

MAGISTER DOMINUS PAULUS ABBAS DE FLORENTIA:
NEW DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

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The portrait associated with "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia" in the initial letter *G* on fol. 55v of the Squarcialupi Codex has raised many questions about the composer it represents (Pl. 1).¹ The miniature is one of fourteen in the famous collection depicting composers whose works were known in Florence in the early fifteenth century; but the music staves on this and the next sixteen folios remain empty. Does the full attribution imply that he came from Florence, or was the monastery of which he was abbot situated in Florence? What music did he compose, and for whom were the works written? What do we know of his family, his career, his colleagues, and his patrons? Let us first examine the current state of knowledge on each of these questions.

We now know of at least fifty-six, but probably sixty, compositions attributed variously to Don Paolo Tenorista da Firenze, Paulus Abbas, and other forms and abbreviations of these names (Table 1).² Some of

¹ Although the portrait page itself (fol. 55v) lacks the beginning of the composer's full name (missing the words "Magister Dominus"), this multicolored attribution heads the top of fols. 56r–71r; various ascriptions to Paolo, entered in a small cursive hand and meant to serve as guides, were left by the compilers of the anthology throughout the section set aside for his works (gatherings 6 and 7): fol. 55r ("Paulus"); fol. 56r ("Abate Paulus de Florentia"); fol. 57r ("... de Fl"); fol. 62r ("... de Flo"); fol. 65v ("Magister Dominus Paulus"); fol. 66r ("Abbas... [Flore]ntia"); fol. 69r ("... di Flo"); fol. 70r ("... di Flo"); fol. 71r ("abate..."). See John Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages", Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1985, pp. 372, 380.

² Nino Pirrotta and Ettore LiGotti, "Il Codice di Lucca", *Musica Disciplina*, III (1949), 119–38; IV (1950), 111–52; V (1951), 115–42; *idem*, "Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino 'extra moenia'", in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, vol. III (Madrid, 1952), 577–606; Pirrotta, "Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell'ars nova", *Musica Disciplina*, x (1956), 61–66; *idem*, *Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova* (Palm Springs, 1961); Kurt von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento*, Publikationen der schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft, II/5 (Bern, 1956); *idem*, "Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi-Kodex [I-Fl 87]", *Quadrivium*, IX (1968), 5–19; *idem*, "Paolo da Firenze", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), vol. XIV, p. 615; Ur-

these works show traits of the international style which must have reached Florence shortly after 1400. Paolo's works are contained in a principal source (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds italien 568 [*Pit*]), three other collections (*Lo, Reina, Fl 999*), three fragments (*Man/ManP, Lw, Cil*), and a recently discovered palimpsest volume in the Archivio Capitolare of San Lorenzo in Florence. The seventeen vacant folios of *Sq* headed by Don Paolo's portrait could now easily be filled.³ *Pit* has been

sula Günther, "Die ,anonymen' Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B. N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXIII (1966), 73–92; *idem*, "Zur Datierung des Madrigals ,Godi, Firenze' und der Handschrift Paris, B. N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXIV (1967), 99–119; Frank D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at Santa Maria del Fiore in the Early Quattrocento", in *Scritti in onore di Luigi Ronga* (Milan, 1973), pp. 99–126; *idem*, "Una nuova fonte dell'ars nova italiana: Il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211", *Studi musicali*, XIII (1984), 3–31; John Nádas, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony" (Chapter IV contains an analysis of copyists in *Pit* and *Man/ManP*, and scribal concordances in related sources [shown in Table 1 of the present study as copyists A–H], Chapter V discusses Paolo's works in *Sq* and *SL 2211*); a study of fragment *Cil* in Perugia by Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti is forthcoming in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* for 1987. Modern editions of Paolo's works are to be found in the following: *Italian Secular Music*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vols. VIII, IX, XI, ed. W. Thomas Marrocco (Monaco, 1972, 75, 78); Pirrotta, *Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment* (includes an edition of the works in *Lw*); *Italian Sacred Music*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol. XII, eds. Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo (Monaco, 1976); a new critical edition by Nino Pirrotta and Ursula Günther will be published as vol. VI of Pirrotta's *The Music of Fourteenth Century Italy* (thus far, 5 vols., Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, vol. VIII [Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1954–64]).

³ Ursula Günther has shown that fourteen works in *Pit* at one time carried attributions with the initials "D.P." or "Do. Pa."; see "Die ,anonymen' Kompositionen", 84–85. The palimpsest *SL 2211* ascribes six works to "Paulus Abbas" and seven others to "Abbas Paulus", two of which have yet to be identified; almost all of the erased names in *Pit* have been confirmed by those in *SL 2211*. The work-list in Table 1 contains a ballata, *Mort'è la fe*, which at one time was attributed to Francesco Landini in *Pit* ("Franciscus", erased), but is included among Paolo's works in the newly-discovered *Cil* fragment. One of the madrigals in *SL 2211*, whose attribution in *Pit* is erased (but can be read as "Don Paolo"), was undoubtedly intended as the opening composition of Paolo's works in *Sq*. This is suggested by the fact that the decoration on the portrait pages of the collection culminates in a scene at the bottom of each of the folios which serves to illustrate the verbal content of the composition on that page. The falcon and crow framing the stemma on fol. 55v point to *Girand' un bel falcon* rather than *Godi, Firenze* as the first work (note that the composer is depicted within a capital *G*). Paolo may have composed *Girand' un bel falcon* as

shown to have had close connections with the Capponi family – their family motto, "uuen goth uyel," appears in the device at the foot of the frontispiece to the manuscript (fol. 1r); Nino Pirrotta has argued from this evidence that Don Paolo was a member of the Capponi family, and that the manuscript belonged either to him or to one of his relatives.⁴ The heraldic device in the bas-de-page of fols. 1r and 55v of *Sq*, however, has suggested that he may have been a Leoni, or related to them.⁵

another political madrigal, for its text closely reflects the negative sentiments of Florentines against Pope Gregory XII at the time of the Council of Pisa. The form of the text, and thus its meaning, is rendered incorrectly in Giuseppe Corsi, *Poesie musicali del trecento* (Bologna, 1970), p. 334; the scribe in *Pit* intended the following:

Girand' un bel falcon gentile e bianco
per l'ari', al mie chiamar lento s'artenne
e com'uman in pugno mi rivenne.

Con meco stette in fin che venne manco
la speranza del frutto e con lo 'ngegno
mancò la fede, simulando sdegno.

Diventò corbo poi fellon e fero:
cro cro grachiando e non dicendo vero.

The sense of these lines echoes the chronicle of the Anonimo Fiorentino, who relates that in February 1409 the Signoria called for an extraordinary deliberative session, inviting 120 learned men, among them abbots, priors, and Florentine intellectuals, in order to discuss continued allegiance to Gregory, because the latter had shown no signs of wanting to bring the schism to an end. After three days they reported to the *priori* that they considered Gregory to be heretical and schismatic and that no one should believe in him (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. XXVII, Part II: *Cronica volgare di Anonimo Fiorentino, già attribuito a Piero di Giovanni Minerbetti* [Bologna, 1918], pp. 356–77).

⁴ Pirrotta, *Paolo Tenorista*, p. 25; also Günther, "Zur Datierung des Madrigals ,Godi, Firenze'", pp. 109ff, with a facs. of *Pit* fol. 1r (Plate 1).

⁵ Bianca Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi e il codice Mediceo Palatino 87", *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento*, I (Certaldo, 1962), 161–63. The most difficult problem to solve regarding the Leoni family is the fact that the colors of the background and lions in the *Sq* stemma do not match those in the family's heraldic device. Arguments for the Leoni and against the Capponi are offered by Günther, "Zur Datierung", 104–06.

Table 1

The Compositions of Don Paolo da Firenze

MS Sources and Attributions						
* unattributed works [] erased attributions in <i>Pit</i>						
<i>Pit</i> Scribe	Incipit	<i>Pit</i>	<i>Man/</i> <i>ManP</i>	<i>Lw</i>	<i>SL 2211</i>	<i>Cil</i>
Madrigals						
D	Corse per l'onde	P. A.			P. Abbas	
D	Era Venus al termin	P. A.			P. Abbas	
D	Fra duri scogli	P. A.				
A + F	Girand' un bel falcon	[Don Paolo]			P. Abbas	
D	Godi, Firenze	P. A.				
D	Nell' ora ch'a segar	P. A.				
A	Non più 'nfelice	Don Paolo	Tenorista da Firenze			
A	Se non ti piacque	Don Paolo	Lo = Don paghollo			
A	Tra verdi frond'	Don Paolo				
B	Una fera gentil	D. P.				
B	Una smaniosa	*			P. Abbas	
B	Un pellegrin uccel	Do. Pa.				
D	Ventilla con tumulto	P. A.			P. Abbas	
Ballatas						
D	Amor, da po' che tu	P. A.				
A	Amor, de' dimmi	Do. Paolo			* (D) A. Paulus	
D	Amor mi stringe assai	*			A. Paulus	
D	Amor tu solo 'l sai	P. A.			* (D)	
B	Astio non mori mai	*			A. Paulus	D. P.
B	Benchè partito da te	Do. Paolo				
	Ben posson pianger					D. P.
D + H	Che l'agg' i' fatto	P. A.				
D	Chi vuol veder	P. A.				
	Da tanto disonesto					D. P.
B	De' dolçe morte	[D. P.]				
B	De' fa per quella speme	[D. P.]				D. P.
E	De' passa temp' amaro	[D. P.]				D. P.
F	Doglia continua	Pa.			* (H)	
	Dolçe mie donna					
	(sonnet?)				* (D)	
A	Donna, perchè	Do. Paolo				
B	Donne et fanciulle	[D. P.]				
B	Fatto m'a sdegno	[D. P.]				D. P.
B	In quella parte	[Do. Pa.]				
D	Lasso, grav' è	P. A.				
D	La vaga luce	P. A.			* (D)	

<i>Pit</i> Scribe	Incipit	<i>Pit</i>	<i>Man/</i> <i>ManP</i>	<i>Lw</i>	<i>SL 2211</i>	<i>Cil</i>
D	Lena, virtù	P. A.				
D	Ma' ri' aver di me pietà	P. A.				
B	Merçe per Dio	[D. P.]				
B?	Mort' è la fe'	[Franciscus?; conflicts with <i>Cil</i>]				D. P.
D	Non c'è rimasa fe'	P. A.				
E	Oyme! s'io gli piango	[D. P.]				
A	Or sie che può	Do. Paolo			P. Abbas	
B	Perchè vendetta far	Do. Paolo				
	Perch' i' non seppi				Reina = Dompni Pauli	
A	Po'c'anno di mirar	Do. Paolo			A. Paulus	
B + F	S'amor in cor gentil	P. A.			* (D)	
E	Se già seguir	[D. P.]				D. P.
B	Se le n'arà pietà	[D. P.]				
B	Se partir mi convien	[D. P.]				D. P.
D	Se per virtù, Amor	P. A.				
B	Sie mille volte	[D. P.]			A. Paulus	D. P.
D	Sofrir m'estuet	P. A.				
B	Tra speranza	[Do. Pa.]			* (D)	
A	Uom ch'osa di veder	Do. Paolo			A. Paulus	
D	Vago e benigno Amor	P. A.				
	(unidentified)				A. Paulus	
	(unidentified)				A. Paulus	
	(unidentified)					D. P.
	(unidentified)					D. P.
Sacred Works						
F	Benedicamus Domino	[D. P.] (index = P. A.)				
	Gaudeamus omnes	Fl 999 = PAU[lus]				
<i>Pit</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds italien 568					
<i>Man/ManP</i>	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta", MS 3065 (Mancini Codex)					
<i>Lw</i>	Chicago, MS fragment formerly in the library of Edward Lowinsky, now Newberry Library, Case MS MLo 96.P36					
<i>SL 2211</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo, MS 2211					
<i>Lo</i>	London, British Library, Additional MS 29987					
<i>Reina</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouvelles acquisitions fran- çaises 6771 (Reina Codex)					
<i>FL 999</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Ashburnham 999					
<i>Cil</i>	Perugia, MS fragment in the library of Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti (study by the owners forthcoming in <i>RIM</i> [1987])					
<i>Sq</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Mediceo-Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi Codex)					

