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THE SONGS OF DON PAOLO TENORISTA:
THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

From the time of the pioneering and inspired essays of Nino Pirrotta and Ettore Li Gotti begun some four decades ago, the Florentine composer Don Paolo Tenorista has become at once one of the more studied musicians of the last phase of the Italian Ars nova, both for the number and quality of his songs, and one of the most enigmatic regarding his whereabouts and the dating of his compositions.¹ Recent biographical discoveries have painted a more vivid picture of Paolo than that of any of his colleagues or predecessors, including the more famous Francesco Landini, and allow us to place the composer at the forefront of musical activities in Florence during the first two decades of the Quattrocento.² Today, although the majority of Paolo's songs have been identified and made available in modern editions, his compositions are rarely performed and few have been recorded.³ The present study focuses on a fresh look at

¹ NINO PIRROTTA and ETTORE LI GOTTI, *Il codice di Lucca*, «Musica Disciplina», III, 1949, pp. 119-138; IV, 1950, pp. 111-152; V, 1951, pp. 115-142; NINO PIRROTTA and ETTORE LI GOTTI, *Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino «extra moenia»*, in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, III, Madrid, Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas 1952, pp. 577-606; NINO PIRROTTA, *Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell'ars nova*, «Musica Disciplina», X, 1956, pp. 61-66; Id., *Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova*, Palm Springs, Gottlieb 1961.

² 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, Chpt. IV; Id., *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; URSULA GÜNTHER, JOHN NÁDAS, and JOHN STINSON, *Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence*, forthcoming in «Musica Disciplina», XLII, 1988.

³ KURT VON FISCHER, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento*, Bern, Haupt 1956 («Publikationen der Schweizerischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft», II/5); Id., *Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi-Kodex [I-Fl 87]*, «Qua-

the manuscript tradition of his works, offering an up-to-date worklist and some ideas regarding the chronology and stylistic importance of his songs.

Briefly, we may outline Paolo's career as follows. Don Paolo di Marco was born in or around Florence *ca.* 1355 and probably received Benedictine orders sometime around 1380. He held two ecclesiastical titles concurrently for most of his documented life: abbot of San Martino al Pino, a purely administrative position, it seems, of a Benedictine house near Arezzo which, although very near its demise in the early Quattrocento, was judged by the Florentines to be of sufficient value in terms of properties and strategic position to warrant continued control over its well-being; and rector of the small church of Santa Maria Annunziata Virgine, within the walls of a Florentine asylum named Orbatello, built by Niccolò and Antonio degli Alberti in the 1370s. Beginning with notice of his appointment to the abbacy at San Martino al Pino in 1401, we can trace Paolo's career and uninterrupted residence in Florence throughout his most active years as a participant at the Council of Pisa in 1409, an adviser within the episcopal council, and as a trusted administrator on behalf of the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence during the 1410s and '20s, to his resignation of the abbacy, retirement to Orbatello, and the drawing up of a will in September 1436, after which Paolo disappears from Florentine documents.

drivium», IX, 1968, pp. 5-19; *Id.*, *Paolo da Firenze*, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. XIV, London, Macmillan 1980, p. 615; URSULA GÜNTHER, *Die «anonymen» Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B. N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)*, «Archiv für Musikwissenschaft», XXIII, 1966, pp. 73-92; *Id.*, *Zur Datierung des Madrigals Godi, Firenze und der Handschrift Paris, B. N. fonds it. 568 (Pit)*, «Archiv für Musikwissenschaft», XXIV, 1967, pp. 99-119; FRANK D'ACCONE, *Una nuova fonte dell'ars nova italiana: Il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211*, «Studi musicali», XIII, 1984, pp. 3-31. A newly-discovered fragment in Perugia (*Cil*; see Table 1 in the present study for manuscript *sigla*) is studied by BIANCAMARIA BRUMANA and GALLIANO CILIBERTI, *Nuove fonti per lo studio dell'opera di Paolo da Firenze*, «Rivista italiana di musicologia», XXII, 1987, pp. 3-33, with an edition of the ballatas in *Cil* to appear in «Esercizi. Arte Musica Spettacolo», IX, 1988 (I take this opportunity to thank the authors for allowing me to see photographs of the fragment and to read typescripts of their articles prior to publication). Modern editions of Paolo's works have been published in the following: *Italian Secular Music*, 3 vols., ed. W. Thomas Marocco, Monaco, Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre 1972, 1975, and 1978, respectively («Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century», VIII, IX, XI); N. PIRROTTA, *Paolo Tenorista* cit. (includes an edition of the songs in *Lw*); *Italian Sacred Music*, eds. Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, Monaco, Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre 1976, «Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century», XII; a new critical edition by Nino Pirrotta and Ursula Günther is nearing completion and will be published as vol. VI of Pirrotta's *The Music of Fourteenth Century Italy* (thus far 5 vols., «Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae», VIII, Roma, American Institute of Musicology 1954-64).

Paolo played a part in Florentine manuscript production and has been shown to have responded to some of the more important historical/political events in the city in his song settings. In 1417 the composer ordered and compiled a lavish liturgical book for his church at Orbatello (the discovery of which has provided us with his ecclesiastical positions); he can also be tied indirectly to a second volume produced in 1423 by the *scriptorium* at Santa Maria degli Angeli for the church of Santa Lucia de' Magnoli in Florence. The role he and/or musicians within his circle may have played in the compilation of central sources containing his songs will be addressed below; suffice it here to say that two of these sources, ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds italien 568 and the Squarcialupi Codex, have also been judged to be products of the famous Florentine *scriptorium*, and the years proposed for their compilation (1405-15) coincide with Paolo's documented activities in the city.⁴

Table 1 lists sixty-one compositions variously attributed in nine sources to Don Paolo Tenorista da Firenze, Paulus Abbas, and other forms and abbreviations of these names, as well as five other songs that can be associated with the composer through analysis of copying patterns in the major Florentine collection of his works, *Pit*.⁵ The songs are also

⁴ On the dating of *Godi Firenze* and ms. *Pit*, see U. GÜNTHER, *Zur Datierung* cit. I have elsewhere argued for associating another madrigal, *Girand' un bel falcon*, with Florentine sentiments toward Pope Gregory XII and the Pisa council of 1409 (U. GÜNTHER, J. NÁDAS, and J. STINSON, *Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas* cit., note 3). Günther's discovery of a liturgical book ordered by Paolo in 1417 is reported in *ibid.*, notes 10 and 11. For the origins of *Pit* at S. Maria degli Angeli, see MIRELLA LEVI D'ANCONA, «Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci» e il «Maestro delle Canzoni», «Rivista d'arte», XXXII, 1957, pp. 3-37. The most recent study of the illuminations in *Sq* is by Luciano Bellosi, who dates 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 Periccioli Saggese, Napoli, Banca sannitica 1984, pp. 307-314 and Plates CXXXVIII-CXLIV.

⁵ This worklist represents essentially what appears in U. GÜNTHER, J. NÁDAS, and J. STINSON, *Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas* cit., Table 1, but for each song I have here included details of scribes, location, voicing, and attributions, and have added six new ballatas on the basis of more recent work. For an inventory of *Pit*, see GILBERT REANEY, *The Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds italien 568 (Pit)*, «Musica Disciplina», XIV, 1960, pp. 33-63. Earlier studies of the ms. include JOHANNES WOLF, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460*, 3 vols., Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel 1904, I, pp. 250-257; FRIEDRICH LUDWIG, *Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts*, «Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft», IV, 1902-1903, pp. 55-56, where he discussed details of the physical structure of *Pit* (especially the interpolation of later gatherings; see discussion, below, on structure) and also noted, in a brief statement (without detailed supporting evidence), that some of the unattributed works were undoubtedly by Francesco Landini but had had their attributions scraped from the parchment; FRIEDRICH

contained in four other sources with probable origins in Florence – *Lo*, *Lw*, *Cil*, *SL* 2211 – and in a gathering of compositions appended to the source *Man/ManP*.⁶ The seventeen ruled-but-vacant folios in a section of an anthology designed to contain the greatest single collection of Paolo's songs, ff. 55v-71r of the Squarcialupi Codex, could now easily be filled.⁷

LUDWIG, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460: Besprechung des gleichnamigen Buches von Joh. Wolf*, «Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft», VI, 1904-1905, p. 615, where he again mentioned the composite nature of the source; GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT, *Musikalische Werke*, 4 vols., ed. Friedrich Ludwig (vol. IV ed. Heinrich Bessler), Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel 1926-54, II, pp. 27-28. In stressing some of the important physical features of the ms., both J. Wolf (p. 250) and F. Ludwig (vol. II of Machaut's *Werke*, p. 27) observed that the index found at the front of *Pit* was contemporaneous with the collection, and that its manner of compilation reflected the order of copying in the main body of the source. See also K. VON FISCHER, *Studien* cit., pp. 18-73 (worklist) and 92-93 (discussion of *Pit*); and *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales*, B IV/3, *Handschriften mit mehrstimmigen Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf, München-Duisburg, Henle 1972, pp. 436-437, in which von Fischer repeats his earlier claim (*Studien* cit., p. 93) that the ms. might have been compiled in Lucca or Pisa, and reports Reaney's theory that it is Florentine. Von Fischer (p. 437) reviews dating theories by various scholars, mentions the original index, and gives a list of incipits, providing music only for those works not appearing in ms. Panciatichiano 26 or Reina. Most recently, *Pit* has been examined in J. NÁDAS, *The Transmission* cit. (Chapter IV contains an analysis of copyists in *Pit* and *Man/ManP*, and scribal concordances in related sources).

