

NEW LIGHT ON THE SO-CALLED LAUDARIO DI SANT'AGNESE*

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The name and devotional practices of the *Societas Sanctarum Marie et Agnetis de laudibus*, active in the Florentine church of the Carmine, are usually associated with a certain number of lauda fragments with musical notation, found in various public and private collections in Europe and America. The inadvertent dismembering of this corpus and its simultaneous dispersal, subsequently recorded over the past two centuries on the antiques market,¹ can be attributed to the extraordinary and uniform quality of its illuminations, painted around the fourth decade of the *Trecento* by Pacino di Bonaguida (fl. 1303–40), leader of the “miniaturist tendency” in Florentine painting, and by his frequent and equally important collaborator, the Master of the Dominican Effigies.²

In the wake of attributions made by art historians, musicological interest in these documents, which are often limited to the illuminated area, and in some cases even glued to a rigid support for obsolete exhibition purposes—

* *This article is dedicated to my wife Cristiana.* I wish to thank Eve Borsook, Kathryn Bosi, Jonathan K. Nelson, Giovanni Pagliarulo and Giovanni Trambusti (Villa I Tatti, Florence), Elisabeth Morrison and Christine Sciacca (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles), Stella Panayotova (The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), Justin Clegg (The British Library, London), Michelle Facini and Barbara Wood (The National Gallery of Art, Washington), Barbara Drake Boehm (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Enrico Frascione (Florence), Francesca Pasut (Monza), Paolo Piccardi (Florence), Craig Plunges (Harvard University), and the late Miklós Boskovits (Florence) for sharing with me photographs as well as bibliographic information.

1. The first sheets of which we have news belonged to the well-known English collector and writer on art William Young Ottley (1771–1836), who probably acquired them in the last decade of the eighteenth century, during his long stay in Italy. After his death, they were sold, together with the rest of his collection, at a Sotheby's auction held in London on 11 May 1838.

2. On the artistic character of the two illuminators and, more particularly, on their recognised roles in illustrating laude, see Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*; Boskovits, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*; Kanter, “Pacino di Bonaguida” and “Master of the Dominican Effigies”; Drake Boehm, “The Laudario”; Bollati, “Pacino di Bonaguida”; Labriola, “Pacino di Bonaguida”; Pasut, “Pacino di Bonaguida”; Panayotova, “New miniatures” and “One leaf and five miniatures.” All these works are also valuable for their abundant photographic content.

Musica Disciplina 56, 2011.

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thus wholly obstructing, or rendering particularly difficult any reading of the scanty text on the back—has increased considerably. Indeed, what were initially deemed little more than mere ‘exhibits’ now provide evidence, often of decisive value, on subjects of great importance in the study of the monophonic lauda, such as the variety and diffusion of the repertoire, the confraternal context, relationships between orality and writing, scribal behaviour and the structure of the codices themselves.³

In this connection, one of the most stimulating prospects for current research is that of being able to establish the precise relationship of the surviving fragments, so as to understand the order in which they were originally related. This would not only give us a more accurate view of which and how many compositions (and consequently miniatures) are missing, but would also and more importantly provide proof that the corpus, so far grouped together mainly for stylistic reasons, comes effectively from a single laudario. If so, it merits the description given by Barbara Drake Boehm, who presciently referred to it some years ago as “one of the most ambitious and lavish manuscripts created in Florence in the first half of the fourteenth century.”⁴

Laudario della
compagnia di
Sant'Agnesè

Codicological Features

The most interesting feature, especially with a view to gaining knowledge about the *Laudario*'s contents, is that the miniatures are always found on the *verso* of folios: consequently, there is a single lauda for each double-page opening, thus avoiding an immediate page-turn. From such a layout, foreign to other Florentine devotional collections of the period⁵ and, moreover, not linked to any real practical necessity⁶—most of the settings are in any case transcribed on four pages—, it follows that each extant fragment bears the conclusion of one piece on the *recto* and the beginning of the next on the *verso*.

3. See in particular Liuzzi, *La lauda*, I, 223–24; Ziino, “Laudi e miniature fiorentine” and “La laude musicale del Due-Trecento”; Barr, *The Monophonic Lauda*, 125–30; Dürer, *Altitalienische Laudemelodien*, II, 202–11; Ziino and Zimei, “Nuovi frammenti” and “Quattro frammenti inediti.”

4. Drake Boehm, “The Laudario,” 58.

5. In *BR 18*, for example, the compositions with their embellished initials begin both on the *recto* and on the *verso*, whereas in *BR 19* some of the most important miniatures are actually found on the *recto*.

6. As demonstrated in a recent study, at that time in fact singers engaged by the confraternities knew the pieces by heart. See Zimei, “‘Tucti vanno ad una danza,’” 314–17 and related bibliography.

Substantially uniform too is the handwriting of the items, in brown ink in a very accurate *littera textualis* and, owing to its professional *ductus*, difficult to attribute to one or more hands, but almost certainly coming from a single workshop, given the consistency of the initials opening each strophe, most featuring blue initials with red pen-flourishing: a pattern also found in the Roman numerals, placed in the centre of the top margin of each *recto*.

Despite these common features, however, there are important differences. Only fourteen of the twenty-eight known fragments (including those to be dealt with below) comprise complete folios and are consequently suitable for effective comparison. According to the distribution of text and illustrations, the *versos* may be classified on the basis of the following three layouts:

‘A’—a particularly sumptuous type, has a large miniature, covering nearly the entire writing space, surrounded by illuminated medallions and/or angels, interconnected by vegetal decorations sometimes associated with *drôleries* (see [Figure 1](#)). It is significant that the five fragments attributed by art historians to the Master of the Dominican Effigies all belong to this model, while Pacino di Bonaguida is deemed the sole artist for the other two layouts. Beneath the scene, on a single musical staff, can be read the incipit of the lauda, with the text and musical notation usually written in gold.⁷ In the lower margin often appear depictions of the donors—both men and women, sometimes portrayed as a couple. They were presumably directly involved financially in the illustration of the single pages, undertaking part of the economic expense borne by the confraternity. The choice of decorations was clearly linked to the name or particular devotion of the contributor. An interesting example is the fragment showing *The Annunciation*, currently in the Zeileis collection at Rauris, in which the presentation of the textual incipit of *Da cielo venne messo novello*, associates the word “Novello,” as though it were a *custos*, with the image of the donor, indicating that this was his name.

‘B’—In the second layout, only surviving as a full folio in the sheet at the Metropolitan Museum of New York, depicting the *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* ([Figure 2](#)), the miniature, with its horizontal development occasionally divided into two distinct scenes, covers exactly half the writing space while the remaining surface area contains three musical staves, roughly sufficient for the text and melody of the *ripresa*. A vegetal border runs along the outer margins, less elaborate and with fewer figures than in layout ‘A.’

7. A variant of this model, both for the size of the miniature and the general approach, seems to be given by the leaf illustrated with the *Baptism and Martyrdom of St. Pancras*, formerly belonging to the Forrer collection at Strasburg, which has two staves.