The earliest evidence of Paolo's career has been said to be contained in a document dated 1404: one of the witnesses to the signature of Cardinal Acciaiuoli in a *procura* drawn up in Rome is a "Dominus Paulus de Florentia abbas Pozzoli Aretine diocesis" (abbot of the monastery of Pozzo in the diocese of Arezzo).⁶ As Ursula Günther has shown, Paolo composed the madrigal *Godi, Firenze* no earlier than the end of 1406, to celebrate the definitive acquisition of Pisa by the Florentines.⁷ Frank D'Accone published a document of 1408 which associates a certain "Dompnus Paulus monacus" with the Florence cathedral (Santa Reparata) as a singer, and assigns to him the use of a house in the city.⁸ Paolo's connections with *Sq* and *Fl* 999 have been investigated by Kurt von Fischer, who also discovered documents relating to a Don Paolo at the Badia del Sasso near Arezzo, dated October 1419. The latter have been interpreted by von Fischer as evidence for Don Paolo's death in that year.⁹ In addition to the dating of *Godi, Firenze*, these studies appear to have provided concrete evidence concerning his position and career. But many questions remain unanswered; the present study reconsiders problems regarding his ecclesiastical position(s) and family name in light of the discovery of significant new documentation found by Ursula Günther, John Nádas, and John Stinson.¹⁰

⁶ The document in question is Rome, Vatican Library, MS Vat. lat. 2664, fols. 253ff., discussed by Pirrotta and LiGotti, "Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino 'extra moenia'", p. 580, n. 2. See also Pirrotta, *Paolo Tenorista*, pp. 24–26, 42–43.

⁷ Günther, "Zur Datierung", 99–103: gatherings six and eight in *Pit*, containing the majority of Paolo's madrigals and ballatas, including *Godi, Firenze*, must have been added to the collection after October 1406.

⁸ Frank A. D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at Santa Maria del Fiore", 103–04, 118.

⁹ Von Fischer, "Paolo Tenorista", 13–15. The documents are accounts and inventories contained in Firenze, Archivio di Stato (hereafter, ASF), Conventi Soppressi 86, Santa Maria degli Angeli, filza 213. According to von Fischer, one may conclude from these documents "dass ein als 'mischer l'abade' bezeichneter Don Paolo da Firenze im September des Jahres 1419 in San Viti der Abbadia del Sasso in Arezzo gestorben ist" (p. 14).

¹⁰ MS Douai 1171 and its ties to the composer Don Paolo were discovered by Ursula Günther in 1984. She was able to examine the codex in Paris with the assistance of François Avril, to whom we express our gratitude for making the volume accessible after the close of the exhibit and for procuring photographs. Günther collaborated with John Stinson, who was working in Florence in the summer of 1984 on *trecento* iconography. Stinson located the sites of San Martino al Pino and Orbatello. Both scholars presented their findings at the

Manuscript Douai 1171

The key piece of evidence which opened new avenues of research is a liturgical book prepared under the direction of Don Paolo while he was abbot of a monastery named San Martino al Pino and rector of a church in a place or institution named Orbatello. This new information, providing the two ecclesiastical positions he held, was discovered in the catalogue of an exhibition of Italian illuminated manuscripts organized by François Avril of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, held there in May and June of 1984. In the exhibition was displayed an antiphonal, Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1171, which begins with the following inscription on fol. 1r (original foliation; see Pl. 2):

"In nomine domini nostri Jesu Cristi, Amen. Incipit antiphonarium sive festivum diurnum ecclesie Sancte Marie Annunziate Virginis de Florentia, qui locus vulgo dicitur Orbatello. Quid vidque antiphonarium secundum consuetudinem romane curie composuit et ordinavit reverendus pater Dominus Paulus abbas Sancti Martini de Pino, ordinis Sancti Benedicti. Eiusdem ecclesie Sancte Marie tunc rector existens. Anno domini MCCCCXVII."¹¹

Novacella Conference in July 1984, where John Nádas could confirm Paolo's presence at the Council of Pisa. Stinson was later able to examine and photograph the Douai MS (in 1987), in collaboration with Günther complete the description of the source, and also discover the document of 1419 reproduced here as Pl. 7. John Nádas provided the rest of the documentary evidence from the Archivio di Stato in Florence, compiled the work-list of Paolo's compositions, and completed the article as it appears here. Preliminary versions of his findings were presented as "Words and Music in Florence ca. 1400", National Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Cleveland Ohio, November 7, 1986, and "Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence", as a member of a session entitled "Processes of Constitution and Conservation of Polyphonic Repertories in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", Meeting of the 14th Congress of the International Musicological Society, Bologna, August 28, 1987. The research by Nádas was carried out during the period of a University of North Carolina Research Council Grant for the summer of 1986 and the initial months of a fellowship at The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti, Florence, 1987–88.

¹¹ "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen. Here begins the antiphonal or festive diurnal of the church of Santa Maria Annunziata Virgine of Florence, which is commonly called Orbatello. This said antiphonal was compiled and arranged according to Roman custom by Reverend Father Don Paolo, abbot of San Martino al Pino, of the Benedictine order, [and] at this time Rector of

The manuscript consists of ten quinions of vellum, each folio measuring *ca.* 450 × 300 mm, to which have been added two leaves in the front containing indices, and twelve paper leaves at the back with additional liturgical music. The first index folio, of parchment, lists the feasts in liturgical order and the folios on which they are to be found; the second, of paper, lists the contents by genre: Introits, Graduals, Tracts, Alleluia verses, Offertory verses, Communions, Kyries, and votive masses, together with the folios on which they are to be found. The main corpus of the manuscript carries original foliation numbers in the upper right margin of each recto. The paper fascicle seems to have been originally part of another volume, as it has a different set of foliation numbers in the center of the top margin. The two index folios, the main body of the manuscript, and the added paper fascicle have been refoiled by a modern hand in the upper right corner. Thus the beginning of the body of the manuscript is fol. 1 in the original foliation but fol. 3 in the modern foliation. The parchment index folio lists the contents of the volume only to fol. 148; the paper index folio lists the contents by genre to fol. 160. This suggests that the volume was originally planned as ten quinions of vellum with one index folio, to which the paper fascicle and the inventory by genre were later added. The binding is original, consisting of red leather on boards, with seven metal bosses on each cover and two straps, each decorated with a metal medallion and a clasp. The spine has recently been restored.

The writing space of each folio in the main section measures 200 × 350 mm, with six, four-line, rastrum-ruled staves per page. The decoration follows a well-ordered plan: each of the feasts has either an historiated or a decorated letter two staves high (100 × 100 mm) at its opening chant, except for the principal feasts of Christmas, Epiphany, the Annunciation, Easter, Pentecost and the Assumption of the Virgin, which have historiated initials three staves high and foliate decoration in the margins. At the bas-de-page of fol. 1r, and for most of the major feasts except for those of the Annunciation and Assumption, we find an emblem containing an eagle. The two feasts most closely associated with the church for which the manuscript was written, the Annunciation and the

the said church of Santa Maria, in the year of our Lord 1417." Although MS Douai 1171 is a mixed liturgical book, the term "Antiphonal" is used to describe the volume in this inscription and has been adopted throughout the present study.

Assumption, have no eagle but an intricate continuation of the foliate decoration in the bottom margin. As will be discussed later, the hospice of Orbatello and its church, for which the manuscript was prepared, were under the patronage of the Capitani di Parte Guelfa from the beginning of the fifteenth century. The pattern of decoration reflects not only a hierarchy of liturgical feasts, but one as well of patronage: the emblem of the Parte Guelfa, an eagle, appears at the beginning and at all major feasts except those of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the celestial patron of the institution.

The decoration of the manuscript is of the highest quality and characteristic of the work of the *scriptorium* at the Florentine Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli. The historiated initials for Easter, the Annunciation, and the Assumption are lavishly decorated in gold. Of particular interest are the presence of *cantus fractus* (e.g., in the setting of the hymn *O gloriosa domina* for Lauds of the Annunciation) and the use of the *Credo Cardinalis* melody; both of these are features of *Fl 999* (the unique source of Don Paolo's discantus on *Gaudeamus omnes*), another liturgical book that can be associated with the composer and which was undoubtedly produced at Santa Maria degli Angeli, in 1423.¹² On fol. 131r, MS Douai 1171 contains the plainsong melody for the *Benedicamus Domino* employed by Don Paolo in his three-part setting found in *Pit* (Pl. 3).

According to the exhibit catalogue by François Avril, the manuscript was illuminated by Bartolomeo di Fruosino.¹³ In addition to Lorenzo Monaco and Matteo Torelli, this famous illuminator has also been proposed as the artist responsible for the decoration of *Sq* and several choir-books in San Lorenzo, the Bargello, and San Marco; as von Fischer has shown, the ornamental style of *Sq* is strikingly similar to that of the illuminations in *Fl 999*. Most recently, Luciano Bellosi has argued that the artist who worked on *Sq* is as yet unidentified; however much art historians disagree on the identity of the illuminator(s) of these books, there is little doubt as to their common origin in the *scriptorium* of S. Maria degli Angeli where some even worked side-by-side.¹⁴ In this context,

¹² Von Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze", 6–19.

¹³ *Dix siècles d'enluminure italienne (VI–XVI siècles)*, [catalogue by François Avril] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1984, p. 112.

¹⁴ See Mirella Levi D'Ancona, "Bartolomeo di Fruosino", *The Art Bulletin*, XLIII (1961), 81–97; *idem*, "Some New Attributions to Lorenzo Monaco", *The Art Bulletin*, XL (1958), 175–91; "Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci" e il "Maestro delle Canzoni", *Rivista d'Arte*, XXXII (1957), 3–37. In the latter

and in light of the documentary evidence discussed below, it is tempting to hypothesize a continuing professional relationship between Don Paolo and the *scriptorium*, especially in the production of church manuscripts for which musical and liturgical expertise were undoubtedly necessary. If Don Paolo Tenorista had the responsibility of "compiling and arranging" the antiphonal Douai 1171, and if he can be tied to *Fl* 999 – both illuminated at the *scriptorium* of S. Maria degli Angeli – then he may well have had a similar role in the selection and organization of works to be included in *Sq*, as Kurt von Fischer has suggested, and perhaps in other song manuscripts such as *Pit*, produced by the same atelier.¹⁵ If the "Dominus Paulus Abbas" of MS Douai 1171 is, in fact, the composer Don Paolo Tenorista, then the antiphonal of S. Maria Annunziata offers not only the name of his monastery but also, as we shall see, the clue to his continued presence in Florence. Two questions must now be discussed further: what do we know of the abbey of San Martino al Pino and what precisely was Orbatello?

San Martino al Pino

The monastery, located in the Val di Chiana southwest of Arezzo, was founded in 1043 by Immone, bishop of Arezzo; its title "San Martino al Pino", its jurisdiction and autonomy were established by the year 1088 under abbot Guido (see Pl. 4 for its location in the diocese).¹⁶ By the be-

study (pp. 28–37), D'Ancona argues that the depiction of the allegory of music in *Pit* (fol. 1r) was likewise produced at S. M. degli Angeli in the first decade of the Quattrocento by an unknown artist she dubs the "maestro delle canzoni". A full documentary study of the artists appears in D'Ancona's *Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secolo* (Florence, 1978). The most recent study of the illuminations in *Sq* is by Luciano Bellosi, who dates the compilation of the source to the years 1410–15; see his "Due note in margine a Lorenzo Monaco miniatore: il 'Maestro del Codice Squarcialupi' e il poco probabile Matteo Torelli", in *Studi di storia dell'arte in memoria di Mario Rotili*, eds. Antonella Putaturo Muraro and Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese (Naples, 1984), pp. 307–14 and Plates CXXXVIII–CXLIV.

