff. 1–32)	prof.	early 15th c (1408)
Ash. 569	paper	Composite (joined early) Collection of canzoni by Dante and other rime by Petrarch (+ extra authors)	by author	cursive	yes (with attribution)	yes, simple; 2nd unit a (p)	some	red rubrics (2nd unit)	semi-prof.?	late 14th/early 15th c
Ash. 574	paper	Autograph (single author collection)	logic not totally clear	cursive	yes (genre, only 1st in red; marginal rubrics re: musical settings)	yes, simple		1 red rubric, red and blue paragraph markers in 1st section	Sacchetti (amateur)	late 14th c
Barb. lat. 3695	paper	Miscellany, moralizing/devotional texts	logic not clear	bastarde (canc.)	yes	some		red rubrics and highlighting	amateur	early 15th c
Bologna 14.1A	parchment	snippet on register cover	n/a	cancellaresca	n/a		n/a		notary	14th c
Bologna 22.14	paper	register, with 1st page filled with poem	n/a	cancellaresca		v.s.			notary	early 15th c

Source	*Material*	*Type of source*	*Organization*	*Script*	*Rubrics*	*Enlarged initials*	*Pen flourish decoration*	*Colored ink*	*Type of scribe*	*Date*
Bologna 36	parchment	snippet on register cover	n/a	cancellaresca	n/a	n/a	n/a		notary	14th c
Bologna 48	paper	scrap of paper with random texts tucked into book of "*Recordanze*"	n/a	cancellaresca	n/a	n/a	n/a		notary	early 15th c
Bologna 58	parchment	snippet on register cover	n/a	cancellaresca	n/a	n/a	n/a		notary	early 15th c
Bologna 177.3	paper	short lyric collection	partially by author	cursive	yes (attribution)	v.s.			amateur	17th c, copy of earlier ms
Bologna 1072 XI 9	paper	single gathering, lyric collection	author	humanistic cursive (bookhand)	yes (genre)	v.s.			?	15th c
Chigi L.IV.131	paper	composite miscellany (joined early), lyric collection	partially by author, partially by genre (partially "random")	humanistic cursive (2 hands)	yes (attribution)	v.s.			amateur	16th and 17th c
Chigi L.VIII.300	paper	works of Sacchetti	mixed genres, like Sacchetti's autograph	humanistic cursive	yes (attribution, genre)	v.s.		red underlining for rubrics	amateur	17th c

Source	***Material***	***Type of source***	***Organization***	***Script***	***Rubrics***	***Enlarged initials***	***Pen flourish decoration***	***Colored ink***	***Type of scribe***	***Date***
Chigi M.IV.79	paper	collection of *rime antiche*	partially by author	humanistic cursive (bookhand)	mostly not original (attribution and genre added later)	yes (illuminated initial at start)	yes	yellow, red and blue initials; illuminated initial	prof.	15th c, last ⅓rd
Chigi M.VII.142	paper	composite, *Raccolta Aragonese*	author	humanistic cursive (bookhand in 1st codex)	yes (genre and attribution)	v.s.			?	16th c
Grey 7 b 5*	paper	collection of lyric poetry	theme and genre	gothic-humanistic bookhand	?	?	?	?	prof. (?)	15th c
FL XL 43	paper	collection of lyric poetry based on Petrarch's RVF	partially by author, partially by genre, logic not complete clear	bastarde (bookhand but highly simplified)	yes	a (p)		some red rubrics	amateur?	15th c
FL XC. Inf. 37	paper	*Raccolta Aragonese*	author (and sometimes genre)	humanistic cursive	yes	yes		red rubrics, red initials	?	15th c (late)?
FL Pal. 105	paper	collection of prose with some moralizing poetry (*Filostrato*, *Heroides*); incomplete	prose followed by short section of poetry (theme)	mercantesca		yes, mostly simple	yes (some)	traces of yellow highlighting?	amateur	15th c

Source	***Material***	***Type of source***	***Organization***	***Script***	***Rubrics***	***Enlarged initials***	***Pen flourish decoration***	***Colored ink***	***Type of scribe***	***Date***
FM C.155	paper	*Filostrato*, followed by miscellaneous lyric poetry	logic not clear	bastarde	some	yes, some simple (largest absent but planned at start)	some simple	some red highlighting and rubrics	semi-prof.?	early 15th c
FN Conv. Sopp. C.I.1746	paper	miscellany (poetry and prose, esp. poetry of Francesco D'Altobianco Alberto); composite	logic not clear	mercantesca (littera textualis, 1st section)	yes	v.s.		red ink for rubrics through fol. 7v	amateur	mid 15th c (1st section, late 14th c)
FN Pal. 204	paper	*Raccolta Aragonese*	author	humanistic cursive (3 hands)	yes (attribution, genre)	a (p; those that are there are simple)			amateur and prof./ semi prof.?	16th c
FN Pal. 315	paper	Dante's DC followed by Misc. poetry	n/a	mercantesca (1 main hand, plus others)	yes (in DC)	yes	yes, simple (in DC)	red rubrics and highlighting (DC)	amateur/ semi-prof.?	late 14th c
FN Pal. 288	paper	Lyric miscellany (owned by B. Varchi), incomplete	logic not clear	humanistic cursive	no (but some attrib. added in margin)	v.s.			amateur	16th c

Source	***Material***	***Type of source***	***Organization***	***Script***	***Rubrics***	***Enlarged initials***	***Pen flourish decoration***	***Colored ink***	***Type of scribe***	***Date***
Genova A.IX.28	paper	Misc. poetry and prose	logic not clear	varied, multiple hands: mercantesca, humanistic cursive	yes	some		some red and blue initials	amateur	1462–1485
Magl. VII 640	paper	notebook-like (incomplete?)	logic not clear	humanistic cursive	yes	v.s.			amateur?	early 16th c
Magl. VII 1040/ FN II.II.61	paper	composite (Misc. prose with bit of misc. poetry)	logic not clear	mercantesca	some	v.s.			amateur	late 14th c
Magl. VII 1041	paper	Lyric miscellany	sometimes author	humanistic cursive	some	v.s.			amateur	early 16th c
Magl. VII 1078	paper	Lyric miscellany	logic not clear	cursive	a few (genre)				amateur	14th c (early?)
Magl. VII 1187	paper	composite (relevant section is collection of Sacchetti)	author (this section)	humanistic cursive	no	v.s.			amateur	15th/ 16th c
Marciana 223	paper	Miscellany (poetry, etc.)	partially by author	cursive (canc.)	some	v.s.			amateur	15th c (early)
Paris 554*	paper	*Raccolta Aragonese*	author	?	?	?	?	?	?	16th c
Parma 1081	paper	Lyric collection, with Petrarch's RVF as base	genre	mercantesca	some (many not in main layer)	v.s.		red initials and highlighting (only ff. 20v–23v)	amateur	15th c (early)

Source	***Material***	***Type of source***	***Organization***	***Script***	***Rubrics***	***Enlarged initials***	***Pen flourish decoration***	***Colored ink***	***Type of scribe***	***Date***
Patetta 352 (19th c)	paper	*Raccolta Aragonese*	author	cursive	yes (attribution, genre)	v.s.			amateur	19th c
Perugia C 43	paper	miscellany (prose and poetry)	partially by author (but logic mostly unclear)	mercantesca (bookhand)	only a few (genre)	v.s.			amateur	15th c
Redi 184	paper	lyric anthology (composite)	by author	cursive (2 main hands)	yes (attribution, genre, and subject info)	v.s.		?	amateur	15th and 16th c
Ricc. 1100	paper	lyric anthology	by author	mercantesca (bookhand)	yes (attribution, genre)	a (p)		red rubrics	semi-prof.	15th c (early?)
Ricc. 1118	paper	*Raccolta Aragonese*	by author	humanistic cursive (bookhand)	yes (attribution, some genre)	v.s.			prof.	16th c
Ricc. 1764	paper	miscellany of devotional texts	n/a	bastarde	yes	yes	yes	red and blue decorated initials, red rubrics and highlighting	semi-prof.? (commissioned book)	15th c
Ricc. 2871	paper	chess treatise, plus laude (composite)	laude grouped in section	mercantesca (humanistic cursive in 1st unit)	yes	v.s.		yellow ink in chess board illustrations	amateur	15th c
Ricc. 2786[11]	paper	*Trionfi* and miscellany of poetry	genre	mercantesca (2 hands)	yes	yes (after *Trionfi* are absent but planned)	some	red rubrics and highlighting, red and blue initial (f. 1r)	semi-prof.?	15th c (early?)

Source	**Material**	**Type of source**	**Organization**	**Script**	**Rubrics**	**Enlarged initials**	**Pen flourish decoration**	**Colored ink**	**Type of scribe**	**Date**
Treviso 43	paper	composite (short lyric collection)	logic not clear	bastarde (mult. hands)	some	v.s.			amateur?	15th c
Vat. lat. 3213	paper	*Raccolta Aragonese*	author	humanistic cursive	yes	v.s.			amateur	16th c

*Indicates manuscripts that I have been unable to consult in original or in good reproduction; v.s.=enlarged initials that are very simple in form, differentiated from the body text only by their size and placement.

Furthermore, the confluence of formal construction, rigorous organization, and use of parchment seen in the notated sources suggests that the choice of material was linked to the function and cultural status of the book: parchment selected for formal anthologies aiming to imbue their repertoire with a sense of prestige and cultural import and paper for informal sources copied for personal use. Supporting the association between a book's material form and the perceived status of the repertoire it contains is Marisa Boschi Rotiroti's study of fourteenth-century manuscripts transmitting Dante's *Commedia*. Surveying 397 manuscripts, Rotiroti finds that the majority are parchment sources with medium or elaborate decorative plans copied in *littera textualis*. The refined material form of the books, she argues, mirrors the prestige of Dante's renowned text. Additionally, Rotiroti notes a high correlation between material and formality of *mise en page* and presentation, with paper being used almost exclusively for inelegant sources copied in cursive scripts and with little or no decoration.[286] Sandro Bertelli makes similar observations in his study of manuscripts containing early Italian lyric poetry.[287] Like Rotiroti, he finds that the majority of manuscripts are parchment, written in *littera textualis*, and have at least medium-level decorative plans. Based on these findings, he proposes that *littera textualis* was considered to be the most elevated script in the eyes of both readers and copyists and that it was the graphic medium most strongly associated with proper, formalized book production.

I would like to argue, then, that what is particularly important about these two contrasting physical worlds is that they point towards two very different kinds of reception and towards two different kinds of readership. Keeping in mind that the text-only sources seem to reflect general trends in the written transmission of Italian lyric poetry in the late trecento and early quattrocento, these two tables represent not a separation between *poesia per musica* and "pure poetry" but rather a separation between vernacular lyric poetry copied with musical notation and vernacular lyric poetry copied without it. Far more than a mere issue of semantics, this concept is central to our understanding of the relationship between poetic and musical traditions in late medieval Italy. To be more precise, the implication behind this physical evidence is that through the addition of music, vernacular poetry is able to assume increased distinction. Connected to song texts, notation takes on an iconographic function in addition to a practical one. Like gold leaf or elaborate illuminations, it lends a sense of value, import, and beauty to the words it adorns. The presence or absence of musical notation thus becomes intertwined with the book's overall materiality, correlated, like formal *mise en page*, script type, and physical material, with the perceived prestige of its contents.

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[286] Marisa Boschi Rotiroti, *Codicologia trecentesca della Commedia: Entro e oltre l'antica vulgata* (Rome: Viella, Libreria editrice, 2004).

[287] Sandro Bertelli, *La Commedia all'antica* (Florence: Mandragora, 2007).

Traces of Informal Transmission: Non-anthologizing Sources of Secular Polyphony

The idea that musical notation assumes an iconographic function in these manuscripts, changing the cultural status of the poetry to which it is linked, has significant implications for the meaning of song, but in drawing such conclusions from the extant material record a certain degree of caution is required. We should consider, for example, whether or not the material record accessible to us today offers an accurate cross-section of the sources copied and read in the late Middle Ages and think critically about what the physical evidence may reflect. How can we be sure that the material differences between the notated and un-notated manuscripts are more than a mere side effect of the difficulty inherent in writing and reading mensural notation? Both the ability to read and the ability to write music were specialized skills, much less common than standard linguistic literacy. Considered in this light, it is not surprising that notated manuscripts would be more formal in appearance than text-only literary collections, for they would have required a trained musical scribe to copy them and someone well-versed in notation to read them. In other words, notated manuscripts are, to a certain extent, inherently elite objects. Nevertheless, the few inelegant sources in Table 4.2 show that music was occasionally copied by amateur scribes in informal situations.

The next portion of this chapter focuses on two such sources: Bologna 23 and Pistoia 5. Mostly remaining on the sidelines of scholarly discourse, both of these sources have been treated as fragments of larger codices, traces not of casual music copying but of lost anthologies. Reevaluating their physical characteristics, I argue that neither was ever intended to be part of a larger, organized collection. More accurately described as scraps than as fragments, these two sources are significant in good part because they are the exception rather than the rule. As argued above, the rarity of these informal sources indicates that the material world in which they were created was not the primary one in which trecento song circulated. Yet that they exist at all serves as strong evidence that the contrast in physical form between the notated and the un-notated transmission of this repertoire, as illustrated in Table 4.2 and Table 4.3, is neither inevitable nor inconsequential. Like the selection of parchment or paper, it is the result of deliberate scribal choice driven by the intended function of the manuscript at hand.

Bologna 23

On the inside of the front cover protecting records copied by the Bolognese notary Rolando Castellani (Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *Notarile, Rolando Castellani*, filza 23, *miscellanea di documenti*) is one of the more peculiar sources of trecento song hitherto discovered.[288] Pictured in Figure 4.8, the musically relevant contents consist of six staves partially filled with the tenor line and *residuum* for Francesco degli organi's ballata *Per seguir la sperança che m'ancide*. This single parchment bifolio, now attached to the front of Castellani's register, spent part of its life before being adopted for its current use folded in half. *Per seguir la sperança* appears on what was originally the right-hand page while the left-hand page and the backside of the parchment were left completely blank. The music itself is carefully copied in a skilled hand, clearly the work of a scribe well trained in the art of writing musical notation. The staves (all with five rather than six lines), however, are drawn free hand in a rather sloppy manner. The top three, which contain the music and text, are written in a brownish ink, and the bottom three, barred together and blank, are drawn in red.[289]

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[288] Bologna 23 has been discussed briefly by Armando Antonelli and more extensively by Agostino Ziino. See Antonelli, "Tracce di ballate e madrigali a Bologna tra XIV e XV secolo (con una nota sul meccanismo di copia delle ballate estemporanee)," in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento 7*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2009), 19–44 and Ziino, "Sulla tradizione musicale della ballata 'Per seguir la sperança che m'ancide' di Francesco Landini," in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento 7*, 45–56. Antonelli deserves much credit for discovering this fragment as well as several other traces of trecento song in Bologna's Archivio di Stato. These fragments, though small, are particularly important because they offer a glimpse at the informal circulation of trecento song in notarial circles, a world not previously considered significant in terms of this repertoire. However, Antonelli erroneously describes Bologna 23 as including only the music for the ballata's *ripresa*, Antonelli, "Tracce," 25.

[289] Ziino's article builds on Antonelli's introduction to Bologna 23, offering a detailed and insightful description of this highly unusual, and in many respects perplexing, fragment. One small amendment to his description of the fragment's physical characteristics must be made, however. The third stave is not in fact copied in a different ink than the first two as Ziino suggest. Rather, as indicated above, all three of the top staves are copied in the same brownish ink with the music entered in black ink. See Ziino, "Tradizione musicale," 48.

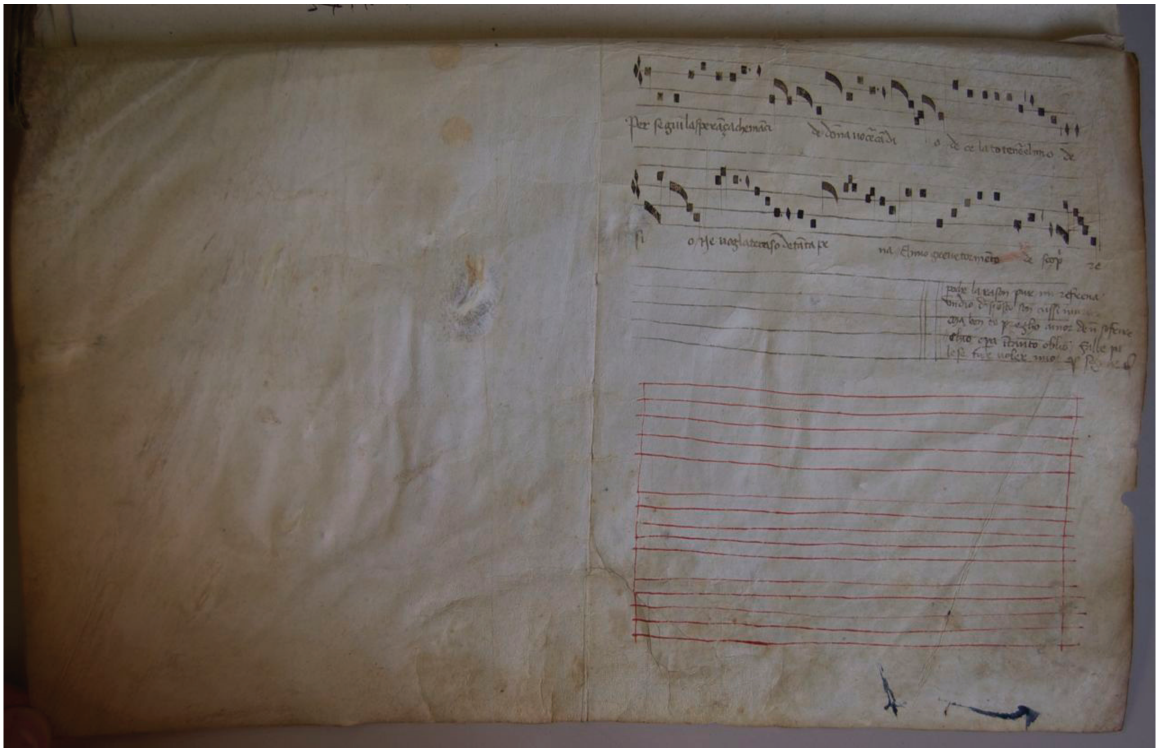

Figure 4.8: Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Rolando Castellani, Filza 23[290]

The staves' extreme informality is mirrored by the sloppy appearance of the text both under the music and in the *residuum*. The text is written in a simplified gothic hand characterized by some influence of chancery script in the pointed descenders on *p*'s and *s*'s. While not particularly careful to set the words neatly along a straight baseline, the scribe is attentive to the alignment between the text and the music. Moreover, he diligently marks the end of each poetic verse in both the underlaid text and the *residuum* with the kind of slashes or *virgule* (/) standardly employed in notated sources for this purpose. This approach to the presentation of the poetic text reinforces the initial impression given by the well-formed music notation that this fragment, its slipshod nature notwithstanding, was copied by someone who was very familiar with the visual appearance of formal musical sources. The scribe, perhaps a *notaio*, was not likely Castellani himself. Although his dates of activity as a notary (1403–1457) allow the possibility that he was responsible for copying Francesco's ballata, the style of script and *ductus* displayed in the underlaid text and *residuum* differ in several respects from that seen in the rest of the register.

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[290] My photo. Reproduced with permission from the Archivio di Stato in Bologna.

Antonelli hypothesizes that the bifolio was originally used to cover a register of smaller dimensions, approximately 210 x 155 mm, and proposes that the music was copied on the inside of the back cover while the bifolio was wrapped around the older register.[291] Noting the lack of sewing holes along the center fold, Ziino suggests two additional possible origins: that the bifolio may have been destined for a larger codex whose preparation was never completed or that it may have been a loose folio copied for personal use by a singer or music-enthusiast.[292] Ziino favors the former possibility, focusing on the professional quality of the music hand and on the dimensions of the hypothetical manuscript, which would be in line with other smaller-format notated sources from the late trecento and early quattrocento (for example, the Rossi codex and the Lucca codex).[293] As he explains, the presence of a tenor line only is not disturbing in this context, given that the cantus and countertenor would normally be copied together on the verso of the previous folio, now lost. Thus, it remains possible that when the source was intact, the whole piece appeared together on a single opening.

In my opinion, however, far more signs point towards Antonelli's conclusion and suggest that this music was copied for the scribe's own private and informal use. The notation itself is indeed very precisely copied and certainly looks to be the work of a professional scribe, but casual free-hand staves like those found here never occur in well-copied, formal song collections. The only sources with staves that approach or equal this level of sloppiness are Ivrea 105, Padua 656, Assisi 187, and Bologna 1549, all of which are scraps and musical doodles never destined for inclusion in formal song collections. Furthermore, the parchment itself is of a fairly low grade, somewhat thick for use in a manuscript though thinner than the parchment that often covers notarial registers. The entire bifolio is poorly prepared with several defects marring the parchment's surface, and what is now the front of the cover (the hair-side) has been left quite rough, ill suited to the copying of either text or music. Given the low quality of the parchment and the casual nature of the staves, we must also consider Ziino's less favored hypothesis that the bifolio was essentially a scrap of parchment used by the scribe to quickly copy quickly a tenor part for his own use, later recycled as a register cover. With one adjustment, this explanation is, I believe, the most plausible. Given the layout with the music confined to the right-hand inner page, it is highly probable that the notation was added while the bifolio was already folded around the now-lost register, as Antonelli proposes.

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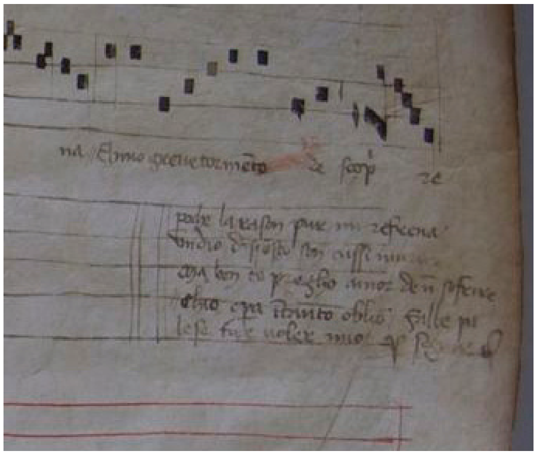
[291] Antonelli, "Tracce," 25, n. 20. Also see Ziino, "Tradizione musicale," 49.

[292] Ziino, "Tradizione musicale," 49–50. It is true that the parchment lacks typical sewing holes, but there are three short, thin slits spaced out along the center fold, perhaps once used to attach the cover to the older register.

[293] Ibid., 50.

If we need further evidence that this bifolio was not originally destined to be incorporated into a full-fledged book, the total absence of any trace of notation or black staves on pages other than the second recto should not be forgotten. The isolation of staves and music to this recto seems odd for a bifolio planned to be part of a proper manuscript, and indeed we have no other extant bifolio fragments prepared in this manner. Yet at the same time, the presence of the third brown staff and the placement of the *residuum* on it remains puzzling. With the residual text squished into a square space on the far right and blocked in on the left by two sets of parallel lines resembling a final double bar, it is as if the scribe planned to copy another voice of this or a different ballata on the first two thirds of the staff (see Figure 4.9). Equally puzzling is the lack of a double bar at the end of the second staff, which suggests the scribe believed his work to be incomplete even though the entire tenor line is copied. Complicating any theory about how much music may or may not have been planned to join the tenor of *Per seguir la sperança* on this page are the lower three staves. As noted above, they are copied in red and, unlike the upper three staves, are barred together. We can thus be almost certain that the two sets of staves were copied at different times, but we cannot know for sure if the red set was added after the ballata itself.[294] Although frustratingly perplexing, these features are nevertheless important clues to Bologna 23's original function. The unmistakable air of extreme informality they lend to an otherwise professional looking script supports the hypothesis that this bifolio is filled with notes casually jotted down by a singer for his own use.

FIGURE 4.9: BOLOGNA 23, DETAIL



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[294] Ziino suggests that they may have been copied later by the scribe of the notarial register now covered by the bifolio, Rolando Castellani, but there is no physical evidence to clearly support such a hypothesis. See Ibid., 48.

Pistoia 5 and Fascicle Manuscripts

Of the trecento fragments that are more extensive than Bologna 23, very few lack signs evidencing their original connection to large anthologizing collections. But there is one fragment that stands out not only for its unusual dearth of such signs but also for having certain physical characteristics that actively point in the opposite direction—in other words, characteristics suggesting it may be a rare example of an informal fascicle manuscript that never consisted of more than a few bifolios. Although trecento scholars have long been aware of the existence of Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, B.3.5, the fragment has received relatively little attention in print. First described by Federico Ghisi in 1938, it has scarcely been mentioned since outside of RISM, with the exception of a few scattered notes refuting Ghisi's claim that it was once part of the Lucca codex.[295] Partially due to lack of study and partially due to pure lack of information, we know very little about Pistoia 5 aside from its contents, not even what archival registers the bifolios once covered. While many of the questions surrounding it remain unanswered and unanswerable, like Bologna 23 this fragment is worthy of a fresh evaluation because of its deviation from the standard material characteristics displayed by the majority of trecento musical sources.

Today Pistoia 5 consists of two parchment bifolios folded in half to produce a total of four folios.[296] Trimmed substantially when they were re-purposed as covers, each folio originally measured c. 250 x 165 mm and was ruled to have a writing space of c. 203 x 143 mm. The fragment's contents and their concordances are listed in Table 4.4. There are no traces of old foliation or gathering sigla nor are there any traces of composer attribution. It is unfortunately impossible to determine if foliation or rubrics once existed because most of the upper margin has been trimmed off. What is particularly unique about these two bifolios is that they were subject to not one but two phases of re-use. The notation in Pistoia 5 is copied over a palimpsest of a much older manuscript, an unusual situation in the context of trecento polyphonic sources, which more often become palimpsests themselves.[297] Visible under the notation on each folio are traces of a ninth- or tenth-century lexicon copied in Carolingian miniscule. Although barely legible even under UV light, it appears that each line of palimpsest text contains a lemma followed by a short definition. Organized in alphabetical order, each lemma is set off by a red initial, while the main body of the text is copied in brown ink.[298]

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[295] See Federico Ghisi, "Un frammento musicale della 'Ars Nova Italiana' nell'Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale di Pistoia," *Rivista musicale italiana* XLII (1938) and "Italian Ars-Nova Music: The Perugia and Pistoia Fragments of the Lucca Musical Codex and Other Unpublished Early 15th Century Sources," *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1, no. 3 (1946). Ghisi's claim that Pistoia 5 was once part of the Lucca codex has been refuted by Nino Pirrotta and Ettore Li Gotti as well as by John Nádas and Agostino Ziino. See Pirrotta and Li Gotti, "Il Codice di Lucca: I. Descrizione e Inventario," *Musica Disciplina* 3, no. 2/4 (1949): 122 and Nádas and Ziino, ed. *The Lucca Codex: Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition* (Lucca: LIM, 1990).

[296] Pistoia 5 is described in CCMS 3, p. 50 and in RISM Series B IV, pp. 1013–16.

TABLE 4.4: PISTOIA 5 CONTENTS AND CONCORDANCES

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
Ir	State a dio fatti con dio	Anon.	Ballata	SL fol. 56v-57r*	
Iv	[Fortuna ria]a Amor e crudel donna	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq, fol. 147v; FP, fol. 10r; Pit, fol. 86v, Seville 25, fol. 48v-49r	
IIr	A piaçer l'ochi	Antonellus da Caserta	Ballata	Man, fol. 67v-68r; Padua 1115, fol. Bv	
IIv	Araigera (?) de madame confort	Anon.	Rondeau		

---

[297] As shown in Table 4.2, only three other sources of secular polyphony with Italian origins are copied on palimpsest parchment: the Lowinsky fragment (in which the outer bifolio is palimpsest parchment), Rome 1067, and Trent 60. I thank Michael Cuthbert for drawing to my attention Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 4749, a sacred source containing a three-voiced Benedicamus Domino also copied on palimpsest parchment.

[298] I thank Professors Stefano Zamponi and Teresa De Robertis for sharing their opinions regarding the palimpsest text.