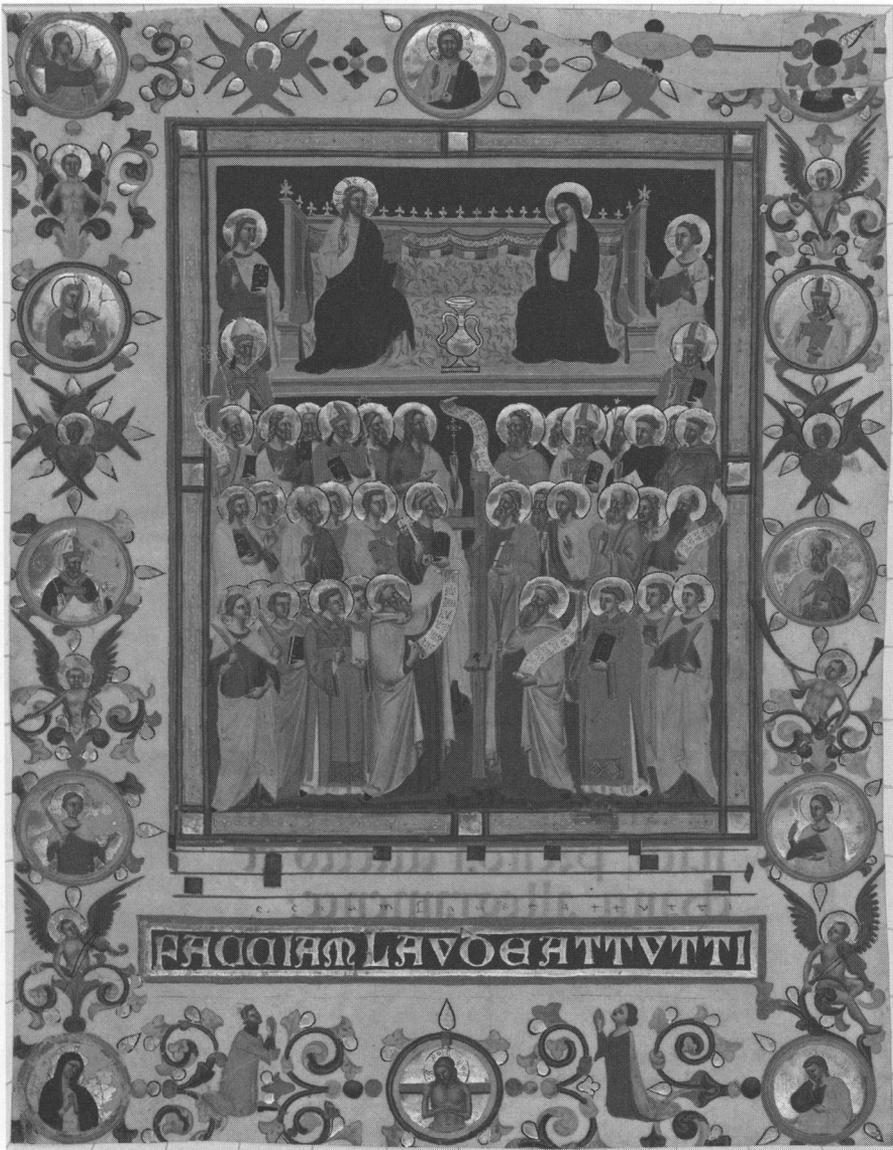


Figure 1. An example of layout 'A': Master of the Dominican Effigies, *Christ and the Virgin enthroned with forty Saints*. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, Ms. 1959.16.2, verso. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

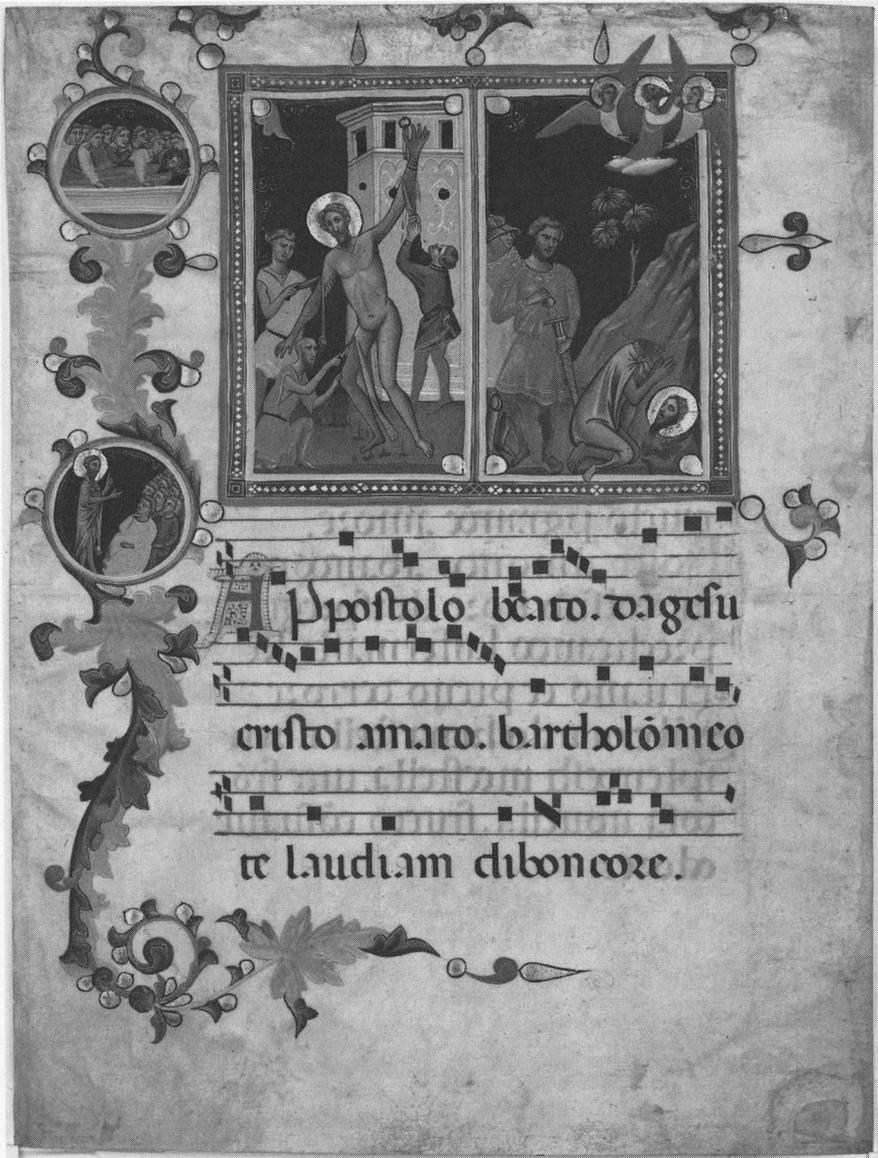


Figure 2. An example of layout 'B': Pacino di Bonaguida, *The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 2006.250, verso. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

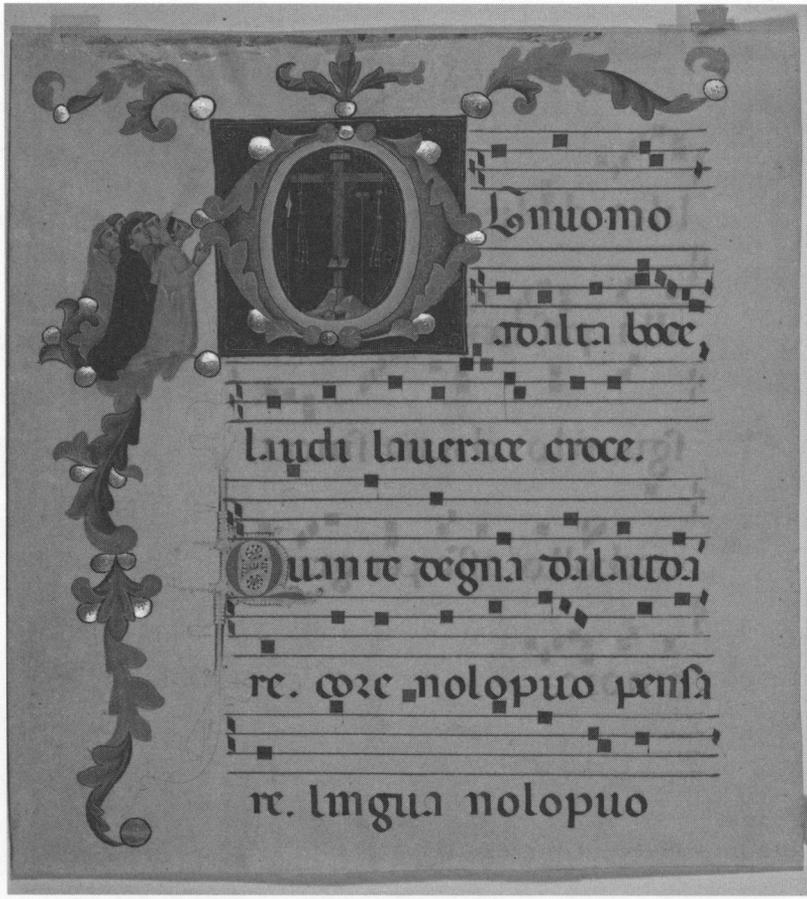


Figure 3. An example of layout 'C': Pacino di Bonaguida, *The Cross with Symbols of the Passion*. Florence, Enrico Frascione collection (*verso*). Image courtesy of Enrico Frascione.