⁶ On ms. *Lo*, see GILBERT REANEY, *The Manuscript*, B.M., *Additional* 29987 (*Lo*), «Musica Disciplina», XII, 1958, pp. 67-91, and Id., *The Manuscript* London, B.M., *Additional* 29987, *A Facsimile Edition*, n.p., American Institute of Musicology 1965 («Musical Studies and Documents», XIII); see note 3, above, for *Cil*; on *Lw*, see N. PIRROTTA, *Paolo da Firenze* cit. and Id., *Paolo Tenorista* cit.; on *SL* 2211, see F. D'ACCONTE, *Una nuova fonte dell'ars nova italiana* cit., and J. NÁDAS, *The Transmission* cit., Chpt. V, pp. 459-486. A single ballata, *Perch' i' non seppi*, in a source completely foreign to Florence, the Reina Codex, is ascribed to a «Dompni Pauli» who may not, however, be the composer/abbot documented in Florentine sources.

⁷ U. 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* cit., pp. 84-85. The palimpsest *SL* 2211 ascribes six works to «Paulus Abbas» and seven others to «Abbas Paulus», three of which have yet to be identified; almost all of the erased names in *Pit* have been confirmed by those in *SL* 2211 and *Cil*. The worklist 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 to «Don Paolo» in *Pit* was erased, was surely destined to be the opening composition of Paolo's works in *Sq*, suggested by the scene at the bottom of portrait f. 55v (see U. GÜNTHER, J. NÁDAS, and J. STINSON, *Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas* cit., note 3). Superscripted numbers in Table 1 identify the texted voice parts of a composition: 0 = no text, 1 = C texted, 2 = C and T texted, 3 = C, T, and CT texted.

TABLE 1
THE COMPOSITIONS OF DON PAOLO DA FIRENZE

<i>Pit</i> Scribes	Incipit	Sources	Voicings	Attributions
		MADRIGALS		
D	<i>Corre per l'onde già di speme piena</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 59v-60r	2 ²	«P. A.»
D	<i>Era Venus al termin del suo giorno</i>	<i>SL</i> 2211, 51v, 101r	2 ²	«P. Abbas»
D	<i>Fra duri scogli san' alcun governo</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 54v-55r	2 ²	«P. A.»
F+A	<i>*Girand' un bel falcon gentil e bianco</i>	<i>SL</i> 2211, 50v (C only)	?	«P. Abbas»
		<i>Pit</i> , 58v-59r	2 ²	«P. A.»
		<i>Pit</i> , 138v-139r	2 ²	[«Don Paolo»]
		<i>SL</i> 2211, 101v-102r	2 ²	«P. Abbas»
		<i>Sq</i> , 55v	?	«Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia» ⁺
		(prepared but not entered)		
D	<i>Godi, Firenze, poi che se' sì grande</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 56v-57r	3 ³	«P. A.»
D	<i>Nell' ora ch'a segar la bionda spiga</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 55v-56r	2 ²	«P. A.»
A	<i>*Non più 'nfelice alle suo membra nacque</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 34v-35r	2 ²	«Don Paolo Tenorista da Firenze»
A	<i>*Se non ti piacque in ingrat' abitare</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 35v-36r	2 ²	«Don Paolo»
A	<i>*Tra verdi frond' in' isola 'n sul fonte</i>	<i>Lo</i> , 51v-52r	2 ²	«Don Paghollo»
B	<i>*Una fera gentil più ch'altra fera</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 36v-37r	2 ²	«Don Paolo»
B	<i>*Una smantosa e insensata vecchia</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 46v-47r	2 ⁰	***
B		<i>Pit</i> , 37v-38r	2 ²	«D. P.»
		<i>Pit</i> , 48v-49r	2 ²	*
		<i>SL</i> 2211, 102v, 104r	2 ²	«P. Abbas»

<i>Pit</i> Scribes	Incipit	Sources	Voicings	Attributions
B	<i>Un pellegrin uccel gentil e bello</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 38v-39r	2 ²	« Don Pa. »
D	<i>Ventilla con tumulto la gran fama</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 57v-58r SL 2211, 51r (T only, texted)	2 ² 2 ²	« P. A. » « P. Abbas »
BALLATAS				
D	<i>Amor, da po' che tu ti maravigli</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 79v-80r	3 ²	« P. A. »
A	* <i>Amor, de' dimmi se sperar mercede</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 81v-82r	3 ²	« Don Paolo »
D		<i>Lw</i> , Dv (C only)	?	*
		SL 2211, 107r (with rewritten T)	2 ¹	« Abbas Paulus »
D	<i>Amor mi stringe assai più che non sole</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 78v-79r (CT prepared but not entered)	3 ¹	« P. A. » +++
		SL 2211, 107v	2 ²	« Abbas Paulus »
D	<i>Amor, tu solo 'l sai</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 73v-74r	3 ²	« P. A. »
D		<i>Lw</i> , Cg-Dr	2 ²	*
B	* <i>Astio non morì mai</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 112r	2 ²	*
		SL 2211, 104v	2 ²	« Abbas Paulus »
E		<i>Cil</i> , 96v	2 ²	« D. P. »
B	<i>Benché partito da te 'l corpo sia</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 84r	3 ¹	« Don Paolo »
E	<i>Ben posson pianger gli occhi e star dolente</i>	<i>Cil</i> , 97r (incomplete)	2 ²	« D. P. »
D + H	<i>Che l'agg' i' fatto a questa donna allera</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 76v-77r	3 ²	« P. A. »
D	<i>Chi vuol veder l'angelica bellezza</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 75v-76r	3 ¹	« P. A. »
E	<i>Da tanto disonecto et reo fervore</i>	<i>Cil</i> , 96v-97r (incomplete)	2 ²	« D. P. » +++
B	* <i>De', dolce morte, cavami di pena</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 84v-85r	3 ¹	[« D. P. »]
B	* <i>De' fa per quella speme e fede ch'io</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 110v-111r	3 ²	[« D. P. »]
E		<i>Cil</i> , 96r	3 ²	« D. P. »