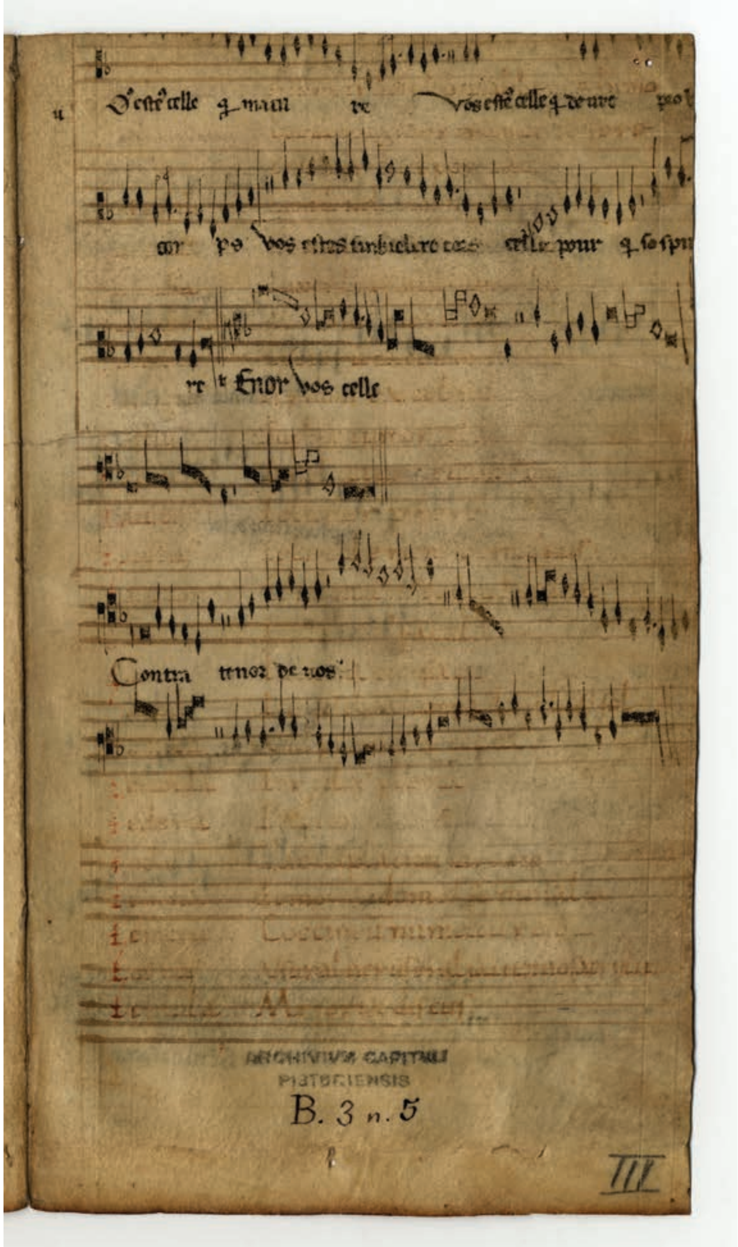
Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
IIv	[...] plus tost vorroj la mort	Anon.	Rondeau		
IIIr	Vos estes celle qui m'a cure	Anon.	Rondeau		
IIIv	[Gentil aspec]to in cui la mente mia (cantus and tenor)	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq, fol. 133r; FP, fol. 27v-28r; Pit, fol. 66v-67r; Reina, fol. 52v; Brescia 5, fol. 1r (tenor only)**	Magl. VII 1041, fol. 51v; Chigi L.IV.131, fol. 387v
IVr	Se n'Antogn'ama 'l qual (tenor and final portion of cantus)	Anon.	Ballata		
IVv	Merçe o morte	Johannes Ciconia	Ballata	Bologna 2216, fol. 51; Man, fol. 52v; Paris 4917, fol. 18v-19r	

* *I thank Michael Cuthbert for bringing this concordance to my attention, which was announced by John Nádas in a paper presented on San Lorenzo 2211 at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society in 1990 and remains unpublished.*

** *The concordance in Brescia 5 is reported in the database hosted on the website* Die Musik des Trecento *run by Oliver Huck, et al. <http://www.trecento.uni-hamburg.de/datenbanken/handschriften/h_detail.php?id=36>.*

This palimpsest more than any other feature sets Pistoia 5 apart from the majority of trecento musical sources. Especially worthy of note is the poor quality of the parchment's preparation prior to being filled with musical notation (see Figure 4.10). Only minimal effort was made to remove the Carolingian text from the pages, and a large amount of residual ink was allowed to remain, particularly towards the bottoms of folios. Much of the most poorly cleaned area was never covered with more than empty staves, perhaps in part because the scribe realized that the palimpsest would severely hamper the legibility of any text written over it. This shoddy preparation of the parchment is significant in terms of its implications for Pistoia 5's original use and physical form. It is highly unlikely that parchment so poorly prepared would have been destined for use in a formal, well-planned codex. A much more plausible use for recycled parchment of this quality would be as pages in an informal notebook-like manuscript copied for personal use, or even as mere scrap material.

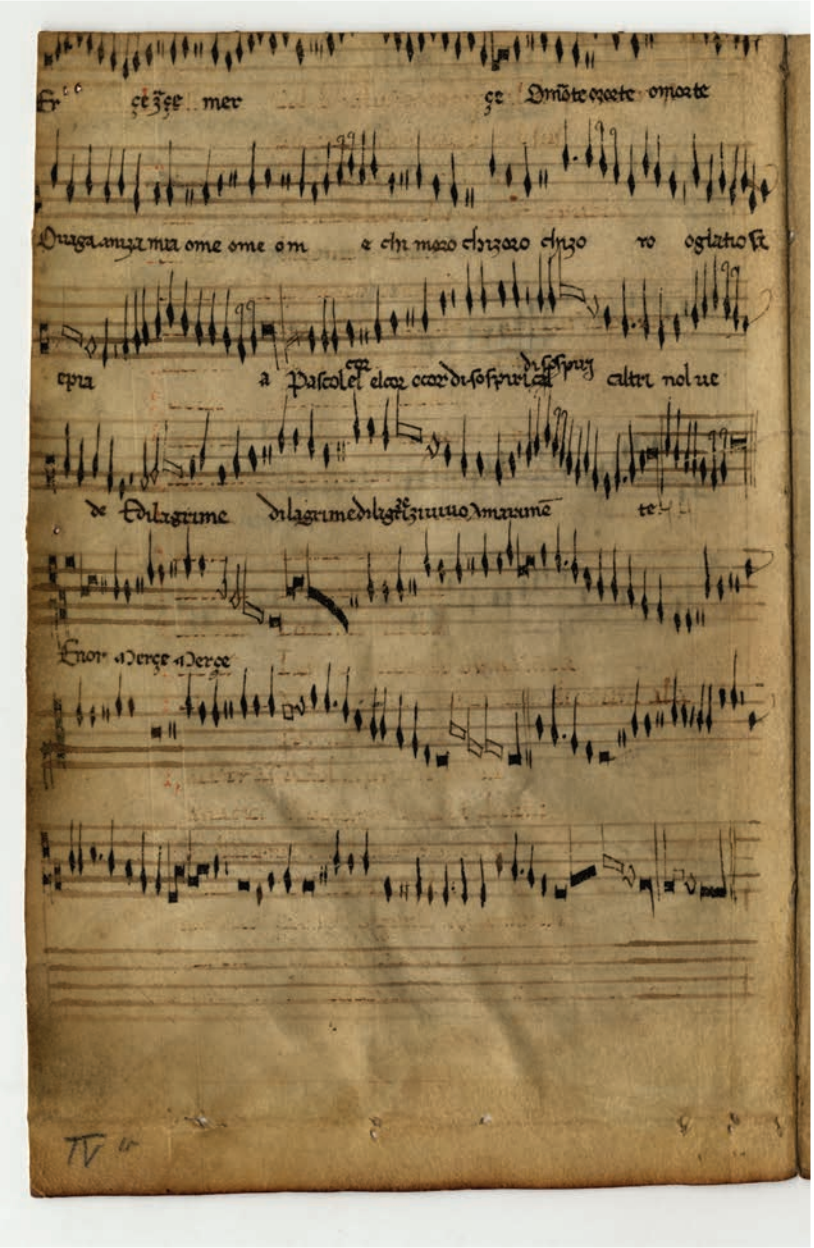
Figure 4.10: Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, B.3.5, fol. IIIr[299]


Tenor vos celle
Contra tenor de vos
ARCHIVIUM CAPITULI PISTORIENSIS
B. 3 n. 5
III

---

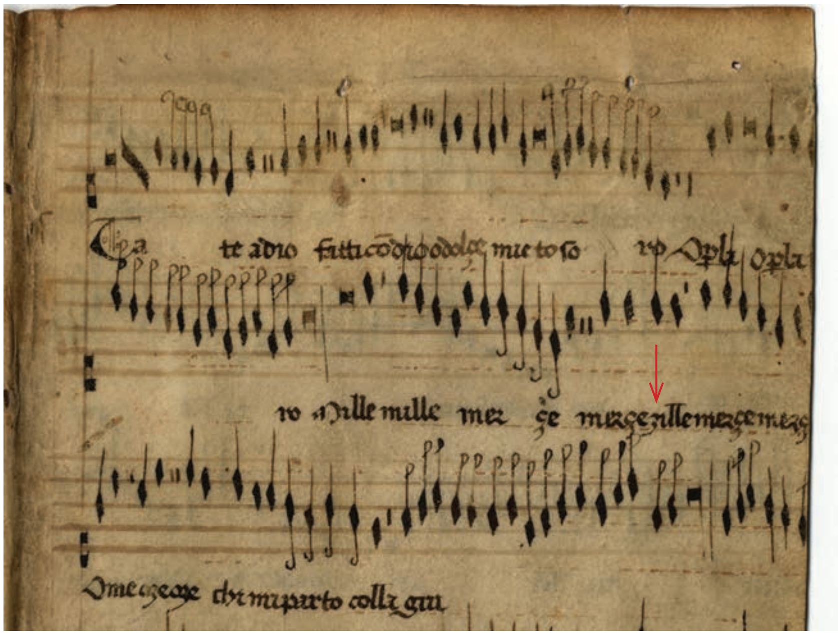
[299] Images of Pistoia 5 are provided by the Sezione di fotoriproduzione of the Archivio Capitolare del Duomo di Pistoia and are reproduced with permission from the Archivio Capitolare del Duomo di Pistoia. A full digital reproduction of the fragment can be consulted through Archivio Capitolare's website (http://www.archiviocapitolaredipistoia.it).

Figure 4.11: Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, B.3.5, fol. IVv



Although most likely the work of a professional scribe, Pistoia 5's notation and text both display characteristics that add to the impression of informality created by the palimpsest. The staves, for example, while carefully ruled and evenly spaced, are drawn with unusually thick, inelegant lines. The text, not placed along a proper base line, undulates freely under the music only roughly following traces of the well-ruled palimpsest text as its guide. The music itself is relatively neat with straight stems and well-formed note heads, though the black-void notes are often slightly awkward in shape. Attempts at some degree of elegance can be seen in the simple pen flourish decoration filling the second letter at the start of many of the songs and in the fact that small enlarged initials were planned. They are, however, undermined by the informal corrections scattered throughout the four folios. Rather than erasing errors before editing, when the poetic text is involved Pistoia 5's scribe chooses to simply cross out the problematic letters and squish necessary extra words into the surrounding space (see, for example, fol. IVv shown in Figure 4.11). Finally, the gothic script, though generally well-formed, displays one peculiar scribal habit—the symbol normally reserved for use in Latin texts to abbreviate endings with a final *m* is often used in Pistoia 5 at the beginning of Italian words, mostly where limitations of space make a standard *m* difficult to fit in. Used several times in the cantus for *Merçe o morte* on fol. IVv (periodically used for both words in the incipit), this unusual abbreviation is also found in *State a dio* ("*mille merze*" in the cantus) on fol. Ir and in *A piagnier* on fol. IIr (see Figure 4.12).

Figure 4.12: Pistoia 5, fol. IR detail (*State a dio*, cantus)



Thus, as with Bologna 23, there are several reasons to doubt the fragment was ever part of a proper anthology. It could perhaps represent two stray folios from an informal but reasonably lengthy musical notebook copied by a professional scribe/singer for his own personal use in performance, a book similar to London 29987 or Magl. VII 1078 in its physical form. This hypothesis is supported by the presence of multiple layers of scribal activity. Although copied by a single scribe, Pistoia 5 is not the product of a single copying effort. Rather, it was assembled over several sittings in spite of its brevity. The underlaid text on fol. IIr, for example, was copied using a more thickly tempered pen than the other text in the fragment, and the text of the rondeau at the bottom of fol. IIv was copied using a different ink, more brown in color. Were it a casually assembled collection of reasonable length, Pistoia 5's folios may originally have been numbered and the foliation then lost when the parchment was cut down for use as register covers.

We must, however, also allow that Pistoia 5 may lack signs of old foliation not because they have been trimmed off but because they never existed in the first place. It is possible that these two bifolios, never bound into a more extensive codex, were instead part of a small fascicle manuscript.[300] Often dismantled and re-used as binding material, it is rare to find a fascicle manuscript that remains intact today, except for those bound into larger volumes before they were destroyed. Nevertheless, there are two examples of still-integral fascicle notebooks described by Teresa De Robertis that offer a useful point of comparison for Pistoia 5: Piacenza, Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Antonio, cassetta C. 49, fram. 10 and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. IX 529.[301] De Robertis's analysis of Marciana 529 is particularly pertinent, as it identifies the poor quality of the parchment used as evidence that the three bifolios were never destined for inclusion in a proper book. Another point of comparison is Rome 1419, a non-musical manuscript into which a few paper folios filled with liturgical and secular polyphony were bound. Cuthbert argues that its musical section originally formed an independent gathering of five bifolios copied by an amateur scribe in several sittings. This unit, he says, may well have circulated as a fascicle manuscript before being joined with the philosophical and legal treatises that now surround it.[302]

In considering the scale of Pistoia 5's original form, we must of course also address the question of how much we are missing today. The two bifolios are laid out such that each folio presents complete works, with two exceptions. Fol. IIIv contains only the cantus and tenor parts for Francesco degli organi's ballata *Gentil aspetto*, and fol. IVr contains the full tenor part for the anonymous ballata *Se n'Antogn'ama 'l qual* but only the very end of the cantus part. Therefore, at least one more bifolio must have once been nested between current fols. III and IV. The first recto of this bifolio could have been filled with the contratenor for *Gentil aspetto*, and perhaps another short work at the top of the page similar in length to the rondeaux on fol. IIv. The second verso of this bifolio could have been filled with the opening portion of the cantus for *Se n'Antogn'ama 'l qual* and possibly a second short work as well. Given that the outer folios of the gathering would most likely have been blank for reasons of conservation, we can hypothesize the existence of one more bifolio whose first recto and final verso served as covers. If constructed in this manner, Pistoia 5 would have been a single quatern, a standard size for gatherings around this time. With no pieces other than *Se n'Antogn'ama 'l qual* and *Gentil aspetto* extending beyond a single face of one folio, it is impossible to determine the original order in which the folios appeared. I suggest a plausible structure below in Figure 4.13, but it must be born in mind that this is only one of several possible configurations.

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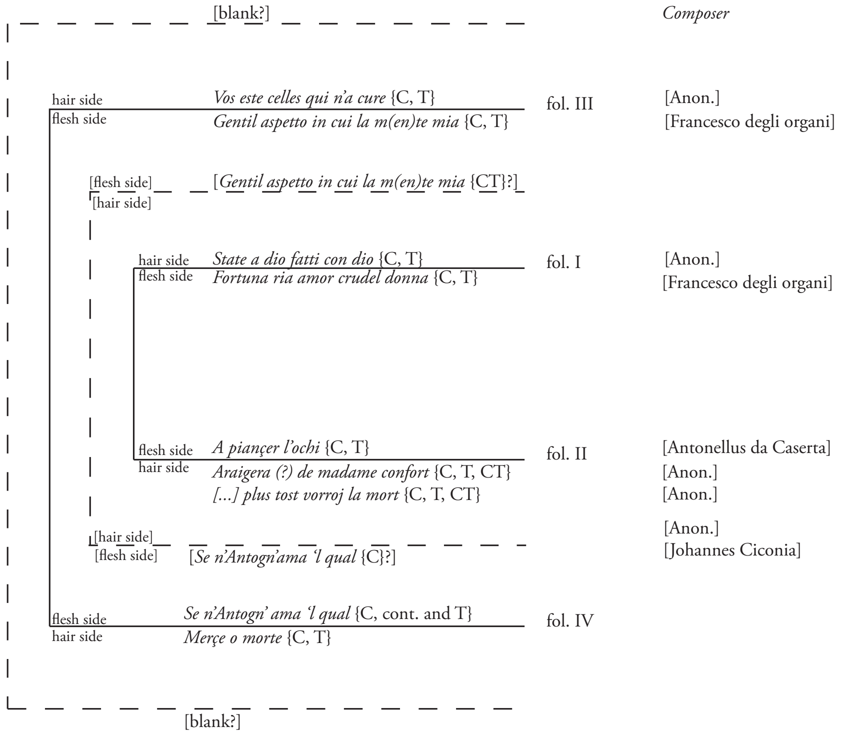
[300] The term "fascicle manuscript" was coined and first used in relation to musical transmission by Charles Hamm in his article "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era," *Acta Musicologica* 34 (1962). Although Hamm's discussion of the role of fascicle manuscripts in the transmission of Dufay-era repertoire is by no means universally accepted, we do have ample evidence that music and other written material did circulate informally in single gathering notebook-like sources as well as in larger codices.

[301] See Teresa De Robertis, "Strutture e scritture del codicetto piacentino," in *Tracce di una tradizione sommersa: i primi testi lirici italiani tra poesia e musica*, ed. Maria Sofia Lannutti and Massimiliano Locanto (Florence: SISMEL, 2005) and "Un canzoniere breve?," in *Il canzoniere escorialense e il frammento marciano dello stilnovo*, ed. Stefano Carrai and Giuseppe Marrani (Florence: SISMEL, 2009).

[302] Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 431–42.

Figure 4.13: Possible original structure of Pistoia 5


[blank?]
Composer
hair side
flesh side
Vos este celles qui n'a cure {C, T}
Gentil aspetto in cui la m(en)te mia {C, T}
fol. III
[Anon.]
[Francesco degli organi]
[flesh side]
[hair side]
[*Gentil aspetto in cui la m(en)te mia* {CT}?]
hair side
flesh side
State a dio fatti con dio {C, T}
Fortuna ria amor crudel donna {C, T}
fol. I
[Anon.]
[Francesco degli organi]
flesh side
hair side
A piançer l'ochi {C, T}
Araigera (?) de madame confort {C, T, CT}
[...] plus tost vorroj la mort {C, T, CT}
fol. II
[Antonellus da Caserta]
[Anon.]
[Anon.]
[hair side]
[flesh side]
[*Se n'Antogn'ama 'l qual* {C}?]
[Anon.]
[Johannes Ciconia]
flesh side
hair side
Se n'Antogn' ama 'l qual {C, cont. and T}
Merçe o morte {C, T}
fol. IV
[blank?]

Admittedly, the evidence presented here does not conclusively prove that Pistoia 5 was once part of a fascicle manuscript. In their current state, the two bifolios simply do not offer us enough clues to be certain about their original form. However, it is important to note that none of Pistoia 5's characteristics are out of line with those of other known fascicle manuscripts. As already mentioned, Rome 1419 was also copied in several sittings. Moreover, there are other fascicle manuscripts that display modest decoration despite their informality. Rome 1419 has some simple pen flourishes similar in scope to those in Pistoia 5, and in Piacenza 49 space was left for an enlarged initial on fol. 1r. Meanwhile, it is worth re-emphasizing that the quality of Pistoia 5's parchment is markedly inconsistent with that of the parchment used in large anthologies, both complete and fragmentary. Therefore, given that its current form more than allows for the hypothesis, we must at least consider the possibility that Pistoia 5 was never intended to be part of a sizeable *canzoniere*.

In light of this new interpretation of Bologna 23 and Pistoia 5, let us return to the question posed at the start of this section: how can we be sure that the material differences between the notated and un-notated manuscripts are more than a mere side effect of the difficulty inherent in writing and reading mensural notation? When freed from hypothetical connections to long lost song collections, Bologna 23, Pistoia 5, and the five other sources in Table 4.2 that were not part of large anthologies are our answer.[303] Precisely because they depart from the trends outlined in the table, they allow us to discuss with confidence the iconographic role notation assumes in the musical tradition as a whole. These seven sources demonstrate that while trecento song was usually granted a refined material existence when paired with notation, this was not always the case. Scribes could and sometimes did copy notated song in manuscripts analogous to the text-only sources in their physical form. If the sources remaining today offer an accurate cross-section of the written transmission of both song and vernacular poetry, then we must view the music itself as fundamental to song's cultural status. Music, it would seem, had the power to elevate vernacular poetry, which was otherwise seen as inferior to classical texts in elite intellectual circles. Without it, most Italian poetry was obliged to lead a modest life during the second half of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, copied in informal, private books like Treviso 43, Riccardiana 2786^{II}, and Genova A.IX.28, while luxurious books were reserved for classical works in Latin and Greek. When transformed by polyphony, however, the same vernacular lyric became worthy of transmission in manuscripts as formal and as elegant as the Squarcialupi codex.

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[303] These other five sources are Assisi 187, Ivrea 105, Padua 656, Rome 1067, and Rome 1419.

In other words, the musical tradition of trecento polyphonic song seems to have carried greater cultural worth than its literary tradition. This statement is, of course, nothing new in and of itself. Scholars have long asserted that the Italian *ars nova* repertoire represents an elite tradition produced and consumed by a small circle of intellectuals and that the poems selected for setting were of minimal literary significance. What this dissertation demonstrates, however, is that the literary tradition of trecento song is equally as important as the musical tradition, even if the status of the poetry appears to be lower when separated from notation. In recognizing the prevailing difference between the notated and un-notated sources, a difference which I believe is pronounced enough to warrant close consideration and explanation, it is imperative that we avoid the temptation to simply belittle the literary sources and the poetry they contain. There is still much we do not know about both material traditions and about their relation to broader manuscript cultures in late medieval Italy. More than providing firm answers, therefore, this chapter and this dissertation as a whole aim to provide a model for further analysis in which a focus on scribes, readers, and differing modes of reception shines new light on the history of both music and poetry in fourteenth-century Italy, bringing to the fore literary sources that situate song in a variety of rich and complicated sociocultural contexts.

Poetic *Mise en Page* in Notated Sources

While there is some variation in material form among trecento musical sources, one element remains consistent through nearly every manuscript. Even informal notated sources like Bologna 23 and Pistoia 5 are meticulous about the visual presentation of poetic structure. When text was included, scribes carefully marked the end of each poetic verse both in underlaid portions and the *residuum*. As noted in previous chapters, similar care can be observed in the un-notated sources as well, whether they were copied with a single verse per line, two verses per line, or in prose format. Even relatively sloppy manuscripts tend to reflect important structural breaks visually (such as between the *ripresa* and first *piede* in ballate) through the use of blank space, indentation, and enlarged initials. In fact as discussed in Chapter 3, the only manuscript with or without musical notation to routinely reject visual clarity of poetic structure in terms of versification and in terms of sectional divisions is Magl. VII 1078.

The consistent care with which scribes and compilers of music manuscripts approached the text speaks to the centrality of the poetry itself within the tradition of trecento song. Just as the incorporation of song texts into the literary environments of the text-only sources indicates that they were seen as poetry in their own right outside of musical circles, the attention paid to text in the notated sources demonstrates that these poems were more than mere vehicles for vocal performance. To judge by the visual presentation of poetic texts in musical manuscripts, their correct recitation was integral to the song itself, as was an accurate understanding of poetic structure. Particularly given that little else remains in the material record to help us reconstruct how trecento composers, musicians, scribes, and audiences perceived the relationship between music and text, the details regarding the way in which song texts were copied in notated sources merit careful consideration. These details are thus the focus of the next portion of this chapter. By carefully examining the way in which the poetic texts are presented in these sources and studying differences between concordant sources with and without notation, we can begin to articulate why song texts interested scribes and composers, what elements were considered integral to their identity as poems, and how these elements were reflected both musically and visually. Comparing the poetic *mise en page* in notated and un-notated sources and exploring links between textual elements highlighted in the musical manuscripts and early Italian literary treatises, we will see that in both their sounding and written form, trecento settings were informed by contemporary trends in literary transmission and poetic aesthetics.

"Sovra la riva" and the Visual Presentation of Sacchetti's Poetry in Notated Sources

There are several reasons why Franco Sacchetti's song texts offer a useful lens through which to view the treatment of poetry in musical manuscripts. By virtue of being authored by a known and respected poet and by virtue of their extensive textual tradition, they are among the few song texts whose literary import cannot be doubted. They are also the only poems set to music during the trecento that come down to us without notation in an autograph source. That we can be sure of Sacchetti's own interpretation of each poem, down to details of visual presentation such as the treatment of *sinalefe* and *dialefe*, aids in our analysis of the notated sources by allowing us to observe where and how musical scribes deviated from the poet's reading.

The close correspondence between poetic structure and musical structure in trecento song is well known, long recognized as an important element of style especially in early madrigals. What bears emphasizing, though, is the way in which a musical setting like Lorenzo's *Sovra la riva* can transform the structure of the poem, immediately evident when it is read in written form, into something that is also readily apparent aurally. The extremely pronounced melismas on the first and penultimate syllable of each verse, coupled with the cadences that coincide with the final syllable, place the poem's verse structure in high relief. Meanwhile, the characteristic change of the *divisio* at the start of the *ritornello* emphasizes the arrival of the new poetic section. Significantly, these structural features, clearly presented in poetic manuscripts, are also highlighted visually in notated sources. One of the more widely disseminated settings of Sacchetti's poetry, *Sovra la riva,* appears in three musical manuscripts: Sq (fol. 48v–49r), FP (fol. 75v–76r), and Pit (fol. 24v–25r). It thus allows us to consider the presentation of Sacchetti's text while also addressing a crucial dimension of manuscript studies—the impact of scribal preference. The temporal distance between trecento musical sources and the composition of the works they contain makes it notoriously difficult to untangle authorial intent from scribal initiative. When discussing the relationship between text and music and when contemplating how the poetry is or is not reflected musically, it is imperative to attend to scribal variants. The consistency in both text underlay and marking of verse structure among concordant sources is of particular interest.

In all three musical manuscripts, the poetic structure of *Sovra la riva* is consistently portrayed with a high degree of clarity, particularly in comparison with slightly later sources containing fifteenth- rather than fourteenth-century repertoire.[304] To judge by the inconsistency in the texting of music by Dufay, his contemporaries, and his immediate successors, alignment between text and music became less significant (or perhaps simply less rigid) as musical style shifted. What is more, when compared with the ambiguity that characterizes text underlay in fifteenth-century song, the stability seen in trecento sources implies that musico-textual alignment was, in the earlier tradition, an element determined more by the composer himself than by the scribe. Although the presence of variants calls attention to the importance of basing our analysis on a philologically sound text, which most modern editions of this repertoire are not, the overall consistency in text underlay opens up the possibility of discussing author intent regarding various aspects of the relationship between poetry and music.

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[304] Text underlay and declamation in trecento manuscripts has been discussed by a few different scholars from a variety of angles. Several have noted the contrast in precision between Italian *ars nova* sources and sources transmitting music of the Dufay era and beyond. See especially Dorothea Baumann, "Silben- und Wortwiederholungen im italienischen Liedrepertoire des späten Trecento und des frühen Quattrocento," in *Musik und Text in der Meherstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984).

Anyone familiar with the notated sources of trecento secular song is well aware of the various different systems scribes employ to indicate the verse structure of poems. Yet although they are often noted and remarked upon in passing, they are rarely discussed in depth.[305] However, far from being an inconsequential detail, the marked focus on poetic structure in notated sources points to the importance of this element in the relationship between text and music as perceived by musicians. While these signs (most often oblique slashes or dots similar to the *virgule* and *puncti* discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to Magl. VII 1078) generally seem to demarcate poetic structure, their use is neither straightforward nor uniform. Certain scribes in certain situations sometimes employ these same signs for other reasons, for example to highlight word repetition or to note the alignment between poetic text and melodic rests. This is particularly true in the case of the caccia, where the slashes and dots included in the verbal text rarely correspond purely to the verse structure of the poetry.[306] Verse structure in cacce is thus often difficult to determine. In the case of ballate and madrigals, it is usually made clear through a confluence of several visual signs. In *Sovra la riva*, the start of each verse is set off visually by a capital letter heading up the first word, which in the case of FP is highlighted with a red slash (Figure 4.14). In all cases, these capital letters coincide with the use of an oblique slash or a dot in the underlaid text, strongly suggesting that in this madrigal all three serve to emphasize the poetic structure visually.