C—The last model, of which two complete specimens are known, shows on the other hand a definite trend in favour of the music: penned on six staves, it comprises part of the strophe, while the decoration is limited to an historiated initial in the upper left corner of the page, occupying the height of two or three staves, and again surrounded by phytomorphic decorations (see [Figure 3](#)). Personages thematically linked to the text of the lauda also appear in the margins of the initial.

The *mise-en-page* of the *rectos* can be discussed as a whole: indeed the loss of intermediate folios, ‘sacrificed’ because lacking any decoration, prevents any comparison with the more regular parts of the manuscript containing exclusively musical notation.

Unlike in *BR 18*, where the pieces—with their respective miniatures—are written down one following the other,⁸ the compiler in this corpus chose to start all the *laude* on the *verso*, which inevitably produced varying patterns on the *rectos*. As a consequence, the surviving pages—destined, according to the length of the text, to carry a variable number of staves, plus the *residuum*—have inconsistently distributed writing space. For example, the *recto* of the Zeileis sheet mentioned above—the only one in layout ‘A’ that contains music only—has five staves compared to the six of the Frascione fragment (where one was left unused), belonging to layout ‘C.’⁹ Moreover, while the effective compatibility of layouts ‘B’ and ‘C’ is now proven by their sharing the *lauda* for St. Bartholomew *Appostolo beato*, which begins on the *verso* of the Metropolitan Museum leaf and ends on the *recto* of the cutting at the Free Library of Philadelphia portraying St. John on *Patmos*,¹⁰ layout ‘A’ provides no concrete evidence of ‘dialogue’ with the other two models.

New Identifications

In the meantime, the identification of other fragments, with the simultaneous readiness of the current owners to permit an integral reading of sheets of which only the *verso* is known, have finally made it possible to acquire new poetic and musical content, presented here in a semi-diplomatic edition.¹¹

1. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 80a

Coming from a private collection in New York, this sheet shows on the *verso* an *Ascension of Christ*, with the incipit of *Laudate la surrec[tione / et la mirabile ascensione]*, and on the *recto* two staves of music, with the final part of the

8. Which necessarily involves close collaboration between scribe and illuminator. See Moleta, “The Illuminated *Laudari*,” 31–32.

9. See Ziino and Zimei, “Nuovi frammenti,” respectively on Plates 2 and 4. Given the pattern on other folios, this makes us wonder whether some other plan was originally conceived for this page.

10. See Ziino and Zimei, “Quattro frammenti inediti,” 37–38.

11. For *Cort* and *BR 18* my findings are based directly on the originals; for *BR 19* on Del Popolo, *Laude fiorentine*, and for *Ars* on Staaff, *Le laudario de Pise*. The texts have been compared with the readings handed down by the sources closest to this corpus. In the list of concordances, limited to the Tuscan *laudari*, those selected for this purpose are marked with an asterisk.



Figure 4a. Beginning of the lauda *Sancto Pancraço martir glorioso*. Formerly Strasburg, Robert Forrer collection (*verso*). From Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*.

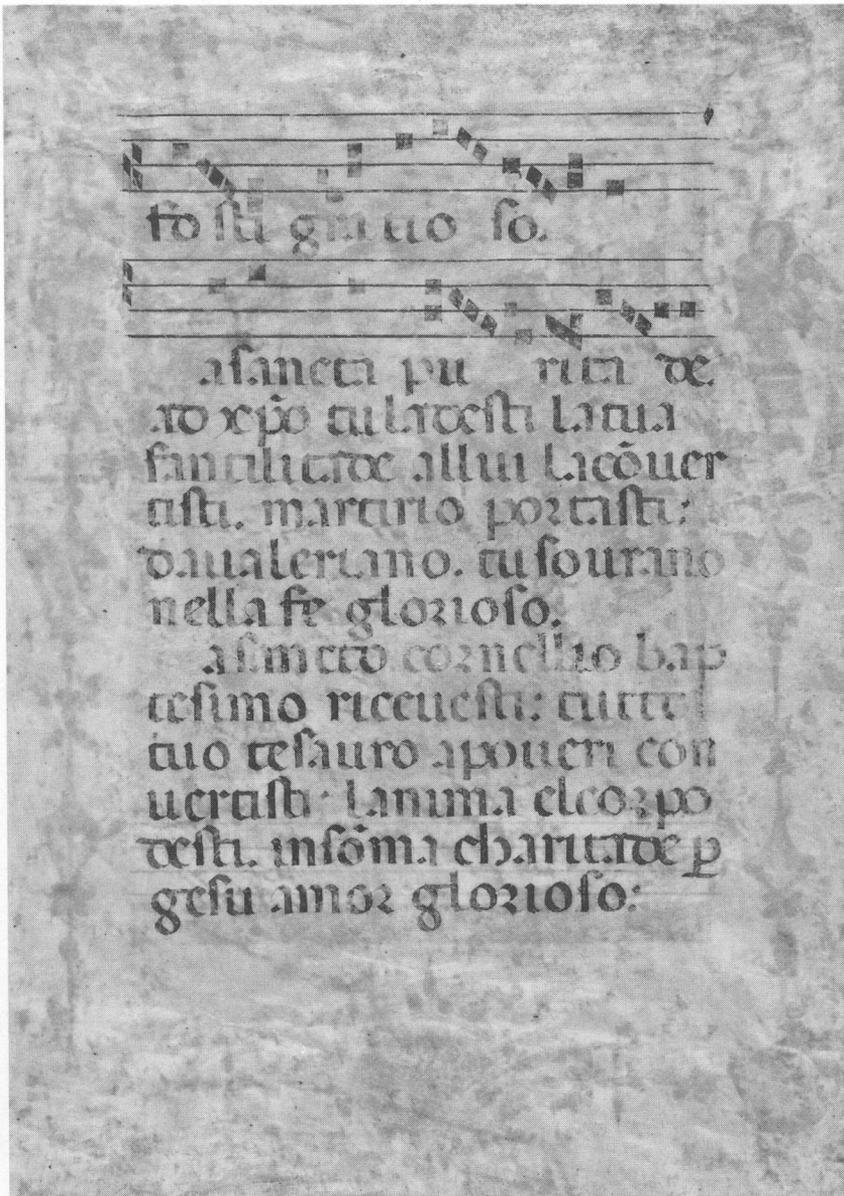


Figure 4b. Ending of the lauda *Sancto Pancaço martir glorioso*. Los Angeles, The Paul J. Getty Museum, Ms. 80a, *recto*. Image courtesy of The Paul J. Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Example 1. The unknown setting of *Sancto Pancraço martir glorioso* handed down in the sheet formerly in the Robert Forrer collection of Strasburg (*verso*) and in Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 80a, *recto*.