¹⁵ The dating of *Pit* and *Sq* to the first two decades of the 15th century, together with evidence of scribal concordances among manuscripts *Pit*, *Lw*, and *Man/ManP*, would suggest that Paolo's works were copied into various anthologies within a relatively narrow time period, perhaps one which also saw the composer most active as a participant in book production at the *scriptorium*.

¹⁶ *Hieronymi Aliotti Aretini, Epistolae & Opuscula*, ed. Gabriele Maria Scarmagli (Arezzo, 1719), vol. I, p. 200.

ginning of the fourteenth century it was a thriving monastic community; a century later, it was in ruins (see the notarial document of 1433, below). According to the *decime* for the years 1274–1304 (one of the few surviving ecclesiastical tax records for monasteries and churches in Tuscany for the 14th to 16th centuries), the abbey of San Martino al Pino was charged fifteen pounds. If these taxes are to be taken as a measure of the size of its property, at the beginning of the fourteenth century the abbey was a monastic establishment of middle rank in the diocese. Of thirty monasteries listed in the *decime* of 1302–1303, ten were not taxed at all, sixteen paid ten pounds or less, and the remaining four paid sixteen, thirty-three, forty, and one-hundred-and-ten pounds, respectively.¹⁷

An 18th-century study lists the abbots of S. Martino from the time of its foundation until its demise in the 15th century, ending (incorrectly) with the entry "Anno 1409, Paulus Abbas", after which is added the provocative phrase "subscripsit concilio Pisano" – meaning he attended and subscribed, presumably by signature, to the decisions taken at the council of Pisa (foremost among them, the deposition of rival contenders Benedict XIII and Gregory XII, and the election in their place of Alexander V). Paolo's presence in Pisa is documented in three surviving lists of participants at the council, one of which indicates that he had been appointed by papal bull to the abbacy of S. Martino by Boniface IX on 8 March 1401, the earliest date we now have for Don Paolo's career.¹⁸ Pao-

¹⁷ *Rationes Decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII et XIV, Tuscia: La decima degli anni 1274–1280*, vol. I, Studi e Testi 58, ed. Pietro Guidi (Rome, 1932), and *Rationes . . . Tuscia: La decima degli anni 1295–1304*, vol. II, Studi e Testi 98, eds. Martino Giusti and Pietro Guidi (Rome, 1942). See vol. II, entry no. 1946 for San Martino al Pino. The authors are indebted to Louis Greene of the History Department, Monash University, for indicating the existence of published ecclesiastical tax records of the period. A report of San Martino's rather extensive properties and revenues in the early 15th century, reflecting healthy growth throughout the Trecento, can be seen in the Florentine tax records for 1427: ASF, Catasto 191 (Vescovado di Arezzo), fols. 481r–492r.

¹⁸ *Hieronymi Aliotti*, vol. I, pp. 207–08. Of the seven surviving lists of participants, all of them report that the abbot of S. Martino al Pino attended the council, but only three name him as Paolo (Santa Teresa lists no. 1 and no. 4; Leinweber list no. VII); see Graziano di Santa Teresa, O.C.D., "Un nuovo elenco dei partecipanti al concilio di Pisa del 1409", *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, XVI (1965), 384–91, and Josef Leinweber, "Ein neues Verzeichnis der Teilnehmer am Konzil von Pisa 1409", in *Hermann Tuchle Festschrift*, ed. G. Schwaiger, pp. 207–46. In Leinweber list no. VII (MS in Munich) the entry reads "Paulus abbas monasterii Sancti Martini ad Pinum ordinis sancti Benedicti", published for the first time in Leinweber's study, pp. 221–46; in

lo's immediate predecessors as abbots of San Martino in the late Trecento had been Don Bartolomeo and Don Tommaso.¹⁹ Upon the latter's death in 1400, Florentine concern in controlling this important monastery/fortress near the southern border of her territory (despite San Martino's position within the Aretine diocese) can be seen in the fact that no less than the vicar general for the bishop of Florence, Niccolò di Francesco Bostoli, was installed temporarily on 18 January 1401 until the position was definitively filled with Don Paolo's appointment two months later.²⁰ Paolo kept his position as abbot of San Martino well into the 1430s. On three occasions during his abbacy the surviving documents allow us a glimpse of the esteem he must have enjoyed in Florentine ecclesiastical circles; in two he is appointed papal legate in the interests of Santa Maria degli Angeli.²¹

Santa Teresa list no. 1 (MS in the Vatican Library), "Paulus Abbas S. Martini Apium [sic]", published in F. Ughellus, *Italia Sacra*, vol. III (Rome 1647; facs. ed., Nendeln-Liechtenstein, 1970), pp. 556–73; in Santa Teresa list no. 4 (MS in Torino), "Paulus Abbas monasterii S. Martini ad pluris ordinis S. Benedicti Aretinensis diocesis, promotus a Bonifacio IX 8 Idus Martii anno 1400 [new style 1401] Indict. 13", published in Johannes D. Mansi, *Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova*, vol. III (Lucca 1749), pp. 1061–88, and reprinted in *idem*, *Sanctorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. XXVII (Venice, 1784; facs. ed., Paris, 1903), pp. 331–56. The scribe of Santa Teresa list no. 4 is informative to the point of providing the date of arrival in Pisa for most of his entries (Paolo arrived on 28 March, three days after the opening of the Council).

¹⁹ Bartolomeo is cited as abbot in a document dated 24 June 1374 (ASF, Diplomatico, Ospedale di San Bonifazio), Tommaso, in a document dated 21 September 1398 (ASF, Diplomatico, San Bonifazio).

²⁰ Fra Niccolò di Francesco Bostoli's appointment was made expressly to fill the position left vacant upon the death of Don Tommaso. The document, dated 18 January 1400 [new style 1401], was prepared in the bishop's palace in Arezzo with the approval of the monks of San Martino and Simone Noterio, a canon of Arezzo cathedral and vicar of the bishop (ASF, Diplomatico, Camera Fiscale). Niccolò can be identified with the Frate Niccolò dei Celestini who is qualified as the vicar general of the Florentine bishops in ASF, Diplomatico, San Bonifazio, 7 June 1382, and ASF, Notarile Ante-Cosimiano, F326 (vol. I), fols. 90v, 96r, and 98r (as vicar for bishop Amerigo Corsini throughout the 1390s; on Notarile F326, see n. 32).

²¹ On 10 February 1419 Paolo oversaw the incorporation of the Badia di S. Pietro di Cerreto (Camaldolese, in the diocese of Volterra) into S. M. degli Angeli (originally given to them by Pope John XXIII on 26 June 1413, when the latter was in Florence); see a report in ASF, Conventi Soppressi 86, S. M. degli

As abbot of the monastery of San Martino al Pino in the diocese of Arezzo, the possibility of an appointment at the above-mentioned monastery of Pozzo can now be called into question (see n. 6). In the document dated 16 July 1404 now held in the Vatican Library, Pirrotta, following the library catalogue, has corrected the diocese to that of Lucca, suggesting that the institution in question is that of San Pietro in Pozzoveri.²² It is no longer necessary to alter the Vatican document, for its clear statement of the location of a monastery named Pozzo in the diocese of Arezzo is vindicated by the extant records of the *decime* for the monastery of S. Andrea de Pozzo in that diocese.²³ Pirrotta's hypothesis that Don Paolo was abbot *in commendam* of San Pietro de Pozzoveri at a time that office was held by someone else, requiring yet another alteration of the document, is also not necessary.²⁴ In light of these findings and what we know of Paolo

Angeli, filza 96, fol. 90r, and the document itself, drawn up in Florence at the Angeli, now in ASF, Diplomatico, S. M. degli Angeli, 10 February 1419. In the latter, Don Paolo abbot of S. Martino al Pino is qualified as a "commisario apostolico deputato del pontefice Martino V". According to a summary of documents from S. M. degli Angeli, this incorporation was later confirmed in a 1421 bull by Martin V (ASF, Fondo manoscritti, filza 563, p. 148). In May of 1419, Paolo installed a monk of S. Martino as rector of a nearby church (details of this notarial act are reserved for our discussion of Paolo's final years, below); in the present context it suffices to observe that this rather modest document was prepared in the presence of a papal scribe as well as clerics from the diocese of Liège (Pl. 7; ASF, Diplomatico, San Bonifazio, 2 May 1419). Finally, on 8 February 1423, Paolo, pursuant to a bull by Pope Martin V, acted as papal legate in the execution of a testament leaving a sum of money to the monastery at San Domenico near Florence; the document was prepared at S. M. degli Angeli (ASF, Diplomatico, S. M. degli Angeli, 8 February 1423; the executors of the testament acted on 20 February 1423).

²² Pirrotta and Li Gotti, "Paolo Tenorista", 582; see also Pirrotta, *Paolo Tenorista*, p. 23.

²³ The monastery of S. Andrea de Puteo (de Pozzo, or de Poçço) appears four times in the tax records (*Rationes decimarum*): vol. I – p. 66 (item no. 1403), listed with all other monasteries in the Aretine diocese, p. 78 (no. 1743), likewise listed with monasteries, and p. 82 (no. 1784); vol. II – p. 92 (no. 1641). The two versions of the map of the diocese at the end of the 13th century provided by the editors do not indicate the monastery (see Pl. 4 for a detail of the map from vol. II).

²⁴ The abbot of Pozzoveri at that time is known to have been Agostino Moriconi, appointed to the position from 8 November 1388 until the end of 1408, when the monastery was united "alla mensa del capitolo di S. Martino [in Lucca]" (Archivio Capitolare di Lucca, bull CC 36, dated 3 July 1408; personal correspondence from Dr. Mario Seghieri, dated 26 February 1987). See the latter's *Pozzeveri, una badia* (Pescia, 1978), p. 68, and Giuseppe Benedetto,

at San Martino, it is unlikely that he could have held the abbacy of two monasteries concurrently.

Orbatello

Folio 1 of MS Douai 1171 informs us that in 1417 Don Paolo was not only Abbot of San Martino al Pino, but also "rector of the church of S. Maria Annunziata, commonly called Orbatello, in Florence." The asylum of Orbatello was built between 1370 and 1377 on Alberti family property, consisting of an oratory surrounded by planted fields in the *popolo* of San Michele Visdomini (behind S. Maria Nuova), by Niccolò degli Alberti and completed by his son Antonio. In his testament, Niccolò made clear his intent that Orbatello be used as a hospice for poor mothers without spouses and their children. A number of possible etymologies have been suggested for its name: "orbatarum terra", referring to its purpose – a refuge for those who were bereft of everything; corruptions of "Albertorum terra" or "Hortus Albertorum", the estate or the fields of the Alberti.²⁵

The hospice was designed as a walled-in cloister, complete with the church of S. Maria Annunziata Virgine and a house for its rector; at its height in the 1520s it accommodated more than two hundred people in

²⁴ "Potere dei chierici e potere dei laici nella Lucca del Quattrocento al tempo della signoria di Paolo Guinigi (1400–1430): una simbiosi", in *Biblioteca Civica di Massa: Annuario 1984* (Pisa, 1985), pp. 1–54. Moriconi represented the monastery at the council of Pisa in 1409 (Pirrotta, "Paolo Tenorista", 25). We are indebted to Drs. Mario Seghieri and Giuseppe Benedetto of the Dipartimento di Medievistica of the University of Pisa for their kindnesses in responding to queries. Kurt von Fischer has raised another possibility, that "Pozzoli" is a scribal error for "Peccioli", in the diocese of Arezzo (see his "Paolo da Firenze", 14).