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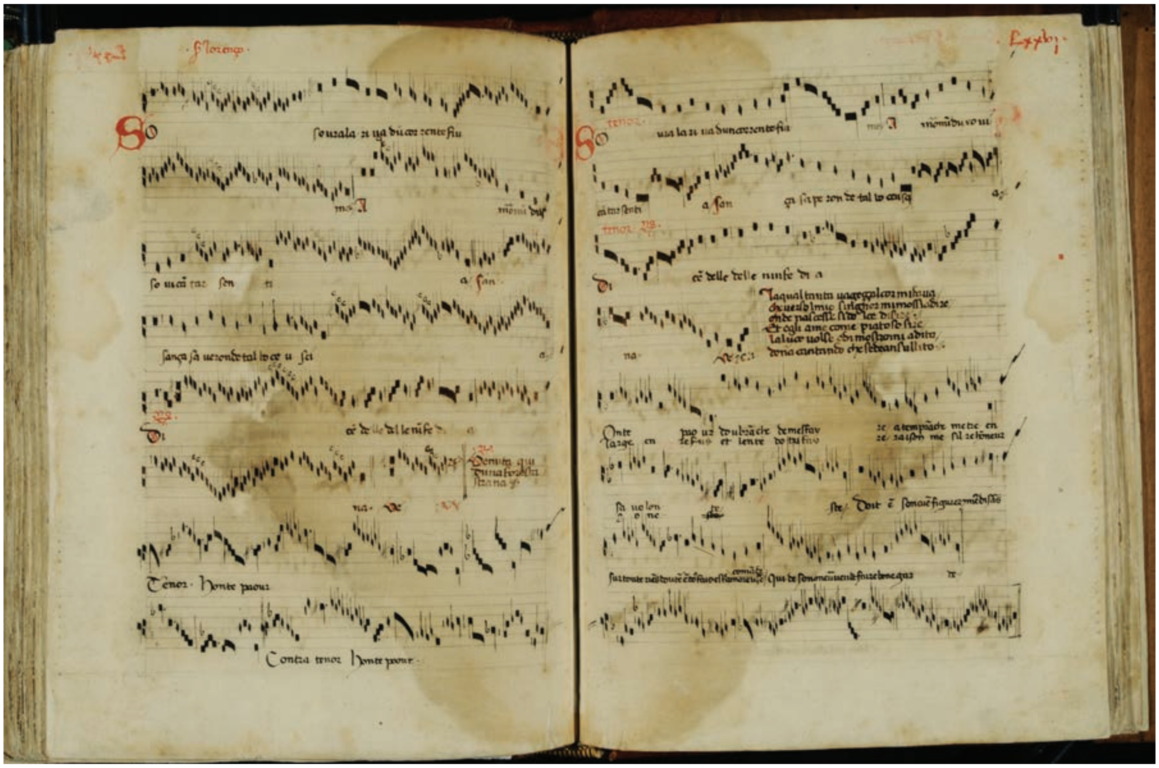
[305] See, for example, Marco Gozzi, "Sul rapporto testo-musica nel Trecento italiano: il caso del madrigale petrarchesco Non al so amante intonato da Jacopo da Bologna," *Polifonie* IV, no. 3 (2004) and John Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages" (PhD diss., New York University, 1985). There is one recent study that deals with graphic signs in more depth: Elena Abramov-van Rijk, *Parlar cantando: The practice of reciting verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2009), see esp. Chapter 7.

[306] Michele Epifani, "Il genere caccia nel Trecento italiano: studio e edizione critica del repertorio" (Masters thesis, Università degli Studi di Pavia, 2011).

Figure 4.14: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26, fol. 75v-76r



Moreover, looking again at *Sovra la riva* as an example, both the end of the stanza and the end of the *ritornello* are clearly marked, not just through the change in *divisio* and the clear section break in the musical setting but also through the way in which the text is copied. The simple dot or slash used to signal the end of internal verses is replaced with a more elaborate sign at the end of each structural unit, often either a colon (:), a triangular design (:·), or a sign consisting of two slashes flanked by a dot on either side (.//.). The opening of the *ritornello* is also marked by an enlarged initial clearly more significant in form than the capitals found at the start of each internal verse. The *residuum* is presented with equal clarity. In FP, the second and third *terzine* are copied in verse after the tenor line, with a slash (/) visually reinforcing the end of each verse and two slashes followed by a dot (//.) to show the end of each three-verse unit.[307] Slight indentation of the *terzina*'s second and third verses along with a capital at the beginning of the first verse adds further visual clarity to the poetic structure, imitating the kind of *mise en page* typical of literary sources. Finally, red slashes are used to highlight the first letter of each verse in the residual text.

Sq's text scribe takes a slightly different approach to the *residuum*, presumably influenced by the space available to him and a desire to create a well-balanced, aesthetic page layout (see Figure 4.15). Here, the two *terzine* are again copied in verse, but instead of being arranged one below the other, they are laid out in a double column format with the second *terzina* on the left and the third *terzina* on the right. As in FP, the end of each verse is clearly marked with a graphic sign (.||). While the end of the second *terzina* is made clear only by the disposition of the text in two columns, the end of the third *terzina* is emphasized through the use of a more elaborate graphic sign (:||:). The text for the second verse of the *ritornello*, on the other hand, is not presented in the *residuum* but is instead written with the first verse beneath the notation of each voice part—evidence of the compilers' concern for accurate representation of the relationship between text and music.

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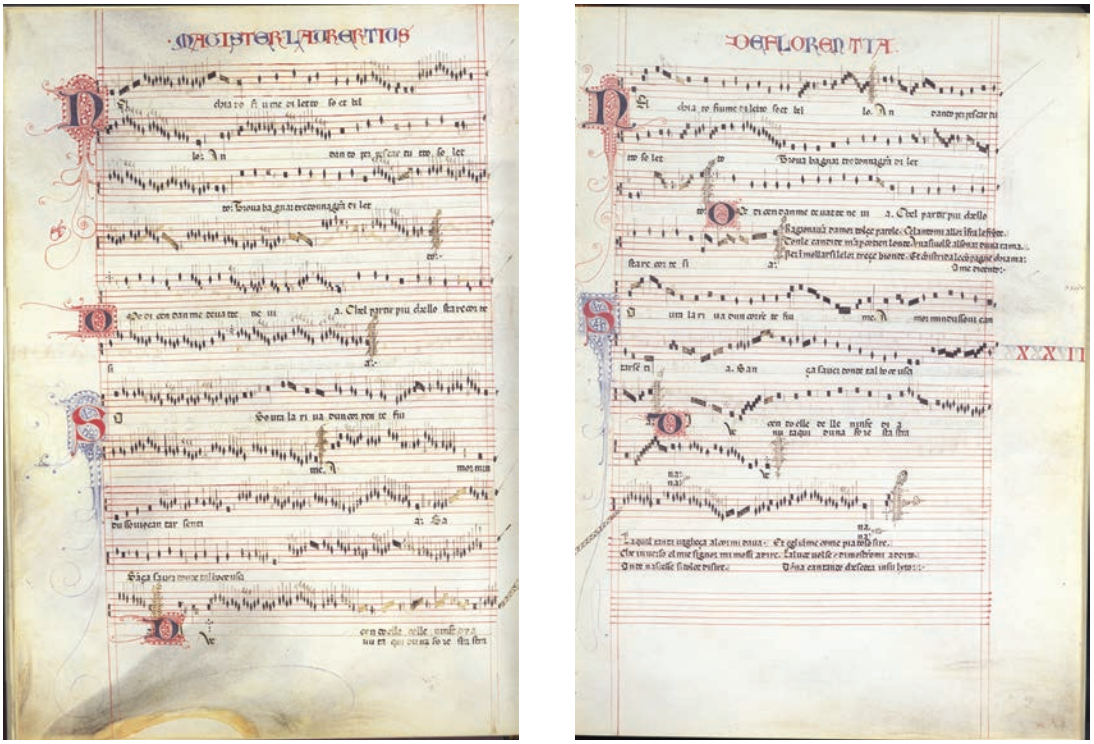
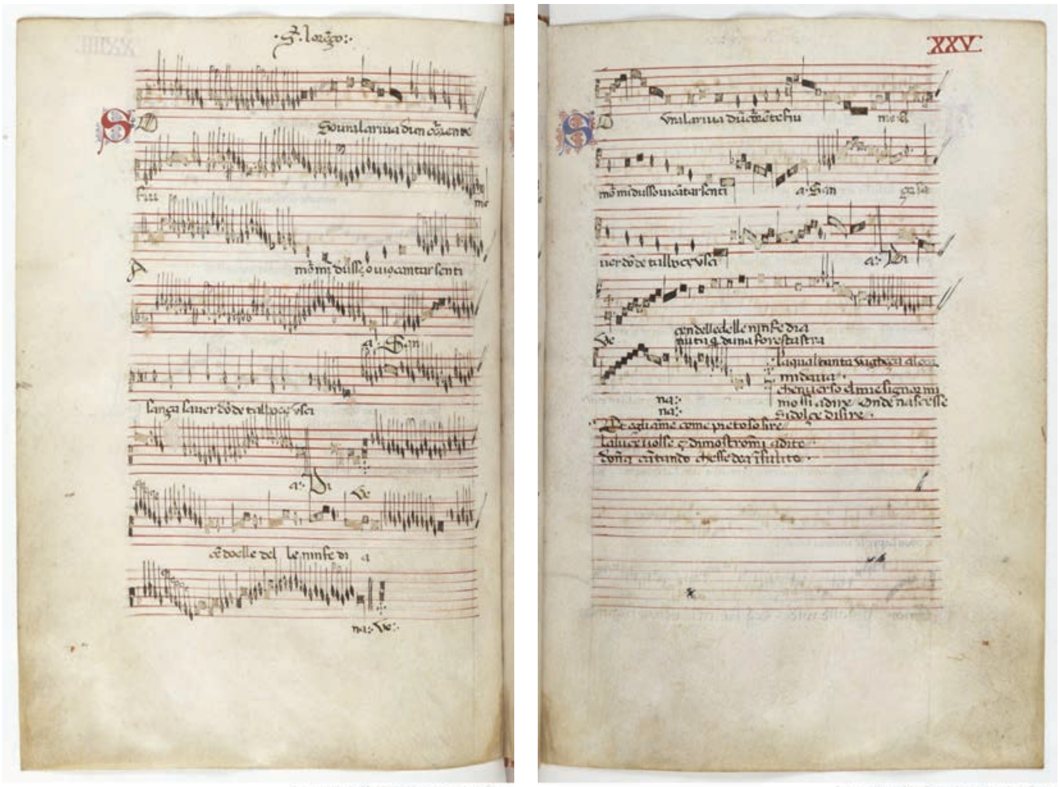
[307] The second verse of the *ritornello* is copied separately after the cantus part on fol. 75v, its connection to the *ritornello* clearly marked. Though there is not space for the entire verse to fit on one line, it is presented in the same manner as the *residuum* following the tenor line, with a highlighted capital at the start of the verse and a double slash with a dot (//.) at the end.

Figure 4.15: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino 87, fol. 48v-49r



Pit, though the least elegant of the three in terms of the appearance and layout of its text, is nevertheless equally accurate and transparent in its presentation of poetic structure (see Figure 4.16). The underlaid text follows a system similar to that observed in Sq, using a hierarchical system of dots and a hierarchical system of capitals to mark the end of each verse and the start of the next. Also as in Sq, the second verse of the *ritornello* is placed along with the first beneath the musical notation, although here only in the tenor voice. The residual text, however, is treated slightly differently. The second *terzina* that fills the right-hand portion of the staff on which the tenor part ends is not copied in verse due to lack of horizontal space. Nevertheless, the end of each verse is clearly marked with a graphic sign (//.), ensuring that the reader can quickly and easily identify the structure of the *terzina*. The third *terzina* is copied in verse, placed on the lines of the staff below where it is set off by a capital "E." As in the previous *terzina*, the end of each verse is reinforced visually with a graphic sign (//.).

Figure 4.16: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien, fol. 24v-25r



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Looking at Sacchetti's approach to *mise en page* in Ashburnham 574, it is clear that the poet likewise placed a high priority on the transparent visual presentation of poetic structure. Ashburnham 574, like most collections of trecento lyric, focuses on the structure of each poem as a fundamental element of its identity. Following the approach to poetic *mise en page* commonly used throughout the fourteenth century, Sacchetti copied all of his poems except for the cacce with two verses per line, each verse marked with a sign (./) similar to those found in the notated sources discussed above. Larger scale structure is indicated through the use of indentation and capital letters so that the division of the poem into its component parts is always readily apparent to the eye. In the case of madrigals like *Sovra la riva*, the visual integrity of each *terzina* is emphasized by the isolation of the third verse on its own line. Lack of notation aside, then, Sacchetti's own presentation of *Sovra la riva* is strikingly similar to that found in the musical sources, not just in the general clarity of form displayed but also in the specific graphic techniques used to highlight the poem's structure. The close correspondence between Ashburnham 574 and the notated manuscripts in terms of the graphic signs used to signal the end of each verse strongly suggests that the scribes responsible for creating these three musical sources were well aware of the standard approach to the visual organization of poetry in literary sources. The circulation of song texts with and without notation may represent two separate and independent material traditions, but as the concordant sources for *Sovra la riva* demonstrate, these traditions did not exist in isolation from one another. Musical scribes were clearly cognizant of trends in literary transmission and took care to reflect in their own work the structural characteristics prioritized by Sacchetti himself and by the scribes of other text-only sources.

Significantly, this kind of attention to poetic structure can be observed in the copying of all trecento song texts even those whose literary value may seem minimal. In fact, the close correspondence in the graphic signs used to demarcate structure extends beyond Ashburnham 574, Sq, Pit, and FP to encompass the vast majority of text-only sources and musical manuscripts. Indeed, the remarkable consistency with which these systems of slashes and dots are found in trecento manuscripts is striking. This is a technique not reserved only for the most carefully copied sources or a habit associated with a single scribe; it is characteristic of all manuscripts that present polyphonic madrigals and ballate, including even sources like London 29987 whose main scribe was not especially meticulous in his work. Of the larger sources, only the Reina codex and the Rossi codex habitually neglect to emphasize the verse structure in the underlaid text. Yet, even in these sources where graphic signs are sometimes omitted, capital letters often highlight the start of verses, and various means are always used to demarcate each poetic section. Moreover, the *residuum* is presented such that its verse structure is easily decipherable, whether it is copied in straightforward verse format or not. Poetic structure is thus still prioritized in both manuscripts, in spite of their scribes' less meticulous and less transparent delineation of verses.

Text Underlay and Issues of Prosody

Even taking into account the inevitable existence of exceptions, the use of symbols to mark verse structure and rigorous attention to the visual presentation of poetic texts is essentially ubiquitous in trecento notated sources. Similarly ubiquitous is the care and consistency with which scribes treated text underlay, a further sign of the central role poetry itself plays in trecento song. Unlike manuscripts transmitting fifteenth-century song, trecento sources rarely differ in their alignment of text to music, and as will be illustrated below, variants tend to come in predictable places. The vast majority correspond to moments of *sinalefe* in the poetic text—that is, where proper scansion of the verse requires counting two adjacent vowels (one at the end of one word and the other at the start of the next) as one rather than two syllables.[308] With prosody, or versification, being a key aspect of poetic identity in early Italian lyric, the correct interpretation of *sinalefe* and *dialefe* (the separation of adjacent vowels into different syllables), as well as *sineresi* and *dieresi*, is fundamental to reading, analysis, and recitation. Observing the ways in which composers and scribes dealt with these phenomena in the context of a musical setting, we can learn much about the impact of literary theory and technique on trecento song.

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[308] As noted before, for a more explanation of *sinalefe, dialefe, sineresi,* and *dieresi* in Italian verse, see Beltrami, *La metrica italiana*, 161–78 and Menichetti, *Metrica italiana*, Chapters 3 and 4.

Looking again at Lorenzo's setting of *Sovra la riva*, there is a remarkable consistency in text underlay between all three notated sources. Only once do the manuscripts disagree on how the syllables should match up with the music: in FP, the start of the penultimate melisma in the final verse of the *terzina* is shifted forward by one breve, where the scribe chose to ignore the *sinalefe* between the words *voce* and *uscia* in the cantus. The tenor, on the other hand, does take the *sinalefe* into account, its reading matching with that in Sq and Pit (Example 4.1). The non-simultaneous declamation at this point forces us to question whether the *dialefe* in FP's cantus is an error rather than a variant. For the most part, scribes were mindful of maintaining simultaneous declamation between voices when motion is more or less homorhythmic. Jacopo da Bologna's setting of *Posando sopr'un acqua*, for example, is transmitted in five notated sources: Sq (fol. 10v–11r), FP (fol. 65v–66r), Grottaferrata 219 (fol. 3v–4r), Pit (fol. 6v–7r), and Reina (fol. 9r).[309] As is the case with *Sovra la riva*, the three Florentine sources agree closely in their text underlay, variations coming only at moments where correct scansion of the verse requires that a *sinalefe* be observed between two words. In two such cases, Sq and Pit provide one reading while FP offers a slightly different interpretation. The first falls in the middle of the poem's first verse, "*Posando sopr'un acqua in sogno vidi*." Here, FP ignores the *sinalefe* required between *acqua* and *in*, clearly setting the two words as three distinct syllables. This first hendecasyllabic line is thereby turned into a hypermetric verse. In contrast, Pit and Sq do observe the *sinalefe* in the tenor while also de-emphasizing the pronunciation of all three syllables indicated in the cantus through simultaneous declamation of key syllables (see Example 4.2).

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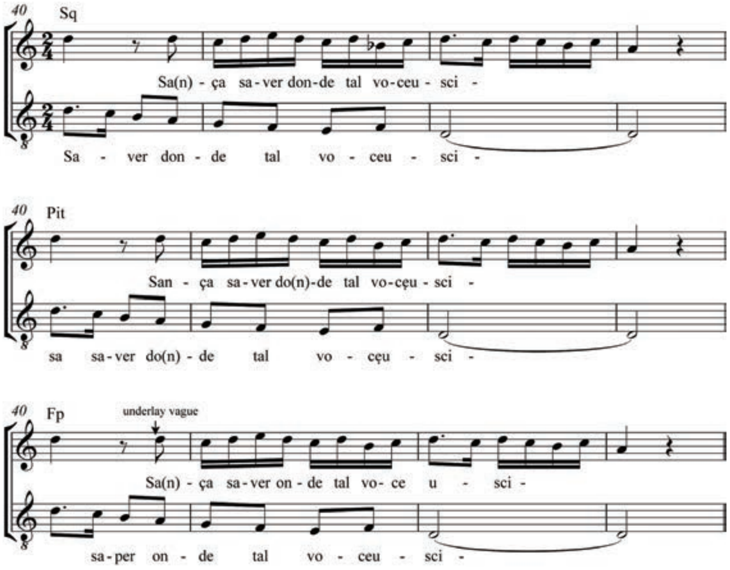
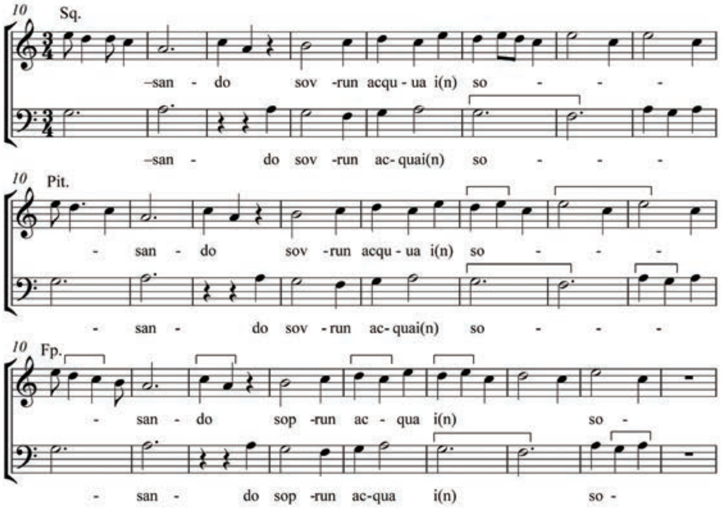
[309] The version of Jacopo's madrigal in Grottaferrata 219 comes down to us in a fragmentary state. Only the second half of the tenor part has survived.

Example 4.1: Treatment of *sinalefe* in *Sovra la riva*[310]


40
Sq
Sa(n) - ça sa - ver don - de tal vo - ceu - sci -
Sa - ver don - de tal vo - ceu - sci -
40
Pit
San - ça sa - ver do(n) - de tal vo - cẹu - sci -
sa sa - ver do(n) - de tal vo - cẹu - sci -
40
Fp
underlay vague
Sa(n) - ça sa - ver on - de tal vo - ce u - sci -
sa - per on - de tal vo - ceu - sci -

Example 4.2: Treatment of *sinalefe* in *Posando sopr'un acqua*


10
Sq.
–san - do sov -run acqu - ua i(n) so - - -
–san - do sov -run ac - quai(n) so - - -
10
Pit.
- san - do sov -run acqu - ua i(n) so - - -
- san - do sov - run ac - quai(n) so - - -
10
Fp.
- san - do sop -run ac - qua i(n) so -
- san - do sop -run ac-qua i(n) so -

The congruency between Pit and Sq, borne out in numerous other examples as well, combined with FP's not-infrequent irregularity in text underlay casts doubt on the quality and accuracy of that manuscript's readings.[311] In spite of these small variations, the observation that all trecento musical sources are remarkably meticulous in their presentation and underlay of the poetic texts holds strong. Still, as FP aptly demonstrates, the musical sources are not entirely consistent in their treatment of *sinalefe*, sometimes setting two vowels that should be counted as a single syllable to one note and sometimes separating them both rhythmically and through a change in pitch. This inconsistency makes it difficult to formulate generalized conclusions about the ideal relationship between poetic scansion and musical setting in this repertoire.[312] It is, however, possible to observe a few trends regarding the approaches to scansion displayed in different sources, both notated and un-notated. Returning to the example of *Sovra la riva*, there are three places in the underlaid text where *sinalefe* is required for correct scansion: in the second verse of the *terzina*, in the third verse of the *terzina*, and in the first verse of the *ritornello*. Sacchetti's own reading of these three verses is as follows [I have marked points of *sinalefe* with bold italic script and with the symbol (^)]:

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[310] Measure numbers in all musical examples correspond to those in PMFC.

[...]amor mindus***e^o***ve chantar senta ./
sanza saver onde tal voc***e^u***scia ./

[...]dicend***o^e***le delle ninfe di diana ./

---

[311] Other pieces where FP's reading of text underlay and *sinalefe* differs in respect to that presented in Sq and FP include Jacopo da Bologna's *Sotto l'imperio* and Giovanni da Firenze's *La bella stella*.

[312] The treatment of *sinalefe* in musical settings and the relationship between metric scansion and musical phrasing is an aspect of analysis that remains under-explored. Marco Gozzi offers an introductory examination of these issues as well as a model for musico-textual analysis in his discussion of Jacopo's *Non al suo amante*, where he comments specifically on the composer's treatment of *sinalefe*. Gozzi, "Rapporto testo-musica," 186–87. The reflection of scansion in the compositions of Piero, Giovanni da Firenze, and Jacopo da Bologna has also been addressed by Oliver Huck in *Die Musik des frühen Trecento* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2005). Furthermore, similar issues are discussed by Elena Abramov-van Rijk in her recent book on the relationship between practices of poetic recitation and secular polyphony in medieval and Renaissance Italy. See Abramov-van Rijk, *Parlar cantando*, esp. Chapters 4 and 6. On the musical treatment of *sinalefe* and poetic scansion, also see Michael Paul Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1981), Chapter 1.

With this reading, Sacchetti maintains the visual integrity of each word, making no note of the *sinalefe* either through the use of *punti sottoscritti* or through the elimination of the vowel at the end of the first word in question—the two possible methods suggested by Antonio da Tempo and Gidino da Sommacampagna. Correct interpretation of the *sinalefe* is thus left up to the reader, who is assumed to be well educated in the rules of scansion.[313] The choice to focus on the visual integrity of the text rather than to express its correct scansion can be observed throughout Sacchetti's song texts both in Ashburnham 574 and in concordant text-only sources.[314] In fact, all of the text-only sources, not just those that transmit poems by Sacchetti, eschew the use of *punti sottoscritti* and the literal elimination of vowels in situations where the metric elimination of the syllable in question is determined by *sinalefe* rather than elision, *afèresi*, or apocope.[315] Based on the treatment of *sinalefe* in these sources, or rather the lack thereof, the emphasis in modern metric manuals on the difference between *sinalefe* and elision makes good sense.[316] Both Menichetti and Beltrami stress that *sinalefe,* unlike elision, does not change the fundamental form of the words in question—all syllables are pronounced fully, the contraction occurring more in concept than in sound. Thus, *sinalefe* is not a phonological phenomenon. Despite the seeming hypermetricity that results from the distinct enunciation of all vowels, the reader (and the listener) will perceive the correct syllable count because he or she will recognize the underlying regular metric model.

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[313] Both Antonio da Tempo and Gidino da Sommacampagna state that it is preferable to avoid notating *sinalefe* and that the techniques mentioned above should be used only when extra clarity is required to aid inexperienced readers. Antonio da Tempo, *Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis* (1332), ed. Richard Andrews (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1977), pp. 8–13 and Gidino da Sommacampagna, *Trattato e arte dei rithimi volgari: riproduzione fotografica del cod. CCCCXLIV della Biblioteca capitolare di Verona*, ed. Gian Paolo Caprettini (Verona: La grafica, 1993), p. 68.

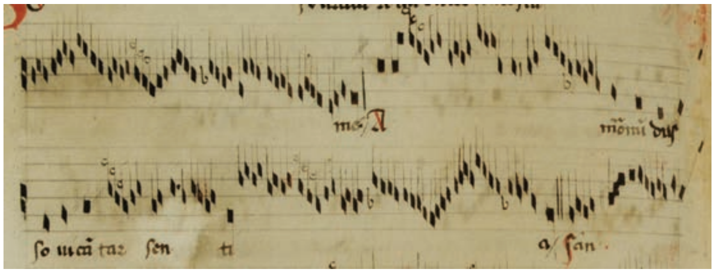
[314] Michael Long notes that Sacchetti does make use of *punti sottoscritti* in Ashburnham 574 to indicate moments of *sinalefe*. See Long, "Musical Tastes," 19–20. However, *punti sottoscritti* are not terribly frequent in Ashburnham 574, and they are not found in any of the musical texts.

[315] *Afrèsi* is the suppression of the opening vowel of a word, as in *'ngombra* (in the place of *ingombra*). Apocope is the suppression of one or more sounds at the end of a word, as in *nostr'* (in the place of *nostro*).

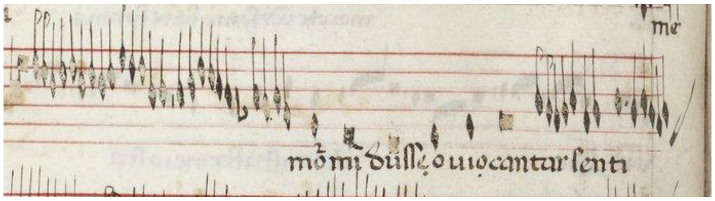
[316] See Menichetti, *Metrica italiana*, 313 and Beltrami, *La metrica italiana*, 171–172.

The notated sources, however, imply that *sinalefe* did have a substantial impact on a poem's musical setting, even if no vowels were intended to be eliminated in recitation. Looking again at *Sovra la riva*, all of the notated manuscripts actively perform these three moments of *sinalefe* in one way or another. The first *sinalefe* is expressed identically in the tenor of all three concordant sources through the elimination of the final vowels in *m'indusse* and *ov'io* creating the reading *minduss'ovi cantar*. The same reading is found in the cantus of FP, while both Sq and Pit employ *punti sottoscritti* instead, allowing for greater visual and aural clarity of the words (see Figure 4.17). The third *sinalefe* is expressed in both voices in FP and in the tenor line in Pit through the use of vowel elimination, giving the reading *Dicend'ell'e*. Meanwhile, in Sq and in the cantus in Pit, the approach is closer to that seen in the text-only sources. Rather than using *punti sottoscritti* or vowel elimination to clarify scansion, the scribes simply placed the two syllables in question in close proximity under a single note. Finally, the second *sinalefe* is clarified in Pit through the use of *punti sottoscritti* in both voices while in Sq it is the proximity of the two vowels and their alignment with the music that convey the scansion (see Figure 4.18).