S ancto Pancra- ço mar-tir glo- ri- o- so,
 da Cri- sto fo- sti gra- ti- o- so.
 La san-cta pu- ri- ta- de...

ripresa and strophes I–II of the lauda for St. Pancras, *Sancto Pancraço martir glorioso*. The beginning of this lauda can be read on the *verso* of the fragment formerly in the Forrer collection of Strasburg. Comparing the respective images (see Figures 4a and 4b), and especially the position of the *custos* on the second stave, it is clear that we are faced with the same version, and thus—for the first time in the recent history of the corpus—with two consecutive folios from a single codex.¹² Furthermore, the setting is one unknown so far, since the other sources that hand down the piece (*BR 19* and *Fior*) provide only its text. However, the melody is unfortunately incomplete, since the notes only cover the first verse. This is certainly due to a misunderstanding by the copyist, accustomed—as we see on other folios—to continuing the music as far as the start of the second strophe¹³ and consequently incurred, in

12. This confirms that they belong to the same layout.

13. See Ziino, “La laude musicale,” 1472. As observed by Wilson, “Indagine sul Laudario Fiorentino,” 256, a similar phenomenon is found in 49 of 88 settings handed down by *BR 18*, in which “abbiamo la notazione musicale per l’inizio della seconda strofa, oppure, occasionalmente, per tutta la seconda strofa e l’inizio della terza” (“we have the musical notation for the beginning of the second strophe, or, else, occasionally, for the whole of the second strophe and the beginning of the third”).

presenting this lauda, in a *saut de même au même*. This mistake was probably not seen as a problem, given that in coeval *laudari* the notation fulfilled a merely symbolic function.¹⁴ From a musical standpoint, also noteworthy is the seventh leap—from *D* to *C*—between the end of the *ripresa* and the beginning of the strophe, which could lead us to suppose that in the last stave the clef has been erroneously lowered by a third. However, examples of this kind are not lacking in the lauda repertoire: examining just *BR 18*, for example, in *Lo Signore ringraçando*, for the Holy Apostles, between the *ripresa* and the strophe, there is a similar leap from *D* to *C*, whereas in *A sancta Reparata* the leap is directly from *F* to *E*.

- | | | |
|----|--|----|
| | <i>Sancto Pancraço martir glorioso,</i>
<i>da Cristo fosti gratioso.</i> | 2 |
| I | <i>[La] sancta puritate / a Christo tu la desti,</i>
<i>la tua fanlitate / a l'huì la convertisti;</i>
<i>martirio portasti / da Valeriano,</i>
<i>tu sovrano nella fe' glorioso.</i> | 6 |
| II | <i>[Da] sancto Cornellio / baptesimo ricevesti,</i>
<i>tutto 'l tuo tesauo / a' poveri convertisti;</i>
<i>l'anima e 'l corpo desti / in somma charitate</i>
<i>per Gesù amor glorioso.</i> | 10 |

Concordances: *BR 19*,* *Fior*.

2. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 80b

This detached illumination, on *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, formerly belonging to the van Beuningen collection at Vierhouten, shows on the *recto* the folio number *CI* and three lines containing the melody of part of the first strophe of *San Domenico beato*, coinciding perfectly with the setting handed down in *BR 18*. Just above the cut edge, one glimpses the upper parts of a series of letters relating to the text of the *volta* (“in eterno, cioè senza finita”) which was not provided with notes, but was always sung to the music of the last verse of the *ripresa*. The lack of the related stave could also be explained by the copyist’s need to leave sufficient space for a further two strophes.

On grounds of both the iconography and the content, the little *bas-de-page* scene, kept at the Free Library of Philadelphia (J. F. Lewis collection, *E M 25:7a*), portraying the *Burial of St. Stephen and St. Lawrence*, should also be

14. See above, n. 6.

assigned to this same folio C1v: indeed, what has partially escaped the disastrous removal of this fragment is a 'g' whose position is perfectly compatible with the presence of the word "grande" on the last of the three staves provided for by layout 'B,' belonging to the second verse of the *ripresa* of *Sancto Lorenzo martir d'amore* ("a Cristo fosti grande servidore").

.....		San Domenico beato,
.....		lucerna rilucente
.....	3	d'angelich'e d'apostolica vita.
I		San Domenico beato, cioè a dire
.....di·dDio sire		homo sanctificato di Dio sire,
a lo qual sempre ti piacque il servire,		a lo qual sempre ti piaque'l servire,
laonde se' incoronato		laonde se' incoronato
ne·rregno.....		nel regno permanente
.....	9	in eterno, cioè sença finita.

Concordances: BR 18, * BR 19, Ars, Fior.

3. Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. Comites Latentes 292

Having twice appeared on the antiques market in the past twenty-five years,¹⁵ this miniature portraying *The Crucifixion* has been cut out from its frame which, judging from its small size (152×120 mm) and the vertical development of the fragment, incorporated a second scene, thus presenting a division like that of other lauda illustrations, such as the *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* (at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; see Figure 2) or the *Martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul* (in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge).¹⁶ Despite the fact that the portion of music and text that can actually be read on the *recto* is extremely small,¹⁷ the presence of parts of two lines of notes and words wholly compatible with the reading of BR 18 makes it possible to identify the contents as the second strophe of a very widespread composition, *Piange Maria cum dolore*. Here the music covers two whole strophes, but it is difficult to say if this is due to the existence of different incipits, as in BR 18. (See Example 2.)

According to Fernando Liuzzi, the first editor of that manuscript, "l'inizio diverso della seconda strofa mira a sostituire con un tratto oscuro, qui

15. See Bollati, "Pacino di Bonaguida," 194.

16. See de Hamel. "Pacino di Bonaguida."

17. Indeed, in the backing of the fragment there is a small cut-out, which allows us to see about 2/3 of the surviving area.

Example 2. *Piange Maria cum dolore*, music incipits of strophe I (BR 18) and strophe II (BR 18 and Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. Comites Latentes 292).

I
Fu- e cum gau- di- o ...

II
Ri -ce- vet- ti la

conveniente, le note chiare e vocalizzate della parola *cum gaudio*.”¹⁸ In the Geneva fragment, however, a third staff can also be seen lower down, unfortunately lacking any text, but featuring a musical passage identical to the melodic *variatio* of the second strophe. This leads us to believe that the ‘standard’ version of the lauda may well have been this latter. On the one hand, this frustrates the theory of expressive alternation raised by Liuzzi, while on the other, it strengthens that of Blake Wilson who, noting that the melody of verse 3 in *BR 18* had been re-written after an old integrative restoration of the codex, concluded that it must originally have been identical to the one for verse 7.¹⁹ The layout of the page, and in particular the position of the surviving musical text, also allows us to establish that in the double scene portrayed on the *verso* the Genevan miniature must have been on the left-hand side, and must therefore have been paired with a *Deposition*.

.....		Piange Maria cum dolore,
.....	2	ché l'è tolto lo suo amore:
I		“Fue cum gaudio salutata,
.....		or sono trista e sconsolata;
.....		di te sola rimasa
.....	6	lassa con molto dolore.

18. Liuzzi, *La lauda*, II, 62 (“the different beginning to the second strophe aims at substituting a dark passage appropriate here—for the clear and vocalized notes of the phrase *cum gaudio*”).

19. See Wilson, “Indagine sul Laudario Fiorentino,” 250–51.

II	Ricevetti la novella
.....	di te figlo kiara stella;
..... <i>tremilia co</i>	or son tremilia coltella
..... <i>son fitte nel</i>	10 ke mi son ficte nel core.