<i>Pit</i> Scribes	Incipit	Sources	Voicings	Attributions
E	* <i>De' passa temp' amaro</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 89v-90r	2 ²	[« D. P. »]
E		<i>Cil</i> , 94r (T only, texted)	2 ²	« D. P. » +++
F	* <i>Doglia continua per la suo partita</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 50v	2 ²	« Pa. »
H		<i>Lw</i> , Bv-Cr	2 ²	*
D	<i>Dolce mie donna gracios' e pia (sonnet?)</i>	<i>Lw</i> , Av-Br	3 ¹	*
A	* <i>Donna, perché mi vegg' altra mirare</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 81r	2 ²	« Don Paolo »
B	* <i>Dome e fanciulle, chi ha gentil cuore</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 85v-86r	2 ²	[« D. P. »]
B	* <i>Fatto m'a sdegno partir vie d'amore</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 96v-97r	3 ²	[« D. P. »]
E		<i>Cil</i> , 94r	3 ²	« D. P. »
B	* <i>In quella parte che si lieva 'l giorno</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 128v-129r	3 ¹	[« Don Pa. »]
D	<i>Lasso, grev' è 'l partir anima mia</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 51r	2 ²	« P. A. »
D	<i>La vaga luce che fa invidi' al sole</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 71v-72r	3 ²	« P. A. »
D		<i>Man/ManP</i> , pp. 70-71	2 ²	*
D	<i>Lena, virtù e speranza ogni cor duro</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 74v-75r	2 ²	« P. A. »
D	<i>Ma' ri' aver di me pietà non veggio</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 72v-73r	3 ¹	« P. A. »
B	* <i>Merçé, per Dio, perché</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 117v-118r	2 ²	[« D. P. »]
B?	* <i>Mort' è la fe' e lo sperar va giù</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 94v-95r	2 ²	[« Franciscus »]
E		<i>Cil</i> , 94v	2 ²	« D. P. »
D	<i>Non c'è rimasa fe'</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 71r	3 ²	« P. A. »
D	* <i>Ome / s'io gli, o mei, sol io gli piango</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 102v	2 ²	[« D. P. »]
E	* <i>Or sie che può com' a vo' piace sia</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 82v	2 ²	« Don Paolo »
A		SL 2211, 105r	2 ²	« P. Abbas »
B	<i>Perché vendetta far or non si po'</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 83v	2 ²	« Don Paolo »
	<i>Perch' i' non seppi passar cant' al varco</i>	<i>Reina</i> , 25r	3 ¹	« Dompni Pauli »
A	<i>Po' c'anno di mirar gli occhi mie stanchi</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 83r	2 ²	« Don Paolo »
B + F	<i>S'Amor in cor gentil à signoria</i>	SL 2211, 105v	2 ²	« Abbas Paulus »
D		<i>Pit</i> , 51v-52r	3 ²	« P. A. »
		<i>Lw</i> , Ar (incomplete)	2 ²	*

<i>Pit</i> Scribes	Incipit	Sources	Voicings	Attributions
E	*Se già seguir altra che te non volli	<i>Pit</i> , 105v-106r	3 ¹	[« D. P. »]
E		<i>Cil</i> , 95v (incomplete)	3 ¹	« (D.) P. »
B	*Se le n'arà pietà, Amor, ti prego	<i>Pit</i> , 129v-130r	3 ²	[« D. P. »]
B	*Se partir mi convien dal tuo bel viso	<i>Pit</i> , 97v-98r	3 ²	[« D. P. »]
E		<i>Cil</i> , 95r (incomplete)	3 ²	« D. P. »
D	Se per virtù, Amor, donna m'accese	<i>Pit</i> , 78v-79r	3 ¹	« P. A. »
B	*Sìe mill' e mille volte benedetta	<i>Pit</i> , 98v	2 ²	[« D. P. »]
E		<i>SL</i> 2211, 108r	2 ²	« Abbas Paulus »
D	<i>Sofrir m'estuet et plus non puyt durer</i>	<i>Cil</i> , 94v	2 ²	« D. P. » +++
D	*Tra speranza e fortuna t' pur m'aggio	<i>Pit</i> , 130v-131r	3 ¹	« P. A. »
A	*Uom ch'osa di veder tutta beleça	<i>Man/ManP</i> , p. 72	3 ²	[« Don Pa. »]
		<i>Pit</i> , 82r	2 ²	*
D	<i>Vago e benigno Amor, fammi contento</i> (unidentified)	<i>SL</i> 2211, 108v	3 ¹	« Don Paolo »
	(unidentified)	<i>Pit</i> , 77v-78r	3 ¹	« Abbas Paulus »
	(unidentified)	<i>SL</i> 2211, 60r	3 ²	« P. A. »
	(unidentified)	<i>SL</i> 2211, 60v	2 ²	« Abbas Paulus »
	(unidentified)	<i>SL</i> 2211, 104r (bottom)	3 ¹ ?	« Abbas Paulus »
E		<i>Cil</i> , 97v (incomplete)	2 ⁰	« P. Abbas »?
E		<i>Cil</i> , 97v (C only, incomplete)	3 ¹	« (D. P. »)
			?	« (D. P. ») +++
SACRED WORKS				
F	<i>Benedicamus Domino</i>	<i>Pit</i> , 138r	3 ³	[« D. P. »]
	<i>Gaudemus omnes in domino diem festum celebrantes</i> (Introit for the Feast of S. Lucia)	<i>Fl</i> 999, 19v-21r	2 ³	index = « P. A. » « Pau(lus) »

<i>Pit</i> Scribes	Incipit	Sources	Voicings	Attributions
ADDITIONAL BALLATS ATTRIBUTABLE TO PAOLO				
E	*Achurr' uomo	<i>Pit</i> , 101v-102r	2 ²	[« F. »]
B	*Altro che sospirar non so né voglio	<i>Pit</i> , 118v-119r	3 ²	*
B	*Amor, merçè	<i>Pit</i> , 30v	2 ¹	*
B	*Già la speranza in te giovana perse	<i>Pit</i> , 119v-120r	3 ²	*
F	*Se 'l mie fallir mi t'avie, donna, tolto	<i>Pit</i> , 139v-140r	3 ²	*
*	= incipit marked with an inked brown dot in <i>Pit</i> Index			
[]	= erased attribution in <i>Pit</i>			
*	= unattributed work			
()	= editorial addition			
+	= ff. 55v-56r lack the beginning of the attribution; the full name appears throughout the rest of Paolo's section, ff. 56v-71r			
++	= second entry of this madrigal; the scribe recognized the duplication and stopped before adding text (this copy was later marked « vacat »)			
+++	= song at the bottom of a folio or opening on which the work placed above it carries the indicated attribution			
C	= Cantus; T = Tenor; CT = Contratenor			
<i>Cil</i>	Perugia, ms. fragment in the library of Galliano Ciliberti and Biancamaria Brumana (see note 3)			
<i>Fl</i> 999	Florence, Biblioteca medicea laurenziana, ms. Ashburnham 999			
<i>Lo</i>	London, British Library, Additional ms. 29987			
<i>Lw</i>	Chicago, ms. fragment formerly in the library of Edward Lowinsky; now Newberry Library, Case ms. MLo96.P36			
<i>Man/ManP</i>	Luca, Archivio di Stato, ms. 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca comunale « Augusta », ms. 3065 (Mancini Codex)			
<i>Pit</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fonds italien 508			
<i>Reina</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6771 (Reina Codex)			
<i>SL</i> 2211	Firenze, Biblioteca medicea laurenziana, Archivio capitolare di San Lorenzo, ms. 2211			
<i>Sq</i>	Firenze, Biblioteca medicea laurenziana, ms. Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi Codex)			

THE COMPILATION OF MS. PARIS 568

Pit transmits one of the most important extant repositories of Italian Trecento song at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It contains 199 compositions, most of which are Italian-texted songs, but includes as well a small collection of Italian sacred settings and a group of French chansons. The collection is especially well known as a most valuable source for the compositions of Paolo Tenorista. *Pit* appears to have reached its present location in Paris by way of the French branch of the Capponi bank and, subsequently, through the library of Charles X of France (1756-1836). The brown leather binding tooled in gold dates from Charles' possession of the source, evident in the royal monogram boldly visible on the front cover; the ms. still bears the stamp of the Bibliothèque Royale and two call numbers of the King's library on the opening folio of its index: « no. 165 du supplement » and « Suppl. frç. no. 535 ».⁸ Ursula Günther's dating of the source to the years 1405/06-08 has provided not only a focus for the music in this collection but, as we shall see, also a point of reference for the chronology of related sources of the central Florentine tradition.⁹

Nino Pirrotta was the first to offer more than passing reference to the compilation of *Pit*, noting its basic division of the repertory into madrigals/caccias and ballatas, additions to that plan, and the later insertion of two gatherings into an already-completed collection.¹⁰ The source is structurally arranged in the following manner: (1) an index at the front, copied on nine folios consisting of a quaternio with one tipped-in folio, was later foliated in a modern hand with capital letters A-I; (2) there are fourteen music gatherings, all quinions; (3) gaths. 6 and

8 constitute additions to the main collection; (4) f. 141, containing the drawing of a Guidonian hand on its recto side, is a single leaf glued to the end of the manuscript.