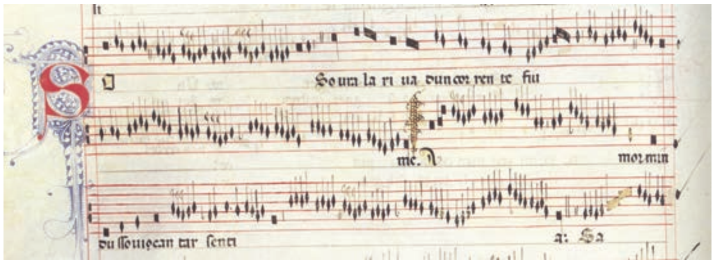
Figure 4.17: Text underlay in *Sovra la riva*, verse 2 of the first *terzina*


me. A
mo mi dus
so uio can tar sen ti
a. San

FP, fol. 75v detail

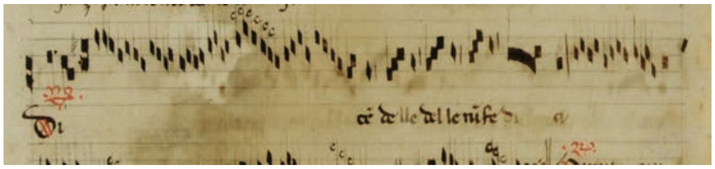

me
mo mi dusse o uio cantar senti

Pit, fol. 24v detail


Sovra la ri va dun cor ren te fiu
me. A
mo mi
du sse o uio can tar senti
a: Sa

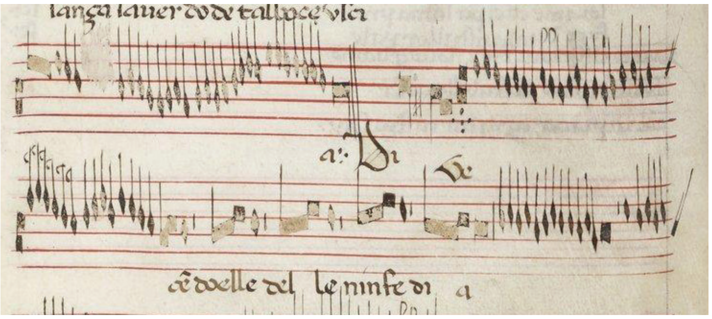
Sq, fol. 48v detail

Figure 4.18: Text underlay in *Sovra la riva*, verse 1 of the *ritornello*

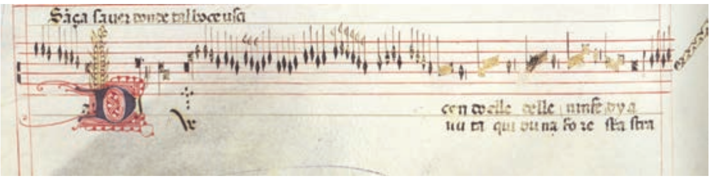


FP, fol. 75v detail

Figure 4.18 cont.



Pit, fol. 24v detail



Sq, fol. 48v detail

The treatment of *sinalefe* observed in *Sovra la riva* is indicative of its treatment across the board in songs with concordances in text-only manuscripts. In general, these sources refrain from notating moments of *sinalefe*, such marks presumably considered superfluous and un-elevated. Even more importantly though, in the majority of cases, *sinalefe* is reflected musically in at least one concordant source by setting the two metrically fused syllables to a single pitch, or at the very least to a series of quickly moving notes (usually minims) that function as a single gestural unit. Table 4.5 outlines the treatment of *sinalefe* in a small subset of madrigals and ballate. Because scribal preference has such a major impact on texting and on the treatment of *sinalefe*, for this initial investigation I have chosen to examine works for which we have multiple points of comparison. The thirty-five pieces in Table 4.5 were therefore chosen from the 109 songs that appear in the text-only sources, either because of their large number of musical concordances (four or more) or because they appear in Ashburnham 574, Franco Sacchetti's holograph. Among these pieces, there are a total of ninety-four cases in which *sinalefe* is required for proper scansion. In only ten instances is the *sinalefe* unexpressed in all musical sources, and of these ten, five occur in Guilielmus de Francia's setting of Sacchetti's madrigal *La neve e 'l ghiaccio*, which is transmitted with notation only in London 29987, a manuscript notoriously suspect in its treatment of poetic texts. Meanwhile, there are forty-three cases (45%) in which *sinalefe* is clearly expressed visually and musically in all notated sources. Even if we exclude those cases in which the first vowel in question is acting more as a diacritical sign than as a proper vowel, for example in the syntagma *gli occhi*—cases which Menichetti does not consider to be examples of true *sinalefe*—the statistic drops to thirty-seven out of eighty-eight.[317]

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[317] Menichetti, *Metrica italiana*, 316–17.

Table 4.5: *Sinalefe* in Trecento Notated Sources

Sinalefe *expressed*	**Sinalefe *not expressed***
Jacopo da Bologna—*Sotto l'imperio* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 2 *nome^alle* elimination in all sources v. 3 *biscia^il* elimination in FP (T only), Pit, Reina, and Sq v. 4 *persegue^e^il* elimination in FP (T only), Pit, Reina, and Sq v. 5 *donna^istessa* elimination in FP (CT, T), Pit (T), Reina (T), and Sq (T) *Underlay unclear in cantus in all sources, *sinalefe* set to two-minim figure	Jacopo da Bologna—*Sotto l'imperio* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 3 *biscia^il* FP (C, CT) v. 4 *persgue^e^il* FP (C, CT) v. 5 *donna^istessa* Pit (CT) and Sq (CT)
Francesco degli organi—*Vita non è più misera* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 1 *misera^e* elimination in Sq and FP *punti sottoscritti* in Pit v. 2 *troppo^amar* elimination in FP (T), Reina, and Sq proximity in FP (C) and Pit	Francesco degli organi—*Vita non è più misera* (Sq, FP, Pit, Reina) v. 1 *misera^e* Reina
Francesco degli organi—*Sia maladetta* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 4 *fortuna^e'l* elimination in FP (T), Pit, Reina (T), and Sq	Francesco degli organi—*Sia maladetta* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 4 *fortuna^e'l* FP (C) and Reina (C)

Sinalefe *expressed*	**Sinalefe *not expressed***
Francesco degli organi—*Sì dolce non sonò* (FP, Lo, Pit, Sq)	Francesco degli organi—*Sì dolce non sonò* (FP, Lo, Pit, Sq)
v. 2 *Quando^a* elimination in all sources	
v. 2 *fiere^uccelli* elimination in all sources	
v. 2 *uccelli^e* proximity in Lo (C), Pit (T) and Sq (T) elimination in FP and Lo (CT) *punti sottoscritti* in Pit (CT)	v. 2 *uccelli^e* Sq (C, CT) and Pit (C)
v. 3 *d'infante^e* elimination in all sources	
v. 6 *Filomena^in* elimination in FP (C, CT), Lo (CT) proximity in Sq (CT) *punti sottoscriti* in Pit	v. 6 *Filomena^in* Lo (C)* and Sq (C) *Underlay in Lo is ambiguous.
v. 8 *tibia^in* elimination in FP *punti sottoscritti* in Pit (CT)	v. 8 *tibia^in* Sq, Pit (C) (reading in Lo is corrupt)
v. 10 *tebe^avanza* elimination in FP, Pit, Sq (reading in Lo is corrupt)	
v. 10 *avanza^el* eliminaion in FP, Pit, Sq (reading in Lo is corrupt)	
v. 10 *chiudente^Anfione* elimination in all sources	

Sinalefe *expressed*	**Sinalefe *not expressed***
Francesco degli organi—*Se pronto non sarà* (FP, Lo, Pit, Sq) v. 2 *vedrassi^in* elimination in all sources v. 2 *tempo^e* elimination in Lo, Sq proximity in FP *punti sottoscritti* in Pit v. 3 *vita^è* elimination in FP, Lo, Pit (T), and Sq (C) proximity in Sq (C) *punti sottoscritti* in Pit (C)	Francesco degli organi—*Se pronto non sarà* (FP, Lo, Pit, Sq)
Francesco degli organi—*Poi che da te mi convien* (FP, Gro, Lo, Reina, Sq)	Francesco degli organi—*Poi che ta de mi convien* (FP, Gro, Lo, Reina, Sq)
v. 2 *perche^egli* elimination in all sources v. 2 *egli^e* elimination in Reina proximity in FP, Gro, Lo, Sq	
v. 2 *tuo^e* elimination in Gro, Lo, Reina, Sq	v. 2 *tuo^e* FP (very clear separation, over two staves)

Sinalefe *expressed*	**Sinalefe *not expressed***
Jacopo da Bologna—*Posando sopra un'acqua* (FP, Gro, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 1 *sopra^un* elimination in FP, Pit, and Sq v. 1 *acqua^in* proximity in Sq (T) *punti sottoscritti* in Pit (T) v. 2 *donna^in* elimination in FP and Reina proximity in Gro, Pit (T), and Sq (T) *punti sottoscritti* in Pit (C) v. 7 *lascio^una* proximity in FP, Gro, Reina (C)*, Sq *punti sottoscritti* in Pit *Underlay is ambiguous.	Jacopo da Bologna—*Posando sopra un'acqua* (FP, Gro, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 1 *sopra^un* Gro (?) and Reina (T)* v. 1 *acqua^in* Gro, Pit (C), Reina (C, T*), Sq (C) v. 2 *donna^in* Sq (C), but underlay is ambiguous *Reina cantus is ambiguous
Bartolino da Padova—*Per un verde boschetto* (FP, Lo, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 3 *quasi^umana* elimination in Pit (T) and Sq (C, T)	Bartolino da Padova—*Per un verde boschetto* (FP, Lo, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 3 *quasi^umana* FP, Lo, Reina, Pit (C, CT), and Sq (CT)
Francesco degli organi—*Per seguir la speranza* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 4 *voglio^a* elimination in FP, Pit, Reina (T), Sq	Francesco degli organi—*Per seguir la speranza* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 4 *volgio^a* Reina (C)
Francesco degli organi—*Nessun ponga la speranza* (FP, Lo, Pit, Sq) v. 3 *ella^ha^in* elimination FP (C,T) proximity in FP (CT), Lo (T), Pit, and Sq v. 4 *naturale^usanza* elimination in FP (T, CT), Pit, and Sq v. 5 *l'abbi^a* elimination in all sources	Francesco degli organi—*Nessun ponga la speranza* (FP, Lo, Pit, Sq) v. 3 *ella^ha^in* Lo (C) v. 4 *naturale^usanza* Lo (? underlay is ambiguous)
Jacopo da Bologna—*Nel bel giardino* (FC, FP, Pit, Sq)	Jacopo da Bologna—*Nel bel giardino* (FC, FP, Pit, Sq) v. 3 *bella^ed* syllables separated in all sources

Sinalefe *expressed*	**Sinalefe *not expressed***
Donato da Cascia—*Lucida pecorella* (FP, Pit, SL, Sq) v. 7 *diletto^e* elimination in FP and Sq *punti sottoscritti* in Pit (text in SL not legible)	Donato da Cascia—*Lucida pecorella* (FP, Pit, SL, Sq)
Francesco degli organi—*Gran pianto agli occhi* (FP, Lo, Pad 684, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 1 *pianto^agli* elimination in FP, Lo, Pit, Reina, and Sq v. 1 *gli^occhi* proximity in all sources v. 1 *occhi^e* (e is present only in Lo, Pad 684, and Reina) proximity in Lo v. 1 *doglia^al* elimination in all sources v. 3 *amara^ed* elimination in FP, Lo, Pit (T), and Sq v. 4 *morte^e* elimination in FP, Lo, Pad 684 (T), Pit, and Sq (T)	Francesco degli organi—*Gran pianto agli occhi* (FP, Lo, Pad 684, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 1 *pianto^agli* Pad 684 v. 1 *occhi^e* Pad 684 and Reina (?) v. 3 *amara^ed* Pit (C), Pad 684, and Sq v. 4 *morte^e* Pad 684 (C) and Sq (C)
Francesco degli organi—*Già perch' i' penso* (FP, Lo, Pit, Reina) v. 7 *fia^allora* elimination in all sources	Francesco degli organi—*Già perch' i' penso* (FP, Lo, Pit, Reina)

Sinalefe *expressed*	**Sinalefe *not expressed***
Francesco degli organi—*Gentil aspetto* (FP, Pist, Pit, Reina, Sq)	Francesco degli organi—*Gentil aspetto* (FP, Pist, Pit, Reina, Sq)
v. 1 *aspetto^in**	v. 1 *aspetto^in*
proximity in FP, Pit, and Sq	Reina
v. 2 *costretto^ha*	
elimination in all sources	
v. 3 *gli^ha*	
proximity in all sources	
v. 3 *tu^in*	
proximity in Pit and Sq	
in not present in FP, Pist, and Reina	
*Not visible in Pist	
Francesco degli organi—*El gran disio* (FP, Lo, Pit, Sq)	Francesco degli organi—*El gran disio* (FP, Lo, Pit, Sq)
v. 1 *disio^e*	v. *disio^e*
elimination in FP	Lo and Sq
punti sottoscritti in Pit	
v. 2 *ebbi^in**	
elimination in FP, Lo, and Pit	
v. 3 *d'amare^al*	v. 3 *d'amare^al*
elimination in FP, Lo, and Pit	Sq
v. 4 *occhi^a*	v. 4 *occhi^a*
proximity in FP	Lo, Pit, Sq (?)
v. 4 *begli^occhi*	
proximity in all sources	
v. 5 *pietade^e*	v. 5 *pietade^e*
elimination in FP, Lo, Pit	Sq
*Underlay in Sq is ambiguous	

Sinalefe *expressed*	**Sinalefe *not expressed***
Francesco degli organi—*Che pena è quest' al cor* (Florence 5, FP, Paris 4917, Pit, Sq) v. 1 *pena^e* elimination in Florence 5, FP, Pit (T), and Sq (T, CT) proximity in Pit (CT) v. 1 *questa^al* elimination (apocope) in Florence 5, FP, Paris 4917 (C), Pit, Sq v. 4 *dalla^invidia* elimination (*dallanvidia*) in Florence 5, FP, Paris 4917, Pit (CT) proximity in Pit (T)	Francesco degli organi—*Che pena è quest' al cor* (Florence 5, FP, Paris 4917, Pit, Sq) v. 1 *pena^e* Paris 4917, Pit (C), Sq (C) v. 1 *questa^al* Paris 4917 (T) v. 4 *dalla^invidia* Pit (C)
Giovanni da Firenze—*La bella stella* (FC, FP, Pit, Rome 1790, Rossi) v. 3 *monte^uscia** elimination in FP *Text in FC not legible in available reproduction	Giovanni da Firenze—*La bella stella* (FC, FP, Pit, Rome 1790, Rossi) v. 3 *monte^uscia* Sq, Pit
Jacopo da Bologna—*O cieco mondo* (FP, Ox 229*, Pad 658, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 3 *d'inganni^e* elimination in Reina *Ox 229 contains only *ritornello* with variant text	Jacopo da Bologna—*O cieco mondo* (FP, Ox 229, Pad 658, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 2 *veleno^in* separated in all sources v. 3 *d'inganni^e* FP, Pad 658, Pit, Sq
Giovanni da Firenze—*Agnel son bianco* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 1 *bianco^e* elimination in FP (C, 1st time) proximity in FP (T), Reina (C) Sq (T, 1st time) v. 3 *convengo^e* elimination in Reina and Sq *punti sottoscritti* in FP and Pit	Giovanni da Firenze—*Agnel son bianco* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 1 *bianco^e* FP (C, 2nd time), Pit, Reina (T), Sq (C and T 2nd time)

Sinalefe *expressed*	**Sinalefe *not expressed***
Jacopo da Bologna—*Non al suo amante* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq)	Jacopo da Bologna—*Non al suo amante* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq)
v. 1 *suo^amante*	
elimination in all sources	
v. 3 *vide^in*	v. 3 *vide^in*
elimination in FP	Pit, Reina, Sq (Pit and Sq read “*vidi nel meço*” and Reina reads “*vidi in meço*”
v. 4 *quando^egli**	v. 4 *quando^egli*
elimination in FP	Pit and Sq
v. 4 *egli^arde**	
elimination in FP and Pit	
proximity in Sq	
*Reina has variant text	
Francesco degli organi—*Ama, donna* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq)	Francesco degli organi—*Ama, donna* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq)
v. 1 *ama^in*	
elimination in FP and Reina	
proximity in Sq	
punti sottoscritti in Pit	
v. 3 *solo^in*	
elimination in FP, Reina, and Sq	
punti sottoscritti in Pit	
v. 4 *begli^occhi*	
elimination in Pit	
proximity in FP, Reina, and Sq	
Francesco degli organi—*Non avrà ma’ pietà* (FP, Lo, Pit, Reina, Sq)	Francesco degli organi—*Non avrà ma’ pietà* (FP, Lo, Pit, Reina, Sq)
v. 3 *grande^ardore*	v. 3 *grande^ardore*
elimination in Pit, Reina, and Sq	FP, Lo
v. 4 *pena^i’*	v. 4 *pena^in*
elimination in Pit (T, C is unclear), Reina, and Sq	Lo
proximity in FP	

Sinalefe *expressed*	**Sinalefe *not expressed***
Francesco degli organi—*Altri n’arà la pena* (Sq)	Francesco degli organi—*Altri n’arà la pena* (Sq)
v. 2 *ricevuto^inganno* proximity	
Niccolò del Proposto—*Come la gru* (Sq)	Niccolò del Proposto—*Come la gru* (Sq)
v. 3 *regina^inanzi* proximity	
v. 3 *inanzi^a* elimination	
v. 4 *dinanzi^a* proximity	
Niccolò del Proposto—*Come selvaggia fera* (Sq)	Niccolò del Proposto—*Come selvaggia fera* (Sq)
v. 3 *presso^al* elimination	
v. 4 *fugendo^ovio* *punti sottoscritti* in the cantus	v. 4 *fugendo^ovio* separated in the tenor
Guilielmus de Francia—*La neve e ‘l ghiaccio* (Lo)	Guilielmus de Francia—*La neve e ‘l ghiaccio* (Lo)
	v. 1 *neve^el* both vowels present and separated
	v. 1 *ghiaccio^e* separated
	v. 2 *brina^e* separated
	v. 4 *venuta^al* separated
	v. *loco^ore* separated
Francesco degli organi—*Perché virtù* (FP)	Francesco degli organi—*Perché virtù* (FP)
v. 1 *costante^a* elimination	

Sinalefe *expressed*	**Sinalefe *not expressed***
Niccolò del Proposto—*Nel meço già del mar* (FP, Pit, Sq)	Niccolò del Proposto—*Nel meço già del mar* (FP, Pit, Sq)
v. 2 *oriente^e* elimination in FP	v. 2 *oriente^e* Pit, Sq
v. 2 *occidente^e* elimination in all sources	
v. 3 *mena^a* elimination in all sources	
v. 3 *ferire^inscura* elimination in FP and Pit proximity in Sq	
Ritornello v. 2 *tempo^ella* elimination in all sources	
Ritornello v. 2 *volta^in* elimination in all sources	
Lorenzo da Firenze—*Sovra la riva* (FP, Pit, Sq)	Lorenzo da Firenze—*Sovra la riva* (FP, Pit, Sq)
v. 2 *m'indusse^ovio* elimination in FP and Sq *punti sottoscritti* in Pit	
v. 3 *voce^uscia* proximity FP (T) and Sq *punti sottoscritti* in Pit	v. 3 *voce^uscia* FP (C)
Ritornello v. 1 *dicendo^elle* elimination in FP and Pit proximity in Sq	

Sinalefe *expressed*	**Sinalefe *not expressed***
Niccolò del Proposto—*Povero pellegrin* (Sq)	Niccolò del Proposto—*Povero pellegrin* (Sq)
v. 1 *salito^el*	
elimination	
	v. 2 *lasso^et*
	separated
	v. 3 *tostano^e*
	separated
	Ritornello v. 2 *lume^a*
	separated
Francesco degli organi—*Non creder, donna* (FP, Pit, Sq)	Francesco degli organi—*Non creder, donna* (FP, Pit, Sq)
v. 4 *mente^in*	v. 4 *mente^in*
punti sottoscritti in Pit (C)	FP, Pit (T), and Sq
v. 4 *te^ogn'or*	v. 4 *te^ogn'or*
elimination in Sq (T)	FP, Pit, Sq (C)

As shown in the analysis of *Sovra la riva*, the techniques used to express *sinalefe* vary considerably from source to source, scribe to scribe, and even voice part to voice part. Most often *sinalefe* is marked through the elimination of the unaccented vowel, suggesting that sometimes the phenomenon was phonetic as well as psychological, even if such pronunciation was and is considered inelegant. Particularly in Pit and Sq, though, it is also not uncommon for *sinalefe* to be expressed through the alignment of the two syllables under a single note. In many such cases, the *sinalefe* is made even more unambiguous through the use of *punti sottoscritti* placed under the vowel that should be suppressed in the syllable count. *Punti sottoscritti* are used to this end in several notated manuscripts, most notably Sq, Pit, and the Mancini codex. In these cases, the visual and aural integrity of the text is maintained while at the same time the correct syllabic computation is clearly expressed for the reader. Trecento literary treatises, however, do not wholly agree with the use of this technique, or with written-out vowel elimination, to notate moments of *sinalefe*. Both Antonio da Tempo and Gidino da Sommacampagna state that *sinalefe* should only be indicated visually to aid inexperienced readers who would be unable to interpret correctly the syllable count of the verse without such cues.[318]

While the data presented in Table 4.5 highlight the irregularity in the treatment of *sinalefe* by musical scribes and composers, they also clearly demonstrate that there was a desire to set moments of *sinalefe* such that the two syllables would be perceived as linked by the listener. Moreover, the use of *punti sottoscritti* suggests some scribes were particularly interested in ensuring that singers would arrive at the correct scansion of the verse and were perhaps even worried they would not do so of their own accord. This interest in expressing *sinalefe* musically by partially contracting the verse, rather than re-creating musically the full phonetic expansion that would occur from distinctly pronouncing all syllables involved, stands in contrast to the approach taken to a similar phenomenon—the inclusion of supernumerary unaccented vowels—in early Italian *laudari* and in French and Provençal *chansonniers*. As discussed in Chapter 1, Maria Sofia Lannutti has argued that these vowels were intended to be pronounced in sung performance to aid the syntactic clarity of the text.[319] As with *sinalefe*, however, their pronunciation would not cause the reader or listener to perceive the verse as hypermetic because the underlying metric model would remain obvious. In contrast, based on the frequency with which *sinalefe* is expressed through vowel elimination in the trecento repertoire, it would seem that in the later fourteenth century unambiguous audible representation of the correct syllable count was at least as important as maintaining maximum syntactic clarity.

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[318] Antonio da Tempo, *Summa*, ed. Andrews, p. 9 and Gidino da Sommacampagna, *Trattato*, ed. Caprettini, p. 68.

While Table 4.5 presents a reasonable cross section of works by the later generations of trecento composers, by virtue of their rare appearance in the text-only sources the earliest works from the earliest *ars nova* manuscripts are not well represented here. The treatment of *sinalefe* in the Rossi codex, however, has been briefly discussed by Tiziana Sucato and by Lannutti.[320] Both authors note that musical settings in this early source frequently disregard issues of scansion, separating two vowels that should be counted as a single syllable. Sucato also argues that metric single-pitch ligatures are not signs of analytic thought regarding the verse's scansion on the part of the scribe. Instead she suggests that they are practical indications to the tenor, clarifying when to change from one vowel to the next, and are used to ensure simultaneous declamation with the cantus at otherwise ambiguous moments. In contrast, as part of their discussion on *versi sdruccioli* and *versi tronchi*, be addressed in more detail shortly, Sandra Dieckmann and Oliver Huck argue that the Rossi codex is attentive not only to conveying correct scansion when the final syllables of a verse are in question but also in moments of *sinalefe*.[321]

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[319] Maria Sofia Lannutti, "Implicazioni musicali nella versificazione italiana del due-trecento (con un excursus sulla rima interna da Giuttone a Petrarca)," *Stilistica e metrica italiana* 8 (2008).

[320] Tiziana Sucato, ed. *Il Codice Rossiano 215: Madrigali, ballate, una caccia, un rotondello* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2003), 49–51 and Lannutti, "Implicazioni," 25–29.

The disagreement between these scholars points to the complexity surrounding the treatment of *sinalefe* in the notated sources. The inconsistent approaches to the phenomenon even within a single work copied by a single scribe make it difficult to form generalizations, especially without engaging in a fully comprehensive study of the repertoire. Nevertheless, Table 4.5 clearly demonstrates that *sinalefe* could and often did impact musical settings. Even if not all sources agree, the fact that *sinalefe* is expressed in some implies that certain scribes thought about scansion as they copied and wished to guarantee that readers would interpret versification correctly. Furthermore, that the phenomenon is communicated musically as well as visually demonstrates that in a musical context *sinalefe* could affect the sound of the poetry, taking on an aural, if not truly phonetic, identity.

The definition of *sinalefe* stated by both Menichetti and Beltrami implies that condensing syllables by setting them to a single note would represent a misunderstanding of the rules of scansion, providing superfluous metric clarity. Antonio da Tempo, on the other hand, proposes that reflecting *sinalefe* musically was more than appropriate; it was a necessary component of good text setting. In relation to *sinalefe*, he writes:

> Ubi notandum est quod, sicut in quibuslibet versibus literalibus quibus utimur in nostris carminibus secundum grammaticos, vocalis ante alternam vocalem abicitur de metro in scansione,

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[321] Sandra Dieckmann and Oliver Huck, "Versi sdruccioli e versi tronchi nella poesia e nella musica del Due- e Trecento," *Stilistica e metrica italiana* 7 (2007): 16–17.

> sic in quilibet soneto et rithimo vulgari abicitur prima vocalis de versu in numero—quod idem est ac si dicerem quod prima vocalis non computatur in numero sillabarum—et maxime in rithimis super quibus debet fieri suonus, quia si sonus in huiusmodi rithmis non contingeret ad rectum numerum sillabarum, nunquam bene sonaret auribus audientium secundum musicos et cantores.
>
> *Where by it has been acknowledged that just as in any learned verse which we use in our poetry (according to grammarians) a vowel which precedes another vowel is excluded from the metrical count in scanning, so in any sonnet or [other] vernacular poem the first vowel is excluded from the numerical count of the line (that is to say that the first vowel is not counted among the number of syllables), especially in a poem upon which a musical setting will be made, because if the music does not correspond to the proper number of syllables, the piece will never sound well to the ears of the listeners, according to the masters of the art of music and singers.*[322]

While da Tempo does emphasize that the syllable in question is removed for the purposes of scansion, he also stresses that a musical setting should reflect the correct syllable count of the verses to which it corresponds. When considered in relation to these comments, Table 4.5 is all the more significant, for it demonstrates a clear correspondence between da Tempo's discussion of versification and the musical treatment of *sinalefe* by trecento composers. Without a doubt, further study on the musical treatment of *sinalefe* is called for, but the initial findings presented here suggest that perhaps we can identify a shift in recitation practice and in the text-music relationship between the earlier lyric repertoire discussed by Lannutti, in which *sinalefe* is a purely psychological phenomenon, and trecento polyphonic song, where it begins to assume an audible, phonetic identity. Moreover, it is possible that further detailed analysis would allow us to track changes in text setting within the trecento repertoire and to identify the specific preferences of individual scribes and composers.

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[322] Antonio da Tempo, *Summa*, ed. Andrews, p. 8, translation by Michael Long in "Musical Tastes," Appendix 5. This quotation is cited and discussed by both Dieckmann and Huck and by Long. See Huck, "Versi sdruccioli e versi tronchi," 15 and Long, "Musical Tastes," 6.