Concordances: BR 18,* BR 19, *Ars, Aret, Fior, Sen, Triv.*²⁰

There then follows a set of detached miniatures—all belonging to layout ‘B’—now in Cambridge collections and recently studied by Stella Panayotova who, recognising the hand of Pacino, has plausibly assigned them to the dismembered *Laudario*.²¹

4. Cambridge, *The Fitzwilliam Museum*, Ms. McClean 201.4

The first (195×220 mm), depicting the *Last Communion of St. Mary Magdalene*, preserves on the *recto* the foliation LXXXVIII and the text of some strophes of the lauda for St. Peter Apostle, *Pastore et principe beato*: taking as model the reading of BR 19—by far preferable to the rather meagre and defective reading of BR 18—there survive three verses of the fourth strophe and all the fifth and sixth, with the exception of the last word, “beato.” Here too, there was naturally sufficient space to add another couple of strophes—in this case, devoted to St. Paul—which, while possessing a substantially independent poetic context (*Sam Paulo diricto serafino*), being placed as a continuation of the preceding text, were sung to the same music. At this point, it is clear—as has been suggested earlier²²—that this ‘double lauda’ began under the miniature found on another fragment from the Fitzwilliam Museum: the already-mentioned depiction of the *Martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul*, consequently originally marked as fol. LXXXII.

.....	Pastore et principe beato
.....	2 è san Piero da Cristo molto amato.
I	Longo il mare di Galilea,
.....	pescando con sant’Andrea,
.....	Gesù passò per la rivera,
.....	6 dipo·ssé sì l’à vocato.

20. Other non-Tuscan concordances in Del Popolo, *Laude fiorentine*, 217.

21. See Panayotova, “New Miniatures,” and “One Leaf and Five Miniatures.”

22. See Ziino and Zimei, “Quattro frammenti inediti,” 10–12.

II	..... ..... ..... .....	10	Con fervore lo seguitaste lo Salvatore, cui tanto amaste; le reti e 'l mondo abandonaste tosto ke v'ebbe vocato.
III	..... ..... ..... .....	14	Colla rete de l'amore ti prese il dolçe Redentore et sopra a tutti di fervore tu fosti privilegiato.
IV	..... <i>essendo te huom pescatore, c'apostolo ti fece et pastore et de la Chiesa te fe' capo.</i>	18	Dimostròcti il grande amore essendo te om pescatore, ch'apostolo ti fece et pastore: de la Kiesa te fe' capo.
V	<i>Ihesù nostra claritade ti die' tal podestade di sciogliere in terra et di legare ogne legame di peccato.</i>	22	Gesù nostra caritade ti die' tal podestade di sciogliere in terra et di legare ogne legame di peccato.
VI	<i>Dall'alto coro apo[sto]loro principe se' in fra loro et le chiavi del regno celoro ài apostolo</i>	26	Dall'alto coro apo[sto]loro principe se' in fra loro ché le chiavi del regno celoro ài apostolo beato.
VII	.....		Sam Paulo diricto serafino ...

Concordances: BR 19,* BR 18, *Ars, Fior, Luc, Chig.*

5. Cambridge, *Queens' College, Ms. 77d*

The second Cambridge fragment, containing the *Martyrdom of St. James the Great* (200×204 mm), unfortunately has its *recto* glued onto cardboard, but an infra-red ray lamp reveals the existence of the foliation number LXXXXVI, rightly inducing Stella Panayotova to place it in relation to the Fitzwilliam illumination just discussed: in consequence, the “seven lines of text” that she has managed to read partially “probably belonged to a *lauda* for St. Mary Magdalene: ‘...*mare [...]*gieti / *dolce [...]*ta inque / *tra [...]* ferventu/ lo [...] di quello a/m [...] sola / morte ebe monstranea.”²³ A careful re-reading of the last line—suggested by the remarkable similarity, in the handwriting of the time, of the letters *e*, *c* e *ç*—has led me to read the final word as “monstrança,” a

23. Panayotova, “New Miniatures,” 145 and fn. 17.

word widely used in the Middle Ages, especially in relation to the public cult of the consecrated host exposed for adoration in a monstrance. On consideration, such an argument is fully coherent with the *Communion of St. Mary Magdalene* illustrated on fol. LXXXVIIIv: through the host, the body of Christ is thus shown to her who had indeed been an eye-witness of his death. It is a short step from this reading to a literary concordance: the passages concerned do in fact coincide with a “Lauda della Maddalena,” *Ciascun c’ à diçiansa*, handed down *in unicum* by the Pisan laudario *Ars*.

.....		Ciascun c’ à diçiansa
.....		di Ihesù bene amare
.....		Maddalena può dare
.....	4	et di ciò lui maestransa.
I		Chi vuol vera doctrina
.... <i>mare</i>		d’amar veracemente
<i>Gie ... dolce</i>		Ihesù dolce amoroso
<i>in quel</i>		quella maestra fina
..... <i>fervent</i>		che l’amò sì fervente
<i>lo</i>		lo farà copïoso
<i>di quello a</i>		di quell’amor gioioso
.....		se vien’ alla sua scola,
..... <i>sola</i>		ché di lui prima sola
... <i>morte ebe monstrança.</i>	14	po’ mort’ebbe mostransa.

Concordance: *Ars*.

6. Cambridge, Queens’ College, Ms. 77b

The third Cambridge fragment is larger (210×280 mm) since, in mutilating the sheet, the anonymous philistine thought to spare its upper and left-hand margins with their related decorations. It portrays the *Martyrdom of St. Christopher*—a saint in whose honour Tuscan lauda production of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries provides no other trace. On the *recto*, under the folio number LXXXVIII, we see the concluding *melisma* of strophe I (identical in setting to BR 18) and a large portion of the text of strophe II of the lauda for St. James the Great, *Di tucto nostro core*, thus showing perfect continuity—interrupted only by the loss of the intervening folios, since they lacked any miniatures—with the illumination that preceded it. This leads one to think that the three Cambridge fragments examined so far, together with the already-mentioned illumination of *The Martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul*, originally belonged to the same gathering, which may have reached England still intact.

.....		Di tucto nostro core
.....		laudiam cum gran fervore
.....		l'apostol santo Iacopo clemente,
.....	4	corporalmente /di Çebedeo nato.
I		Divotamente cum laude cantare
.....		a santo Iacobo ben si convene,
.....		ma quant'è degno da magnificare
.....		humana lingua dir no 'l poria bene,
.....		ké l'alto Dio signore
.....		poi che per nostro amore
.....		li piacque prender humana natura,
.....	<i>vocato.</i> 12	cum grande cura/a-ssé l'ebbe vocato.
II "Vienne do' me," li disse il Salvatore		"Vien dopo me," li disse il Salvatore
<i>andando lungo il mare di Galilea,</i>		<i>andando lungo 'l mar di Galilea,</i>
<i>che 'l vide in nave come pescatore</i>		<i>che 'l vide in nave come pescatore</i>
<i>con Çebedeo, lo quale per padre avea.</i>		<i>cum Çebedeo, lo qual per padre avea.</i>
<i>Allora incontanente</i>		<i>Allora incontanente</i>
<i>fu tanto ubidiente</i>		<i>fu tant'obediente</i>
<i>che tutte cose</i>		<i>che tutte cose col padre lasciò</i>
.....	20	<i>et seguitò/Cristo re beato.</i>

Concordances: BR 19,* BR 18, Fior.

7. Cambridge, Queens' College, Ms. 77c

The last fragment (163×205 mm), on the other hand, was originally placed in a different part of the codex: it is also glued to cardboard, but infra-red ray analysis does in fact reveal the foliation number XXIII, which escaped the trimming of the upper margin because the miniature on the *verso*, depicting the *Martyrdom of St. Lucy*, is completed by an apparition of Christ, outside the frame. According to Stella Panayotova, the scene may have introduced the *refrain of Lucia sancta virgo spetiosa*,²⁴ the only lauda in honour of the Syracusan virgin and martyr found in Florentine sources—in this case in BR 19. Considering however that the corpus contains compositions unrecorded so far in local manuscripts, as noted, for example, in connexion with *Ciascun c'à diçiansa* for St. Mary Magdalene, it cannot be excluded that this fragment may contain a text such as *Santa Lucia luce splendente*, also handed down by *Ars*.