²⁵ Niccolò died in 1377; see Robert Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze* (Florence, rpt. 1977), vol. VII, p. 713. On the name, see Luigi Passerini, *Gli Alberti di Firenze* (Florence, 1869), vol. I, pp. 23ff; Walter and Elisabeth Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, 6 vols. (Frankfurt, 1952), vol. IV, p. 474. For copies of Niccolò's 1376/77 testament, see ASF, Conventi Soppressi 150, S. Maria Nuova, Paradiso no. 322: "Estratto magno delle filze di contratti e scritture del Monastero del Paradiso", filza I, fols. 19r–20r, and filza V, fols. 260r–262r, 283r–288v, 291r–292v.

three rows of apartments, one per family.²⁶ After the expulsion of Antonio degli Alberti from Florence in 1401 for his part in a conspiracy against the Albizzi, tutelage of Orbatello, considered part of the *beni dei ribelli*, passed to the comune of Florence. The city turned over the hospice to the Capitani della Parte Guelfa for its administration and for its continued use as the charitable institution for which it had been established.²⁷ It remained under the patronage of the Parte Guelfa until the eighteenth century, and was a hospice until recent times.²⁸ Today the three rows of apartments have become clinics of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, and the church of S. Maria Annunziata, now deconsecrated, functions as the library of the Art History Institute of the University of Florence (Pl. 5). The street on which it faces has been renamed from the Via d'Orbatello to Via della Pergola, although the older name is still to be seen at the intersection of Via degli Alfani and Via della Pergola (a location known since the 14th century as the "Canto alla catena", bearing the stemma with chains of the Alberti).

Of the surviving 15th-century records of the Capitani di Parte in the Florentine Archivio di Stato, the most important for us is a volume recording properties held in the late 1420s and early 1430s.²⁹ The hospice

²⁶ A brief history of Orbatello is to be found in Luigi Passerini, *Storia degli stabilimenti di beneficenza e d'istruzione elementare* (Florence, 1853), vol. I, pp. 639–48; *idem*, *Gli Alberti di Firenze* (Florence, 1869), pp. 23ff. The most extensive study of 16th-century Orbatello is Richard C. Trexler, "A Widow's Asylum of the Renaissance: The Orbatello of Florence", in *Old Age in Pre-Industrial Society*, ed. P. N. Stearns (New York, 1982), pp. 119–49. Trexler provides three drawings of the asylum: an illumination from the early 15th century in the Codice Rustici (Seminario Maggiore, Florence), the Bonsignori city map of 1584, and the internal design from an 18th-century drawing by Michele Ciocchi, in Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie storiche delle chiese fiorentine*, (Florence, 1754; rpt. Rome, 1972), vol. I, p. 292.

²⁷ Richa, *Notizie storiche*, vol. I, pp. 292–99, according to whom "alle monache facilmente la Repubblica rilasciò quanto aveva loro donato Antonio Alberti; ma non così della fondazione di Niccolò, avendo la Signoria conceduto per pubblico decreto a' Capitani di Parte Guelfa l'iuspatronato, ragioni e amministrazione del luogo detto Orbatello, siccome in oggi seguita il Magistrato della Parte ad averne il possesso, promovendo con zelo l'idea del Fundatore" (p. 299).

²⁸ Its surviving parchment documents are to be found with those of the hospital of San Bonifazio, into whose jurisdiction both San Martino al Pino and Orbatello indirectly passed in the late 1770s.

²⁹ ASF, Capitani di Parte, numeri rossi 27. On fol. 1r the inscription reads as follows: "[...] Questo libro è de' magnifici signori chapitani della parte guelfa

is described in the following terms on fol. 14r: "Uno luogho tutto murato intorno intorno chiamato Orbatello, posto nel popolo di San Michele Visdomini, nel quale abituro s'entra e escie per una sola porta, ed evi dentro una chiesa chiamata Santa Maria d'Orbatello con abituro per prete con chorte et pozo et orto, serrato dal lato e in detto luogho à due vie ed evi xxvii chase in iii lati, tutte con tereno e con palcho, le quali si danno a abitare per l'amore di Dio [...]" Of great interest is the listing of property in the church of Orbatello on fol. 84v: "[...] Inventario delle chose [che] sono nella chiesa d'Orbatello nelle mani del Abate Pagholo: [...] l messale fresco [i.e., new]; [...] l libro rosso chon più messe miniato e notato bello; l libro chon parecchi messe notato e vieto, inbulotato, ischoperto l'assi; l salterio buono [...] Tutte queste chose sono in Orbatello nelle mani dell'Abate Pagholo [...]" Surely the second item, the description of a beautifully illuminated red book with Mass music, can be taken as evidence that the antiphonal now housed in Douai was in Paolo's possession during his tenure as rector of the church. Moreover, we may assume that the volume had been paid for by the Capitani di Parte, as their emblem of the eagle both on the façade of Orbatello and in its precious antiphonal makes clear (see Pls. 6 and 1).

The property records of the Parte Guelfa are of further interest to us, as they include records of the rental of a house at the entrance to Orbatello to Paolo's brother, Domenico, who was apparently so poor that he could not pay his rent throughout the four years he resided there – from 1428 to 1432. On fol. 85r we find described "una chasa con terreno e palcho posta al lato a la porta d'Orbatello in verso i frati degli Angioli per

[...] sul quale si scriverà tutti i beni mobili et immobili [...] chominciato per me Niccolò di Gentile degli Albizzi, proveditore tratto di borsa della parte Ghuelfa per un anno inchominciato il dì xxxi di luglio 1431". The note on fol. 2r explains why Niccolò includes properties and rents dating back to 1426: "Perchè i proveditori passati àno tenuto in sul libro grande ongnuno scritte le possessioni della parte, e a me e paruto farne questo libretto di per se che sia più chiazera, però l'ò inchominciato e partimente chome a ppie dirà. E perchè veduti i libri di iiii proveditori stati inanzi a me [...] e perchè degli errori si potrebono essere chommesi, e perchè se fusse manchato a porre a ogni persona la pigione [...], inchomincerò indietro a scrivere tutte le possessioni che lla Parte aveva nel MCCCCXXVI [...]"

apigionare [...]"³⁰ We learn on fol. 121v that the tenant is "Domenicho di Marcho, fratello dell'abate Pagholo che uficia inn Orbatello, che tiene a pigione dalla Parte una chasa [...] posta apresso a la porta d'Orbatello in mezo tra lla detta porta e'l champano [...] inchominciagli l'anno a dì 1 Novembre 1428." Paolo's brother occupied the house from 1428 to 1431, at which time "il detto Domenicho è anchora in detta pigione, e non truovo, poi che v'entrò, n'abbia dato danaro, ne parmi a sia modo a darne. Vuolsi chavarlo di detta casa e apigionarlo a un altro che paghi. Per l'anno, da dì primo di Novembre 1431 al 1432, n'è posto adebittore [...] Rimaxe spigionata da quindi i' la."³¹

We can confirm with some confidence Paolo's residence in Florence at S. Maria Annunziata in Orbatello from at least 1417 on, throughout a period in which he was also abbot of San Martino al Pino near Arezzo. As a member of the advisory council to the bishop of Florence, Paolo attended meetings held at the episcopal palace during the 1420s.³² Although the first lists to be found date from October and December of 1386,³³ Paolo does not appear until the meeting of 10 February 1419 [new style 1420], in which his name is given as "Dominus Paulus Abbas" in the group of advisers following the administrative body of the *curia*.³⁴ A fuller version of his title in September of 1420 is given as "Dominus Paulus Marci Abbas de Pinu", and reference to his position as rector, although incom-

³⁰ A slightly varied description of the same piece of property appears on fol. 14r.

³¹ The account on fol. 85r tells us that the house had been previously rented to a Salvestro Pattuella for the yearly rent of five soldi (1426–1428) and it continues with a cross-reference to the report on fol. 121v, this time placing even greater emphasis on Domenico's desperate financial condition: "Dipoi fu alloghata a Domenico de Marcho del popolo di San Piero Maggiore e inchominciogli l'anno a dì 1 di Novembre 1428, e perchè anchora è in detta chasa, lo pongho adebittore in questo [libro] a c. 122. Il detto Domenico de Marcho non à dato danaro per insino a ora nel 1432, ed ebbe grazia d[i] pagare per tre l'anno del debito de iii anni, e see non paghase, perda la grazia vuolsi chavarlo d[a] questa casa e apigionarla a un altro che paghi."

³² The advisory council and its meetings are documented in the protocols of two of the bishop's notaries, Filippo di Lorenzo da Lutiano and Jacopo di Antonio da Romena, whose volumes survive in ASF, Fondo Notarile Ante-Cosimiano, F324–327 (1375–1493) and J7–11 (1417–56), respectively.

³³ F324 (vol. II), fols. 28r–33r, 172r–173v.

³⁴ F325 (vol. I), fols. 21r–23v. In April and May of that year he again appears as "D. Paulus Abbas", this time heading such counselors-at-large as Marco Davanzati (canon of the cathedral) and Matteo Corsini (prior of S. Lorenzo); see F326 (vol. II), fols. 67r–69v, 71r–74v.

plete, appears in January 1421 as "Dominus Paulus rector S. [left blank] de Caffaggiuolo" (the latter term also used to designate the area in which Orbatello was located).³⁵ His position at Orbatello is confirmed in the meeting of 24 May 1425, in which he first appears as "Dominus Paulus Abbas",³⁶ but in another version of the same document, the notary has added in a darker ink the qualifier "S. M. de Orbatello."³⁷

The Final Years In Florence

Perhaps not coincidentally, the last meeting of the bishop's council at which we can document Paolo's presence was hosted by Paolo himself at S. Maria Annunziata in Orbatello, on 19 January 1427 [new style 1428], with his name heading the entire assembled clergy and given in full as "Paulus Abbas, S. M. de Orbatello de Florentia."³⁸ Beginning in 1428, old and quite infirm, Paolo spent the few remaining years of his life in retirement at Orbatello, no longer visibly active in Florentine ecclesiastical circles. He took measures to extricate himself from administrative duties at S. Martino al Pino, eventually relinquishing that post altogether to his trusted successor, Don Angelo dei Tarlatini.

Paolo had shown esteem for his colleague at S. Martino as far back as May 1419, when he appointed Don Angelo to the rectorship of the church of S. Andrea del Puteo (Pozzo) in the Aretine diocese, just beyond S. Martino along the Val di Chiana near Marciano di Chiana. Don Angelo replaced Don Giovanni di Antonio of Arezzo, who was unable to maintain the dependent church properly. In the document of appointment

³⁵ F326 (vol. III), fols. 75r–76v (4 September 1420); F324 (vol. IV), fols. 42r–44r (8 January 1420 [new style 1421]). His presence is also noted that year on 12 July (F326 [vol. I], fols. 238r–239v, and F325 [vol. II], fol. 14r), and then not until four years later, on 25 February 1425 (J7 [vol. I], fols. 214r–216r). Although Paolo's monastery was not in Florence, here, as in the collections of his music, reference is made in his name to his more prominent position as abbot.

³⁶ F326 (vol. III), fols. 49r–49v.

³⁷ F325 (vol. II), fols. 40r–42r; the same dark ink has been used to clarify almost every other member's institutional affiliation or place of origin. Other listings for that year present the full title without tampering by the notary: "Dominus Paulus Abbas S. M. de Orbatello" (a separate account of the 24 May meeting in F325 [vol. II], fols. 73r–74v, and one of 17 November, in F325 [vol. II], fol. 38r).