A number of scribes copied the contents of *Pit* over a period of several years, copyists I have previously designated as Scribes A-H, several of whom, accompanied by different writing instruments and inks, compiled the index as well.¹¹ The latter is one of the surest guides in sorting out the order of copying, a sequence that does not follow the arrangement of folios and gatherings in their present appearance – that is, entries do not follow an order of ascending folio numbers. Some of the copyists who produced *Pit* also worked in other collections which have survived; scribal concordances among *Pit*, *Man/ManP*, and *Lw* have been proposed by Nino Pirrotta and later revised by Ursula Günther.¹² An analysis of this phenomenon, including the new *Fn F.5.5* and *Cil* fragments, is summarized in the following table:¹³

TABLE 2

SCRIBAL CONCORDANCES AMONG *Pit*, *Man/ManP*, *Lw*, *Fn F.5.5*, AND *Cil*

Pit Scribe D:

- Pit* : Paolo's works in gaths. 6 and 8 (ff. 51r, 54v-60v, 71r-80v); a later addition on ff. 94v-95r; Philipoctus da Caserta's *Par le grant sens d' Adriane* (ff. 125v-126r).
- Lw* : Paolo's works on ff. Ar-Br, Cv-Dv: *S' Amor in cor gentil*, *Dolçe mie donna*, *Amor tu solo 'l sai*, and *Amor de' dimmi se sperar*.
- Man/ManP*: The final three works in the ms., pp. 70-72, including Paolo's *La vaga luce* and *Tra speranza*.

¹¹ The gathering structure, contents, and scribal contributions in *Pit* are diagrammed in J. NÁDAS, *The Transmission* cit., pp. 228-235. The index is physically independent of the rest of the ms.; f. 1r of music, containing the full-page miniature depicting Musica and Tubal, was evidently prepared together with the index, suggesting that the latter is contemporary with the earliest layers of the collection.

¹² Their views on such concordances are discussed in J. NÁDAS, *The Transmission* cit., pp. 273-274.

¹³ On the Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale fragment (*Fn F.5.5*), see MARIO FABBRI and JOHN NÁDAS, *A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concordances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts*, « Early Music History », III, 1983, pp. 67-81. Scribal identities among other Trecento sources are discussed in J. NÁDAS, *The Transmission* cit., p. 48, and in Chpts. III, IV, and V (for manuscript *sigla* other than those in the present study, see p. xi): Firenze, Conservatory fragment and *Lo*; *SL* 2211 and *Lo*; *Sq* and Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, fragment 596; Padova, Biblioteca universitaria, fragments *Pad D*, and the Stresa fragment; Grottaferrata, ms. E.β.XVI and the Reina Codex.

⁸ See G. REANEY, *The Manuscript Paris* cit., p. 33, for a history of the ms. The role the Capponi family of Florence may have played in the early years of the ms. has been discussed by Ursula Günther in her study of events surrounding the composition of Paolo's *Godi Firenze* (*Zur Datierung* cit., pp. 100-107). On the French branch of the Capponi family, see N. PIRROTTA, *Paolo Tenorista* cit., p. 44, note 55, where it is suggested that a French Capponi may have taken *Pit* to Paris during the French Revolution.

⁹ Ursula Günther re-examined the problems surrounding *Pit* in a model analysis of scribal contributions and a stylistic study of its repertory. She was able to examine the erased attributions originally signaled by Friedrich Ludwig, determine the inherent value of their readings, and from there go on to discuss dating and the independence of *Pit* from other Florentine sources, especially *Sq*; see the articles by U. Günther in note 3 of the present study. For datings of the ms. proposed by Nino Pirrotta, Kurt von Fischer and Gilbert Reaney, see J. NÁDAS, *The Transmission* cit., pp. 218-222.

¹⁰ N. PIRROTTA, *Paolo Tenorista* cit., pp. 17-20, especially note 21.

Pit Scribe H:

- Pit* : Ciconia's *Con lagreme bagnandome el viso* (ff. 52v-53r); together with Scribe D copied works by Paolo and Gian Toscano on fols. 60v and 76v.
Lw : Paolo's *Doglia continua* (ff. Bv-Cr).

Pit Scribe E:

- Pit* : Paolo and Landini ballatas on ff. 89v, 91v, 99r-111r; worked closely together with *Pit* Scribe B.
Fn F.5.5: the entire fragment, consisting of six ballatas by Landini.
Cil : the entire fragment, consisting of twelve ballatas by Paolo.

As is made clear from a study of the order of entries in the index, Scribe A designed and executed the original plan of the collection: madrigal/caccia and ballata sections.¹⁴ Gaths. 1-4 were set aside for an anthology of madrigals by Jacopo da Bologna, Francesco Landini, Donato da Firenze, Giovanni da Cascia, Lorenzo Masini, Gherardello da Firenze, Niccolò da Perugia, Vincenzo da Rimini, and Paolo Tenorista, arranged in an essentially non-chronological order, but by composer sections. Scribe A added Italian and French repertory at the bottom of folios in gath. 1 before filling gath. 2, and he (or possibly a new hand) also entered French chansons in available space in gath. 3. Gath. 5 remained blank-ruled, and the next gathering – originally number 6, now 7 – was intended for ballatas à 3 and à 2 by Landini. Scribe B then designated gath. 13 as a collection of French songs. The first copyist completed his opening madrigal sequence in gaths. 3 and 4 and then went back to Landini's ballatas (à 2). Gath. 9 – originally number 7 – continued the ballata section with songs à 2 by Paolo.

It is not as easy to discern clear sequential steps in the order of compilation after the implementation of the general plan outlined above; subsequent copying stints evidently occurred in overlapping fashion. Scribe B completed A's madrigal and ballata sections in gaths. 4, 7 and 9, including songs by Paolo. B collaborated with a new copyist, Scribe E, in an extended collection of Landini and Paolo ballatas in gaths. 10, 11 and 12. Many works in this portion of the collection, previously believed to be anonymous compositions, have been shown by Günther to carry attributions to these two composers. In fact, all erased composer attribu-

tions in the ms. can be associated only with ballatas by Landini and Paolo copied by Scribes B and E, beginning in the ninth gathering. During this copying activity, Scribe B planned gath. 14 as the repository of a composite Mass cycle, and Scribe A inserted French works in gaths. 2, 3, and 4. Scribe B added further madrigals in gaths. 1-4, entered the miscellany of madrigals, ballatas, and caccias in gath. 5, and added works by Machaut, Landini and Paolo in gaths. 12, 13, and 14. A new copyist, Scribe F, added Andrea dei Servi's *Donna se raçi* and Paolo's *Doglia continua* in available space at the end of gath. 5, as well as several songs at the very end of the codex.

A penultimate layer of copying comprises the two interpolated gatherings added by Scribe D – present gaths. 6 (Paolo madrigals) and 8 (Paolo ballatas à 3). Scribe D also refoiled the volume, corrected citations in the index, added catch-words at the beginnings and ends of gaths. 5 and 7, and copied songs by Gian Toscano (Giovanni Mazzuoli [?], on f. 60v, with the help of a new copyist, Scribe H) and Philipoctus da Caserta (ff. 125v-126r, added to the index by Scribe H). The final layer of copying includes two works entered on folios left blank-ruled by Scribe D (ff. 51v-54r), added after initial capital letters had been drawn throughout the ms.: Paolo's *S'amor in cor gentil* (ff. 51v-52r, by Scribe B, with Contratenor added by Scribe F); Ciconia's *Con lagreme bagnandome el viso* (ff. 52v-53r, by Scribe H).

The implications of this copying history are sufficiently clear. *Pit* was first conceived as an anthology of familiar polyphonic songs of the early and late Trecento. The source also included the most widely circulated French songs then current in the city. While still in the hands of Scribe A, the collection quickly changed into an up-to-date Florentine repertory with a decided emphasis on the works of Landini and Paolo. In its status as an avant-garde collection, with a noticeable paucity of earlier repertory both « classical » (Giovanni, Piero, Jacopo) and mid-century Florentine (Lorenzo, Donato, Gherardello, Niccolò), *Pit* represents a transition to the more comprehensive anthologies seen in *Sq* and *SL 2211*, suggesting that the musical circles within which the volume was compiled lacked either the initiative or the means to collect older works to any significant degree. *Pit* thus represents the tastes, interests, and contacts of a rather restricted number of early 15th-century musicians – including patrons, performers, and scribes – most of whom, it would appear, were more involved in their contemporary culture than in a desire to fully document the musical heritage of the Trecento.