The infra-red ray analysis also makes it possible to identify on the *recto* “three musical staves, and two partially legible lines of text: ‘laudate [...]g/ke

24. See Panayotova, “New Miniatures,” 146.

[...]escia [...]ocata. dauati / alevu [?] figuvol virgo pi[...],”²⁵ from which I have been able to recognise several passages of the well-known Marian lauda *Venite a laudare*, the inaugural piece of the *Laudario di Cortona*—also apparently foreign to Florentine tradition.

.....		Venite a laudare
.....		per amor e cantare
.....	3	l’amorosa Vergene Maria.
I		Maria gloriosa biata
..... laudata,		sempre si’ molto laudata,
.... g ke ... e scia ocata		preghiam ke ne si’ avvocata
davanti al ... o figuvol Virgo pi ...	7	al tuo filiol Virgo pia.

Concordances: *Cort*, * *Aret*, *Triv*.

* * *

No less useful for the purpose of our inquiry is the possibility of identifying the existing sheet numbers on several *rectos* that are difficult to read: in particular, the two sheets at the British Library in London, portraying *The Three Archangels Killing the Dragon* and *St. Agnes Enthroned*, bear the numbers XLVII and LXXIII respectively,²⁶ the one depicting *The Resurrection* kept at the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge has the number LXII,²⁷ while *The Annunciation* in the Zeileis Collection, as I have been advised by the previous owner, prior to being mounted in its present frame, bore the number LII.

All this clearly throws new light on our knowledge of the corpus, allowing us to establish many facts concerning both its internal structure and the type of repertory it contained. Indeed, considering that, of the surviving twenty-eight fragments, the foliation of sixteen is now certain and that of a further five can be deduced from their contiguity to those sixteen, much of the original nature of the manuscript can now be defined.

25. Panayotova, “One Leaf and Five Miniatures.”

26. I owe the opportunity of reading the latter to the kindness of Dr. Paul Garside of the Conservation Institute of the British Library, who had recently taken several photographs of the upper margin of the sheet, using the MUSIS system. The first one, on the other hand, has up to now been read as XCVII (see Ziino, “La Laude musicale,” 1466).

27. See Panayotova, “One Leaf and Five Miniatures.”

Solving the Puzzle

By placing the pieces in order of their foliation, we immediately realise that their sequence can in no way be reconciled with the ‘hierarchical’ criteria used for compiling a manuscript deemed to be exemplary, such as *BR 19*,²⁸ a structure to which other laudari also “mostrano di tendere, pur con numerose eccezioni.”²⁹ In a certain sense, our knowledge had already reached this point some years ago, admitting that “coloro che hanno presieduto all’organizzazione e alla redazione del codice devono aver seguito in taluni casi criteri diversi da quelli da noi attualmente conosciuti o ipotizzati.”³⁰ At the same time, it seemed strange that the “Laude del Signore” and those “della vergine Maria,” rather than being in compact sections, are here sometimes found together with texts from the *Santorale*, such as those for St. Pancras and St. Andrew Apostle, or—even granting greater importance to the patron saint of Florence—that the lauda for St. Zenobius should come immediately before that for the Holy Spirit.

On the contrary, up to now musicology has totally underestimated the possibility that the order of the fragments might faithfully reflect that of the liturgical calendar, both in the ‘ideological’ distance existing—despite appearances—between devotional and more properly sacred manuscripts, and because, insofar as we know, we are faced with an ordered arrangement that is foreign to Tuscan lauda production as currently understood.³¹

Doubts, however, are now dispersing in view of the evidence: indeed, the set of numbered sheets starts from fol. XI with *Vergine sancta Maria*, followed by *Andrea beato laudi tucta la gente*, in honour of St. Andrew (30 November); on fol. XXIII we encounter another Marian lauda, *Venite a laudare*, to be sung on the Feast of the Conception (8 December), then followed by one for St. Lucy (13 December). After more than twenty sheets, clearly reserved for the

28. The sequence is as follows: “Laude del Signore, Laude della vergine Maria, Laude delli apostoli, Laude d’i santi martiri, Laude d’i santi confessori, Laude delle sante vergini.” See Del Popolo, *Laude Fiorentine*, 609–12.

29. Ziino and Zimei, “Nuovi frammenti,” 498 (“show a tendency, albeit with numerous exceptions”).

30. Ziino and Zimei, “Quattro frammenti inediti,” 44 (“those overseeing the structuring and drafting of the codex must in some cases have followed criteria different from those currently known or assumed”).

31. The structure based on the *Circulum anni* goes back, on the contrary, to the Perugian tradition, as can be seen from the *Laudario dei Disciplinati di Sant’Andrea* (Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Ms. 955) and from the *Laudario della Confraternita di San Fiorenzo* (Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. A.26). Drake Boehm, “The Laudario,” 61–62, proposed, however, a sequence of this kind, inspired by the very standard arrangement of graduals and antiphonals.

various Christmastide feastdays, on the *recto* of fol. XLVII we find the commemoration of St. Anthony Abbot (17 January—although the selected lauda, *Ciascun ke fede sente*, is actually addressed to St. Anthony of Padua), while the *verso* is dedicated to St. Agnes (21 January), with *Sancta Agnesa da Dio amata*. Then fol. LII celebrates the Annunciation (25 March), with an acephalous lauda—so far unidentified—on the theme of the Incarnation and *Da cielo venne messo novello*; fol. LXII, with *Benedecto sia il Sengnore* and *Co·lla madre del beato*, on the other hand, is connected with Easter.³² On fol. LXXIII, presumably following a [missing] lauda for St. Philip Apostle, we find *A sancto Iacobo*, for St. James the Less (3 May, the liturgical commemoration of SS. Philip and James),³³ together with *Ogn'uomo ad alta boce*, for the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross (also on 3 May); on fol. LXXIII ν *Exultando in Gesù Christo*, in honour of the Archangels, recalls the feast of the Apparition of St. Michael on Monte Gargano (8 May). The following leaves then provide *laude* for St. Pancras (12 May) and for the Ascension, so it is no surprise that fol. LXXXIII, with *Novel canto tucta gente*, dedicated to St. Zenobius (25 May), precedes *Spirito Santo glorioso*, this latter being used for Pentecost. On fol. LXXXV ν we find *Co·rriverença et [...]*, for Corpus Domini, and, on fol. LXXXVII ν *Alta Trinita beata*, for Trinity Sunday. From fol. LXXXXII to fol. LXXXXVIII, the Cambridge cuttings, as we have seen, celebrate in sequence the nativity of St John Baptist (24 June), the martyrdoms of SS. Peter and Paul (29 June), St. Mary Magdalene (22 July), St James the Greater (25 July)

32. In actual fact, the first piece focuses on the Annunciation, but its function as the inaugural text of BR 19 (in which, indexed as the lauda “Domini nostri Iesu Christi,” it is accompanied by a large miniature depicting Christ blessing seated on the rainbow), beside the fact—clearly underlined by Del Popolo, *Laude Fiorentine*, 105—that 25 March, in the Florentine calendar, was the first day of the year, seems to provide it with a symbolic value that is naturally in line with the theme of the Resurrection.