³⁸ F326 (vol. I), fols. 217r–217v.

given below, Paolo charges Ser Niccolò (a priest from Lucignano, rector of S. Stefano di Marciano, and temporarily holding the position to which Don Angelo is to be appointed) with the responsibility of overseeing the changing of the guard. Don Angelo is to receive revenues from S. Andrea for life, up to the sum of eight florins per year; in addition, Don Angelo will continue to hold the priorship of S. Michele Arcangelo in Castello, another dependent church (Pl. 7).³⁹ A transcription of the relevant passages follows:

"Paulus Marci de Florentia Dei gratia humilis abbas monasterii Sancti Martini de Alpino Vallis Clanarum ordinis Sancti Benedicti Aretine diocesis, universis et singulis, ad quos nostre presentes littere pervenerint salutem in domino et presentibus fidem indubiam adhibere noverint quod nos discretum virum dominum Johannem Anthonii presbiterum Aretinum, cui dudum regimen et gubernacionem ecclesie Sancti Andree de Puteo planarum Aretii, a dicto nostro monasterio dependentis, que sine cura extitit et per monachos eiusdem monasterii ad nutum tamen nostrum successorum nostrorum nutus revocabiles et amovibiles [...] ab ecclesia predicta hodie amovamus et revocamus ac denunciavimus amotum et revocatum per presentes eandemque ecclesiam per amonicionem huiusmodi, debito rectore carentem vacantem, ad collacionem et disposicionem nostras pertinentem, cuius fructus redditus et proventus octo florenorum auri [...] Religioso viro fratri Angelo Johannis de Tarlatinis de Perusio monacho prefati nostri monasterii expresse professo, de cuius probitate sufficientia et religione plura experti sumus, cum iuribus et pertinentiis suis universis quoad vixerit tenendam, regendam, et gubernandam commisimus et commitimus [...].

Datum et actum Florentie in domo nostre solite residentie sita in parochia Sancti Petri Maioris tempore pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris domini nostri domini Martini pape

³⁹ ASF, Diplomatico, San Bonifazio, 2 May 1419. The reading of the church name is confirmed by an entry in the *Rationes decimarum* vol. I: p. 92 (no. 2064), under the pieve of S. Pietro di Ficareto in the diocese of Arezzo, as one of seven churches in its jurisdiction. On the location of the church, see Angelo Tafi, *La Chiesa Aretina dalle origini al 1032* (Arezzo, 1972), p. 372, and the map on pp. 375–76. The authors are indebted to Gino Corti and Renzo Ninci of Florence, Robert Black of the University of Leeds, and Louis Greene of the History Department, Monash University, for their assistance in the transcription of this and other documents in this study.

V, anno secundo sub anno Dei nativitate domini millesimo quadringentesimo decimonono indictione XII die vero secunda maii. Presentibus ibidem venerabilibus et discretis viris dominis Johanne domini Symonis de Perusio litterarum apostolicarum scriptore et Johanne de Rossuto presbitero, Johanne de Valle ac Arnoldo Arnoldi clericis leodiensis et Traiectensis diocesi testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter [et] rogatis.

De ego Henricus de Valle clericus leodiensis diocesis, publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius et via promissie omnibus et singulis dum sic item promittere fierent agerenter una cum pronomnatis testibus presens fui et ea que sic fieri vidi et audivi ideoque hoc presens publicum instrumentum et in hanc formam publicum de mandato dicti domini abbatis redegisti signo que et hanc meis solitis consuetis una cum appensione sigilli dicti domini abbatis signavi et scripsi rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum."

The document is notable for several reasons: (1) it provides Paolo's surname, or patronymic, as "Marchi" or "di Marco", as do the notarial acts and testament from the end of his life (the question of Paolo's family name will be discussed shortly); (2) it confirms the evidence that Paolo's usual place of residence as early as 1419 was Florence, and although Henricus, the notary, names the parish of residence as the larger and more well-known San Pier Maggiore (rather than the more precise S. Michele Visdomini, next to it), we may assume that he was at Orbatello; (3) it reconfirms the location of his monastery; (4) it reflects Paolo's unusually high standing in Florentine ecclesiastical circles, for an act regulating the internal affairs of a monastery in the Florentine *contado* was prepared in the presence of a papal scribe.

Notarial acts from 1428 and 1429 reveal that old age and infirmity led Paolo to devise a contract for his retirement at Orbatello. On 30 June 1428, because he could no longer regularly visit the monastery, Paolo appointed Don Angelo as his *vicario generale* for a period of 5 years, to begin on 1 November of that year.⁴⁰ Just before the start of the contract, on 28 October, Paolo decided to annul it and to draw up a new one, stipulating a lease of San Martino to Angelo for four years, with the

⁴⁰ ASF, Fondo Notarile A. C., F507 (vol. III), fols. 31r–31v; a clean copy of the contract is found on fols. 32r–34r. The notary of this document, Francesco di Francesco da Castelfranco, was one of the principal notaries at the bishop and archbishop's palace (during the reigns of Corsini and Antoninus): F507–509 (1400–68).

condition that Angelo provide the staples of the contemporary diet – grain, wine, prosciutto, and oil – on a yearly basis to both him and another brother, Antonio.⁴¹ Angelo continues to function in the capacity of Paolo's procurator and vicar (Pl. 8):⁴²

"[...] Actum Florentie in loco dicto Orbatello in domibus ecclesie de Orbatello predicto et habitationis infrascripti domini Abbatis presentibus.

[...] Et versavice dictus dompnus Angelus, conductor prefatus, per se et per suos heredes promisit et solempniter convenit dicto domino abbati presenti et stipulanti, pro affictu et nomine affictus dicte abbacie et dictorum bonorum et iurium dare, solvere, pagare, et mensurare eidem domino abbati quolibet anno dictorum quatuor annorum in civitate Florentie, ipsius dompni Angeli propriis sumptibus et expensis, in domo habitationis ipsius domini abbatis, starios quadraginta grani boni et comunalis et barilia decem vini vermiglii boni et comunalis, libras centum carnum porcinarum recentium pro insalando, et unum orcium oleii et libras quadraginta linii scotolati, videlicet: [... the schedule of delivery of these goods to Florence each year]

Item promisit dare solvere et mensurare ultra predicta quolibet anno dictorum quator annorum Antonio Marci, fratri carnali dicti domini abbati, modicum unum grani apud dictam abbatiam [...]"

By the end of November 1429, "Don Paolo olim Marchi" had another agreement prepared in Orbatello in which he reimbursed Angelo for expenses paid out of his own pocket, awarding him the revenues of a piece of property for life; in turn Angelo must promise that in three years (i.e., the end of the contract negotiated in 1428) he is to continue to provide Paolo with grain.⁴³ On 25 September 1430, in an act prepared in the cappella of the Alberti at S. Maria degli Angeli, Paolo and Angelo

⁴¹ This brother may be identified with an Antonio di Marco listed in the 1427 Catasto of San Martino al Pino; see n. 17, above.

⁴² ASF, Diplomatico, San Bonifazio, 28 October 1428. In F507 (vol. III), fols. 57v–59v, the protocol of the document clarifies the schedule of delivery of food: grain in September, and wine by mid-October; Antonio is to receive his share in mid-August. On 29 November 1429 (ASF, Diplomatico, San Bonifazio), Paolo again spells out Angelo's full powers to act on his behalf in all affairs of the monastery.

⁴³ ASF, Diplomatico, San Bonifazio, 26 November 1429; F507 (vol. III), fols. 203r–206r.

extended their original contract to 1 November 1435 and made financial decisions on the treatment of creditors.⁴⁴

Paolo's health must have taken a noticeable turn for the worse during the next few years, for on 16 June 1433, in the home of Zanobi dei Guasconi in the *popolo* of S. Lorenzo, surrounded by members of some of Florence's most eminent families, a notarial act declares that he is *ca.* seventy-eight years of age and multi-infirm. Paolo wishes to relinquish once and for all his position at S. Martino al Pino, because he is no longer able to play an active role in its administration (Pls. 9a, 9b):⁴⁵

[in margin] "Finis domini Pauli Marci abbatis Sancti Martini de Alpino et dompni Angeli Johannis de Perusio" [the first step is for Paolo and Angelo to free themselves from their previous obligations of 1428 and 1430]

"Eisdem anno et indictione die vero sextodecimo mensis iunii. Actum Florentie in populo Sancti Laurentii in domo domini Zenobii de Guasconibus. Presentibus egregio decretorum doctore domino Zenobio de Guasconibus, domino Iunta domini Filippi de Corsinis de Florentia, et Ugone Niccolai de Vechietis de Florentia testibus [...]"

[in margin] "Procura dicti domini Pauli abbatis predicti ad renuntiandum dicto monasterio" [now Paolo can renounce his abbacy].

[...]

"Pateat omnibus evidenter quatenus venerabilis vir dominus Paulus Marci de Florentia, abbas monasterii Sancti Martini de Alpino Vallis Clanarum ordinis nigrorum Sancti Benedicti Aretine diocesis. Cum ipse dominus Paulus Abbas prefatus in septuagesimo octavo vel circa sue etatis anno constitutus et pluribus infirmitatibus oppressus existat et [...] nequiat iuxta desiderium suum idem monasterium per interpositionem diligentis industrie que requiritur augere et reformare, et cum etiam monasterium prefatum et castrum, in quo monasterium ipsum situm

⁴⁴ See F507 (vol. III), fols. 317r–317v, with a clean copy on fols. 318r–318v. This agreement was upheld in a bull by Eugenius IV in his first year as pope, on 11 January 1431 [new style 1432]; see ASF, Notarile A. C., M345, fol. 154v (an episcopal notary, Filippo Mazzei).

⁴⁵ M342 (vol. I), fols. 50v–51r. Another document of the same date and place (fols. 51v–52r) states that Angelo is to pay a yearly pension of 25 gold florins to Paolo, enforced in a *procura* issued by the bishop on 17 June 1433 (fols. 52r–52v).

est, fuerunt ad sacchum posita per gentes ducis Mediolani ac monasterium ipsum destructum penitus et desolatum et omnia bona ipsius deperdita nullusque in dicto castro resideat, cum similiter destructum sit. Omni modo via iure et forma quibus magis et melius potuit, fecit, constituit, creavit, et ordinavit suos veros legiptimos et indubitatos procuratores actores factores negotiorum gestores et certos nuntios spetiales et quicquid melius dici possunt providos viros dominum Poggium Guccii Poggii de Terranova, domini nostri pape secretarium, dominum Angelum Niccolai de Montepoliziano, abbreviatorem litterarum apostolicarum, presbiterum Bartolomeum Petri de Aretio mansionarium maioris ecclesie Aretine, et presbiterum Marianum Johannis de Monteleone, rectorem ecclesie Sancti Roffilli de Florentia, et quemlibet ipsorum in solidum, ita tamen quod occupantis conditio potior non existat, sed quod unus ipsorum inceperit alius et alii mediare proseguere valeat et finire, spetialiter et nominatim ad comparandum et se personaliter presentandum coram sanctissime in Christe patre et domino nostro domino Eugenio divina providentia pape quarto et sancta sede apostolica et coram quocumque alio tam ordinario quam delegato vel subdelegato ad infrascripta auctoritatem et potestatem habente vel habituro; et in manibus [...] renuntiandum, cedendum, et resignandum dictum monasterium Sancti Martini de Alpino, pure libere sponte simpliciter et expresse, et omne ius et possessionem quod et quam habet et sibi competit in dicto monasterio; et ad iurandum etiam quod indicta renuntiatione cessione seu resignatione non intervenit dolus fraus vel aliqua simoniaca pravitas seu illicita pactio vel corruptela et quodlibet aliud iuramentum in predictis oportunum prestandum [...]; et generaliter ad omnia et singula faciendum, gerendum, procurandum, et exercendum in predictis circa predicta et quodlibet predictorum, que iuris ordo et facti et qualitas predictorum postulant et requierunt [...]" [the above-mentioned are given "plenum liberum generale ac spetiale mandatum"]

We learn that San Martino al Pino had suffered a sacking at the hands of the Milanese army in the early 15th century (as did many similar institutions in the Florentine *contado*), and it is remarkable that such a distinguished commission (including Poggio Bracciolini [papal secretary] and Angelo Niccolai da Montepulciano [papal scribe]) was chosen to watch over its interests until a new abbot could be officially appointed.