READING THROUGH SINGING: CONNECTIONS BETWEEN TEXT SETTING AND TRECENTO LITERARY THEORY

Even considering the wide variety of approaches to texting in the notated sources, it is clear that musical scribes treated both prosody and poetic structure with care and attention. But what specifically can the examples explored tell us about the relationship between text and music in this repertoire? What can we learn about musicians' perception of the poetry they sang from the way in which musical scribes dealt with texting, poetic form, and prosody? The focus on large and medium scale elements of poetic form both in the music itself and in the treatment of the text in nearly every notated source—fragments and intact codices alike—suggests that in the eyes of trecento musicians the essence of poetry could be reduced to form and structure. The two features that remain constant from piece to piece and from manuscript to manuscript are the clear portrayal of the poem's verse structure in the musical setting and in the *mise en page* and the clear division of the text into its component sections (*terzine* and *ritornello* in the case of madrigals and *ripresa, piedi,* and *volta* in the case of ballatas).

Further evidence of the primacy of poetic structure in trecento song is found in the musical treatment of enjambment. Employed from time to time by poets of song texts, enjambment forces the composer to choose between reflecting the poem's physical structure or its syntactic structure in his setting. In the vast majority of cases, trecento composers opt not to highlight syntactic structure when it is at odds with verse structure.[323] The emphasis on poetic form and structure seen in trecento song and its sources is not a phenomenon stemming just from the prevailing musical style of the period. It is consistent with fourteenth-century reading habits. As discussed in Chapter 3, genre identification was likely the first step in the reading process, and thus visual clarity of metric form was of utmost importance for written poetry. Indeed, all the text-only sources, with the exception of Magl. VII 1078, are precise in their presentation of each poem's verse structure, regardless of how many verses are copied per line of text, and in their demarcation of large-scale structural divisions. Treatises on the art of composing vernacular lyric also prioritize poetic structure. Both Antonio da Tempo's *Summa* and Gidino da Sommacampagna's later *volgarizzamento* of the treatise emphasize genre and form above all else. Self-proclaimed didactic works, these twin manuals instruct the aspiring poet how each metric genre and its variant forms are to be constructed, specifying allowable verse lengths, possible rhyme schemes, and how the verses should be distributed into structural sections. Though markedly different in its scope and purpose, Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* also hints at the importance of both genre identification and verse structure. For Dante, who is more concerned with language than with technical aspects of the poetic art, genre classification is fundamental because different forms are suited to different kinds of subject matter and different linguistic registers. Furthermore, in defining the genre of canzone—the only one to be discussed in detail before the treatise's abrupt end—he points to structure as an integral element of a poem's identity, both in terms of versification and in terms of the division of each canzone into stanzas and each stanza into its component parts (*pedes, versus, frons,* and *sirma*).

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[323] Abramov-van Rijk's discussion of enjambment in the trecento repertoire is misleading in this respect. In pointing out a few atypical examples where the poem's syntactic structure is privileged, she implies that this is in fact more the norm than the exception. See Abramov-van Rijk, *Parlar cantando*, section 6.1.3.2.

The weight placed on form and genre in musical settings and notated manuscripts can thus be understood as a reflection of the greater literary context in which trecento lyric was composed. In highlighting the structure of each song text both aurally and visually, composers and scribes alike were being attentive to the most fundamental element of poetic identity as it was understood by fourteenth-century readers and poets. They were, in a sense, engaging in the first step of the reading process themselves while simultaneously presenting the poem in such a way as to facilitate the listener or reader doing the same, thereby providing a solid foundation upon which further interpretation and understanding could be constructed. To do otherwise, to undermine or obfuscate the basic elements of a poem's form and structure, would have been contrary to trecento poetic aesthetics.

The reflection of poetic macro-structure in both musical settings and notated manuscripts is consistent enough to allow us to draw these kinds of general conclusions and to identify the mirroring of this structure as a primary element in the musico-poetic relationship characteristic of trecento song. As we have seen in the case of *sinalefe*, the musical interpretation of poetic micro-structure is less straightforward though equally important. If we understand form as the driving force behind the musico-textual relationship in this repertoire, the weight placed on verse type and structure in trecento lyric should lead us to expect that musical settings be quite precise in their reflection of a poem's prosody. Indeed, as discussed above, Antonio da Tempo emphasizes that the performance of a poem, whether recited or sung, must convey the scansion correctly because hearing an erroneous number of syllables would be disturbing to the listener. Dante, too, notes the centrality of prosody to a poem's lyric identity, explaining that recognition of verse type (hendecasyllabic, septasyllabic, or otherwise) is essential to understanding style and register. For example, the hendecasyllable, the most refined and the most noble of the verses, is best associated with tragic style and an elevated lexicon. Verses with an even number of syllables, on the other hand, are considered highly unsophisticated and are consequently rarely used in good poetry.[324] Just as the poet should be conscious of the associations attached to different verse types when writing, the educated reader was expected to know these norms and to experience a certain degree of cognitive dissonance in places where, for example, the poet invokes a low linguistic register in a hendecasyllabic verse.

Correct understanding of prosody in Italian verse is dependent on the correct interpretation of *sinalefe/sineresi* and *dialefe/dieresi*. It is not surprising then that composers set texts accordingly, linking syllables subject to *sinalefe* to a single melodic figure. Nor is it surprising that scribes would also be sensitive to scansion, even if the literal expression of *sinalefe* may point away from a sophisticated understanding of poetic meter. Furthermore, although true *sineresi* is rare in pre-nineteenth century Italian poetry, there is evidence that composers were attentive to a similar phenomenon effecting linguistically disyllabic words whose metric syllable count varies based on their placement in the verse. Disyllabic words where the first syllable ends in a vowel and the second consists of only a vowel, such as *voi*, are typically counted as a single syllable when placed in the middle of a verse and as two when they fall at the end.[325] By and large, musical settings respect this rule, clearly separating the two syllables when the word falls at the end of the verse and clearly uniting them otherwise. For example, in Francesco degli organi's ballata *Sia maladetta*, the first *piede* ends with the word *mai*, which is unambiguously divided into two syllables with a long melisma on the first in all sources (see Example 4.3). In *Che pena è quest' al cor*, on the other hand, the same word falls in the middle of the fifth verse where it is set to a single note in all sources. The computation of *mai* as a single syllable in this verse is made particularly clear in Pit through the placement of *punti sottoscritti* under the *i* in both voice parts (see Example 4.4).

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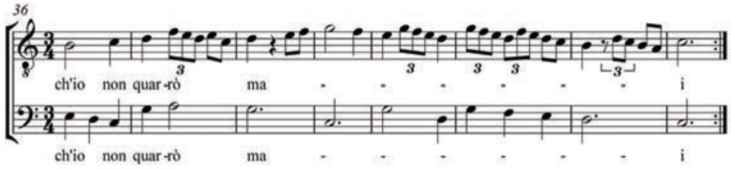
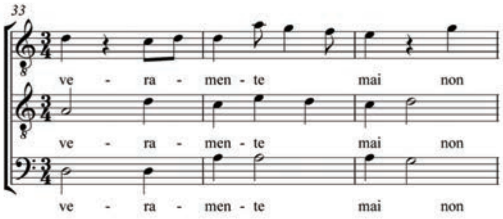
[324] "Quorum omnium endecasillabum videtur esse superbius, tam temporis occupatione quam capacitate sententie, constructionis et vocabulorum; quorum omnium specimen magis multiplicatur in illo, ut manifeste apparte...Parisillabis vero propter sui ruditatem non utimur nisi raro." (*Of all these lines [i.e. of all the possible verse types] the most splendid is clearly the hendecasyllable, both for its measured movement and for the scope it offers for subject matter, constructions, and vocabulary; and the beauty of all these features is most greatly magnified by this metre, as will be readily apparent...Lines with an even number of syllables are only used rarely today because of their lack of sophistication*.) Dante Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. and translated by Steven Botterill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 60–63.

[325] Menichetti, *Metrica italiana*, 173–74.

Example 4.3: Typical treatment of final vocalic disyllabic words (*Sia maladetta*)


36
ch'io non quar-rò ma - - - - - - i
ch'io non quar-rò ma - - - - - - i

Example 4.4: Typical treatment of internal vocalic disyllabic words (*Che pena è quest' al cor*)


33
ve - ra - men - te mai non
ve - ra - men - te mai non
ve - ra - men - te mai non

Just as the notated manuscripts often reflect the consolidation of two vowels into one syllable, so too are there cases where required *dialefe* or *dieresi* is expressed with equal clarity. Marco Gozzi, for example, points to the separation of the name *Diana* into three syllables in Jacopo da Bologna's setting of *Non al suo amante*, displayed most obviously in FP.[326] Another similar instance is found in Francesco degli organi's setting of *Poi che da te mi convien partir via*. Here, the second verse of the first *piede*, "*Vuol pur cosi ed io altro non posso*," calls for a *dialefe* between the words *cosi* and *ed*, which is observed in all five texted sources (Sq, fol. 142v; FP, fol. 5r; Grottaferrata 219, fol. 3r; Lo, fol. 36r; and Reina, fol. 9v–10r) through the unambiguous setting of the two words to different pitches (see Example 4.5). Though much more rare than *sinalefe*, it would appear that *dialefe* and *dieresi* are reflected with more consistency in the notated sources. Table 4.6 illustrates the treatment of these phenomena in the same thirty-five works surveyed in Table 4.5. In total, there are five cases of *dialefe* and three cases of *dieresi*, and in all, with the exception of one *dieresi*, the vowels in question are distinctly separated musically in all sources. Significantly, the one instance of unexpressed *dieresi* is found in Guilielmus's setting of *La neve e 'l ghiaccio* transmitted in London 29987, the same setting which was singled out above for ignoring numerous moments of *sinalefe*.

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[326] Gozzi, "Rapporto testo-musica," 188.

EXAMPLE 4.5: TREATMENT OF *DIALEFE* IN *POI CHE DA TE MI CONVIEN PARTIR VIA*

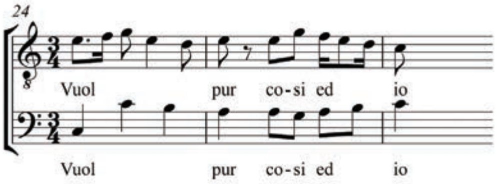

TABLE 4.6: *DIALEFE* AND *DIERESI* IN TRECENTO NOTATED SOURCES

Dialefe/dieresi *expressed*	**Dialefe/dieresi *not expressed***
Jacopo da Bologna—*Sotto l'imperio* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 2 *dorate alle* expressed in all sources	
Francesco degli organi—*Poi che da te mi convien* (FP, Gro, Lo, Reina, Sq) v. 4 *così ed* expressed in all sources	
Jacopo da Bologna—*Non al suo amante* (FP, Pit, Reina, Sq) v. 1 *Dïana* expressed in all sources	
Francesco degli organi—*Altri n'arà la pena* (Sq) v. 1 *pena et* v. 2 *fè o*	
	Guilielmus de Francia—*La neve el ghiaccio* (Lo) v. 3 *Diana*

Dialefe/dieresi *expressed*	**Dialefe/dieresi *not expressed***
Lorenzo da Firenze—*Sovra la riva* (FP, Pit, Sq) Rit. *Dïana* expressed in all sources	
Niccolò da Perugia—*Chi'l ben sofrir* (Sq, Lo) v. 3 *ch'è e* expressed in Sq (underlay in Lo unclear)	

Also bearing witness to composers' inclination to follow the poem's versification in their musical settings is their treatment of *versi sdruccioli* and *versi tronchi*.[327] Analyzing the presence of these irregular verse types in trecento song texts, Sandra Dieckmann and Oliver Huck find that most musical settings accurately reflect the number of syllables when *versi sdruccioli* and *versi tronchi* are involved. *Versi sdruccioli*, they note, occur most often in early madrigals and are generally set such that the music reflects not only the correct syllable count but also the correct accentuation pattern. In other words, the final melisma in each verse remains on the tenth syllable, by rule the final stressed syllable in Italian hendecasyllabic verse. The penultimate syllable is then treated as a short anacrusis to the final syllable, which usually falls at the beginning of a *tempus* unit.[328] However, they also note that in later trecento madrigals, verses that would have been treated as *sdruccioli* in earlier madrigals are often treated as *piani*, hinting at a possible shift in scansion practice towards the latter part of the century. For example, in Francesco degli organi's ballata *Abbandona di virtù*, the first verse of the *ripresa* ends with the word *vitio*, which would likely have been set as trisyllabic (*vi-ti-o*) in an early madrigal but here is treated as disyllabic (*vi-tio*). An analogous situation is also found in the next verse, which ends with the word *inditio* set trisyllabically rather than quadrisyllabically.

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[327] In Italian lyric poetry, verses are classified not by their total syllable count but by the placement of the final accented syllable. The result is that three subcategories exist for each verse classification: *piano*, *sdrucciolo*, and *tronco*. To clarify, a verse is considered hendecasyllabic if the final accent syllable falls in the tenth position. Typically, this means that one unaccented syllable follows creating a straightforward eleven-syllable verse, termed a *verso piano*. It is also possible for the final word in the verse to end with two unaccented syllables following its final accented syllable, in which case the verse will have a total of twelve syllables even though it is considered hendecasyllabic. This kind of verse is termed *sdrucciolo*. Finally, *versi tronchi* are those verses that end with an accented syllable such that the verse technically contains only ten syllables. For further information on *versi piani, versi sdruccioli,* and *versi tronchi*, see Menichetti, *Metrica italiana*, esp. 109–13.

[328] Dieckmann and Huck, "Versi sdruccioli e versi tronchi," 18.

Versi tronchi, on the other hand, are rarely found in madrigals by the earliest trecento composers but do appear in texts set by Florentine composers in the second half of the century. Interestingly, Dieckmann and Huck note that in settings of these truncated verses, the final melisma (if one occurs) falls not on the accented tenth syllable but instead on the unaccented ninth syllable, maintaining the standard pattern of setting first and penultimate syllable of each verse melismatically.[329] While this approach reflects the large-scale verse structure by clearly marking the end of each poetic line, it creates tension between the musical rhythm and the textual rhythm not found in settings of *versi piani* or *versi sdruccioli* by emphasizing the weak ninth syllable. Perhaps specifically to avoid this tension, composers often opt to eliminate this final melisma, calling upon other means to demarcate the verse structure.[330]

Combined with the work of Gozzi and the work of Dieckmann and Huck, the findings presented in this chapter clearly demonstrate that accurate reflection of poetic structure was the primary means by which composers established a relationship between text and music. It is significant that the close bonds between musical and poetic structure are present both at the macro-level and at the micro-level. The attention to versification, not only in moments of *sinalefe* but also in moments of *dialefe* and *dieresi* and in relation to *versi sdruccioli* and *versi tronchi*, strongly suggests that scribes and composers were aware of the rules of scansion and believed that prosody should be highlighted by a poem's musical setting.

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[329] Ibid., 22.

[330] Ibid.

While the above discussion has emphasized that word and music were very much related in the tradition of trecento song, it has also illustrated the high degree of variation in text setting found in this repertoire and in its notated sources. It is evident, therefore, that more extensive study is required to understand the specific ways in which structural correspondence between poetry and music plays out. One line of inquiry hinted at by the above analysis that is deserving of further exploration is that pertaining to the definition of individual compositional style. Many of the settings singled out for their unusual approaches to poetic structure are the work of Jacopo da Bologna.[331] A more systematic investigation of the composer's oeuvre might well reveal that Jacopo's personal compositional style is characterized by a more playful approach to the musico-poetic relationship than we see in the work of other trecento composers, and perhaps by a penchant for selecting poems with atypical metric situations as well. Such interest in poetic texts would certainly be consistent with what we already know about Jacopo's literary tastes—that he was the only composer to set a poem by the esteemed Petrarch.

MUSIC FOR POETRY OR POETRY FOR MUSIC?

We began in Chapter 1 with Franco Sacchetti's diatribe against poets who seek musical settings for their *rime*, even when they are poorly suited to song. Questioning whether this sonnet truly justifies our retrospective use of the term *poesia per musica*, I argued that Sacchetti's words are not as clear-cut in this regard as Agostino Ziino and Giosuè Carducci have suggested. Sacchetti does not in fact assert that the only poems suited to receive musical treatment are those written specifically for that purpose. Rather, he advocates that some poems make better song texts than others because of their subject matter. When selecting texts for musical treatment from the available corpus of vernacular lyric, composers would do best to consider only amorous poems. Poetry is poetry, Sacchetti seems to say. Some of it is also song, even if not all that becomes song should become song. Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate that the literary transmission of song texts integrates rather than segregates "musical" and "non-musical" poetry. The song texts in the literary sources may be, for us, wholly coupled with their musical settings. For trecento scribes and readers, however, they were poems in their own right, intended to be read as literature. The second half of this chapter suggests that in musical sources too, and in the eyes of composers, poetry was poetry.

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[331] Already mentioned above is Gozzi's analysis of Jacopo's madrigal *Non al suo amante*. Abramov-van Rijk too notes a number of settings in which Jacopo seems to turn away from mirroring poetic structure to bring out other aspects of the text. Although I do not agree with all points of her analysis, several of the pieces she points to (for example Jacopo's *O in Italia*) are important examples of unusual and creative text setting. Abramov-van Rijk, *Parlar cantando*, Chapter 6.

Poesia per musica implies a musico-textual relationship in which text serves music. Regardless of which was composed first, music reigns over poetry as the ultimate artistic product, with the words acting only as a means to that end. In fact, if we push the idea of *poesia per musica* far enough, we might even say that the words are almost expendable. James Haar, in reference to the madrigal, has echoed Giuseppe Corsi's assertion that the words were "simply pretexts for the music, which was not yet subservient to poetry."[332] The observation that highly melismatic settings prioritize melody over text to the point, in the most extreme cases, of all but erasing the text from our experience of the song is a valid one. But this chapter's discussion of the attention to poetic *mise en page* displayed in the musical sources suggests that poetry was seen as more than simply a pretext. Both the precision with which poetic structure and prosody are reflected in the musical sources and the fact that a parallel priority is placed on these elements in literary theory implies that the musico-textual relationship in the trecento repertoire might be better expressed through a reversal of terms. As Nino Pirrotta has suggested, perhaps we would do better to talk about "*musica per poesia*" rather than about "*poesia per musica*."[333] By this I do not mean that we should understand music as the handmaiden to poetic expression in terms of meaning or tone. The relationship between text and music here is certainly not analogous to that borne out in the *seconda pratica* madrigal at the end of the sixteenth century. Rather, I intend to recognize in a positive way the intimate connection between musical and poetic form in the Italian *ars nova* repertoire. Not at all oblivious to the texts with which they worked, composers carefully constructed their settings to complement the poem's literary identity as it would have been understood by trecento readers.

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[332] James Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350–1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 19.

In Chapter 1, I also suggested that the term *poesia per musica* devalues this poetry. Intentionally or not, it encourages us to treat song texts as artistically inferior to "non-musical" poetry. Perhaps it is partially due to these implications that the binary of "popular" versus "elite" has also been grafted on to this repertoire. Although trecento polyphony is undoubtedly a high art tradition, the poetic texts are often associated with popular lyric, and thus the perception that they are in some way less artistic, less literary is reinforced. Steven Botterill, for example, has said that the "generally colloquial language and uncomplicated forms" of song texts "make it clear that they do not belong to a 'high' cultural register or an academic or professional context."[334] There are distinctions to be made between *poesia aulica* written by famous poets such as Dante and Petrarch and the mostly anonymous madrigals, ballate, and cacce set by trecento composers. But statements like Botterill's limit our understanding of these poems by discouraging us from reading them against high art poetry.

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[333] Nino Pirrotta, "I poeti della scuola siciliana e la musica," *Yearbook of Italian Studies* IV (1980): 6.

[334] Steven Botterill, "Minor Writers," in *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, ed. Peter Brand and Lino Pertile (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 119.

The disparity in physical form between the notated and un-notated sources discussed in the first half of this chapter further complicates the picture. To a certain extent, the elegance of the notated sources compared to the simplicity and informality of the un-notated ones calls the traditional taxonomies of *popolare* and *colto* into play. The idea that musical notation elevates the cultural status of vernacular lyric would seem to bolster the validity of defining this repertoire and its circulation in terms of an opposition between high and low, elite and popular. But at the same time, the literary sources, even more so than the musical ones, reflect a much more complex reality. Genova A.IX.28, discussed in Chapter 2, is a prime example. For all that it may be physically crude, it is also a highly intellectual book, concerned in its own way with preserving Florence's elite cultural heritage. Therefore, the value of the material evidence discussed throughout this dissertation lies in the paradoxes it presents. When examined further, the un-notated sources and the notated sources alike challenge us to move past disciplinary boundaries, away from comfortable binary oppositions, and to search for new, more variegated ways of understanding song and the many roles it assumes in the cultural world surrounding its composition and subsequent reception.

Epilogue

> *Fue adunche in questo felicissimo e grazioso anno la città molto di feste e di letizia gioconda: i famosi cittadini governatori di tanta republica lietissimi e contenti nella pace sicura; i mercanti ottimo temporale avieno; per che li artefici e la minuta gente sanza spese o gravezza, sendo convenevolmente l'anno abondante, in questa felicità si vedieno. E volentieri ciascheduno e festeggiare e godere si trovava.*
>
> The city thus rejoiced and celebrated in this most happy and lovely year: the famous governing citizens of the republic happy and content in the secure peace; merchants enjoying a time of prosperity; for which the artisans and lower classes, without expenses or burdens in this year of abundance, joined in this happiness. And everyone willingly found themselves celebrating and being glad.
>
> -Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, III: 11[335]

With these words, Giovanni Gherardi sets the state for the third book of his *Paradiso degli Alberti*. Gathered in the Alberti family's grand Florentine palazzo, Francesco degli organi—praised in the preceding paragraph for his broad knowledge of the liberal arts—and nine other guests eagerly await their departure to Antonio degli Alberti's idyllic country villa in the hills outside the city walls. The year is 1389, half a decade after the fall of Florence's last guild government, and the brigade is enjoying a brief moment of calm before the next series of political storms—the long military struggle with Giangaleazzo Visconti and the Alberti family's (unrelated) exile.[336] Antonio's guests are, of course, illustrious, all highly influential in late trecento Florentine intellectual and civic life: Coluccio Salutati, Luigi Marsili, Biagio Pelacani da Parma, Giovanni de' Ricci, and others. Gherardi's decision to include Francesco degli organi among this crowd and to use his music as the backdrop for their discourse is surely not coincidental. Indeed, there can be little doubt that like the Benci brothers, who half a century later placed the composer prominently in Genova A.IX.28, Gherardi invokes Francesco because of his status as a central protagonist in Florence's cultural heritage. The world we see in Gherardi's *Paradiso degli Alberti* is carefully constructed to portray the elite side of Florentine society, and every detail the author describes, Francesco's music included, is thus intended to impart a sense of unmistakable prestige.

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[335] Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. Antonio Lanza (Rome: Salerno, 1975).

[336] On the Alberti's role in Florentine politics and on their exile in the early fifteenth century, see Su-

In calling on Francesco and his music as a conspicuous symbol of refinement and erudition in this setting, Gherardi affords us the opportunity to reflect on the future of trecento musicological scholarship. We have deciphered and transcribed over 600 secular songs, we have studied the habits of the scribes who wrote them down for posterity, and we have uncovered biographical information about the composers who created them. This dissertation has expanded our picture further, casting light on the literary sources in which this repertoire circulated without notation and tracing connections between poetic and musical life. Even with the material frontier well explored, there is surely still much we can learn from further study of known sources. But Gherardi's *Paradiso degli Alberti* asks us to begin investigation of a new frontier, even as we continue to ponder the many mysteries that still remain about the origins of nearly all the important codices, about the lives of composers, and about the way song was

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sannah Foster Baxendale, "Exile in Practice: The Alberti Family In and Out of Florence 1401–1428", *Renaissance Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (1991). On the date of the events in Gherardi's story, see Alessandro Wesselofsky, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti. Ritrovi e ragionamenti del 1389, romanzo di Giovani da Prato* (Bologna: Romagnoli, 1867).

performed. This new frontier is the sociocultural matrix surrounding the creation and circulation of polyphonic song.

Musicological scholarship has already made gestures towards the political backgrounds that shaped fourteenth-century musical life—Republican Florence, the Visconti court in Milan, and the Carraresi in Padua. These gestures, however, have been broad-sweeping, giving us an overview of the historical context without delving into the details. With our ever-increasing awareness that medieval culture represents a dense web of relationships between intellectual disciplines and between social classes, an awareness this dissertation has aimed to make acute, generalizations no longer offer sufficient insight. Civic life in late medieval Italy was highly complex and instable. Historians have done much to elucidate the political, social, and economic issues that undergird the constantly shifting alliances and radical swings in power that defined life in Italian cities during this time. Armed with the work of scholars like John Najemy, Carol Lansing, and Anthony Molho, we thus find ourselves in a position to explore extensively questions like who was Antonio degli Alberti? What were his ties to the Florentine elite? And what can we learn about the reception of song from studying them? This dissertation has introduced the potential value of such interdisciplinary inquiry. It is, however, just a prelude. Only by continuing to explore the political and professional activities of identifiable readers and musicians and the meaning of those activities in a specific time and place will we have the historical grounding necessary to untangle the full range of connotations song carried in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy.

Appendix 1

Descriptions of the Text-Only Sources

Bologna Archive Covers

Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Archivi Privati, Lambertini, busta 48. 14th century. Bologna? Single paper folio, 300 x 210 mm. Among various scribbles and short pieces of texts in Latin is the first verse of Niccolò Soldanieri's ballata *E io voglio bene a chi vuole bene a me*. The verse is copied in an elegant chancery script. The paper is tucked to the front of a book bound in parchment. No reference to musical setting.

Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Paulus Lentii De Cospis, registro 14.1 A. 300 x 220. 14th century (register dated 1355–1356). Bologna. In the top right-hand corner, on the inside of the front cover of the register is a fragment of the madrigal *Posando sopr'un acqua,* likely copied after the parchment was folded into its current form. Written in a chancery script, the madrigal lacks its second *terzina*, the portion of the text that would appear in *residuum* in a notated manuscript. No reference to musical setting.

Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Ufficio dei Memoriali, Provvisori, serie pergamenacea, busta 36, registro 5, Liber provixois a latera Ca(n)bij Petri Francisci Ugonis notarii pro secoundis. 14th century (volume dated 1369). Bologna. On the parchment cover of the register, copied in the middle of a decorative design featuring a *giglio* is the *ripresa* and first verse of the first *piede* of the anonymous ballata *De no' me fare languire*. The fragment is copied in a chancery script and in different ink than rest of the cover. No reference to musical setting.

Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Comune-Governo, Consigli e ufficiali del comune, Consiglio dei Quattromila, busta 58, Liber electionum. Early 15th century (volume dated 1408). Bologna. In the top right corner of the back cover of the register there is a fragment of the madrigal *La doulse cera d'un fier animal*. The verses are written in a chancery hand, and those in that are in French in Bartolino's setting translated here into Italian. No reference to musical setting.

Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Filippo Formaglini, Filza 22.14, Liber contiens in se omnes et singulos contratactus. Early 15th century (register dated 1412–1413). Bologna. Paper register, 150 folios. Old (original?) foliation throughout. Fol. 1 contains the ballata *Con le lagreme* copied in verse in an elegant chancery script in its entirety. The remainder of the book is a notarial register with no other poetic excerpts. No reference to musical setting.

BOLOGNA, BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA, 177.3

Paper. Early 17th century (copy of an earlier manuscript owned by Trissino). Italy. I + 24 + I. 160 x 110 mm. Poetic miscellany. No ruling visible. Gatherings: $1^{9\ (5+4)}$, 2^{8}, $3^{6\ (2+4)}$. Modern foliation in pencil, bottom left corner; original foliation (roman numerals) in pen (same ink as text), top right corner; other old foliation in red Arabic numerals, top center (214–237). Single scribe (moderately sloppy cursive hand). Contents: collection of canzoni, sonnets, and ballate, all attributed and organized by author. Poets represented: Riccardi di Franceschin degli Albizzi, Matteo Landoccio Albizzi, Boccaccio, Fazio degli Uberti, Federico di M. Geri, Bartholi de Biccis Florentini, Niccolò Soldanieri, Lancilotto Angossola, Antonio da Ferrara, Conte Riccardo, Petrarch, Ser Amasio di Landoccio, Menchino da Ravena.

Contains one poem with corresponding musical setting, *Non so qual i' mi voglia*, copied on ff. 9v–10r. Labeled a sonnet, this ballata is placed in the middle of a section of poems by Boccaccio, copied because of its association with the author. No reference to musical setting.