33. Until now, it has been widely believed that this text—the only other source for which is the *Laudario di Santo Spirito*—was dedicated to St. James the Greater, owing to the fact that the first two strophes (with the additional support provided by the fragment currently in the Frascione Collection) make reference to the encounter with Jesus on the Lake of Tiberias: “[Lungo il mare di Gallilea, / chol padre essendo alla peschera, / Giesù lo sguardo, chiara smer, / vochollo a:ssé per grande amore. / Inmantenente a·llui andaro, / le reti et padre abandonaro, / con gran fervore lui seguitaro / per caritate et grande amore.” It was not by chance that Liuzzi, *La lauda*, II, 322–23, noting the metrical anomaly of the first verse—also in the related melody—had plausibly integrated it with the three-syllable word “maggiore.” The place of this lauda in our corpus does however invite further debate as to its functions. A theory of its being destined for St. James the Less finds unexpected confirmation however in verse 15 of BR 18, “Del Salvator fosti *cuscino*,” evidently intended as ‘cousin’ and not ‘pillow.’ At this point, the first two strophes must be considered as belonging to a formular language (hence the need to convert Liuzzi’s proposal of integration from “maggiore” to “minore”), or else as some sort of interchangeable text, suitable for either occasion and thus conceived purposely without onomastic specification.

and St. Christopher (also on 25 July). On fol. CI it is the turn of St. Dominic (8 August) and St. Lawrence (10), while on the *verso* of the next sheet the historiated initial G with *St. John on Patmos* may have introduced a lauda dedicated to both the Evangelist and the Baptist (the beheading of the latter falling on 29 August). The set is completed on fol. CXXI with *Da l'alta Luce fu dato sovente*, in honour of St. Miniato (25 October) and *Facciam laude a tutt'i sancti*, for the feast of All Saints (1 November).

Table 1 provides a summary, in the original order, of the lauda repertory as found in the corpus in its current state, in which even the unnumbered fragments can be easily placed.

It is evident that the sequence runs in a coherent and linear manner, without any overlapping of fragments belonging to layout 'A' with those of group 'B' + 'C,' either in the foliation or in the texts. This, in short, leads towards the conclusion that we are dealing with a single laudario, although we still need evidence that the two layouts are really compatible. This question would be automatically solved by verifying that the *recto* of fol. LXXVIII effectively contains the conclusion of *Ogn'uomo ad alta boce*, starting on the *verso* of the previous leaf. For the time being, however, this is not possible because the relevant surface area is glued to thick cardboard and, according to its owner, any attempt to photograph its content using special equipment would prove ineffective. Similarly, confirmation could be found if the small border decoration with St. Zenobius in an initial N at The Art Institute of Chicago, in which several notes of the incipit of *Novel canto tucta gente* can be seen,³⁴ and fol. LXXXIII, bearing the conclusion of the lauda of the same name on its *recto*, belong to the same manuscript.

Another detached illumination where the *recto* remains inaccessible is the large miniature in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, depicting *Christ in Majesty with the Twelve Apostles*, unfortunately lacking even the gold letters and notation of the incipit and consequently placeable only on iconographic evidence. Considering that the order of the fragments follows the liturgical calendar and that in the antiphonals of the period this type of scene is often associated with Responsoy I for the first Sunday in Advent (*Aspiciens a longe*), the text removed from the *verso*, below the miniature, may have been one of the first in the codex. On the other hand, it would be difficult to maintain—as has

34. Indeed, immediately beneath the initial, in the space between two staves, it is just possible to make out a *melisma* identical to the one on the word "gente" which appears in the same position in BR 18.

Table 1. Original order of the folios of the laudario.

fol.	explicit (r) / incipit (v)	content (r) / subject (v)
XI	r [<i>Vergine sancta Maria</i>] v <i>Andrea beato laudi tucta la gente</i>	3 staves with 3 lines of strophe I, strophes II–III The Calling of St. Andrew
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, 9828 (Layout 'C')		
[XII?]	r (<i>Andrea beato laudi tucta la gente?</i>) ? v (<i>Lauda for the first Advent Sunday?</i>)	Christ in Majesty with the Twelve Apostles
Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1952.8.277 (Layout 'A,' cutting)*		
[...]	v (<i>Lauda for the Conception of Mary?</i>)	Prophet Elijah Indicating the Virgin
Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 6059 (Layout 'A'?, border decoration)		
XXIII	r [<i>Venite a laudare</i>] v (<i>Unidentified lauda for St. Lucy</i>)	3 staves with strophe I Martyrdom of St. Lucy
Cambridge, Queens' College, Ms. 77c (Layout 'B,' cutting)*		
[...]	r [<i>Ogn' uom si sforçi d'ordinare</i>] v <i>Christo è nato hu[manato]</i>	3 staves with 4 lines of strophe II, strophe III Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds
Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1949.5.87 (Layout 'A')		
[...]	r [<i>Lamentomi et sospiro / Tutor dicendo</i>] v (<i>Unidentified lauda for the</i> Epiphany)	Ripresa and strophes I–III The Adoration of the Magi
Kreuzlingen (Switzerland), Friedrich Kisters collection (Layout 'B,' cutting)		
XLVII	r [<i>Ciascun ke fede sente</i>] v <i>Sancta Agnesa da Dio [amata]</i>	3 lines of strophe I, strophe II St. Agnes Enthroned
London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 18196, fol. 1 (Layout 'A')*		
[LII]	r (<i>Unknown lauda for the Incarnation</i>) v <i>Da cielo venne messo novello</i>	5 staves with 1 line of strophe I and strophe II The Annunciation
Rauris (Austria), Friedrich Georg Zeileis collection (Layout 'A')		
[...]	r [<i>Piange Maria cum dolore</i>] v (<i>Unidentified lauda for the Passion</i>)	3 staves with part of strophe I The Crucifixion
Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. Comites Latentes 292 (Layout 'B,' cutting)*		
LXII	r [<i>Benedecto sia il Sengnore</i>] v <i>Co' lla madre del bea[to]</i>	strophes II–III The Resurrection
Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 194 (Layout 'A')*		
LXXIII	r [<i>A sancto Iacobo</i>] v <i>Ogn' uomo ad alta boce</i>	6 staves with strophe II The Cross with Symbols of the Passion
Florence, Enrico Frascione collection (Layout 'C')		
LXXIII	r (<i>Ogn' uomo ad alta boce?</i>) v <i>Exultando in Gesù [Christo]</i>	strophes II–... ? The Three Archangels Killing the Dragon
London, The British Library, Add. Ms. 35254 B (Layout 'A')*		
[LXXVI]	r <i>Exultando in Gesù [Christo]</i> v <i>Sancto Pançraço martir glorioso</i>	(Presumably strophes II–III) Baptism and Martyrdom of St. Pancras
Formerly Strasburg, Fobert Forrer collection (Layout 'A')?		
[LXXVII]	r <i>Sancto Pançraço martir glorioso</i> v <i>Laudate la surrec[tione]</i>	2 staves with the end of ripresa, strophes I–II The Ascension of Christ
Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 80a (Layout 'A')		
[LXXXI?]	r ? v [<i>ovel canto tucta gente</i>]	? St. Zenobius in an initial N
Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1926.1573n (Layout 'B,' border decoration and fragment of a stave)		

Table 1 (*continued*).