¹⁴ The following presentation can best be followed with copies of G. Reaney's inventory (*The Manuscript Paris* cit., pp. 49-63) and the structural diagram in J. NÁDAS, *The Transmission* cit., pp. 228-235, at hand (for a detailed discussion in the latter, see pp. 226-287, including a facsimile and analysis of the *Pit* index).

In order better to assess the transmission of Paolo's *œuvre*, let us here outline the copying order and layers of his songs in *Pit* (as in Table 1, * denotes incipits marked with a dot in the index; an X reflects an incipit marked with an X):¹⁵

LAYER I – Scribe A's madrigal section in gath. 4: **Non più 'nfelice*; **Se non ti piacque*; **Tra verdi frondi*. Scribe B's completion of this section: **Una fera gentil*; *Un pellegrin uccel* (missing in index). Scribe A's ballatas à 2 in gath. 9: **Donna perché mi veggì*; **Amor, de' dimmi se sperar*; **Uom ch'osa di veder*; **Or sie che può*; *Po' c'anno di mirar*. Scribe B's completion of the latter section: *Perché vendetta*; *Benché partito da te*.

LAYER II – Scribes B and E's addition of ballatas in gaths. 9-12: **Donne e fanciulle*; **De' dolce morte*; **De' passa temp' amaro*; **Mort' è la fe'*; **Fatto m'a sdegno*; **Se partir mi convien*; **Sie mille volte*; X **Achurr' uomo*; **Ome, s'io gli*; **Se già seguir*; **De' fa per quella speme*; **Astio non morì mai*; **Merçé per dio*; **Altro che sospirar*; **Già la speranza*.

LAYER III – Scribe B's additions in gaths. 4 and 5: **Amor, merçé*; *Tra verdi frondi* (second copy; not in index); **Una smaniosa e insensata vecchia*. Scribe B's

¹⁵ Five songs have been included at the end of the worklist for reasons other than attribution. The most important criterion, although it must remain corroborative evidence, is the striking coincidence of brown-dot markings in the index and the corpus of Paolo's secure songs. Moreover, the pattern of copying reveals that, with few exceptions, only compositions entered before the work of Scribe D carry the mark. Finally, several doubtful cases in *Pit* so marked are attributed elsewhere to Paolo. All the madrigals fit this explanation: those copied by Scribe D are not marked, and the one work inadvertently left out of the index – *Un pellegrin uccel* – of course could not be marked. This group includes two works now securely attributed to the composer elsewhere: *Girand' un bel falcon* and *Una smaniosa*. Songs copied after the entry of Scribe D's interpolated gatherings and his work in the index do not carry the marking: *S'amor in cor gentil*. We may conclude that the marks were entered by Scribe D.

Among the ballatas, works attributed elsewhere which in *Pit* either lack ascriptions or had their attributions erased, are nevertheless marked in the index: *Astio non morì mai*, *De' fa per quella speme*, *De' passa temp' amaro*, *Se già seguir*, *Se partir mi convien*, and *Sie mille volte benedetta*. Striking in this group is the ballata *Mort' è la fe'*, which has an erased attribution to Landini in *Pit*, but was marked with a dot in the index; *Cil* verifies the possibility of a Paolo attribution with the initials «D. P.». On the strength of the conflicting attribution of *Mort' è la fe'*, I believe we may take the brown-dot markings as evidence strongly suggesting Paolo's authorship in the case of *Achurr' uomo* (which has the erased attribution «F.» and which also carries a marking associated with Landini ballatas in the index, an X) as well as in the following anonymously transmitted works: *Altro che sospirar*, *Amor, merçé*, *Già la speranza*, and *Se 'l mie fallir*. The last four songs fit within established patterns of adding Paolo works in *Pit* by scribes closely associated with his *œuvre*. Three works which appear to have been candidates for Scribe D's marks fail to carry special signs in the index: *Benché partito*, *Perché vendetta*, and *Po' c'anno di mirar* (copied in near proximity in gath. 9). The only explanation I can offer is oversight in checking ff. 83r-84r on the part of Scribe D; that these songs may have been added to the ms. after D's work is not supported by a reconstruction of entries in the index.

additions at the end of gath. 13: **In quella parte*; **Se le n'arà pietà*; **Tra speranza e fortuna*.

LAYER IV – Scribe F: **Doglia continua* (in gath. 5); *Benedicamus Domino* (added at end of gath. 14, after Mass cycle; later entered and attributed in index to «P. A.» by Scribe D); **Girand' un bel falcon* (with Scribe A); **Se 'l mie fallir*.

LAYER V – Scribe D's interpolated gatherings. Madrigals (gath. 6): *Era Venus*; *Nell' ora c'a segar*; *Godi Firenze*; *Ventilla con tumulto*; *Fra duri scogli*; *Corse per l'onde*. Ballatas (gath. 8): *Non c'è rimasa fe'*; *La vaga luce*; *Ma' ri' aver*; *Amor, tu solo 'l sai*; *Lena virtù e speranza*; *Chi vuol veder l'angelica bellezza*; *Che l'agg' i' fatto* (with Scribe H); *Vago e benigno Amor*; *Se per virtù*; *Amor mi stringe*; *Amor da po' che tu ti maravigli*; *Sofrir m'estuet*.

LAYER VI – among the final entries in the collection: *S'amor in cor gentil* (ballata in gath. 6 copied by Scribes B and F; attribution to «P. A.» had previously been entered by Scribe D).

SCRIBAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The roles played by scribes in the transmission of Paolo's works in *Pit* and related sources are significant. Scribe A seems to have had access to the secure and more widely circulated songs; this selection is reflected to a large extent in works copied by the SL 2211 Scribe. Scribes B, D, and E emerge as the copyists most closely associated with the composer's music: they are responsible for the concentration of *unica* in *Pit* and *Cil*; they had access to his most advanced pieces in what has been termed *ars subtilior* style; Scribe D copied reductions of some of Paolo's works (from 3 to 2 voices) as well as an embellished version of *La vaga luce*.¹⁶ These reductions may be seen as a return to a more traditional texture, recapturing the leaner style of «classical» Trecento songs. The sonnet

¹⁶ A number of ballatas appear variously with three and two parts: *Amor de' dimmi*, *Amor mi stringe*, *Amor tu solo 'l sai*, *La vaga luce*, *S'amor in cor gentil*, and *Tra speranza e fortuna*. Recent opportunities to examine SL 2211 more closely have allowed me to correct entries of works I had listed as possible three-part songs in my dissertation (see J. NÁDAS, *The Transmission* cit., p. 472): *Corse per l'onde*, *Una smaniosa*, and *Amor de' dimmi*; I am also grateful to Ursula Günther for having pointed out my error in listing *Amor mi stringe* as 3². Scribe D must have been particularly close to Paolo, for he not only almost exclusively copied this composer's works, but he attributed them all with a special monogram combining the letters P and A (this, in itself, is quite special in the transmission of this repertory).

Dolçe mie donna survives only in *Lw* and surely can be taken to have been a very new work at the time of its redaction.¹⁷ Clearly, Scribe D came to work in *Pit* with the intention of setting straight the *œuvre* of Paolo Tenorista. In order to do so, he first marked works previously entered by other copyists which he believed could be attributed to the composer, and then, for the purpose of accomodating the remaining compositions, he added two new gatherings to the collection.

Apparently not all of Paolo's works were known or available to the copyists at the time *Pit* was compiled, for Scribe D only included *S'amor in cor gentil* and *Dolçe mie donna* in *Lw*, and other unique songs may be found in *Cil* and *SL* 2211.¹⁸ Most of the madrigals and a few of the newly-collected ballatas came from sets of exemplars in which the songs appeared in alphabetical order with attributions; a number of these ballatas, however, surely derive from unattributed copies, with the resultant confusion in authorship.¹⁹ Scribe D's songs are generally not

¹⁷ N. PIRROTTA, *Paolo Tenorista* cit., pp. 35-36 and 72-74, argues convincingly for a reading of this work as a sonnet.