Nearly a year later, a bull from Eugenius IV gave a member of his chancery permission to accept the abbacy from Paolo and asked whether Don Angelo dei Tarlatini could be judged able enough to be appointed to the post.⁴⁶ That Angelo, in fact, took over Paolo's position at San Martino is evident from documents dating from 1435 in which he refers to himself as abbot of the Badia al Pino.⁴⁷ In 1442, Angelo was entitled to receive all the revenues of S. Michele Arcangelo a Castello for life, a priorship he had given up during Pope Eugenius' reign, for the church had been united with the Badia al Pino.⁴⁸ It should not surprise us to learn that the fate of incorporation should have also befallen the monastery of San Martino, by 1433 in ruins and desolate: in November of 1441 Eugenius addressed a bull to the provost of the Florentine church, charging him with the responsibility of investigating the merging of the monastery into Santa Maria e Brigida al Paradiso, which took place in July of 1442.⁴⁹ In

⁴⁶ In October of that year, a letter addressed to the bishop of Arezzo orders him to give possession of San Martino to Don Angelo; see ASF, Diplomatico, San Bonifazio, 8 June and 20 October 1434. In both documents Paolo is described as very ill, and Angelo is ordered to pay Paolo his yearly pension for the rest of his life. In 1431 the abbot of Santa Maria degli Angeli, the famous humanist Ambrogio Traversari, wrote to Eugenius IV, lamenting that San Martino al Pino was totally abandoned; see L. Mehus, *Ambrosii Traversari . . . latinae epistolae* (Florence, 1789; repr. Bologna, 1969), vol. I, p. 12. Traversari had been a member of the Camaldolese community at S. Maria degli Angeli since 1401 and was elected General of the order in 1431. He must have known Don Paolo during his time in Florence.

⁴⁷ See ASF, Conventi Soppressi 150, S. Maria Nuova, Paradiso no. 322, filza V, fols. 223r–258r. It does not appear that Angelo resided at the monastery, for he was appointed rector of S. Maria di Civitella on 24 May 1430 and may have even continued to hold the rectorship at S. Andrea de Puteo given to him in 1419. Remarkably enough, no references to Paolo nor to the pension paid to him appear to exist in the only account book to survive from San Martino, covering the years 1435–42: ASF, Conventi Soppressi 150, S. Maria Nuova, Paradiso no. 260.

⁴⁸ ASF, Diplomatico, San Bonifazio, 30 April 1442.

⁴⁹ ASF, Diplomatico, San Bonifazio, 17 November 1441 and 7 July 1442. Antonio degli Alberti had built a country villa just outside Florence, in the *pian di Ripoli*, which he called "Il Paradiso". The arcadian setting was made famous by Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's novella *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, set in 1389, in which performances by Francesco Landini and other Florentine musicians are described before an audience of some of the most influential intellectuals and humanists of the day. The dating of the *Paradiso* has been brilliantly discussed most recently by Enrico Spagnesi, *Utiliter edoceri* (Milan, 1979), pp. 75–80. A papal bull of 1392 confirmed Antonio's request to convert part of the property of the Paradiso into a convent dedicated to St. Brigid, just three and a

reconfirming full possession of San Martino by the Paradiso, a bull from Pope Nicholas V in December of 1447 also reported the death of Don Angelo.⁵⁰

In all likelihood, Paolo did not live to see the final demise of San Martino, for given the insistent reports of his poor health during the late 1420s and early 1430s, and the preparation of a testament on 21 September 1436, he probably died during the winter of 1436–37. The testament, drawn up in the *popolo* of S. Pier Maggiore by one of the bishop's notaries, cites Paolo with reference only to his position in Florence, his association with the Badia al Pino having faded sufficiently into the past to be forgotten (Pl. 10): "Do[m]pnus Paulus Marci de Florentia cappellanus Sancte Marie Annuntiate de Orbatello de Florentia." Paolo leaves his three brothers the most menial of his belongings (a bed, sheets, mattress, etc.), to be received by the notary Jacopo in their absence; to Venture Bartoli he leaves a book containing music (secular songs?), labelled *A*, and a large unidentified book with leaves of rag paper, labelled *C*; finally, he sets aside for the priest Johannes Martini, who is present and receives them, a medium-sized volume covered with parchment, labelled *B*, two liturgical books, theoretical works by Boethius and Isidore of Seville, a volume of large dimensions (folio format) containing *Glorias* and *Credos*, an unknown object with its case, and a type of clock with a waking mechanism (*destatoium*). This testament is the strongest evidence we have that the Don Paolo documented above is the musician of the music sources:⁵¹

half months after her canonization, to which was annexed the church of S. Maria e Zenobi a Fabro a few years later, and at that time the name of the monastery was definitively changed to Santa Maria e Brigida al Paradiso (Monastero al Paradiso). San Martino al Pino remained in the care of the Paradiso until 1734, when the properties of the monastery of Saint Brigid were transferred to the Florentine hospital of Saint Boniface. For the most recent studies of the monastery al Paradiso, see: Giuseppina Bacarelli, "Storia del monastero di Santa Maria e Brigida al Paradiso: 1392–1776", in *Il "Paradiso" in Pian di Ripoli: Studi e ricerche su un antico monastero* (Florence, 1985), eds. Mina Gregori and Giuseppe Rocchi, pp. 18–29, and Grazia Gozzi, "Il Monastero del Paradiso a Firenze nei secoli XIV e XV", Tesi di Laurea, University of Florence, 1968–69 (copy in ASF, Tesi 4,1).

⁵⁰ ASF, Diplomatico, San Bonifazio, 18 December 1447.

⁵¹ The testament was found only in its draft form, as reproduced in Pl. 10 (J8 [vol. IV], fol. 136r). Much the same situation obtains for the composer Lorenzo Masini, who is never cited as a musician in the sources which trace his career as a canon of San Lorenzo in Florence in the mid-Trecento, but who at his

"In Dei nomine Amen. Anno domini sue salutifere incarnationis millesimo quadrigentesimo trigesimo sexto, quintadecima indictione, die xxi mensis settembris. Actum in populo Sancti Petri Ma[i]oris. Presentibus Romolo Laurentii de Castro Sancti Niccholai, Taddeo Bandini de Empulo, et aliis.

Do[m]pnus Paulus Marci de Florentia cappellanus Sancte Marie Annuntiate de Orbatello de Florentia asserens infrascripta bona ad se pertinere, dedit, donavit, tradidit, et concessit inter vivos infrascriptis:

Domenicho, Antonio, et Nicholao: fratribus suis et cu[i]libet eorum pro t[er]r[ati]a parte ~~unum~~ licet absentibus et mi[hi] Jacobo pro eis recipienti.

Unum letucium brachiorum duorum et con lectiera et [?] [?] cum linia, sachone, materasa, coltrice, et coltra, et pan[n]o vormig[l]io, et linteamina. Item unum vegetem.

Item Venture Bartoli filatoiaio populi [left blank]

Unum librum da canto cum covertis pecudinis covertato de nero, segnato A.

Item unum librum magnum folie regalis in cartis ba[m]bacinis, segnato C.

Item presbitero Johan[n]i Martini presenti et recipienti. Unum librum foliis medianis cum covertis albis in cartis pecudinis, segnato B.

Item unum patafinus (evangelorum et lectio) in cartis ba[m]bacinis cum assis.

Item unum librum di vangeli vulgaris sermone.

Item unum Boetium musicale in cartis pecudinis.⁵²

Item librum Ysidori [rewritten from Sidorii].⁵³

death in 1372 left one beneficiary "omnes suos libros actos ad cantandum et omnia et singula sua instrumenta ad sonandum" (ASF, Notarile A. C., G394 [vol. II], fols. 104r-105r: testament dated 12 March 1371 [new style 1372]). See F. Alberto Gallo, "Lorenzo Masini e Francesco degli organi in S. Lorenzo", *Studi musicali*, IV (1975), 57-63, in which he cites an abbreviated version of the testament in ASF, G400, n. 17, as well as the full document in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Archivio Capitolare of S. Lorenzo, pergamena 804.

⁵² Boethius, *De institutione musica*. See Monsignor P. Guidi and E. Pellegrinetti, *Inventari del vescovato della cattedrale e di altre chiese di Lucca*, Studi e Testi 34 (Rome, 1921), p. 196, the inventory of 1305: "Musica Boetii".

⁵³ This could well be a reference to a collection of writings from the large encyclopedic work of Isidore of Seville: *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, perhaps the chapters dealing exclusively with music. Isidore is also listed as

Item [?] cum capseta et aliis pertinentibus.

Item quoddam librum foliis imperialis di G[lorie] et Credi.⁵⁴

Item unum destatoium."

Two of Paolo's brothers have appeared previously in other documents, and now a third, Nicholao, completes his family still living in 1436. What is striking in this testament is the utter poverty in which Paolo must have died, also reflected in the wording and appearance of the document itself. Although he had enjoyed much esteem and the evident company of important men of his time, in the end we see him at his barest in the humble setting of Orbatello. He left his few household belongings to brothers who were undoubtedly poorer than he; the other beneficiaries include a wool worker and a fellow cleric. With our knowledge of the brothers' Christian names, as well as that of their father, and their dire financial state, it appears that Paolo's family name has now become more elusive than ever. The circumstantial evidence in *Pit* and *Sq* for familial ties to the Capponi or Leoni has not been confirmed in a search within these families for three brothers named Antonio, Domenico, and Niccolò, together with a fourth who became a Benedictine abbot.⁵⁵ Aside from his ecclesiastical titles, Paolo's use of the patronymic "di Marco" or „Marchi“ in the documents presented in this study may be the most complete name we can hope to discover for the composer.

It remains for us to reconsider the two candidates for the composer Paolo uncovered by Frank D'Accone and Kurt von Fischer (see notes 8 and 9, above). In March 1408, lodgings in Florence were assigned to a

"Ysidori" in another testament (ASF, Conventi Soppressi 86, S. M. degli Angeli, Filza no. 96, fol. 130v). See Guidi and Pellegrinetti, *Inventari del vescovato*, the inventory of the cathedral in 1409, p. 229: "Libro di Sydoro"; inventory of 1305, p. 196 "Liber Isidori super Gramaticam" and "Liber Isidori De summo bono".

⁵⁴ However tempting it may be to consider this a collection of polyphonic Mass pairs, the scarcity of the genre among known works by Italian composers of the period would argue against this.

⁵⁵ P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane*, Disp. 177 (Turin, 1875), vol. IX, Table 11; F. W. Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence: The Family Life of the Capponi, Ginori and Rucellai* (Princeton, 1977); Becherini, "Antonio Squarcialupi", 161, but as pointed out above (n. 5), the colors in the *Sq* stemma do not correspond to contemporary armorial descriptions of the Leoni arms. These findings, however, do not go against the still valid evidence that *Pit* may have been prepared for, and was owned by, the Capponi in the early 15th century (n. 4). The possibility that Paolo belonged to the Marchi family has also been discounted.