BOLOGNA, BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA, 1072 XI 9

Paper. 15th century. Italy. IV + 12 + IV. 212 x 155 mm. Fragment of the Codex Amadei. Single gathering. No ruling visible. Blank: 11r–12v. Modern foliation in pencil and old foliation (added by Amadei) in red ink. Single scribe (neat and orderly hybrid bookhand). Contents: collection of moralizing and devotional poems, mostly sonnets with a few ballate, one canzone, and one madrigal. In addition to anonymous poems, the collection includes works by Fazio degli Uberti, Antonio Beccari, Niccolò Tinucci, Paolo dell'Aquila, Butto da Firenze, and Petrarch.

Contains one poem with a corresponding musical setting, *O cieco mondo*, on f. 5r. The madrigal seems to be included in this collection because of its moralizing subject matter. Reading deviates significantly from the text set polyphonically by Jacopo. No reference to musical setting.

CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICAN LIBRARY, GREY 7 B 5

Paper. 15th century. Italy (Emilia-Romagna?). 112 folios. 226 x 160 mm. Single scribe (gothic-humanistic hand). Collection of lyric poetry, primarily sonnets and *capitoli ternari*, ordered according to theme and metric form. For a full description and further information on the manuscript's contents, see Nelia Saxby, "Il Codice Grey 7 b 5 della South African Library," *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* XVII (1976): 77–85.

Contains one poem with a corresponding musical setting, *Vita non è più misera e più ria*, on f. 92. The ballata is copied in a short cycle of ballate at the end of the manuscript.

FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO, ATTI ESECUTIVI DEGLI ORDINAMENTI DI GIUSTIZIA, ANNO 1380

Lost (?). Mentioned as containing a piece of scrap paper with the text of the anonymous madrigal *In un broleto a l'alba del chiar corno* by G. B. Ristori in 1886. The *Atti* are cited again as a text-only source by F. Alberto Gallo. However, the citation above, provided by both scholars, is imprecise, and I have been unable to locate any trace of the madrigal in the 35-plus judicial record books dating from 1380.[1]

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA-LAURENZIANA, XL 43

Paper. 15th century (1st half?). Florence (?). Lyric collection followed by Petrarch's *Trionfi*. For a codicological description and information on contents, see De Roberts, ed. *Dante. Rime,* vol. 1, *I documenti,* pt. 1, p. 99.

Contains 6 madrigals with musical concordances scattered amongst "non-musical" poems of various genres. Rubrics indicating genre. No reference to musical settings.

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer/ (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
44r	Somma felicita sommo tesoro	Francesco degli organi (*Sacchetti*, dub.)	Madrigal	Sq	Parmense 1081
45v	Non dispregiar virtu richo villano	Niccolò da Perugia (*Stefano di Cino*)	Madrigal	Sq; Lo; Pit	Redi 184; FL XL.43; Parmense 1081; Barb. lat. 3695
46r	Povero pellegrino salito al monte	Niccolò da Perugia (*Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213; Parmense 1081
46r	O Iustitia regina al mondo freno	Niccolò da Perugia	Madrigal	Sq	Parmense 1081
48v	Non al suo amante piu diana piaque	Jacopo da Bologna (*Petrarch*)	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina	Vat. Lat. 3195; Ricc. 1100; Parmense 1081; Redi 184; FL XL 43 and many others
49r	Non piu diro omai cosi faro	Niccolò da Perugia	Madrigal	Lo	Redi 184; Parmense 1081; BNCF II.II.61

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA-LAURENZIANA, XC INF. 37

Paper. 15th century (2nd half). Italy. Copy of the *Raccolta Aragonese*. For a codicological description and information on contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime,* vol. 1, *I documenti,* pt. 1, pp. 122–125.

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[1] G. B. Ristori, "Passatempi poetici d'antichi notai," *Miscellanea fiorentina di erudizione e storia* 1 (1886): 188–189 and F. Alberto Gallo, "The Musical and Literary Tradition of 14th Century Poetry Set to Music," in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 57.

Contains 9 poems with musical concordances, all incorporated into single author cycles (Sacchetti and Rinuccini). No reference to musical settings. Table below omits poems whose musical settings have been lost.

Fol.	***Incipit***	***Composer (Poet)***	***Genre***	***Musical Concordances***	***Text Concordances***
100v	Sovra la riva dun corrente fiume	Lorenzo da Firenze (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213; Magl. VII 1187
104r	Come la gru quando per laer vola	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	Sq	Ash. 574; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352
115r	Passando con pensier per un boschetto	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Caccia	Sq; Pit	Ash. 574; BNCF Pal. 204; Marucelliana C.155; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
119r	La neve el ghiaccio e venti doriente	Guiglielmus de Francia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Lo	Ash. 574; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
119v	Povero pelegrin salito al monte	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; Lo	Ash. 574; FL XL.43; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Parma1081; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
123v	No(n) creder don(n) a che nessuna sia	Francesco degli organi (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; Magl. VII 1040; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
127r	State su donne: che dobian noi fare	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Caccia	Lo	Ash. 574; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
129r	Perche virtu fa lhuom constante et forte	Francesco degli organi (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	FP	Ash. 574; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
187v	Con gliocchi assai ne miro	Francesco degli organi (*Cino Rinuccini*)	Ballata	Sq; Florence 5; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; Ricc. 1118; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA-LAURENZIANA, ASHBURNHAM 569

Paper. Late 14th or early 15th century. Italy (Tuscany?). Composite (2 units by the same hand, written at different times and following different models). Collection of lyric poetry (Dante and Petrarch). For a codicological description, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime.* vol. 1, *I documenti,* pt. 1, pp. 151–152.

For a list of poems with musical concordances, see Table 2.6 on page 85. Poems fully integrated into manuscript's literary fabric, appearing in a section of miscellaneous lyric poetry that extends from f. 27r to the end and contains several sonnets in addition to poems in "musical" genres. Rubrics specifying genre and poet. No reference to musical settings.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA-LAURENZIANA, ASHBURNHAM 574

Paper. Late 14th century. Florence. VI + 134 + III. Old numbering 1–145 (missing ff. 71–81; blank: ff. 84r–86v). 405 x 300 mm. Franco Sacchetti's autograph collection of his rime and prose. For a codicological description and further information, see Lucia Battaglia Ricci, "Tempi e modi di composizione del *Libro delle rime* di Franco Sacchetti," in *La critica del testo: Problemi di metodo ed esperienze di lavoro; Atti del Convegno di Lecce 22–26 ottobre 1984* (Rome: Salerno, 1985) and "Comporre il libro, comporre il testo. Nota sull'autografo di Franco Sacchetti," Italianistica XXI, no. 2–3 (1992).

For list of poems with musical concordances, see Table 2.2 on page 64. Poems fully integrated into the manuscript's literary fabric, scattered amongst "non-musical" poems. All appear with marginalia indicating the composer of their musical setting, added by Sacchetti himself in various layers after copying the main text. For detailed discussion, see Chapter 2.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA-LAURENZIANA, PALATINO 105

Paper. 15th century (1st half?). III + 129 + III. Frame ruled in graphite (ruling not always visible); ff. 1r–5v full-page prose format, ff. 6r–66v single column verse format, ff. 67r–122v full-page prose format, ff. 123 double column verse format. Blank: ff. 124–129 (later filled with doodles). Catchwords in simple frame. Modern foliation in pencil, traces of old foliation in pen top right corner (f. 2=1, 10=9, 15=14, 18=20, 65=63; then 68=131, etc., last number visible on f. 129=192). Single hand (*mercantesca*). Simple pen-flourish decoration for initials and frames around catchwords. No colored ink, but traces of yellow highlighting scattered throughout. Modern binding: wooden boards with leather spine. Contents: Boccaccio *Filostrato* (incomplete) ff. 1–66, Ovid *Heroides* (in Italian) ff. 67–122, short collection of moralizing poetry ff. 123.

Contains one poem with corresponding musical setting, *O cieco mondo*, on f. 123v, in a short collection of moralizing poetry, all copied in a single layer of scribal activity. No rubrics. No reference to musical setting.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA-LAURENZIANA, REDI 184

Paper. 15th and 16th century. Florence. Collection of lyric poetry. For codicological description and information on contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti,* pt. 1, pp. 176–182. Also see Barbi, *Studi sul canzoniere di Dante* (Florence: Sansoni, 1915) in which links with Magl. VII 1040 and Chigi L.IV.131 are identified.

Song texts appear in the section copied by Redi 184's first principal scribe, Baroncino di Giovanni Baroncini (responsible for ff. 22–47 and 49ra–149rb). All appear in sections dedicated to the lyrics of a single poet, included because of their connection to their author. No references to musical settings.

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer/ (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
46r	Non al suo amante piu diana piacque	Jacopo da Bologna (*Petrarch*)	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina	Vat. Lat. 3195; Ricc. 1100; FL XL 43 and many others
102v	Non dispregiar virtu riccho villano	Niccolò del Proposto (here attrib. to *Stefano di Cino Merciao*)	Madrigal	Sq; Lo; Pit	FL XL. 43; Parmense 1081; Barb. lat. 3695
110v	Laghuila bella nera pellegrina	Gherardello da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq	Trivulziana 193
110v	Da da a chi avareggia pur perse	Lorenzo da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq	Lucca 107; Lucca 266; Trivulziana 193
110v	Chome da lupo pechorella presa	Donato da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq	Magl. VII 1041; Trivulziana 193
111r	I fui gia usiognuolo un tenpo verde	Donato da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq; SL; Pit	Trivulziana 193
111v	Un bel girfalcho sciese alle mie grida	Donato da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq; SL; Pit	Trivulziana 193
112r	Donna e fu credenza duna donna	Lorenzo da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Ballata	Sq	Ricc. 1100; Chigi L.IV.131
112v	Bene di fortuna non fa riccho alteri	Niccolò del Proposto (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Ballata	Sq	Ricc. 1100
112v	Io vo bene a chi vuol bene a(m)me	Gherardello da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Ballata	Sq	Trivulziana 193; Chigi L.IV.131; Bologna 48
113v	A poste messe veltri egran mastini	Lorenzo da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Caccia	Sq; FP	Chigi L.IV.131
133r	Chil ben soffrir non po	Niccolò del Proposto (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	Sq; Lo	Chigi L.VIII.300; Ashb. 574

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA MARUCELLIANA, C. 155

Paper, 15th century (f. 66r, 1417; f. 81v, 1439 and 1449). I + 89 + I. 296 x 221 mm. Frame ruled, dry-point in two columns (f. 82v in three columns). Two independent systems of ruling, one through f. 49 and another from ff. 50–89. Blank: ff. 81bis, 88, 89. Catchwords on ff. 17v and 33v. Old foliation in pen in top right corner, with the exception of ff. 2 (no number) and 21, 81 bis, 88, and 89 (modern foliation in pencil). One primary hand that begins as a simple *bastarde* with a fairly non-cursive *ductus* but becomes progressively more cursive and more *mercantesca*-like as the manuscript progresses; additions by other hands on ff. 81v and 84r–87r. Rubrics in red ink on ff. 3–38; red paragraph markers on ff. 1–2; illuminated initials planned but not executed; initials in red and black with simple pen flourish decoration on ff.3–38 and 39v–57r. Modern binding: cardboard covered with grey paper, leather spine and corners. Contents: Boccaccio, *Filostrato* (ff. 1–38r); misc. texts in verse and some in prose, mostly anonymous (ff. 39–87).

Contains seven poems with musical concordances scattered throughout the collection of miscellaneous sonnets, canzoni da ballo, canzoni a righoletto, madrigals, and ballete that extends from f. 50r to f. 81v. The poems are fully integrated into the larger lyric collection. No reference to musical settings.

Fol.	***Incipit***	***Composer (Poet)***	***Genre***	***Musical Concordances***	***Text Concordances***
53v	Non vedi tu amor chome tuo servo	Lorenzo da Firenze (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	Sq	
54r	Di riva in riva mi guidava amore	Lorenzo da Firenze	Madrigal	Sq; FP	
54r	Per prender chacciagion legiadra e bella	Gherardello da Firenze	Madrigal	Sq; FP	
54r	Si dolce non sono cho lir orfeo	Francesco degli organi	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit	
54v	Donna laltrui mirar che fate porgie	Gherardello da Firenze	Ballata	Sq; Pit	
56r	Passando chon pensieri per un boschetto	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Caccia		Ash. 574; BNCF Pal. 204; FL XC.Inf.37; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
61v	O chome tradir pensati donna mai	Jacopo Pianelaio	Ballata	Lo	

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, II.II.61

Paper, late 14th century. XV + 100 + I'. 288 x 220 mm. Composite manuscript. Miscellany of prose and poetry in Italian vernacular.

Unit I. ff. 1r–40v.
MARCO POLO *Milione* (ff. 1r–40v)

Gatherings: 1^{8}, $2–3^{16}$. No ruling visible. Old foliation (14th c) in pen: 315–354. Single hand (*mercantesca*). Signed and dated on f. 40v, Amelio di Giachino Bonaguisi, 1392.

Unit II. ff. 41r–61v
"Insegnamento de' filosofi" (ff. 41r–54r)
"Vite e sentenze de' filosofi" (ff. 54v–59v). Incomplete.
Various chronological notes pertaining to the location of Easter, etc. in Ital. and Lat. (f. 60r–v)
Catalogue of cities before the flood (f. 61r)
Catalogue of languages after the flood (f. 61r)
Epitaphia Ciceronis (f. 61v)

Gatherings: 1^{16}, 2^{5}. Frame ruled. Old foliation (14th c) in pen: 1–16 on modern ff. 51–56; main hand is same as that of 1st unit; second contemporary hand on ff. 51v–54r.

Unit III. ff. 62r–100v

OVID (trans. CEFFI)	*Heroides* (ff. 62r–96v). Complete text.
ANON.	Misc. poetry (ff. 96v–100r): 18 ballate, 1 sonnet.

Gatherings: 1^{11}, 2^{8}, $3–4^{10}$. Ruling not visible fol. 62r–96v (top); fol. 96v (bottom)–fol. 100r ruled in 2 columns (inconsistent in width). Traces of old foliation (14th c) in pen, top of right: 117–154; second old foliation (14th c) in pen, bottom right: 1–27 on fol. 73–99. Three types of paper, each with different writing space and format: 1) 14th c paper (*cervo* watermark), ff. 62, 65–68, 73–75, 77, 83–84, 86–100; 2) old modern style paper (late 14th c?, trident watermark), ff. 76, 78–82, 85; 3) modern paper (17th c), ff. 63–64, 69–72. Single hand that is same as first unit, with the exception of the 17th-c repairs; Bonaguisi family stem on ff. 96v, 99v, and 100r.

For a list of poems with musical concordances, see Table 3.3 on page 196. Song texts are fully integrated into the collection of miscellaneous lyric poetry copied in the final unit, which was originally part of the same manuscript as the final gathering of Magl. VII 1040. No reference to musical settings. For a detailed discussion, see Chapter 3.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, CONVENTI SOPPRESSI, C.I.1746

Paper. Composite manuscript. 14th–15th centuries. Miscellany. For a codicological description and information on contents, see Decaria ed., *Francesco D'Altobianco Alberti. Rime*, pp. XVI–XIX.

Contains three poems with corresponding musical settings on ff. 233v–234v. These poems are fully integrated into a section of lyric poetry copied in a single layer of scribal activity that consists primarily of sonnets. Rubrics indicating genre. No reference to musical settings.

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
233v	Non senti donna piu piacer giammai	Anon.	Ballata	Lo	Chigi M.IV.79

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
234r	P(er) seguir la speranza che mancjde	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina	Magl. VII 1041
234v	Il gran disio e la dolze isperanza	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; Fp; Pit; Lo	Chigi M.IV.79

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, MAGLIABECHIANO VII 640

Paper. 16th century (early). Lyric miscellany. For a codicological description and information on contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime,* vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, p. 237.

Contains one poem with corresponding musical setting, *Come in sul fonte preso Narciso,* on fol. 10r. Poem appears amongst lyrics in various genres (canzoni, sonnets, ballate, etc) with a rubric attributing it to Boccaccio. No reference to musical setting.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, MAGLIABECHIANO VII 1040

Paper. Composite manuscript. 14th–16th centuries. For codicological description and information on contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime,* vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, pp. 243–245.

For a list of poems with musical concordances, see Table 3.3 on page 196. Song texts appear in two separate units: gathering 1 (15th c), *Non so qual i' mi voglia* is the final poem in a section of sonnets by Alberto degli Albizi and Boccaccio, added later than the other poems at the end of the section on the bottom of f. 3v; gathering 10 (late 14th c), a miscellaneous collection of 14th-century French and Italian lyrics with song texts scattered throughout. This gathering was originally part of the final unit of BNCF II.II.61. No reference to musical settings. For detailed discussion, see Chapter 3.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, MAGLIABECHIANO VII 1041

Paper. 16th century (1st half). Florence. Collection of lyric poetry. For codicological description and information on contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime,* vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, 245–46. Also see Barbi, *Studi*, in which links with Redi 184 and Chigi L.IV.131 are identified.

Song texts scattered throughout various different sections, some included because of their author and others not. All are fully integrated into the manuscript's lyric collection. Two poems attributed to Francesco degli organi.[2] No specific mention of musical settings.

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[2] For a detailed discussion of the song texts in Magl. VII 1041, see Lauren Jennings, Technologies of Un-Notated Transmission: Trecento Song as Literature in One Early Sixteenth-Century Poetic Anthology," in *Cantus scriptus: Technologies of Medieval Song. Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Lawrence J. Schoenberg Symposium on Manuscript Studies in the Digital Age* (Georgia Press, forthcoming).

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
3r	La neve e 'l ghiaccio e' venti d'oriente		Guilielmus da Francia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213; Paris 554; Chigi L.VIII.301
3r	Né te né altra voglio amar giammai		Francesco Landini (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	none	Ash. 574; Magl. VII 1040; Magl. VII 1041; *Raccolta Aragonese**
3v	Non creder, donna, che nessuna sia		Francesco Landini (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1040; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
4v	Innamorato pruno		Franco Sacchetti (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	none	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*
5r	Chi vide più bel nero		Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	none	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*
7r	State su donne che debbian noi fare		Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Caccia	Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213; Paris 554; Patetta 352
22v	Hor sia che puo come avoi piace sia	sine nomine	Paolo da Firenze	Ballata	Pit; SL	Chigi M.IV.79
46r	Chi più crede far colui men fa		Giovanni di Gherardello da Firenze (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	none	Ash. 574

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
47r	Donna che d'amore senta non si muova		Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; Pit; Reina	none
47r	L'antica fiamma e 'l dolce e bel desio		Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP	none
47r	La mala lingua e d'ogni mal radice		Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP	Magl. VII 1078
47v	Vita non è più misera e più ria		Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina; SL	Magl. VII 1078; Marucelliana C.155; Trivulziana 193
47v	La bionda treccia di fino colore		Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP	none
47v	La bella stella che sua fiamma tene		Giovanni da Cascia (*Lancillotto Anguissola*)	Madrigal	FC; Sq; FP; SL; Pit; Rossi; RO	none
48r	Ama, donna, che t'ama in pura fede		Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina	Trivulziana 193
48r	Per seguir la speranza che m'ancide		Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina	BNCF Conv. Sopp. C.I.1746
48v	Donna se 'l cor t'ho dato		Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP	none
48v	Gli occhi che in prima tanto bel piacere		Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; SL; Pit	none
49v	Come da lupo pecorella presa		Donato da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq	Redi 184; Trivulziana 193
50v	Donne e fu credenza d'una donna		Lorenzo da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Ballata	Sq	Redi 184; Ricc. 1100; Chigi L.IV.131
51r	O cieco mondo lusinghe pieno		Jacopo da Bologna (here, falsely attrib. to *Guido Cavalcanti*)	Madrigal	Sq; FP; SL; Pad A; Pad C; Pit; Reina	Bologna 1072; FL Pal. 105; BNCF Pal. 315; Chigi L.IV.131; Barb. lat. 3695
51v	De, pon quest' amor giù		Francesco Landini	Ballata	Sq; FP	Chigi L.IV.131

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
51v	Gentil aspetto in cui la mente mia		Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina; Pist	Chigi L.IV.131
52r	Non n'avrà mia pietà questa mia donna		Francesco degli organi (*Bindo D'Alesso Donati*)	Ballata	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit; Reina	Chigi L.IV.131
52r	Benchè 'l partir da te molto mi doglia		Niccolò da Perugia	Ballata	Sq; Lo; Pit	none
52r	O fanciulla giulia		Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; SL; Pit	Chigi L.IV.131

*The text concordances for Franco Sacchetti's poems with extant musical settings are complete, to the best of my knowledge. The text concordances for the poet's poems whose musical settings have been lost remain a work in progress due to the difficulty of obtaining full inventories for the relevant manuscripts. For this reason throughout the dissertation and throughout Appendix 1, I have indicated which poems were included in the *Raccolta Aragonese* without specifying in which copies they appear.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, MAGLIABECHIANO VII 1078

Paper. 15th century (1st half). Northern Italy. II + 41 + I (numbered 1–40, number 37 doubled). 233 x 155 mm. Frame ruled with very narrow margins, sometimes in full-page format and sometimes in two columns. Gatherings: $1^{15\,(7+8)}$, 2^{2}, 3^{8}, 4^{4}, $5^{7\,(4+3)}$, $6^{5\,(2+3)}$. Page cut out between f. 36 and f. 37. Foliation in pen top right corner (not original). Single primary hand (simple hybrid cursive), plus additions by two later hands: scribe B, poems on ff. 15r and 28v; scribe C, a list of names of contributors to the restoration fund for a church, Madonna Sancta Maria da Terrabora. Frequent changes in pen and ink. No decoration, no colored ink, rubrics rarely included. Modern binding: cardboard covered with paper. Contents: miscellaneous lyric poetry.

For a list of poems with musical concordances, see Table 3.1 on page 165. Poems scattered amongst "non-musical" poems in various genres. No reference to musical settings. For detailed discussion, see Chapter 3.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, MAGLIABECHIANO VII 1187

Paper. Composite manuscript. 15th and 16th centuries. For a codicological description and information on contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1 pp. 259–260.

Fol. 15, a single, codicologically independent folio, contains three poems by Franco Sacchetti, two of which have corresponding musical settings. No references to musical settings.

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
15r	Come selvaggia fiera, fra le fronde	Niccolò del Proposto (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Vat. lat. 3213; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Magl. VII 1187; BNCF Pal. 204
15v	Sopra la riva un corrente fiume	Lorenzo da Firenze (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213; Magl. VII 1187; BNCF Pal. 204

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, PALATINO 204

Paper. 16th century. Italy. Copy of the *Raccolta Aragonese*. For codicological description and information on contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, pp. 304–307.

For a list of poems with musical concordances, see Table 2.3 on page 74. Poems incorporated into single author cycles (Sacchetti and Rinuccini). No reference to musical settings. For discussion, see Chapter 2.

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 288

Paper. 16th century (owned by Benedetto Varchi). Florence (?). Lyric miscellany. For a codicological description and information on contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, pp. 307–308.

Contains one poem with corresponding musical setting, *Come nel fonte fu prese Narciso* (Boccaccio), on f. 8r. The poem appears devoid of rubric or identification of any sort, mixed in amongst various genres, especially sonnets. No reference to musical setting.

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 315

Paper. Late 14th and early 15th centuries. Florence. Dante's *Divina commedia* followed by miscellaneous lyric poetry, esp. *rime* by Dante. For a codicological description, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, pp. 308–309.

For a list of poems with musical concordances, see Table 2.10 on page 116. Song texts appear in section of miscellaneous poetry added in blank pages at the end of the *Commedia*, copied by two different hands. No reference to musical settings. For detailed discussion, see Chapter 2.

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1100

Paper. 15th century (early). Florence (owned by Stefano di Cione, as per *ex libris* on f. 97). Collection of lyric poetry by major trecento poets organized clearly by author. Opens with Petrarch's *canzoniere* and includes numerous poems by Dante and Boccaccio, among others. For a codicological description, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, pp. 363–65.

For a list of poems with musical concordances, see Table 2.5 on page 80. All song texts appear with attribution to a poet and are fully integrated into the section dedicated to their respective authors. No reference to musical settings. For detailed discussion, see Chapter 2.

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1118

Paper. 16th century (1st half). Italy. Copy of the *Raccolta Aragonese*. For a codicological description and information on contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime.* vol. 1, *I documenti,* pt. 1, pp. 371–373.

Contains 7 poems with corresponding musical settings, incorporated into single author cycles (Sacchetti and Rinuccini). No reference to musical settings.

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
99r	Se crudelta damor sommetta fe	Ottolino da Brescia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	none	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 43; Vat. lat. 3213
99v	Di bella palla, et di valor di petra	Gherardello da Firenze (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	none	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
103r	Sovra la rippa un corrente fiume	Lorenzo da Firenze (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213; Magl. VII 1187; BNCF Pal. 204
103v	Se ferma stesso giovenezza et tempo	Jacopo da Firenze (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	none	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*
104r	Lontan ciascun ucel damor si trova	Jacopo da Firenze (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	none	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*
105r	Verso la vaga tramontana e gita	Ottolino da Brescia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	none	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*
105v	Come selvaggia fora fra le fronde	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Vat. lat. 3213; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Magl. VII 1187
105v	Come la gru quando per läer vola	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352
106v	Correndo giu del monte alle chiar onde	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	none	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*
108r	Volgiendo i suo beglocchi in ver le fiamme	Donato da Firenze (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	none	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*
109r	La neve il giaccio e venti doriente	Guiglielmus de Francia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
109v	Povero pellegrin salito al monte	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; FL XL 43; Parmense 1081; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
110v	Non creder donna che nesuna sia	Francesco degli organi (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1040; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
111r	Lasso sio fu gia preso	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	none	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*

Fol.	Incipit	Composer (Poet)	Genre	Musical Concordances	Text Concordances
111v	Inamorato pruno	Franco Saccheti (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	none	Ash. 574; Magl. VII 1041; *Raccolta Aragonese*
112r	Chi vide piu bel nero	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	none	Ash. 574; Magl. VII 1041; *Raccolta Aragonese*
122r	Con gli occhi assai ne miro	Francesco degli organi (*Cino Rinuccini*)	Ballata	Sq; Florence 5; FP; Pit	Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213; BNCF Pal. 204

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA RICCARDIANA, 1280

Paper. 15th century. Italy. 305 x 220 mm. Composite manuscript, 122 folios. Unit I: ff. 1–18, contains the Legend of Saint Domitilla. Unit II: ff. 19–122, contains Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*. Missing 9 folios after f. 79 and one after f. 79, 89, and 90; last 9 folios are blank.

Contains one poem with a musical concordance, the ballata *Orsu gentil spiriti* (set by Francesco degli organi), which appears within Gherardi's *Paradiso degli Alberti* where it is performed by Francesco himself.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA RICCARDIANA 1764

Paper. 15th century (1st half?). Florence. VI + 94 + IV. 214 x 149 mm. Frame ruled, dry-point and graphite. Gatherings: $1^{13\,(6+7)}$, $2–7^{12}$, $8^{9\,(5+4)}$. Foliation typeset top right corner, pagination in pen top right corner (19th c?). Single hand (*bastarde*). Moderately elaborate pen-flourish initial in red and blue ink on f. 1r, other red initials with more modest pen-flourish decoration throughout; red rubrics and highlighting. *Ex libris* on f. 93v: "Alberto della chonforteva Ischriptto p(er) me lionardo di S(er) bonachorso di Piero Bonachorsi Cittadino fiorentino." Modern binding (20th c), parchment. Contents: miscellaneous devotional and moralizing texts in verse and in prose.

Contains one poem with corresponding musical setting, *Collagrime bangniandome nel viso*, on f. 86v, preceded by the rubric "Ballata fatta p(er) mess(er) Franciesco Singnior di padova." This ballata appears in a short section of laude, followed by a lauda, *Colla mente colcor pecchator fiso*, with the *cantasi come* indication "lauda va come collagrime."

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA RICCARDIANA 2786[11]

Paper. 15th c (1st half?). Italy (Tuscany?). I + 39 + I. 272 x 221 mm. Gatherings: 1^{2}, 2^{8}, $3–4^{10}$, $5^{9\,(5+2)}$. Catchwords through gathering 4. Blank: ff. 30v, 39 (f. 39 is modern paper). Frame-ruled, dry-point with some ink. Two hands: scribe A (ff. 1–33v, *mercantesca*), scribe B (ff. 34r–38v, *mercantesca* with strong *bastarde* influence). Large red and blue decorated initial on f. 1r, red highlighting through f. 30r. Enlarged initials planned but not executed ff. 31r–33v. Contents: Petrarch's *Trionfi* followed by miscellaneous lyric poems by Petrarch and others.