¹⁸ If we view Scribe E's work in *Cil* as having taken place sometime after his copying in *Pit*, then we may conclude that he was not aware of Scribe D's work, for not one of D's songs in the added *Pit* gatherings finds its way into what survives of *Cil*. Attributions entered by E that were erased in *Pit* (perhaps by Scribe B), as well as his ballatas lacking ascriptions, are repeated in *Cil* as «D.P.». Surely, this reflects a stabilization of what came to be recognized (in restricted circles) as Paolo's *œuvre*. Scribe E appears to have had access to music few others had, including Landini ballatas in *Fⁿ F.5.5* not found in that composer's principal source, ms. Panciatichiano 26. The scribe of *SL* 2211 certainly knew a number of Paolo's songs (making up for the loss in *Sq*), but we must note the high percentage of missing songs, notwithstanding the fragmentary nature of the source as it has survived. Remarkable, too, is the fact that the composer's songs in *SL* 2211 rarely comprise those with erased attributions in *Pit*, perhaps a sign that only the most secure works were copied into the later source and that its scribe was not a member of Paolo's immediate circle. This notion contrasts with the evidence in *Cil*, in which not a few of the erased-attribution ballatas from *Pit* are included, as well as four new compositions, signaling a completely new effort of collection and redaction.

¹⁹ Paolo's songs arranged alphabetically in *Pit*:

Scribe A: *Non più infelice, Se non ti piacque, Tra verdi frondi* (ff. 34v-37r). Scribe B: *Una fera gentil, Un pellegrin uccel* (ff. 37v-39r). *Tra verdi frondi* (2nd entry) and *Una smaniosa* (gath. 5). Scribes A and B: *Or sie che può, Po' c'anno and Perché vendetta*, all on ff. 82r-83r (see *SL* 2211: *Or sie che può* and *Poc' anno di mirar* [ff. 105r-105v]).

The extended Paolo/Landini ballata section in gatherings 9-12, and additions in gath. 13, in which we find the works of the two composers mixed. Scribe B: *Benché partito, De' dolce morte*, Landini's *El gran disio* and *Donna s'i t'o fallito, Donne e fanciulle*, Landini's *Fortuna via* (ff. 84r-86v). Scribe B: *Se partir mi convien, Sie mille volte* (ff. 97v-98v). Scribe B: Landini's *Selvaggia fera, Se già seguir*, Landini's *S'i fossi certo* (ff. 104v-106v). Scribe B: *Se le n'arà and Tra speranza* (ff. 129v-131r).

Other scribes in *Pit*. Scribe F: *Doglia continua* with Andrea's *Donna se raçi*.

[Other sources. Scribe E in *Cil*: *Sie mille volte, Se partir mi convien, and Se già seguir* (ff. 94v-95v). Scribe D in *Lw*: *Amor tu solo 'l sai and Amor, de' dimmi* (ff. Cv-Dv)].

in alphabetical arrangements, probably because his goal was simply to fill-in the rest of the works he knew to be by Paolo.²⁰

Scribe H collaborated with D in both *Pit* and *Lw*. The former copyist also enjoyed privileged access to this repertory, and his association with then recent 15th-century songs is represented most strikingly in his copying of a Ciconia song, paralleled by his partner's access to another non-Tuscan work, Philipoctus da Caserta's *Par le grant sens d'Adriane* (added to the index by Scribe H). To judge from surviving sources, Scribe F seems to have been the only pre-*SL* 2211 scribe (outside of *Sq*) to have had a copy of *Girand' un bel falcon*, quite likely a freshly-composed madrigal at the time *Pit* was compiled. This is corroborated by the copying history of other songs Scribe F entered into *Pit*: *Doglia continua*, *S'amor in cor gentil*, and the *Benedicamus Domino* setting.

PAOLO AS A FLORENTINE COMPOSER

We have already noted that Don Paolo Tenorista's participation in Florentine history and cultural life of the early Quattrocento is reflected in his two political madrigals, *Godi Firenze* and *Girand' un bel falcon*. The former celebrates the definitive Florentine victory over Pisa in 1406 and, as I have discussed elsewhere, the latter very likely describes sentiments against one of the schismatic popes at the time of the Council of Pisa in 1409.²¹ Another work, *Sofrir m'estuet*, may also be tied to events in the early years of the century.²² The text of this ballata may be read as an attack on the Visconti sometime during the years 1397-1402, a period during which Florence faced almost certain defeat as a result of Giangaleazzo's expansionist campaign in Tuscany: Milanese troops under the command of Alberico da Barbiano began sacking and burning the entire Valdarno in 1397. This is vividly described by Franco Sacchetti in twelve sonnets from the *Libro delle rime*.²³ We may also

²⁰ Two pairs appear in gath. 8: *Chi vuol veder, Che l'agg' i' fatto* (ff. 75v-77r); *Amor mi stringe, Amor da po'* (ff. 78v-80r).

²¹ See note 4.

²² See GÉNÉVIEVE THIBAUT, *Emblèmes et devises des Visconti dans le œuvres musicales du Trecento*, in *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, III, Certaldo, Centro di studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento 1970, pp. 131-160, where the author suggests a date for the ballata in the 1370s or '80s.

²³ FRANCO SACCHETTI, *Il libro delle rime*, ed. Alberto Chiari, Bari, Laterza 1936,

note that Niccolò da Perugia and Bartolino da Padova had set to music the madrigal *La fiera testa* in which the first phrase of its ritornello, « sofrir m'estuet » (« I must suffer »), can be taken as a response to the threat of Milanese domination. In one of the last chapters of Giovanni Sercambi's *Novelliere*, written ca. 1400, the author cites this madrigal, with its political implications emphasized by the addition of a second phrase from a Visconti motto.²⁴ The text of *Sofrir m'estuet* in *Pit* as set by Paolo is the following:

Sofrir m'estuet et plus non puis durer
le grant fors d'amour:
je fort languis con joye en grant doulour.

Vidor gli ochi mortal di raçi accesa
fiammegiar una stella al modo un sole;
la vista mia non poté far difesa:
passò el raço [a]l core, onde si dole.
Non val sospir, non fe', non dir parole,
en grant doye est mon cuer:
je pourport esperans in douls amour.

pp. 332-338. See also FRANCO SACCHETTI, *Il Trecentonovelle*, ed. Antonio Lanza, Firenze, Sansoni 1984, pp. 555-556, 560.

²⁴ Luciano Rossi, in his edition of Sercambi's *Il Novelliere*, 3 vols., Roma, Salerno 1974, makes the important point that the *novelle* were probably composed between 1399 and 1403, and perhaps even beyond that date if one considers concordances with Sercambi's own *Croniche*. Decisive in his dating is the citation of *La fiera testa* (novella CLI); Sercambi's own date of 1374 is probably fictitious (vol. I, *Introduzione*, p. xx). Sercambi cites the madrigal text we know from musical sources, but adds two lines at the end of the ritornello, the first of which is the complete phrase of Bernabò Visconti's motto as found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 7323, f. 5r (see G. THIBAUT, *Emblèmes* cit., Table XII): « Sofrir m'estoit in Gotrisach, / Sofrir m'estoit in Sanderlich ». The citation of the madrigal also renders the first line as « Una fiera biscia che d'uman si ciba » rather than « Una fiera testa ... », no doubt stressing the point that rather than expelling a body, a new reading of the Visconti emblem would have the serpent consume a human figure (I thank Reinhard Strohm for this point). The text of *Sofrir m'estuet* survives in Firenze, Biblioteca riccardiana, ms. 2735, a 15th-century poetic miscellany which includes works of political interest (datable to the early decades of the century) as well some older canzoni by Fazio degli Uberti; *Sofrir m'estuet* is to be found in empty space between two amorous poems, and, as such, it can be considered a love poem with veiled political overtones. The « star blazing like the rays of a sun » is an allusion to the Visconti emblem of a radiant sun, against which there appears to be no defense, « no point in sighing, in hoping [...] ». Of related interest regarding the Visconti, we may note that a canzone by Fazio degli Uberti cited by Giovanni Sercambi, *L'utile intendo più* (novella LXXXVII), was, in fact, a poem dedicated to Galeazzo and Bernabò Visconti. On the meaning of the phrase « sofrir m'estuet », see Hendrik van der Werf's review of *Chanter m'estuet: Songs of the Trouvères*, eds. Hans Tischler and Samuel Rosenberg, Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1981, in « Journal of the American Musicological Society », XXXV, 1982, p. 539.