"Dompnus Paulus monachus et ser Marchus presbiter, cantores dicte ecclesie Sancte Reparate." In light of the evidence which establishes Don Paolo as an abbot from 1401, it is unlikely that this document refers to the composer. Regarding the more complex case of the Don Paolo at the Badia del Sasso in September–October of 1419 (ASF, Conventi Soppressi 86, Santa Maria degli Angeli, filza 213, fols. 9r–11v), the evidence must be examined in some detail, as follows, in order to arrive at a convincing conclusion:

1) In filza 213, Don Paolo is never cited, nor does he refer to himself, as an abbot. He had not died at the time filza 213, fols. 9r–11v, were entered; Paolo is not to be confused with the abbot of the Badia del Sasso, Don Luca, who died on 21 September 1419, just a few weeks prior to the preparation of inventories of his belongings.⁵⁶

2) Up to fol. 4v, filza 213 records a list of expenses incurred during the first years of Don Luca's abbacy (beginning in December 1402, including *spese* after the death of his predecessor; see also the relevant entries on fols. 80v–end of the volume). This first section precedes an inventory of expenses (fols. 6r–45v) related to the death of Abbot Luca, drawn up by Don Gregorio di Cristoforo, abbot of the Badia di Selvamonda.⁵⁷ Don Gregorio had been charged with overseeing the *spese* and inventories connected with Abbot Luca's death by the monks of Santa Maria degli Angeli (acting as their *vicario*); this is made clear not only in filza 213, but also in a *mandato di procura* prepared at S. M. degli Angeli on 7 October 1419, spelling out Don Gregorio's responsibilities.⁵⁸

3) An earlier document (September 1414) sheds more light on the identity of this Don Paolo, who can be identified as the Camaldolite Paolo di Andrea who helped draw up important documents for S. M.

⁵⁶ The death of Abbot Luca is reported unequivocally in filza 96, fol. 89v, of the same *fondo*.

⁵⁷ The monastery of S. Salvatore di Selvamonda is listed in the *decime* for the years 1275–76, 1276–77, 1278–79, and 1302–03; it is located on the ecclesiastical map of Tuscany just south of Bibbiena, about fifteen kilometers north of Arezzo (see Pl. 4). Sasso lies about five kilometers east of Selvamonda, between the medieval towns of Falciano and Vogognano, which today are located to the east of the main road of the Casentino running north from Arezzo to Bibbiena. Following P. F. Kehr, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Berlin, 1908), von Fischer suggests a different location for the monastery of Selvamonda – "sive Badia a Tega in regione Casentina" (Tega is near Ortignano, some ten kilometers north-west of the location here suggested for Selvamonda); see von Fischer's "Paolo da Firenze", 14.

⁵⁸ ASF, Diplomatico, S. M. degli Angeli.

degli Angeli in the early Quattrocento. In the case of the September 1414 document, Paolo was a witness to the incorporation of the Badia del Sasso into the monastery of S. M. degli Angeli.⁵⁹

4) The inventory of Abbot Luca's belongings was prepared in the studio at S. Viti by Don Paolo for Don Gregorio, who stayed there during the administration of this whole affair (10 October–28 December 1419).⁶⁰ Don Gregorio reports his payment for lodging at S. Viti on fol. 13r of filza 213. The first of the series of entries cited by von Fischer, beginning on fol. 9r, must therefore be interpreted as an account of expenses drawn up *by* (not *for*) Don Paolo at San Viti (Pl. 11):

"Spese fatte per dun Paolo da Firenze in San Viti per fino a di x d'ottobre innançi ch'io abbade di Selvamonda, et vichario per lo monasterio di Sancta Maria di gli Angioli de Firenze, nella Badia del Sasso venisse, ciò da di [left blank] di Settemb[r]e che mori misser l'abade per fine al sopradecto di x d'ottobre."⁶¹

The various household items and books inventoried on fols. 9v–10v belonged to Abbot Luca (the "Uguccione" had been lent to him by S. M. degli Angeli; see Pl. 12):

"Questo è l'inventario che m'asegniò don Paulo in San Viti de la Badia del Sasso a me abbade di Selvamonda e vicario de la Badia del Sasso, per lo monasterio di Sancta Maria di gli Angioli di Firenze."⁶²

⁵⁹ ASF, Diplomatico, S. M. degli Angeli, 12 September 1414; Conventi Soppressi 86, filza 96, fol. 40v. Don Paolo is also mentioned on fol. 7v of filza 213 in regard to the calculation of *spese* after the death of Abbot Luca.

⁶⁰ Paolo lists his own travel expenses to and from S. Viti (his probable temporary residence as well) from the time of the death of Abbot Luca up to Don Gregorio's arrival on the scene on 10 October. Of the S. Viti reported in the *decime* for the diocese of Arezzo at the end of the 13th century (*Rationes decimarum*, vol. I), the one cited in filza 213 is probably to be identified with the S. Viti in entry no. 1702 (p. 75) in the jurisdiction of the pieve de Micciano. Two other churches in the diocese are so named: entry no. 1843 (p. 85), in the city proper of Arezzo, directly controlled by the *canonica aretina*, and entry no. 1959 (p. 88) in the jurisdiction of the pieve S. Maria de Pacina (in the western part of the diocese).

⁶¹ "Expenses drawn up by Don Paolo da Firenze in San Viti up to 10 October, before I, the abbot of Selvamonda and vicar for the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angioli in Florence, came to the Abbey of Sasso; that is, from the [left blank] day of September, when the lord abbot died, up to the aforesaid 10th day of October."

⁶² "This is the inventory which Don Paolo in San Viti of the abbey of Sasso turned over to me, the Abbot of Selvamonda and vicar of the abbey of Sasso for the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence."

As is clear, the library was first inspected by the *capitano*, then handed over to Don Paolo for the purpose of making a written inventory, and, finally, both books and inventory were given to Don Gregorio so that he could send them on to the monastery of the Angeli in Florence (fol. 10v; we note the wording at the bottom of the page for the last four books; they had been handed over by the captain to Don Paolo):

“Queste sono le cose che io abbade di Selvamonda e vicario di la Badia del Sasso per lo monasterio di gl’Angioli di Firenze ò mandate al decto monasterio, per lettera del priore di gli Angioli, le qual cose parte sono scritte nel mio inventario che mi lasciò don Paulo, e parte non sono scritte [...]”⁶³

In this context, the reading of the item listed as a “cantoria notata, in piccholo velume” (or “cantoria di piccholo velume che non è a nostro muodo”) can be interpreted as a qualification that it was not proper liturgically, not necessarily as an indication of a collection of secular songs (in the manner of the breviary, cited as “secondo la corte”).⁶⁴ But whether this book was or was not an anthology of secular songs is really irrelevant now, for it belonged to Abbot Luca; the Don Paolo in the series of documents regarding the Badia del Sasso is not the abbot/composer.

Summary

The discovery of MS Douai 1171 and the documentary evidence in the Archivio di Stato of Florence – especially in the relatively unknown notarial protocols of the episcopal palace and the series of *pergamene* in the *fondo* Diplomatico – have permitted us to add substantially to what had previously been known of Don Paolo da Firenze. Paolo’s life is unusually well documented for a composer of his time, but only because he achieved sufficiently high visibility in an ecclesiastical bureaucracy whose records have been conserved for posterity. We are now in a position to review the evidence relating to Paolo, and outline a less conjectural life than had heretofore been proposed.

⁶³ “These are the things which I, the abbot of Selvamonda and vicar of the abbey of Sasso for the monastery of the Angeli in Florence, have sent to the said monastery, by order of the letter from the prior of the Angioli, which things are in part listed in the inventory given to me by Don Paolo, and in part not included [...]”.

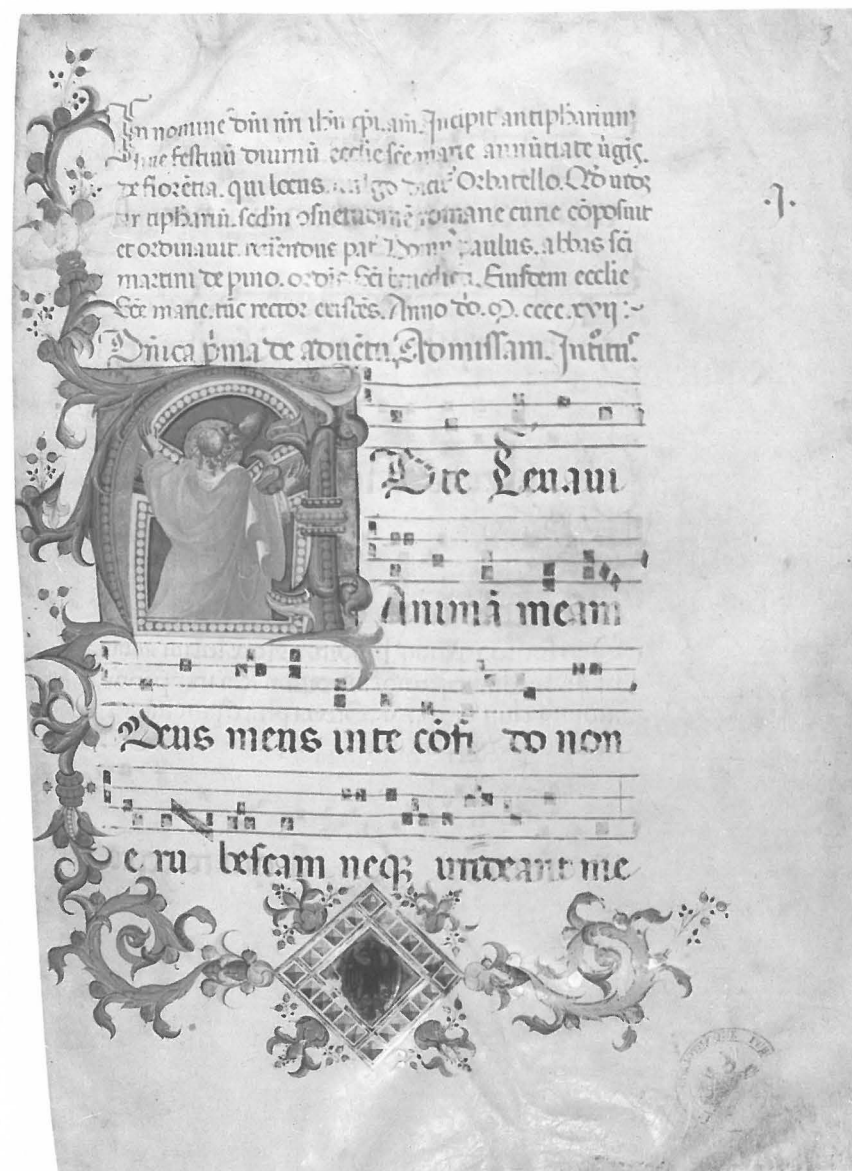
⁶⁴ There is only one *cantoria*, but it was entered twice in the account book: on fol. 10v, as part of the inventory of books found at S. Viti and drawn up by Don Paolo, and then again on fol. 11r, in the list of items sent to Florence by Don Gregorio.

It is likely that Don Paolo was born in or around Florence *ca.* 1355, the toponymic designator in his name (“da Firenze”) deriving both from his origins in the city and his long-standing association with Florentine ecclesiastical institutions. He probably received his orders as a Benedictine around 1380 and was judged highly enough by his peers to be appointed abbot of the monastery of San Martino al Pino in the diocese of Arezzo in March 1401. In July of 1404, a “Paolo da Florentia, Abate Pozzoli Aretine diocesis” was in Rome in the company of Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli. Given the lack of evidence for the dependence of the monastery of S. Andrea de Pozzo upon San Martino al Pino, this Paolo is most likely not the abbot/composer; but in light of Paolo di Marco’s documented connections with the ecclesiastical élite of Florence and Rome, this invites further investigation. The madrigal *Godi, Firenze* was written for the celebration of the final victory of Florence over Pisa in 1406, a city which he later visited as a participant at the Church Council of 1409. At the council, Paolo undoubtedly came into contact with musicians in the chapels of Gregory XII and Alexander V. He may have written the madrigal *Girand’ un bel falcon* as an expression of Florentine antipathy for one of the protagonists at the council, Pope Gregory XII.