Contains two poems with corresponding musical settings on f. 36v: *Contemplar le gran cose* and *Che pena è questa al chor*. The poems appear consecutively in the section of miscellaneous lyric poetry copied by scribe B (whole section represents single layer of scribal activity). No rubrics. No reference to musical settings.

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA RICCARDIANA 2871

Paper. 15th–16th centuries. Italy. Composite manuscript. III + 65 + I. 228 x 168 mm. Gatherings: 1^8, $2^{23\ (12+11)}$, 3^2, 4^6, $5\text{–}7^8$, 8^2. Blank: ff. 32–33 (modern paper), 58, 64v, 65 (later filled with doodles). Modern binding, wooden boards with leather spine. 1st codex, ff.1–31: 16th c (?). Single hand (humanistic cursive). Contents: *Ordini intorno a Cambi della Fiera di Piacenza*. 2nd codex, ff. 34–65: 15th c (early). Old foliation (original) top right corner, ff. 6–32 = ff. 38–63 (foliation on first few and last few pages not legible). Single hand (*mercantesca*). Contents: chess treatise and collection of laude with some *cantasi come* indications.

Contains one poem with musical setting, *P(er) u(n) verde boschetto*, on f. 61r. Although found in the middle of the section of laude, this poem is not a *cantasi come* lauda but rather the original secular ballata text.

GENOVA, BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA, A.IX.28

Paper. 15th century (1462–1485). Florence, copied by Filippo and Giovanni Benci. Collection of miscellaneous texts in prose and in verse. For a codicological description, see Oriana Cartaregia, ed. *I manoscritti "G. Gaslini" della Biblioteca Universitaria di Genova* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1991), 15–29.

For a list of poems with musical concordances, see Table 2.8 on page 102. All four poems are attributed in the manuscript to Francesco degli organi and are copied by Giovanni Benci consecutively in a single scribal layer, which extends from f. 205v–208r. In addition to Francesco's ballate, this layer includes a short excerpt by Cicero on the immortality of the soul and an oration to the Virgin Mary. Manuscript also includes Francesco degli organi's epitaph, copied by Giovanni Benci on f. 201v. For a detailed description, see Chapter 2.

LUCCA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO, MS. 107

Parchment. 1400. Lucca. Written for Giovanni Sercambi and contains the first part of his *Cronache*. For a codicological description, see *Giovanni Sercambi e il suo tempo. Catalogo della mostra: Lucca, 30 novembre 1991* (Lucca: Nuova Grafica Lucchese, 1991).

Contains one madrigal by Niccolò Soldanieri with a musical concordance, *Da da a chi avaregia pur per se1*, copied on f. 267v. It is incorporated into the *Chronicles*, included because of its moralizing nature. No reference to musical setting.

LUCCA, ARCHIVIO DI STATO, ARCHIVIO GUINIGI, 266

Parchment. 15th century (early). Lucca. Contains the second part of Sercambi's *Cronache* and a few of his *novelle*. For a codicological description, see *Giovanni Sercambi e il suo tempo: catalogo della mostra: Lucca, 30 novembre 1991* (Lucca: Nuova Grafica Lucchese, 1991).

Contains one madrigal by Niccolò Soldanieri with a musical concordance, *Da da a chi avaregia pur per se1*, copied in full on f. 100v (old f. 102v). The first three verses of the poem are also copied on f. 127v (old f. 129v). As in Lucca 107, Soldanieri's madrigal is incorporated into the *Chronicle*, included because of its moralizing nature. No reference to musical setting.

MILAN, BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA, E. 56 SUP.

Early 15th century (the date 1408 appears in the instructions for calculating Easter on f. 1r). 215 x 145 mm. Parchment with paper fly leaves. III + 72 + I. Modern foliation in pencil numbering the first four parchment folios I–IV, and then starting with Arabic numerals (1–72) on the fifth parchment folio. 4 ff. missing between folios 70 and 71. Fol. 54r is blank. Gatherings: $1–4^{12}$, 5^{11}, 6^{10}, 7^{7}. Dry-point ruling, clearly visible on ff. 1–32 and less visible afterwards. Preparation varies from section to section: single column, except ff. 36v–37r and 42v–43v. Several hands of varying qualities, with the bulk of the manuscript copied by two professional scribes using elegant chancery bookhands, each with a strong influence of *littera textualis*: Scribe A, ff. I–IV and 1r–32v (section 1); Scribe B, ff. 33r–53v and 55v–70v (section 2). Rubrics in red ink, enlarged red initials at the start of each text (section 1) embellished with pen flourishes in black ink (folios 1–26), simple enlarged initials with highlighting (section 2), red highlighting and smaller initials to mark internal poetic structure throughout, pen-flourish frames in red around catchwords (section 1). Binding: not original, parchment cover with disintegrating leather spine wrapped over cardboard. "E 56 Sup." written in modern ballpoint pen on the cover and "56" written in modern black felt pen on scotch tape on the spine. Contents: Calendar and instructions for calculating Easter (ff. I–IV); lunar table (f. 50r); prayers and religions verse in the Italian *volgare*; 25 anonymous sonnets based on Dante's *Inferno*; collection of canzoni, sonnets, and *volgarizzamenti* of liturgical texts by Antonio Beccari da Ferrara; other anonymous canzoni, sonnets, and a few ballate. Table of contents on fly leaves added in the 19th century.

The two ballate with musical concordances appear in verse format without rubrics, attribution, or genre labels (but set off by enlarged initials) towards the end of the codicological section that extends from ff. 56–70: *Benche lontan me trovi in altra parte* (fol. 69r) and *Amor ne tossa non se po celare* (f. 69v), both set to music by Antonio Zacara da Teramo. This section, which represents a single layer of coping, contains a number of amorous canzoni, 4 ballate (ff. 69–70), and *volgarizzamenti* of the Credo and Lord's Prayer by Antonio del Beccaio. In spite of the lack of red highlighting in *Amor ne tossa* (copied only in black ink), it is clear that these two ballate were copied as a unit: *Amor ne tossa* is followed by an *explicit* which reads, "Responsio ad bench(e) lontan etc." No reference to musical settings.

MILAN, BIBLIOTECA TRIVULZIANA, 193

Paper. 15th century (2nd half). Lucca (?). 286 x 196 mm. VII + 277 + [3] + VIII. Contents: Giovanni Sercambi, *Novelle*. For a codicological description, see *Giovanni Sercambi e il suo tempo: catalogo della mostra: Lucca, 30 novembre 1991* (Lucca: Nuova Grafica Lucchese, 1991). Contains 11 poems with musical concordances. Poems are integrated into the narrative, similarly to the way song is incorporated into Boccaccio's *Decameron*. They appear in the *cornice* that surrounds the stories, sung by members of the *brigata*. Poems are thus clearly identified as songs, but no mention of composers is made.

Orig. Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
89r	Come da lupo pecorella presa	Donato da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq	Redi 184; Magl. VII 1041
106r	Virtù luogo non ha perché gentile	Niccolò da Perugia (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq	Redi 184
113v	Un bel girfalco scese alle mie grida	Donato da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq; SL; Pit	Redi 184
115v	L'aguila bella nera pellegrina	Gherardello da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq	Redi 184
118r	Io fu ggià usignolo in tempo verte	Donato da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq; SL; Pit	Redi 184
145v	Vita non è più misera e più ria	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina; SL	Magl VII 1041; Magl. VII 1078
153r	Dà, dà a chi avansa pur per sé	Lorenzo da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq	Redi 184
195r	Io vo' ben a chi vuol bene a me	Gherardello da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Madrigal	Sq	Redi 184; Chigi L.IV.131; Bologna Archive Covers 1
210v-211r	Ama chi t'ama sempre a buona fé	Bartolino da Padova	Ballata	Sq; Reina	
220v	Ciascun faccia per sé	Niccolò da Perugia (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Ballata	Sq; Lo; Pit	BNCF II.II.61
266v	La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba	Bartolino da Padova Niccolò da Perugia	Madrigal	Bartolino: Sq; SL; Pit Niccolò: Sq	Parmense 1081

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NAZIONALE DE FRANCE, FONDS ITALIEN 554

Paper. 16th century. Italy (?). Copy of the *Raccolta Aragonese*.

PARMA, BIBLIOTECA PALATINA, PARMENSE 1081

Paper. 15th century (early). Italy (Tuscany?). 285 x 207 mm. I + III + VI + 120 + XX + III + I. Modern foliation. The fly leaf and 9 additional folios at the beginning of the manuscript are blank, as are the last 11 additional folios and the fly leaf at the end. Fol. 61 is missing. Due to tight re-binding and deterioration of the paper, the gathering structure is difficult to discern. Only one catchword (f. 77v) and no signatures. Ruling barely visible: dry-point, frame ruled. Single column, verse format. Single hand but several layers of scribal activity. Marginalia and corrections added both by main scribe and by later hands. Scribal signature in outer margin next to the majority of poems (Guaspare Totti). No decoration. Rubrics, attributions, and genre specifications (where they exist) are in regular brown or blank ink. Modern binding: leather over cardboard with older leather spine. Spine contains the label "Rime del sec. XIV" embossed in gold. Contents: collection of lyric poetry, mostly canzoni and sonnets (grouped by genre, with sonnets first, ff. 1–48, and canzoni, starting on f. 49), also some ballate, madrigals, frottole, and one caccia. Large portion of poems by Petrarch.

For a list of poems with musical concordances, see Table 2.7 on page 93. Song texts appear in two sections. Seven madrigals, three of which are attributed to Niccolò del Proposto, are copied consecutively on f. 91v–92r in a brief cycle of madrigals. This cycle is a discrete paleographic unit and contains only poems with known musical settings. Two more poems with musical settings appear on f. 111v, where they are attributed to Niccolò del Proposto. These two are part of a larger paleographic section that includes several canzoni with no concordant musical settings. For a detailed discussion, see Chapter 2.

Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, C 43

Paper. 15th century. Italy. I + 227+ I. 315 x 215 mm. Partially frame ruled in graphite, some trimming. Gatherings: $1^{14\,(6+8)}$, 2^{14}, $3^{15\,(7+8)}$, $4^{13\,(6+7)}$, $5–15^{14}$, $20^{17\,(9+8)}$. Fol. 225 misplaced; ff. 212 and 227 not original. Catchwords throughout. Original foliation in pen on ff. 1–224, modern foliation in pencil from ff. 210–227. Single hand, *mercantesca*. No decoration and no rubrics (except for the occasional genre indication). Enlarged initials set into left margin. Partial index listing poems on ff. 51–152 in order of appearance. Modern binding: cardboard covered with paper, parchment spine. Contents: miscellaneous texts (mostly unattributed) in verse, some lyric and some narrative, including Boccaccio's *Filostrato* and a large portion of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*.

Contains two poems with musical concordances, *In su' be' fiori in su la verde fronda* set by Jacopo da Bologna (f. 46r) and *Cavalcando con un giovine acorto* set by Piero (f. 46r). Song texts are incorporated into the collection of lyric poetry (primarily sonnets) that surrounds them. No reference to musical settings.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberino Latino 3695

Paper. 15th century (early). Venice. II + 90 + I. 205 x 145 mm. Several systems of ruling and margins heavily trimmed throughout. Gatherings: 1^{13}, $2^{16\,(9+7)}$, 3^{16}, $4^{14\,(6+8)}$, 5^{16}, $6^{15\,(7+8)}$. No catchwords or sigla. Blank: ff. 45r and 89r; mostly blank: ff. 47r and 50v; ff. 58 and 59 are different, more modern paper. Old foliation (not original) in pen in top right-hand corner. Single primary hand (cursive script of varying neatness) with a few additions in other hands. Primary scribe self-identified as Alegroto di Galoti on f. 95v in a section of family records containing information on marriages, births and deaths). Red and purple ink for highlighting and rubrics. Modern binding (1825): cardboard covered in green marbled paper with parchment corners and spine. Contents: moralizing and devotional poetry and prose mostly the vernacular, lunar table (ff. 26–32), family records dating from 1392–1413 (ff. 95v–96v).

Contains two poems with corresponding musical settings, presumably included because of their moralizing subject matter: *Non disprexiar virtu richo vilano* set by Niccolò da Perugia (f. 71r) and *O cieco mondo* set by Jacopo da Bologna (fol. 81). Both are copied by the primary hand. *Non dispregiar* is the last poem in short layer of scribal activity that starts on f. 69v and includes a lauda to Mary and an anonymous ballata in addition to Niccolò's madrigal. *O cieco mondo* was copied into blank space remaining at the end of a canzone morale. There are no references to the musical setting of either poem.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.IV.131

Paper. 16th and 17th centuries. Italy. Composite manuscript. Lyric miscellany. For a codicological description, see De Robertis, *Dante. Rime*, vol.1, *I documenti*, pt. 2, pp. 742–744. Also see Barbi, *Studi*, in which links with Redi 184 and Magl. VII 1041 are identified.

Contains 11 poems with musical concordances, two of which are attributed to Francesco degli organi. The first group of song texts are cacce by Niccolò Soldanieri, copied in a cycle of the poet's works. The second group contains one madrigal copied at the end of a group of sonnets and ballate. The final group appears within another section of miscellaneous lyric poetry that features a number of longer *rime*. No specific mention of musical settings made for any poem, including those attributed to Francesco degli organi.

Fol.	***Incipit***	***Rubric***	***Composer (Poet)***	***Genre***	***Musical Concordances***	***Text Concordances***
257v	A poste messe veltri e gran mastini		Lorenzo da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Caccia	Sq; FP	Redi 184
385v	O cieco mondo di lusinghe pieno	Madrigale di Guido Cavalcanti	Jacopo da Firenze	Madrigal	Sq; FP; SL; Pad A; Pad C; Pit; Reina	Bologna 1072; FL Pal. 105; BNCF Pal. 315; Magl. VII 1041; Barb. lat. 3695
387r	Deh pon questo amor giu	Ballata di Francº degli organi	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP	Magl. VII 1041
387v	Gentil aspetto in cu la mente mia	Ballata del medesº francº	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina; Pist	Magl. VII 1041
387v	Non hara mai pieta questa mia donna	Ballata di Bindo d'Alesso donati	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit; Reina	Magl. VII 1041
388r	Sempre è coste piu bella e piu altera [Incipit in musical sources: Ma' non s'andrà per questa donna'altera]	Ballata per Mona Sandra moglie del Cavallaro de nostri Signori	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit; Mancini	

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
388r	Amare gli alti suoi gentil costumi	Ballata p(er) mona marselia di Manetto dava(n)zati fecela fare Lionardo Sassetti	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit	
388v	O fanciulla giulia	Ballata facta per Mona Contessa figliuola di boccasenno de bardi e moglie di Cavalcante Cavalcanti	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; SL; Pit	Magl. VII 1041
455v	Donne e fu gia credenza d'una donna		Lorenzo da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Ballata	Sq	Redi 184; Ricc. 1100
456r	Io voglio ben' a chi vuol ben a' me		Gherardello da Firenze (*Niccolò Soldanieri*)	Ballata	Sq	Redi 184; Trivulziana 193; Bologna 48

ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, CHIGIANO L.VIII.300

Paper. 17th century. Italy. VII + 250 (pages) + VIII. 320 x 228 mm. No ruling visible. Pagination in pen, top right-hand corner, numbering pages from 1–244. Gathering structure difficult to discern because of tight binding. Single hand, two columns. Red ink for underlining rubrics. Modern binding: cardboard covered in green leather, typical of Chigiano manuscripts. Contents: Franco Sacchetti, *Libro di rime* along with correspondence poems by other poets.

Poems organized as in Ashburnham 574, not segregated by genre and musical texts fully integrated into the overall literary fabric. Unlike Ashburnham 574, there are no references to musical settings or to composers. Table below omits poems whose musical settings have been lost.

Page	*Incipit*	*Composer*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
11	Sovra la riva d'un chorrente fiume	Lorenzo da Firenze	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213; Magl. VII 1187
14	Chome selvaggia fera fra le fronde	Niccolò del Proposto	Madrigal	Sq	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Vat. lat. 3213; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi M.VII.142; Magl. VII 1187

Page	*Incipit*	*Composer*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
16	Chome laggiù quando per l'aere vola	Niccolò del Proposto	Madrigal	Sq	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352
27	Nel mezzo gia del mar la navicella	Niccolò del Proposto	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; BNCF Pal. 315
48	Passando con pensier per un boschetto	Niccolò del Proposto	Caccia	Sq; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Marucelliana C.155; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
57	Chi 'l ben sofrir no(n) può	Niccolò del Proposto	Ballata	Sq; Lo	Ash 574; Redi 184
64	La neve el giaccio e venti d'oriente	Guiglielmus de Francia	Madrigal	Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
64	Povero pellegrin salito al monte	Niccolò del Proposto	Madrigal	Sq; Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; FL XL 43; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Parmense 1081; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
72	Non creder donna che nessuna sia	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1040; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
79	State su donne, che dobbian noi fare?	Niccolò del Proposto	Caccia	Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
95	Perche virtù fa l'uom costante e forte	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	FP	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213
155	Altri n'avra la pena et io il danno	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq	Ash. 574

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.301

Paper. Composite manuscript, consisting of eight fragmentary units dating from the 14th–16th centuries. For a codicological description, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 2, pp. 750–2. Also indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (http://www.

mirabileweb.it).

Unit II (15th c, 2nd half). Simple initials planned but not executed. Red ink for rubrics. Contains poems by Franco Sacchetti, including two indicated as receiving musical treatment in Ashburnham 574 but whose settings are now lost (*Di bella palla e di valor di petra, Se crudelta d'amor che mi dono favilla*).

Unit III (16th c, end). Simple initials planned but not executed. Some red ink for rubrics. Contains poems by various authors, among them Franco Sacchetti. Its selection of poems by Sacchetti is nearly identical to that in unit II and includes the same two "musical" poems.

Unit IV (15th c). Simple initials planned but not executed. Contains six poems by Franco Sacchetti, including *La neve e 'l ghiaccio e' venti d'oriente*, and one by Ciscranna de' Piccogliuomeni.

ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, CHIGIANO M.IV.79

Paper. 15th century (last 3rd). Tuscany (scribe identified as Tommaso Baldinotti). Lyric miscellany. For a codicological description, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 2, pp. 759–760.

Contains three poems with known musical concordances along with several poems labeled "*canzona tonata*."[3] Both the poems with musical concordances and poems with "musical" rubrics appear in a section of unattributed sonnets and other miscellaneous lyric poems that follows a section dedicated to the *rime* of Francesco d'Altobianco Alberti. The manuscript is consistent in its appearance, suggesting that it was copied in a short period of time from a single exemplar. It is thus unlikely that the texts with musical associations were directly copied from notated sources.

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Composer*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
135r	I fu gia bianco uccel con piuma doro	Madriale tonato	Donato da Firenze	Madrigal	Sq; SL; Lo	Ash. 569
135r	Il gran disio, & la dolce speranza	Canz. tonata	Francesco degli organi	Ballata	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit	BNCF Conv. Sopp. C.I.1746
135v	Or fia che puo: come a voi piace sia	Canzona tonata	Paolo da Firenze	Ballata	Pit; SL	Magl. VII 1041

ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, CHIGIANO M.VII.142

Paper. 16th century. Italy. Composite manuscript. Copy of the *Raccolta Aragonese*. For a codicological description and information on contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime,* vol. 1, *I*

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[3] See D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria," 393–395.

documenti, pt. 2, pp. 763–765.

Contains 10 poems with concordances in musical manuscripts, incorporated into single author cycles (Sacchetti and Rinuccini). No reference to the musical settings. Table below omits poems whose musical settings have been lost.

Fol.	***Incipit***	***Composer (Poet)***	***Genre***	***Musical Concordances***	***Text Concordances***
71v	Sovra la rippa un corrente fiume	Lorenzo da Firenze (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Chigi L.VIII.300; Ricc. 1118; Vat. lat. 3213; Magl. VII 1187; BNCF Pal. 204
72v; 130v	Come selvaggia fera fra le fronde	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Vat. lat. 3213; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Ricc. 1118; Magl. VII 1187
72v	Come la gru quando p(er) laer vola	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Ricc. 1118; Patetta 352
75r; 138v	La neve il giaccio e venti doriente	Guiglielmus de Francia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Ricc. 1118; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
75r; 139r	Povero pellegrin salito al monte	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; FL XL 43; BNCF Pal. 204; Parmense 1081; Chigi L.VIII.300; Ricc. 1118; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213
76r; 143v	Non creder donna ch(e) nesuna sia	Francesco degli organi (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1040; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Ricc. 1118; Vat. lat. 3213
85r	Con gli occhi assai ne miro	Francesco degli organi (*Cino Rinuccini*)	Ballata	Sq; Florence 5; FP; Pit	Ricc. 1118; Vat. lat. 3213; BNCF Pal. 204
135r	Passando co(n) pensier p(er) un boschetto	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Caccia	Sq; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Marucelliana C.155; Chigi L.VIII.300; Vat. lat. 3213
147r	State su donne che d(o)bbia(n) noi fare	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Caccia	Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC Inf. 37, Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
148v	Per che virtu fa l'uom costa(n)ta e forte	Francesco degli organi (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	FP	Ash. 574; FL XC Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Vat. lat. 3213

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Patetta 352

Paper. 19th century. Italy. 235 x 185 mm. Copy of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 554, a copy of the *Raccolta Aragonese*.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 3195

Parchment. 1366–1374. 270 x 202 mm. Partial holograph of Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*. Contains *Non al suo amante più Diana piacque* on f. 11v. For a codicological description and analysis see Stefano Zamponi, "Il libro del Canzoniere: modelli, strutture, funzioni" in *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta. Codice Vat. Lat. 3195. Commentario all'edizione fac-simile,* ed. Gino Belloni, Furio Brugnolo, H. Wayne Storey, and Stefano Zamponi (Rome: Editrice Antenore, 2004), pp. 13–72.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 3213

Paper. 16th c (1st half). Italy. Copy of the *Raccolta Aragonese*. Scribe identified as Antonio Lelli. For a codicological description and information on contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante. Rime,* vol. 1, *I documenti,* pt. 2, pp. 676–680.

Contains 9 poems with concordances in musical manuscripts, incorporated into single author cycles (Sacchetti and Rinuccini). No reference to musical settings. Table below omits poems whose musical settings have been lost.

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
316r	Sovra la riva un corre(n)te fiume	Lorenzo da Firenze (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Chigi L.VIII.300; Ricc. 1118; Chigi M.VII.142; Magl. VII 1187; BNCF Pal. 204
318v	Come selvaggia fera fra le fronde	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Chigi M.VII.142; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Ricc. 1118; Magl. VII 1187
332r	Passando co(n) pensier p(er) un boschetto	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Caccia	Sq; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Marucelliana C.155; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Genre*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
336v	La neve el giaccio e venti doriente	Guiglielmus de Francia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Ricc. 1118; Patetta 352; Chigi M.VII.142
337r	Povero pellegrin salito al monte	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Madrigal	Sq; Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; FL XL 43; BNCF Pal. 204; Parmense 1081; Chigi L.VIII.300; Ricc. 1118; Patetta 352; Chigi M.VII.142
341r	Non creder donna ch(e) nesuna sia	Francesco degli organi (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	Sq; FP; Pit	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1040; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Ricc. 1118; Chigi M.VII.142
345v	State su donne ch(e) dobbian noi fare?	Niccolò da Perugia (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Caccia	Lo	Ash. 574; FL XC Inf. 37, Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Patetta 352; Chigi M.VII.142
347v	Per ch(e) virtu fa lhuom costante e forte	Francesco degli organi (*Franco Sacchetti*)	Ballata	FP	Ash. 574; FL XC Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142
518r	Con gli occhi assai ne miro	Francesco degli organi (*Cino Rinuccini*)	Ballata	Sq; Florence 5; FP; Pit	Ricc. 1118; Chigi M.VII.142; BNCF Pal. 204; FL XC Inf. 37

TREVISO, BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE 43[4]

Paper. Composite manuscript (8 independent and unrelated codices). 15th–17th centuries. Northern Italy. 220 x 150 mm. 134 folios. Modern foliation. Binding: First half of 19th c, parchment and crate paper. It is the first codex, ff. 1–12, that contains the poetic collection relevant to the present study. Codex I: 12 folios, 210 x 145 mm with some irregularity in height. 2 fascicles (quatern + bifolio). Single column (except f. 7v where one text is copied in 2 columns), un-ruled. Transcribed by 2 (or possibly 4 hands): Scribe A (moderately elegant chancery script), ff. 1r–8v; Scribe B (simple cursive), ff. 7v and 9r–12v.[5] Contents: 14 strombotti, 12 ballate (8 pluristrophic), 1 sonnet, 3 lyric texts with unidentifiable genre (2 of which are fragmentary), Latin prose (f. 8). All lyrics are anonymous. 5 ballate and 2 strambotti have concordances in Magl. VII 1078.

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[4] For a more extensive description of this manuscript that provides information on all 8 codices, see Emelio Lippi. Trev 43 is also described by Vittorio Cian in his article "Ballate e strambotti del sec. XV tratti da un codice trevisiano," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* IV (1884). Lippi amends and corrects some of Cian's description. Nevertheless, the earlier article is still a useful resource, particularly for its edition of the lyrics in the manuscript's first codex.

[5] Cian identifies four different scribes active within this first codex. I agree with Emilio Lippi's more recent analysis that the three different chancery hands likely belong to a single scribe writing at three separate moments with different pens prepared in different ways. While there are minor differences in appearance between the three hands, the style and *ductus* remains remarkably consistent, as do certain

Contains three ballate with musical concordances in the first unit. The ballate are copied consecutively in a single layer of scribal activity that extends from ff. 5r–7v, alongside other ballate that have no known musical concordances. No reference to musical settings.

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Composer*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
6v	Cum lacrime bagnandome el vixo	Johannes Ciconia	Q 15; Mancini; Pit; Pad 656; Paris 4379	Ricc. 1764; Paris 1069; Bologna 22.14
6v	Poy che da ti me conven partire via	Francesco Landini	Sq, 142v; FP, 5r; Gro, 3v; Lo, 37r; Reina, 9v-10r	
7r	Che pena è questa core che sì non posso	Francesco Landini	Sq, 130v; FP, 36v; Pit 100v-101r; Paris 4917, 19v-20r (confirm); Fa, 88v-89v	

VENICE, BIBLIOTECA MARCIANA, XIV LAT. 223 (4340)

Paper. 15th century(?). 220 x 295 mm. 78 folios. Dry-point frame ruling. Format varies depending on contents: double column (read horizontally for sonnets and vertically for other texts) for lyric poetry, single column for prose. Modern foliation and pagination. Single hand, (simple, somewhat sloppy chancery script). No decoration, no colored ink, sparse rubrics. 19th century binding: half leather. Contents: Poems by Petrarch (sonnets and a few canzoni), Boccaccio, Giovanni Quirini (and correspondents; sonnets, ballate, canzoni), Giovanni Dondi d'Orologio (and correspondents; sonnets, ballate, madrigals); Boccaccio *Vita Petrarcae*; Dondi, *Iter Romanum* and *Epistule*.

Contains two poems with musical concordances copied consecutively. Poems are incorporated into a section of madrigals and ballate by Giovanni Dondi d'Orologio that begins on f. 34v. No reference to musical settings.

Fol.	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Composer (Poet)*	*Musical Concordances*	*Text Concordances*
34v	Ormai ciaschun se doglia	Balata m. code.	Bartolino da Padova? (*Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio*)	Reina	

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features such as the alternating use of the *d* rotunda borrowed from *littera textualis* and a *mercantesca*-like *d* with vertical ascender and rounded eye and use of both the straight (chancery) and circular (*mercantesca*) *s*.