Certainly, the numerous progressive stylistic elements of this ballata would not keep us from associating it with other compositions of the early 15th century: extended syncopation and melismas in the ripresa section, counterbalanced by a markedly syllabic setting in the second section of music;²⁵ mixed French and Italian notation, reflected respectively in the setting of French and Italian text lines;²⁶ 3¹ texture; a refined musical rhyme between final cadences of the ripresa and piedi sections, in which the Cantus part remains identical while the lower parts are varied (cf. the ritornelli of some of Paolo's madrigals, where each verse of a two-line ritornello is set to the same music, but in which one of the voices is through-composed, as in *Fra duri scogli*). In this regard, the fact that there may be a musical connection between Paolo's *Sofrir m'estuet* and *En attendant sufrir m'estuet*, a work by a composer associated with the Visconti court in Milan, Philipoctus da Caserta, is significant, and it is striking that a ballade by Philipoctus should have been included in *Pit*, copied by the scribe who exhibited extraordinary access to Paolo's *œuvre*, Scribe D.²⁷

CHRONOLOGY

The manuscript tradition of Paolo's works supports the view that he was active as a composer at least into the first decade of the Quattrocento. While the order of other composers' songs had been somewhat fixed by the time of their redaction in *Pit*, such is not the case for Paolo, the sequence of whose works underwent significant rearrangement in *SL* 2211 and, from what we can tell, in *Cil* and even *Sq*. The less prescribed order for Paolo's songs, and the evidence that relatively few of his ballatas appear in alphabetical arrangements, suggests that most of

²⁵ Similar traits can be heard in the sonnet *Dolçe mie donna* (see N. PIRROTTA, *Paolo Tenorista* cit., p. 35).

²⁶ Manipulation of language plays an important formal role in this song: the return to French in the volta satisfies the rounded form of the ballata; in a similar fashion, the *concatenazione* between volta and piedi is accomplished not only through rhyme but through language (Italian) as well.

²⁷ G. THIBAUT, *Emblèmes* cit., p. 156, demonstrates a thematic link in the setting of the words « sofrir m'estuet » in the four works by Paolo, Philipoctus, Bartolino, and Niccolò.

his works had not circulated widely by the first decade of the 15th century.²⁸ Certainly, the fact that Giovanni Sercambi failed to cite even one of Paolo's songs is noteworthy (although it is true that the composer had not set the writer's favorite poet, Niccolò Soldanieri): the author simply may not have known Paolo as a composer, and, quite possibly, a number of the latter's compositions postdate the redaction of the *Novelliere*.²⁹

It is safe to say that Paolo represented the major current composer to the compilers of *Pit*. They placed his madrigals and ballatas after those of Landini, and the sequence of Paolo following in Landini's footsteps was maintained for ballatas as well as madrigals in the interpolated gatherings. This was the situation in 1405-10, and points to the limited circulation of Paolo's songs. During the second decade of the century, the question of Paolo's authorship, resulting from the attribution problems reflected in *Pit*'s alphabetical groups, may have grown considerably and to some extent led to the blank folios in *Sq* – an integral part of the frustrations faced by the compilers of *Sq* in gaining access to the totality of his songs (this hypothesis, of course, severely strains any consideration of Paolo's direct involvement in the preparation of *Sq*).³⁰ If such a break in the transmission of Paolo's works have insured

²⁸ A further clue to the chronology of transmission may be that Scribe E compiled all of Landini's ballatas in alphabetical order in *Fn F.5.5* but did so with only a few of Paolo's ballatas in *Cil* (although these may be two very different sorts of sources). As mentioned above, we should probably dismiss Don Paolo di Marco's authorship of the ballata *Perch' i' non seppi* in the Reina Codex (it would represent the only «foreign» work of the scribe who copied it; see J. NÁDAS, *The Transmission* cit., Chpt. III, especially p. 193). Although Paolo's compositions seem to have been confined to musical circles in Florence, at least a few works by colleagues enjoyed wider circulation. In *Lo*, *Se non ti piacque* was copied into a small, secondary madrigal section, along with works by Landini and Niccolò. The fact that *Lo* represents Paolo so poorly may mean that the source was produced before the compilation and redaction of the composer's works into other song anthologies. This criterion would also help date the preparation of the central collection in ms. Panciatichiano 26 to the period delimited by Landini's death and the redaction of *Pit* and related sources (1397-1406).

²⁹ I suppose a similar case could be made for Simone Prodenzani's *Saporetto*; see SANTORRE DEBENEDETTI, *Simone Prudenzi, Il «Sollazzo»: Contributi alla storia della novella, della poesia musicale e del costume nel trecento*, Torino, Fratelli Bocca 1922, Appendice B: *I sonetti musicali*. Thus, I would argue against the idea that Paolo's works were known in Umbria, a thesis proposed by Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti in their study of *Cil*.

³⁰ It is clear that the «archival» status achieved by Landini's ballatas in *Fn F.5.5* and *Sq* was never fully attained by Paolo's songs (see M. FABBRI and J. NÁDAS, *A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment* cit., p. 76, and J. NÁDAS, *The Transmission* cit., Chpt. V,

his near-anonymity after ca. 1415, a surprise awaits us in the songs copied by the scribe of *SL 2211*, who also added a rather special repertory to *Lo*: the Mass movements. There may well be a connection, for this scribe was acquainted with sacred polyphony as well as the compositions of a leading ecclesiastic, and the copyist was at the very center of the Florentine musical world ca. 1420-25 when the compositions of Giovanni and Piero Mazzuoli, Ugolino da Orvieto, and a widely disseminated repertory of chansons and motets were copied into the San Lorenzo Codex.

With the evidence presented above, I would like to modify an earlier suggestion that variations in the composer's name found in mss. *Pit*, *Lw* and *Man/ManP* are consequential in dating Paolo's songs – i.e., the appellative «Don» in attributions would have been employed for works composed by Paolo before his nomination to the position of «Abbas» (although it is true that in several cases such a criterion is not contradicted on stylistic grounds).³¹ Such a chronology could lead to improbable accounts: for instance, Paolo's stylistic development, as seen in his madrigals, would have followed a nearly inverse alphabetical order (letters A-N = late works; N-U/V = early works). As has been demonstrated, composer attributions were scribally initiated, and can be seen in the «conflicting attributions» of the few works surviving in multiple versions noted in Table 1. Due in large measure to the existence of *SL 2211* and *Cil*, any meaningful contrast between these attributions is refuted. This point is also contradicted by the characteristic mixture, long signaled by Pirrotta, of traditional and innovative elements in Paolo's compositional style in general, and complicated by the presence of such features in one and the same song. Cases in point are Paolo's madrigals, in which heavy doses of borrowed text, rhyme schemes, isolated phrases, and even «scenes» from the *stilnovo* poets and Petrarch

pp. 430-445). The nascent alphabetical groups in *Pit*'s Landini/Paolo ballata section were probably a relatively recent phenomenon, going back no further than the anthology itself (as mentioned previously, little evidence of such arrangement exists in the earlier ms. Panciatichiano 26, which also fails to include a single song by Paolo, and *Lo*). Significantly, only a hint of such order surfaces in *Cil*'s exclusive repertory of the composer's ballatas. Paolo's madrigals in *Pit* appear to have been copied in an alphabetical division of labor (see Table 1), suggesting (beyond a pragmatic manner of sharing work) a higher «archival» element in the madrigals as a whole; it is not unreasonable to suspect that a number of them had been composed quite some time before the turn of the century.

³¹ N. PIRROTTA, *Paolo Tenorista* cit., pp. 26-31.

– with correspondingly archaic musical features such as 2-voice texture and « classical » text-music and contrapuntal relationships – are balanced by formal experiment, diminished distinction between voices, rhythmic variety, extended imitation and sequence in controlling text declamation, and dramatic buildups to cadences.³² As has been shown, we may never be able to date Paolo's madrigals and ballatas by relying exclusively on a chronology of the sources, for the latter were compiled by a closely related group of scribes within too narrow a time span to be conclusive. The best approach must also encompass stylistic analysis for a fuller understanding of the rich blends of traditional and innovative elements that mark many of Paolo's compositions.