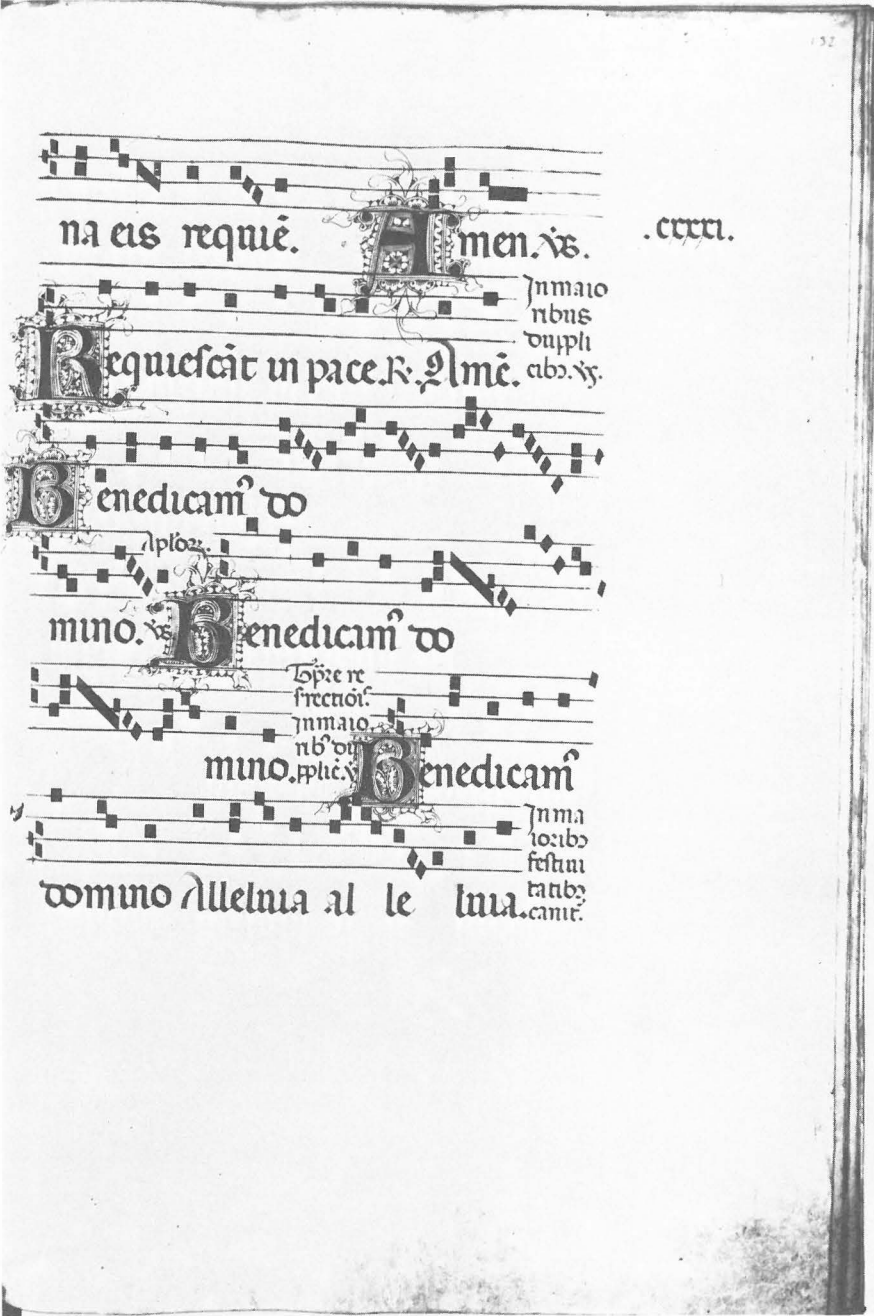
Don Paolo’s ecclesiastical titles are now clear: in the essentially administrative position as abbot of a monastery whose physical state and fortunes were reduced to ruin, by the second decade of the Quattrocento he could preside concurrently over the monastery of San Martino al Pino near Arezzo (until 1428, and, because of poor health, thereafter only nominally until 1434) and the hospice church of Orbatello in Florence (from at least 1417 until his death shortly after September 1436). The latter position provided him with his usual place of residence, in a city in which Paolo led an active life within important Florentine ecclesiastical and artistic circles of the day.



1. Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Manuscript Mediceo-Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi Codex), fol. 55v.



2. Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Manuscript 1171, fol. 1r.



3. Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Manuscript 1171, fol. 131r.



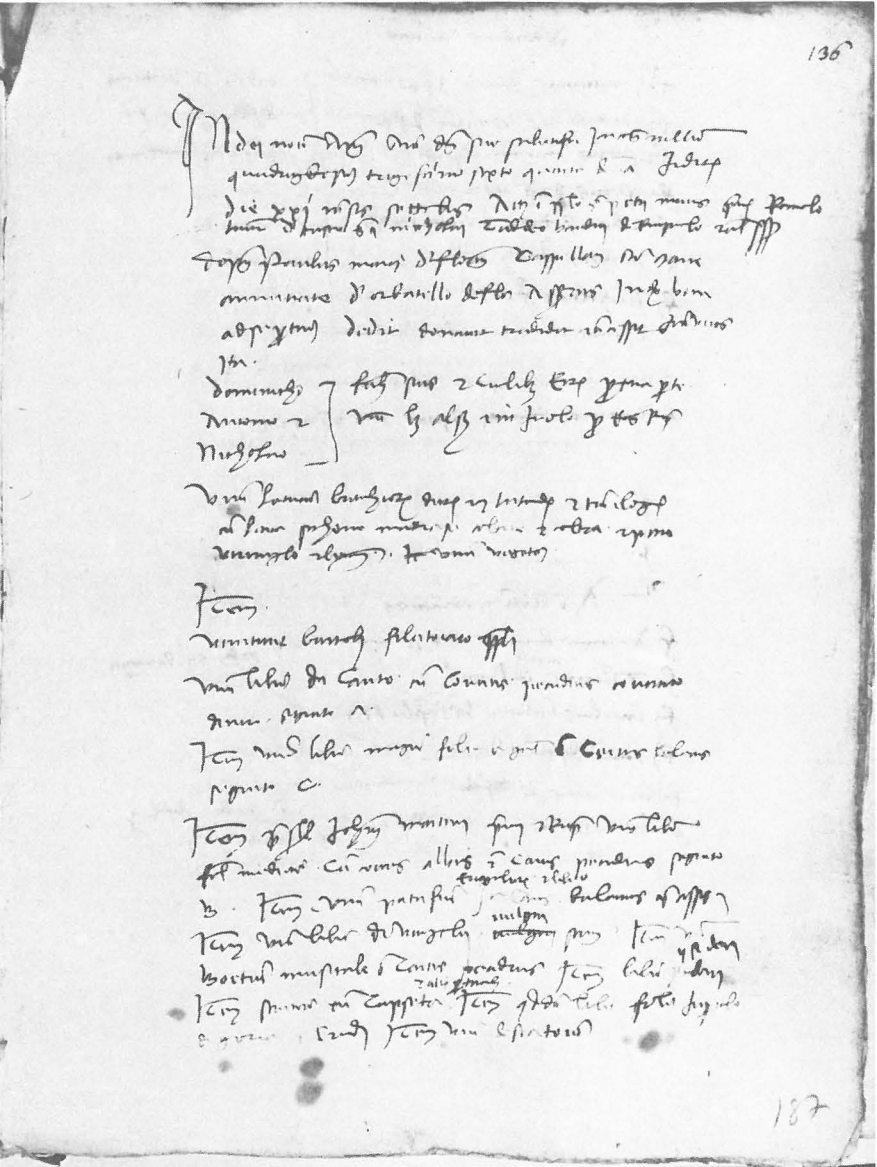
4. The diocese of Arezzo in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (from *Rationes decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII et XIV, Tuscia*, vol. II).



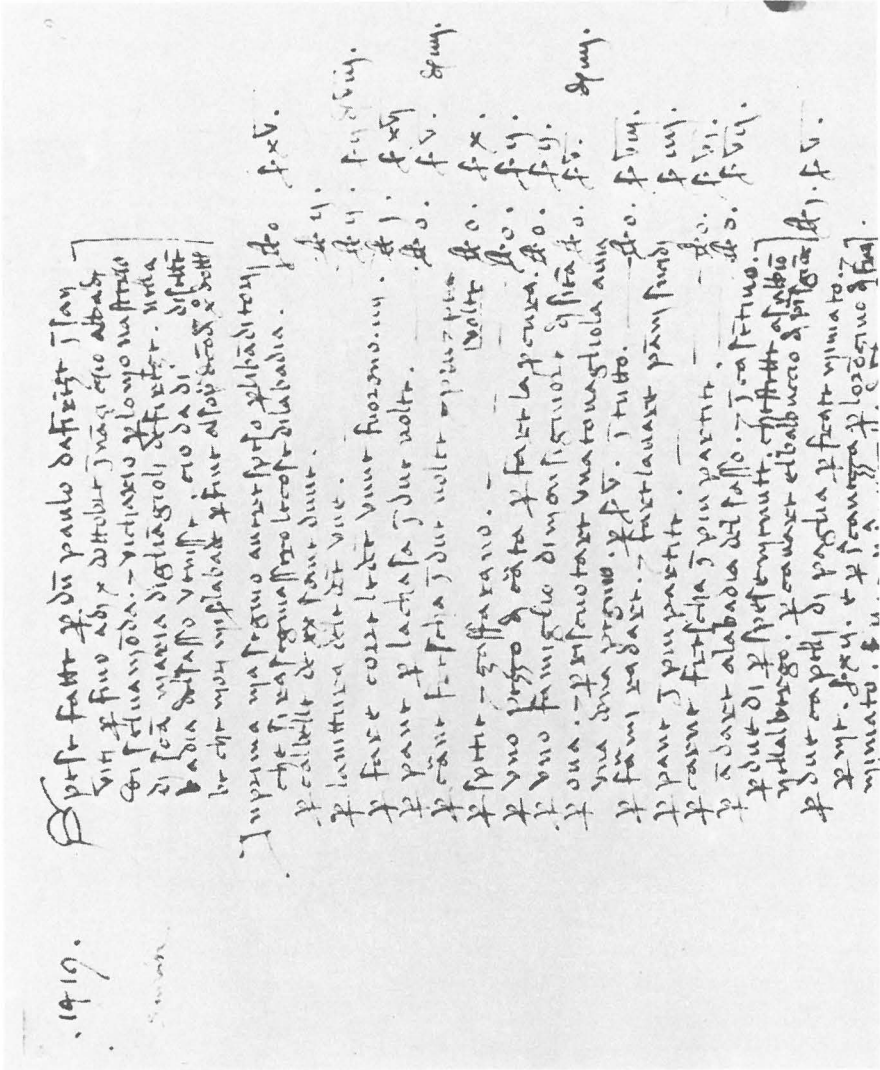
5. Florence, Santa Maria Annunziata in Orbatello. [Photograph, Carolyn Martin]



6. Florence, the façade of Orbatello. [Photograph, Carolyn Martin]



10. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Notarile Ante-Cosimiano, J8 (vol. IV), fol. 136r (21 September 1436).



11. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Conventi Soppressi 86, filza 213, fol. 9r.