fol.	explicit (r) / incipit (v)	content (r) / subject (v)
–	v <i>N[ovel canto tucta gente]</i>	Three Miracles of St. Zenobius
Formerly Rome, Mario Salmi collection (Layout 'B,' <i>bas-de-page</i>)		
LXXXIII	r <i>[Novel canto tucta gente]</i>	1 staff with 7 lines of strophe II, strophe III
	v <i>Spirito Santo glorio[so]</i>	The Pentecost
Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 80 (Layout 'A')		
LXXXV	r <i>Spirito Santo glorio[so]</i>	3 lines of strophe II, strophes III–V
	v <i>Co'rriverença et [...]</i>	Last Supper and Celebration of the Eucharist
Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Ms. 303 (Layout 'A')		
LXXXVII	r <i>Co'rriverença et [...]</i>	3 staves with 2 lines of strophe I, strophe II
	v <i>Alta Trinita beata</i>	The Trinity
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, M.742 (Layout 'A')		
[LXXXXII]	r <i>[Sancto Iovanni Baptista]</i>	1 line of strophe III, strophes IV–VI
	v <i>[Pastore et principe beato / Sam Paulo diricto serafino]</i>	Martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul
Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Marlay cutting It. 83 (Layout 'B,' cutting)		
LXXXXIII	r <i>[Pastore et principe beato / Sam Paulo diricto serafino]</i>	3 lines of strophe IV, strophes V–VI
	v <i>[Ciascun c' à diçiansa]</i>	Last Communion of St. Mary Magdalene
Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. McClean 201.4 (Layout 'B,' cutting)		
LXXXXVI	r <i>[Ciascun c' à diçiansa]</i>	fragments of strophe I
	v <i>[Di tucto nostro core]</i>	Martyrdom of St. James the Great
Cambridge, Queens' College, Ms. 77d (Layout 'B,' cutting)*		
LXXXXVIII	r <i>[Di tucto nostro core]</i>	1 staff with end of strophe I, strophe II
	v <i>(Unknown lauda for St Christopher)</i>	Martyrdom of St. Christopher
Cambridge, Queens' College, Ms. 77b (Layout 'B,' cutting)		
CI	r <i>[San Domenico beato]</i>	3 staves with part of strophe I
	v <i>[Santo Lorenço martir d'amore]</i>	Martyrdom of St. Lawrence
Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 80b (Layout 'B,' cutting)		
–	v <i>[Santo Lorenço martir d'amore],</i> letter <i>g</i> from <i>ripresa</i>	Burial of St. Lawrence and St. Stephen
Philadelphia, The Free Library of Philadelphia, J. F. Lewis collection, E M 25:7a (Layout 'B,' <i>bas-de-page</i>)		
CIX	r <i>[Sancto Bernardo amoroso]</i>	2 staves with 2 lines of strophe I, strophes II–IV
	v <i>Appostolo beato</i>	Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 2006.250 (Layout 'B')		
[CXI]	r <i>Appostolo beato</i>	1 staff with part of strophe II
	v <i>G (unidentified lauda for both Sts. John?)</i>	St. John on Patmos
Philadelphia, The Free Library of Philadelphia, J. F. Lewis collection, E M 25:8 (Layout 'C,' cutting)*		
CXXI	r <i>[Da l'alta Luce fu dato sovente]</i>	4 staves with 7 lines of strophe I
	v <i>Facciam laude a' tutt' i [sancti]</i>	Christ and the Virgin Enthroned with Forty Saints
Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection, 1959.16.2 (Layout 'A')		

* *Recto* currently pasted on a backing or not completely readable because of the presence of a frame.

been done³⁵—that it was actually the opening work: in the upper part of the miniature, one seems to glimpse the reversed mark of a four-line staff.

Further, in this set, the lauda for St. Andrew (30 November, i.e. the day closest to the first Sunday in Advent) occupies fol. XIv: so the preceding one, *Vergine sancta Maria*, might at this point relate to the feast of the Presentation of Mary at the Temple, that falls on 21 November—a date which is in any case outside the said cycle. Moreover the existence of an initial section devoted to the Virgin would be quite plausible if the owner confraternity were actually that of Santa Maria del Carmine.

This hypothesis was put forward by Richard Offner on the basis of the privileged position assigned, in the miniature depicting *Christ and the Virgin Enthroned with Forty Saints*, to the two mythical founders of the *Ordo Carmelitarum*—the prophets Elijah and Elisha—, placed in the foreground on either side of the Cross (see Figure 1).³⁶ It has been supported by Agostino Ziino, noting the considerable size of the miniature with St. Agnes, and the prominence given, in a resolution of the Confraternity's *Libro degli Ordinamenti*, to the feasts of the Madonna, Christmas, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, St. John Baptist, St. Zenobius and All Saints, beside St. Agnes herself—i.e., to the feasts marked in the corpus by the most noteworthy illustrations.³⁷

However, as we know, layout 'A' also includes miniatures linked to liturgical commemorations not explicitly mentioned in that resolution, or even more suited to the rites of 'competitor' companies such as Orsanmichele. That confraternity, for example, would be more appropriate to the great scene with *The Three Archangels Killing the Dragon* illuminated for one of the feasts of its specific patron saint (the Apparition of St. Michael on Monte Gargano, 8 May). Besides being richer and more prestigious—and therefore certainly capable of paying for the creation of such a sumptuous laudario—, the Florentine company of Orsanmichele was also the only one at that time to certainly include women in its ranks.³⁸ In this context, we recall the already noted presence of female donors in

35. "like the Christ in Majesty at the opening of the Sant'Egidio Laudario (Banco Rari 19)" (Drake Boehm, "The Laudario of the Compagnia di Sant'Agnese," 60).

36. See Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, VII, 56, 58, and 64.

37. See Ziino, "Laudi e miniature fiorentine," 62–63. The *Libro degli Ordinamenti della Compagnia di Santa Maria del Carmine*, compiled between 1280 and 1298, is kept at Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. VIII, 1500/9. The said resolution, dated 1291, is on fol. 4v.

38. See Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, III, 392. As regards the funds available at Orsanmichele, it is perhaps not irrelevant that in about 1335 this confraternity commissioned the illumination of a missal from—who else!—Pacino di Bonaguida and the Maestro delle Effigi Domenicane. See Boskovits, *A Critical and Historical Corpus*, III, IX, 262, 290.

the lower margin of the folios belonging to layout 'A.' Otherwise, it could be argued that they were portrayed merely for votive purposes, as the wives of confraternity members who had, in turn, contributed to the expense of illuminating single pages of the *Laudario*—for their Confraternity was not particularly wealthy.

At the same time, we cannot exclude the possibility that the choice of such a prestigious artist may have been dictated by personal relations: indeed, by way of example, it emerges from the already-mentioned *Libro degli Ordinamenti* that in the last decade of the *Duecento* a certain "Bonaguida tavernaio" (i.e. an inn-keeper) was several times captain of the Company of the Carmine, and that he—also considering the related chronology—might have been Pacino's father.³⁹

In support of this particular source of patronage, there is special significance in the border decoration now in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett: it portrays an otherwise unspecified Carmelite saint who can be easily identified as the Prophet Elijah himself, deemed by the Order to be the first devotee of the Virgin Mary and thus originally pointing in the direction of what was probably an image of Mary. The lost central scene must be linked to a Marian festivity: with El'jah's gesture resembling that of St. John the Baptist evoking Christ's birth, the scene may have been based on the feast of Mary's Conception (8 December, then the most important feast celebrated by the Carmelites). This would explain what kind of *laude*—with the possible exception of one to be sung on 6 December for St. Nicholas—occupied the *circa* ten sheets of the codex separating the feast of St. Andrew (or, rather, the first Sunday in Advent) from the feast day of St. Lucy.

Trusting that new fragments will be found, and with the necessary collaboration of art historians,⁴⁰ I hope to provide further details concerning this corpus, and, above all, to establish finally whether we are dealing with a single *laudario*. The problem can only be resolved if the owners of folios still pasted to extraneous supports can be persuaded to free them. Until then, these pages remain gratuitous decorations, displaced from their original context.

Villa I Tatti

39. In support of this theory, fol. 2r the *Libro degli Ordinamenti* instructs confraternity members to celebrate every month a mass for peace ("una messa di Pace"), for propitiatory reasons. Since 'Pacino' is in fact the diminutive of 'Pace' (peace), his name may be evidence of Bonaguida's devotion, for the same source defines him as a particularly devout person ("pinçohero").

40. From this point of view, many new results may arise from the exhibition *Florence at the Dawn of the Renaissance: Painting and Illumination, 1300–1350*, curated by Christine Sciacca, scheduled at the J. Paul Getty Museum of Los Angeles, starting from November 2012.

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