Nino Pirrotta's insightful analysis of Paolo Tenorista as a protagonist in both the survival of traditional style traits and the exploration of new forms and techniques has been further strengthened. We may now date some of his more archaic works to the 1390s and first decade of the 15th century with the confidence of knowing that such a notion does not run counter to artistic tendencies and interests current at that time; as a corollary, nor must we suppose that Paolo was absent from Florence in order to explain his interest in archaic forms and styles.³³ There are, of course, extreme cases, such as his refashioning of a Frescobaldi sonnet into the *poesia per musica* of his madrigal *Una fera gentil*, undoubtedly an early work; perhaps later in his career Paolo would have made use of a sonnet in its original form, as he did in his stunning setting of *Dolçe mie donna*.³⁴ Paolo's late ballata style brought him quite close to

³² A good example of what could be termed Paolo's late madrigal style is *Girand' un bel falcon*, with its conservative mensurations, unison cadences, melismas, and linking phrases, but exhibiting strong sequential and imitative treatment. *Nell' ora ch'a segar*, another late work, features *aperto/chiuso* endings for tercets and ritornello, highly fragmentary text declamation and musical phrasing, and remarkable intensification by means of sequential imitation and the use of dotted and triplet figures (at the end of the tercets). An earlier, less dramatic mixture of elements may be heard in *Era Venus*, *Ventilla con tumulto*, and *Fra duri scogli*, particularly the latter with its rather heavy encrustation of ornaments but with the seeds of things to come – among these, the slightly varied repetition in the ritornello and just a hint of forceful rhythmic patterns.

³³ On cultural tendencies in Florence in the decades around 1400, and Paolo's homage to Petrarch and Jacopo da Bologna in *Non più 'nfelice*, see J. NÁDAS, *Song Collections* cit. On the question of chronology in general, the major tool for students of this period, Sacchetti's *Libro delle rime*, has recently been re-examined, and doubt has been cast on its accuracy in dating individual poems (see LUCIA BATTAGLIA RICCI, *Tempi e modi di composizione del Libro delle rime di Franco Sacchetti*, in *La critica del testo. Problemi di metodo ed esperienze di lavoro*. Atti del Convegno di Lecce 22-26 ottobre 1984, Roma, Salerno Editrice 1985, pp. 425-450 [« Biblioteca di 'Filologia e Critica' », 1]).

³⁴ Although *Una fera gentil* can be seen as an example of text borrowing, taking its

Landini's most elegant examples for three voices (see Paolo's *Già la speranza* and *Se 'l mie fallir*, especially in their mensurations, sophisticated part-writing, cadential syncopation, and altogether homogeneous style). If works such as *Achurr' uomo* and *Amor, mercé* can be attributed to Paolo, (supported by stylistic affinities to the poetic and musical compression and new *volta* music of the secure ballata *Ome, s'io gli*), then the composer must indeed have played a central role in experiments with song forms in the late Trecento and the early years of the Quattrocento, along with the composers Andrea dei Servi and Niccolò da Perugia.³⁵

Paolo Tenorista and other Florentine musicians no doubt heard and came away with compositions of north-Italian provenance at the Council of Pisa (among them, songs by Philipoctus da Caserta). Quite possibly, then, the council marks a milestone in the importation of « foreign » works into Florence, signaling a successive phase to one in the late Trecento that had brought an older international repertory to the city (songs by Guillaume de Machaut and other composers from the French orbit), represented in *Pit* and ms. Panciatichiano 26. The great event in Pisa also seems to have coincided almost precisely with the introduction into Florence of a major music source from northern Italy – the *Mancini Codex*. The next evident flood of transalpine music accompanied Ugolino da Orvieto's temporary move to Florence in 1417 after his departure from the Council of Constance; traces of this repertory survive in the

capoverso from Matteo Frescobaldi's sonnet (see GIUSEPPE CORSI, *Rimatori del Trecento*, Torino, U.T.E.T. 1969, pp. 103, 1046), a variant of the final two lines of the sonnet are also retained for the ritornello of the madrigal, suggesting that the structure of the model served to frame its new function. The author of Paolo's madrigal, perhaps the composer himself, also kept the description of the approach of the hunters and their weapons. The madrigal appears to be an early work on the basis of the distinction between voices, lack of imitation, and the less fragmented, more traditional relationship between text and music. Another setting of a sonnet survives from the early 15th century: Giovanni Mazzuoli's *Chi non può quel che vuol, quel che può voglia* in SL 2211, f. 81v, text by the Florentine poet Antonio di Meglio (1384-1448); see ANTONIO LANZA ed., *Lirici toscani del '400*, Roma, Bulzoni 1975, II, p. 133.

³⁵ See NINO PIRROTTA, *On Text Forms from Ciconia to Dufay*, in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan La Rue, New York, Norton 1966, pp. 673-682, and DOROTHEA BAUMANN, *Some Extraordinary Forms in the Italian Secular Trecento Repertoire*, *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, IV, Certaldo, Centro di studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento 1978, pp. 45-63. Some works may have even circulated together on the basis of formal or technical elements: we find *Achurr' uomo* and *Ome s'io gli* in close proximity in *Pit* (ff. 101v-102v), although the latter may have been paired with Landini's *Oyme 'l core* (f. 103r; see index f. Fv).

most cosmopolitan of the Florentine early Quattrocento anthologies, the San Lorenzo Codex.³⁶

³⁶ On SL 2211 and its ties to Ugolino and Constance, see J. NÁDAS, *The Transmission* cit., pp. 459-486, and REINHARD STROHM, *Magister Egardus and Other Italo-Flemish Contacts*, in the acts of an international congress sponsored by the Centro di studi sull'Ars nova musicale del Trecento, entitled «L'Europa e la musica del Trecento», Certaldo, 1984 (forthcoming as *L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento*, VI). Further identifications of compositions in SL 2211 since 1985 support these ties: the motet *Apollinis eclipsatur* appears with the second Cantus part *Pantheon abluatur* (ff. 69v, 79r), the latter found only in the lost Strasbourg manuscript 222 C.22. For a history of the transmission of this motet prior to its redaction in Florence, see MARIA CARMEN GÓMEZ, *Une version a cinq voix du motet Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis dans le manuscrit E-BCEN 853*, «Musica Disciplina», XXXIX, 1985, pp. 5-44. Furthermore, I am indebted to David Fallows for identifying a song in the Ugolino gathering of SL 2211 (gath. 18, f. 68r) which belongs to a small repertory of 2-part, equal-voiced compositions of the early 15th century; on this genre, see DAVID FALLOWS, *Two Equal Voices: A French Song Repertory With Music for Two More Works of Oswald von Wolkenstein*, «Early Music History», VII, 1987, pp. 227-241.

REINHARD STROHM

FILIPPOTTO DA CASERTA,
OVVERO I FRANCESI IN LOMBARDIA

In uno dei suoi saggi meno conosciuti, ma ora fortunatamente ristampato, Nino Pirrotta si pone il problema della reazione italiana alla musica francese dell'ultimo Trecento dal punto di vista estetico, proponendo una polarità tra la *dulcedo* italiana e la *subtilitas* francese come rispettivi ideali della produzione polifonica profana.¹ Come esempio egli si serve tra l'altro delle sei *chansons* francesi di Filippotto da Caserta, da lui giudicato un seguace della *subtilitas*. Anche se questo breve contributo non intende indagare sugli aspetti stilistico-estetici della composizione ma proporre un'ipotesi puramente storico-biografica, occorre subito dire che il concetto di *subtilitas* è stato in seguito (nel 1963) elevato da Ursula Günther al rango di denominazione di tutto un repertorio, quello cioè dell'*ars subtilior*.² Per questa estensione del concetto non mancano giustificazioni, ad esempio nell'opera teorica di Johannes Boen (circa 1355), il quale utilizza il termine in vari modi e nel suo proemio lo accosta persino al termine *dulcedo*.³

L'ipotesi storica che qui si propone è semplicissima: il centro di coltivazione dell'*ars subtilior* in Italia dovrebbe esser stata la corte viscontea, specialmente sotto Giangaleazzo Visconti (1385-1402), e Filippotto da Caserta sarebbe stato un membro di questo circolo culturale.

¹ NINO PIRROTTA, *Dulcedo e subtilitas nella pratica polifonica franco-italiana al principio del Quattrocento*, «Revue belge de musicologie», II, 1948, pp. 125-132, ora anche nel suo *Musica tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Torino, Einaudi 1984, pp. 130-141.

² URSULA GÜNTHER, *Das Ende der Ars nova*, «Die Musikforschung», XVI, 1963, pp. 105-120.

³ JOHANNES BOEN, *Ars (musicae)*, a cura di F. Alberto Gallo, s.l., American Institute of Musicology 1972 («Corpus scriptorum de musica», 19). Ho discusso l'uso storicizzante del termine nel trattato di Boen nel mio *European music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, London, Dent (di prossima pubblicazione), cap. 1.