Fol.	***Incipit***	***Rubric***	***Composer (Poet)***	***Musical Concordances***	***Text Concordances***
35r	La sacrosancta carita d'amore	balat. Flore(n)tia	Bartolino da Padova (*Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio*)	Sq; Mancini; Reina	

Appendix 2

SONG TEXTS WITH CONCORDANCES IN TEXT-ONLY SOURCES

Incipit	***Composer***	***Poet***	***Genre***	***Text Concordances***	***Musical Concordances***
A poste messe veltri e gran mastini	Lorenzo da Firenze	Niccolò Soldanieri	caccia	Redi 184; Chigi L.IV.131	Sq; FP
Agnel son bianco e vo belando be	Giovanni da Cascia	Franco Sacchetti (?)	madrigal	Parmense 1081	Sq; FP; SL; Pit; Reina
Altri n'avrà la pena et io il danno	Francesco degli organi	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; Chigi L.VIII.300	Sq
Ama, donna, che t'ama a pura fede	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1041	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina
Amar sì gli alti tuo gentil costumi	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Chigi L.IV.131	Sq; FP; Pit
Amor nè tossa non se pò celare	Antonio Zachara da Teramo		ballata	Ambrosiana E 56 sup.	Mancini
Aquila altera, ferma in su la vetta	Jacopo da Bologna		madrigal	BNCF Pal. 315	Sq; FP; SL; Pit; Reina
Benché lontan me trovi in altra parte	Antonio Zachara da Teramo		ballata	Ambrosiana E 56 sup.	Sq; Mod A
Benché partir da te molto mi doglia	Niccolò da Perugia		ballata	Magl. VII 1041	Sq; Lo; Pit

Incipit	*Composer*	*Poet*	*Genre*	*Text Concordances*	*Musical Concordances*
Ben di fortuna non fa ricc' altrui	Niccolò da Perugia	Niccolò Soldanieri	ballata	Redi 184; Ricc. 1100	Sq
Cavalcando con un giovine accorto	Piero		madrigal	Perugia C 43	FP
Che pena è questa al cor, che sì non posso	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Treviso 43; Genova A.IX.28; Ricc. 2786[11]	Sq; Florence 5; FP; Pit; Paris 4917; SL
Chi 'l ben sofrir non pò	Niccolò da Perugia	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; Redi 184; Chigi L.VIII.300	Sq; Lo
Chi più crede far, colui men fa	Giovanni di Jacopo di Firenze	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; Magl. VII 1041; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Chi vide più bel nero	Niccolò da Perugia	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; Magl. VII 1041; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Ciascun faccia per sè	Niccolò da Perugia	Niccolò Soldanieri	ballata	Trivulziana 193; BNCF II.II.61	Sq; Lo; Pit
Come da lupo pecorella presa	Donato da Firenze	Niccolò Soldanieri	madrigal	Redi 184; Magl. VII 1041; Trivulziana 193	Sq
Come in sul fonte fu preso Narcisso	Lorenzo da Firenze	Giovanni Boccaccio	madrigal	Magl. VII 640; BNFC Pal. 288	Sq
Come la gru quando per l'aere vola	Niccolò da Perugia	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Paris 554	Sq
Come selvaggia fera fra le fronde	Niccolò da Perugia	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Vat. lat. 3213; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Magl. VII 1187	Sq
Come tradir pensasti donna mai	Jacopo Pianelaio		ballata	Marucelliana C.155	Lo
Con dogliosi martiri	Antonello da Caserta		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Mancini

Incipit	***Composer***	***Poet***	***Genre***	***Text Concordances***	***Musical Concordances***
Con gli occhi assai ne miro	Francesco degli organi	Cino Rinuccini	ballata	BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi M. VII. 142; Vat. lat. 3213; Patteta 352; Paris 554; FL XC Inf. 37	Sq; Florence 5; FP; Pit; Mancini
Con lagreme bagnandome	Johannes Ciconia?		ballata	Treviso 43; Ricc. 1764; Paris 1069; Bologna 22.14	Q15; Mancini; Pad 656; Pit; Paris 4379
Con lagreme sospiro	Anon.		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Reina
Contemplar le gran cose c'è onesto	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Genova A.IX.28; Ricc. 2786[11]	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit
Corendo giù del monte a le chiar'onde	Niccolò da Perugia	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Dà, dà, a chi avareggia pur per sè	Lorenzo da Firenze	Niccolò Soldanieri	madrigal	Redi 184; Lucca 107; Lucca 266; Trivulziana 193	Sq
De non me far languire	Anon.		ballata	Bologna 36	Reina
De sospirar sovente	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1040; Magl. VII 1078	Sq; SL
Deh, pon quest'amor giù!	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1041; Chigi L.IV.131	Sq; FP
Di bella palla e di valor di petra	Gherardello da Firenze	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Di diavol vecchia femmina ha natura	Niccolò da Perugia	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Di riva in riva mi guidava amore	Lorenzo da Firenze		madrigal	Marucelliana C.155	Sq; FP
Donna l'altrui mirar che fate porge	Gherardello da Firenze		ballata	Marucelliana C.155	Sq
Donna, che d'amor senta, non si mova	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1040	Sq; Pit; Reina

Incipit	*Composer*	*Poet*	*Genre*	*Text Concordances*	*Musical Concordances*
Donna, l'animo tuo pur fugge amore	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1040	Sq; FP; Pad A
Donna, la mente mia è sì 'nvaghita	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	FP
Donna, se 'l cor t'ho dato	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1041	Sq; FP
Donna, servo mi sento	Lorenzo da Firenze	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574	none
Donne, e' fu credenza d'una donna	Lorenzo da Firenze	Niccolò Soldanieri	ballata	Redi 184; Ricc. 1100; Chigi L.IV.131	Sq
Duolsi la vita e l'anima	Francesco degli organi		ballata	BNCF II.II.61	Sq
E par che la vita	Anon.		siciliana	Magl. VII 1040	Padua 553
El gran disio e la dolce sperança	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Chigi M.IV.79; BNCF Conv. Sopp. C.I.1746	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit
Fenir mia vita	Anon.		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Reina; Padua 553
Fortuna adversa, del mio amor nimica	Donato da Firenze	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Gentil aspetto in cui la mente mia	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1041; Chigi L.IV.131	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina; Pist; Brescia 5
Già perch'i' penso nella tua partita	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit; Reina
Gli occhi che 'n prima tanto bel piacere	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1040	Sq; FP; SL; Pit
Gran pianto a gli ochi, greve doglia al core	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Sq; FP; Lo; Pad A; Pit; Reina
Guarda una volta in cià verso 'l tuo servo	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Sq; FP; Lo

Incipit	***Composer***	***Poet***	***Genre***	***Text Concordances***	***Musical Concordances***
I' fu' ggià bianc' uccel con piuma d'oro	Donato da Firenze	Antonio degli Alberti	madrigal	Ash. 569; Chigi M.IV.79	Sq; SL; Lo
I' fu' ggià usignolo in tempo verde	Donato da Firenze	Niccolò Soldanieri	madrigal	Redi 184; Trivulziana 193	Sq; SL; Pit
I' ho perduto l'albero e 'l timone	Donato da Firenze	Arrigo Belondi	madrigal	Ash. 569	Sq; SL
I' sento pena, omé, per tali amanti	Ottolinus de Brixia	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574	none
I' vo' bene a chi vol bene a me	Gherardello da Firenze	Niccolò Soldanieri	ballata	Redi 184; Trivulziana 193; Chigi L.IV.131; Bologna 48	Sq
In su' be' fiori in su la verde fronda	Jacopo da Bologna		madrigal	Perugia C 43	FP
Innamorato pruno	Franco Sacchetti	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; Magl. VII 1041; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
L'alma legiadra del tuo viso pio	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Sq; FP
L'antica fiamma e 'l dolce disio	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1041	Sq; FP
L'aquila bella negra pellegrina	Gherardello da Firenze	Niccolò Soldanieri	madrigal	Redi 184; Trivulziana 193	Sq
L'aspido sordo e 'l tirello scorzone	Donato da Firenze	Arrigo Belondi	madrigal	Ash. 569	Sq; SL; Lo
La bella stella, che sua fiamma tene	Giovanni da Firenze	Lancillotto Anguissola	madrigal	Magl. VII 1041	FC; Sq; FP; SL; Pit; Rossi; RO; Sev
La bionda treccia di fin or colore	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1041	Sq; FP; FC
La donna mia vuol esser el messere	Niccolò da Perugia		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Sq; Lo

Incipit	***Composer***	***Poet***	***Genre***	***Text Concordances***	***Musical Concordances***
La douce cere	Bartolino da Padova		madrigal	Bologna 58 (ital. text)	Sq; Pit; SL; Lo; Mancini; Pit; Reina
La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba	Bartolino da Padova	Francesco Petrarca (?)	madrigal	Trivulziana 193; Parmense 1081	Sq; SL; Pit
La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba	Niccolò da Perugia	Francesco Petrarca (?)	caccia	Trivulziana 193; Parmense 1081	Niccolò: Sq
La mala lingua è d'ogni mal radice	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1041, Magl. VII 1078	Sq; Pit
La mente me riprende	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1040	Sq; FP
La neve e 'l ghiaccio e' venti d'oriente	Guilielmus de Francia	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213; Paris 554; Chigi L.VIII.301	Lo
La sacrosanta carità d'amore	Bartolino da Padova	Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio	ballata	Marciana XIV, lat. 223	Sq; Mancini; Reina
Lasso, s'io fu' già preso	Niccolò da Perugia	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Lasso! per mie fortuna ho posto amore	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Sq; Lo
Lontan ciascun uccel d'amor si trova	Jacopo da Firenze	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Lucida pecorella son scampata	Donato da Firenze		madrigal	Ash. 569	Sq; FP; SL; Pit
Ma' non s'andrà per questa donn'altera	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Chigi L.IV.131	Sq; FP; Mancini; Pit
Mai non serò contento immaginando	Franco Sacchetti	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Monicho son tuto çoyoso	Anon.		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Sev

Incipit	***Composer***	***Poet***	***Genre***	***Text Concordances***	***Musical Concordances***
Né te né altra volgio amar giammai	Francesco degli organi	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; Magl. VII 1040; Magl. VII 1041; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Nel bel giardino che l'Adice cinge	Jacopo da Bologna		madrigal	BNCF Pal. 315	FC; Sq; FP; SL; Pit; Reina
Nel mezzo già del mar la navicella	Niccolò da Perugia	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574; BNCF Pal. 315; Chigi L.VIII.300	Sq; FP; Pit
Nessun ponga speranza	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Genova A.IX.28	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit; SL
Non al su' amante più Diana pia[c]que	Jacopo da Bologna	Francesco Petrarca	madrigal	Vat. Lat. 3195; Ricc. 1100; Parmense 1081; Redi 184; FL XL 43 and many others	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina
Non creder, donna, che nessuna sia	Francesco degli organi	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1040; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213	Sq; FP; Pit
Non dispregiar virtù ricco villano	Niccolò da Perugia	Stefano di Cino	madrigal	Redi 184; FL XL.43; Parmense 1081; Barb. lat. 3695	Sq; Lo; Pit
Non avrà mai pietà questa mie donna	Francesco degli organi	Bindo D'Alesso Donati	ballata	Magl. VII 1041; Chigi L.IV.131	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit; Reina
Non più dirò, omai così farò	Niccolò da Perugia		ballata	FL XL.43; BNCF II.II.61; Parmense 1081	Lo
Non sentì donna; più piacer già mai	Anon.		ballata	BNCF Conv. Sopp. C.I.1746; Chigi M.VII.142	Lo
Non so qual' i' mi voglia	Lorenzo da Firenze	Giovanni Boccaccio	ballata	Magl. VII 1040; Chigi L.IV.131; Bologna 177.3	Sq
Non vedi tu amor che me tuo servo	Lorenzo da Firenze		ballata	Marucelliana C.155	Sq

Incipit	*Composer*	*Poet*	*Genre*	*Text Concordances*	*Musical Concordances*
O cieco mondo di lusinghe pieno	Jacopo da Bologna		madrigal	Bologna 1072; Magl. VII 1041; FL Pal. 105; BNCF Pal. 315; Chigi L.IV.131; Barb. lat. 3695	Sq; FP; SL; Pad A; Pad C; Pit; Reina; Perugia 15755
O fanciulla giulia	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1041; Chigi L.IV.131	Sq; FP; SL; Pit
O Giustitia regina al mondo freno	Niccolò da Perugia	Giovanni Boccaccio	madrigal	FL XL. 43; Parmense 1081	Sq
Ochi piançeti e tu cor tribulato	Anon.		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Reina
Or è tal alma mia	Francesco degli organi		ballata	BNCF II.II.61	Sq; FP; Pit
Or sie che può, com'a vo' piace sia	Paolo da Firenze		ballata	Magl. VII 1041; Chigi M.IV.79	Pit; SL
Or su, gentil spirti ad amar pronti	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Ricc. 1280	Sq
Omai zascun se doglia	Bartolino da Padova?	Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio	ballata	Marciana XIV, lat. 223	Reina
Passando con pensier per un boschetto	Niccolò da Perugia	Franco Sacchetti	caccia	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Marucelliana C.155; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213	Sq; Pit
Per prender cacciagion leggiadra e bella	Gherardello da Firenze		madrigal	Marucelliana C.155	Sq; FP
Per seguir la speranza che m'ancide	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Conv. Sopp. C.I.1746	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina
Per un verde boschetto	Bartolino da Padova		ballata	Ricc. 2871	Sq; FP; Lo; Mancini; Pit; Reina

Incipit	***Composer***	***Poet***	***Genre***	***Text Concordances***	***Musical Concordances***
Perché virtù fa l'uom constante e forte	Francesco degli organi	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213	FP
Piacesse a Dio ch'i' non fossi ma' nata	Guilielmus de Francia		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Sq; Pit
Poi che da te mi convien partir via	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Treviso 43	Sq; FP; Gro; Lo; Mancini; Reina
Posando sopr'un acqua, en sonio vidi	Jacopo da Bologna		madrigal	Bologna 14.1A	Sq; FP; Gro; Pit; Reina
Povero pelegrin salito al monte	Niccolò da Perugia	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; FL XL 43; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Parmense 1081; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213; Paris 554	Sq; Lo
Se crudeltà d'amor somette fé	Ottolinus de Brixia	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Se ferma stesse giovenezza e tempo	Jacopo da Firenze	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Se la mia vita con vertù s'ingegna	Giovanni di Jacopo di Firenze	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574	none
Se pronto non sara l'uom al ben fare	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Genova A.IX.28	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit; SL; Mod A
Sento d'amor la fiamma e 'l gran podere	Lorenzo da Firenze	Greghorio Calonista di Firenze	ballata	Ricc. 1100	Sq
Sì dolce non sonò con lira Orfeo	Francesco degli organi		madrigal	Marucelliana C.155	Sq; FP; Lo; Pit
Sia maladetta l'ora e 'l dì ch'io venni	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1078	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina
Somma felicità, sommo tesoro	Francesco degli organi	Franco Sacchetti (?)	madrigal	FL XL.43; Parmense 1081	Sq

Incipit	***Composer***	***Poet***	***Genre***	***Text Concordances***	***Musical Concordances***
Sotto l'imperio del possente prinçe	Jacopo da Bologna		madrigal	BNCF Pal. 315	Sq; FP; SL; Pit; Reina
Sovra la riva d'un corrente fiume	Lorenzo da Firenze	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; BNCF Pal. 204; Ricc. 1118; Chigi L. VIII. 300; Chigi M. VII.142; Vat. lat. 3213; Magl. VII 1187; Paris 554	Sq; FP; Pit
State su, donne! Che debian noi fare?	Niccolò da Perugia	Franco Sacchetti	caccia	Ash. 574; FL XC. Inf. 37; Magl. VII 1041; BNCF Pal. 204; Chigi L.VIII.300; Chigi M.VII.142; Patetta 352; Vat. lat. 3213; Paris 554	Lo
Tal mi fa guerra, che mi mostra pace	Niccolò da Perugia		madrigal	Parmense 1081	Sq
Temer perché, po' ch'esser pur convene	Lorenzo da Firenze	Franco Sacchetti	ballata	Ash. 574	none
Tosto che l'alba del bel giorn' appare	Gherardello da Firenze		caccia	Parmense 1081	Sq; FP; SL; Lo; Pit
Tu che l'opera altrui vuo' giudicare	Francesco degli organi		madrigal	Magl. VII 1040	Sq; FP
Un bel girfalco scese alle mie grida	Donato da Firenze	Niccolò Soldanieri	madrigal	Redi 184; Trivulziana 193	Sq; SL; Pit
Una augelletta, Amor, di penna nera	Niccolò da Perugia	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574	none
Vana speranza, che mia vita festi	Jacopo da Firenze	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574	none
Verso la vaga tramontana è gita	Ottolinus de Brixia	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none
Virtú loco non ci ha perché gentile	Niccolò da Perugia	Niccolò Soldanieri	madrigal	Redi 184; Trivulziana 193	Sq

Incipit	***Composer***	***Poet***	***Genre***	***Text Concordances***	***Musical Concordances***
Vita non è più miser e più ria	Francesco degli organi		ballata	Magl. VII 1041; Magl. VII 1078; Trivulziana 193; Grey 7 b 5	Sq; FP; Pit; Reina; SL
Volgendo i suo' begli occhi invèr le fiamme	Donato da Firenze	Franco Sacchetti	madrigal	Ash. 574; *Raccolta Aragonese*	none

Appendix 3

THE COMPLETE EXTANT CONTENTS OF AMELIO BONAGUISI'S *ZIBALDONE*[1]

Fol.	***Old fol.***	***Incipit***	***Rubric***	***Poet***	***Genre***
BNCF II.II.61 62r	117r	[Heroides, trans. by Ceffi]	Comincia il p(er)lagho sopra lepistole dovidio nasone vulga(r)icate i(n) lingua fiore(n)tina dal prudentissimo huomo s(er) alberto1	Ovid	
96v	150v	De p(er) pieta no(n) mess(er) damor dura			ballata
97r	151r	Sio no(n) rimiro do(n)na il tuo bel viso			ballata
97r	151r	Do(n)na cor mi fuggi avanti			ballata
97v	151v	La vecchia damor ma biasimata			ballata
97v	151v	Da poi chaltra alegrezza aver damore			ballata
97v	151v	Giovine bella col visaggio chiaro			sonnet
98r	152r	O [rett]a lalma mia			ballata
98r	152r	Nel bel prato donzelle			ballata
98v	152v	Duolsi la vita e lanima			ballata
98v	152v	Donna no(n) e virtu ma crudelta			ballata
98v	152v	De p(re)nder do(n)na amor pieta che ti piaccia			ballata

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[1] The inventory of the fragment in Magl. VII 1040 is based on the work of Domenico De Robertis published in "Un codice di rime dantesche ora ricostruito (Strozzi 620)," *Studi Danteschi* 36 (1959).

Fol.	***Old fol.***	***Incipit***	***Rubric***	***Poet***	***Genre***
99r	153r	Si com ai fatto a me			ballata
99r	153r	De no(n) me li nasco(n)der gli occhi belli			ballata
99r	153r	Nasciesti p(er) mia guerra e p(er) mia pacie			ballata
99r	153r	Fanciulla tu mi guardi			ballata
99v	153v	Otto cattivi si van p(er) la via			ballata
100r	154r	No(n) p(er) disio ma per celar l'amore			ballata
100r	154r	No(n) piu diro giamai chosi faro			ballata
100r	154r	Ciascun faccia p(er) se		Pucci?, Soldanieri?	ballata
Magl. VII 1040 48r	155r	Ne te ne altra voglio amar gia mai	ballata dolorosa piena dj martiri	Franco Sacchetti	ballata
48r	155r	De p(e)rche maj tradito			frottola?
48r	155r	Amor p(er)che mi fai morir amando			ballata
48v	155v	Che farai giovinetta			ballata
48v	155v	Di sospirar sovente			ballata
49r	156r	[...] ben chi ti voglia			balalta
49r	156r	Dese pietra nel gli occhi tuoi dimora			sonnet
49r	156r	Quando madon(n)a escie(n) laman delletto	sonetto	Cecco Angiolieri	sonnet
49r	156r	Dedinebrot ove il gran podere			sonnet
49r	156r	Ecclesia facho xxo capo dicie gli p(re)set i egli doni / aciecano gli occhi disavj			gnomic saying
49r	156r	Nulla cosa e piu disave(n)turata di coluj il qual […] / nulla adversitade adiven(n)e disse met[...]			gnomic saying
49r	156r	Tal testimo(n) ciaiuti Se(m)pre mai / il fu ve(n) duto trenta danaj.			gnomic saying
49r	156r	S(anctus) agustin(us) Dificilis e(st) se ip(su)m vi(n)cere q(uam) celu(m) (et) t(er)ra(m) creare.			gnomic saying

Fol.	*Old fol.*	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Poet*	*Genre*
49r	156r	Se stesso vi(n)cere (et) piu malagievole / che crear cielo (et) terra [.….]			gnomic saying
49v	156v	I son donna diletta			ballata
49v	156v	Dapoi chi fuj lontan di tua bellezza			ballata
49v	156v	Je ne vos am ne croy ne dutte fort			bergerette
49v	156v	Donna sanzamor fa fatti con dio			ballata
50r	157r	Jusque atant que ma pas soyt fineya			bergerette
50r	157r	Nete dotter mon dous amis			bergerette
50r	157r	Si vuos playsoyt q(ue) je fasse enlyesse			rondel
50r	157r	Se vos saves choma(n)t amour me mayne			rondel
50r	157r	Bien la pert qui la done			rondel
50v	155v	Cho(n) pieta merze adima(n)do			ballata
50v	157v	Pulzella gra(n) villania			ballata
50v	157v	Dun piacente soridere			canzonetta
51r	158r	Piu bella don(n)a no(n) vidj gia maj			ballata
51r	158r	De quant bone ore fu nes chi samie			ballette
51r	158r	Ello mio cor sinchina/o bella vo dichando			ballata
51r	158r	Ello mio chor sinchina/oy merze vadema(n)do			ballata
51r	158r	Lo giorno chi no(n)vi veggio mamietta			ballata
51v	158v	Entraj allo giardino dello rose			ballata
51v	158v	Bergereta ciaschu(n) vos pria			chanson
51v	158v	Damor non partiraj may			fragment
51v	158v	Elasse pour quoy mestre derodes			rondel
51v	158v	Peront men Iroye maa douse dame			ballette
51v	158v	En paradis va quy abelle amie			ballette

Fol.	*Old fol.*	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Poet*	*Genre*
51v	158v	Varlet qua moy parlor no(n) osas			pluristrophic rondel
52r	159r	Mes solars uses les ay au martier			pluristrophic rondel
52r	159r	En lerbetta verdoyant fet ben gioier			pluristrophic rondel
52r	159r	Giay lalo lalo laloetta			pluristrophic rondel
52r	159r	Ansi la doy om memer samietta			romanza
52r	159r	Ge le doy doy bien porter			pluristrophic rondel
52v	159v	Gioyna filhetta fay ton amj demoy			romanza
52v	159v	Giamays no(n) iray alboy laflor culhir			pluristrophic rondel
52v	159v	Bella tries vostre avoyr bergeyron bergeyron			pluristrophic rondel
52v	159v	Giay le cuer gay egioliet			romanza
52v	159v	Marcies la rosiusa de gios le paymant orla dobles			pluristrophic rondel
52v	159v	Mirfa loridayna mirflorion			pluristrophic rondel
53r	160r	Bien lapert qui lapert qui ladone			pluristrophic rondel
53r	160r	Ay ay lorin lorin ay lorinetta			pluristrophic rondel
53r	160r	Est il ore du venir est il ore dous amis			pluristrophic rondel
53r	160r	Checchame facci don(n)a i son c(on)tento			ballata

Fol.	*Old fol.*	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Poet*	*Genre*
53r	160r	Endespit du mal dizans			chanson
53v	160v	Robin turulura Robin mama			pluristrophic rondel
53v	160v	Elas je more pour amours			romanza
53v	160v	Il giovane che vuol trovar onore		Antonio Pucci	sonnet
53v	160v	Si jay rien fait qui soyt vous desplasa(n)se (?)			rondel
53v	160v	Mout chonvie(n)t depoyna endurer			rondel
54r	161r	[…] voler chun chaval sia ben p(er)fetto			sonetto caudato
54r	161r	Adieu amoretes adieu vos coamant			romanza?
54r	161r	Adieu fines amoretes vous chamant			romanza?
54r	161r	Dapoi chaltra alegreza aver damore			ballata
54r	161r	Do(n)na lanimo tuo pur fugie amore			ballata
54v	161v	Ingratitudo est vriens [sic] desicchans fons / Pietatis et Misericordie / Discretio est mater o(mn)ium virtutum / Et Ingratiudo est radix o(mn)ium malorum [reading by D. De Robertis]	parole di santo bernardo		
54v	161v	Trop. Male. vie. git. en. envie			
54v	161v	Sio piaccio amme ne fo ispiatier altruj			
54v	161v	Tu che lopere altruj vuoj giudicare			madrigal
54v	161v	Amor me tient emoy chonforta			fragment
55r	162r	Gentil madon(n)a sa(n)za alcu(n) tintume	Sonnetto		irregular form
55r	162r	Parche la vita mia			ballata (siciliana)
55r	162r	Son(n)o fu che me rappe [sic] don(n)a mia	Ceciliana		strambotto sicilinano
55r	162r	Levati dalla mia porta	ceciliana		ballata
55r	162r	Anche sono vaghiacca di voj	sonetto		sonetto caudato

Fol.	*Old fol.*	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Poet*	*Genre*
55v	162v	Valletto se mamate siate saggio	Napoletana		ottava siciliana
55v	162v	La me(n)te mi riprende			ballata
56r	163r	Dante un sospiro messagier del core	Guido cavalcanti a dante	Guido Cavalcanti	sonneto
56r	163r	Un modo cia arengnar fralla gente		Bindo Bonichi	sonetto caudato
56r	163r	Ecclesia facho [sic] xxo capo dice chelgli prensenti / egli donj acciechano gliocchi de savi			gnomic saying
56r	163r	Nulla cosa (et) piu disave(n)turata di coluj al q(u)ale / nulla aversitade adiven(n)e dise met[...]			gnomic saying
56r	163r	S(anctus) agustin(us). / dificili(us) e(st) se ip(su)m vince(re) q(uam) celu(m) (et) terra(m) creare.			gnomic saying
56r	163r	Chi tti ride di bocca (et) no(n) ti fidare / chette traditore			gnomic saying
56r	163r	Chi tingan(n)a duna ispan(n)a no(n)ti fidare alla can(n)a			gnomic saying
56r	163r	Due kavalier cortesi e dun paraggio	messer palamides dj bellendote	Rustico Filippi	sonnet
56r	163r	Poi che vi piace chio deggia co(n)tare	risposta	Bondie Dietaiuti da Firenze	sonnet
56v	163v	Tre giovan son piaccenti e(t) saggi	Adrian(us)		sonetto rinterzato
56v	163v	P(er)che noi siamo al tuo parer selvaggi	frate anton da pisa	Anton da Pisa	
56v	163v	No(n) si spogli dell'aver del mondo			quatrain
56v	163v	Ovel saver el sen(n)o e la gra(n)deza			sonnet
56v	163v	Don(n)a mia no(n) vedesti coluj	Guido chavalcanti	Guido Cavalcanti	sonnet
57r	164r	Voi che portate la sembia(n)za humile	sonetto di dante	Dante	sonnet
57r	164r	Settu coluj chai tratto sove(n)te	risposto delle don(n)e a dante	Dante	sonnet

Fol.	*Old fol.*	*Incipit*	*Rubric*	*Poet*	*Genre*
57r	164r	Qui bona neligit (et) mala diligit i(n)trat abissu(m). / Nulla pecunia nulla pote(n)tia liberat ip(su)m.			gnomic saying
57r	164r	Tutti vitij i(n)vecchiano co(n) luomo / solo la varitia ringiovaniscie			gnomic saying
57r	164r	Gli altruj vitij abbiamo agli occhi / E nostri dopo alle spalle			gnomic saying
57r	164r	Coluj che no(n) a figluolj e(t) libera e(t) sana di disave(n)tura			gnomic saying
57r	164r	Indi spiro sanzessermi p(er)ferta		Dante	terzine
57r	164r	Uno amoroso isguardo spiritale	Guido chavalchanti	Guido Cavalcanti	sonnet
57v	164v	Lasso dogni balda(n)za			ballata
57v	164v	Signor che vuol far libera lagrazia	Sonetto che luomo no(n) dee fare ste(n)tare la / grazia nel per s(er)vigio chelglia p(ro)messa di fare / all'amicho e(t) me(n)tre checcivivi s(er)vi be costumj		sonetto caudato
57v	164v	La piggior signora che luomo avere	sonetto chenone puzzo che diletame mesco[…]o co(n)cosa / […] posta i(n) alto		sonnet

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