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p. 17 l. 2	3 (Fig. 1)	(Plate I)
p. 18 l. 2	(Fig. 3)	(Plate II)
p. 18 l. 2	9 (Fig. 4)	(Plate III)
p. 19 l. 1	9 (Fig. 2)	delete
p. 25 l. 2	6 (Fig. 2)	delete
p. 33 l. 3	31 29-30	30-31
p. 41 l. 2	3* p. XX	p. 15
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p. 43 l. 20	0 p. XX	p. 16
p. 44 l. 13	3 p. XX	p. 18
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p. 46 l.	1 p. XX	p. 14
p. 46 l. 20	0 p. XX	p. 20
p. 56 l. 4		Insert after No. 36
	WORKS	
	ATTRIBUTED TO PAOLO	
p. 83 l. 3		Amor de' diment
p. 05 1.	, se utitut	Amor, de' dimmi

*Not including the heading FOOT NOTES.

FACOLTA' DI LETTERE E FILOSOFIA DI AREZZO BIBLIOTECA

> 782.43 (1)

To the memory of Ettore Lí Gottí



Plate I. Codex Squarcialupi, folio 55: Paolo's miniature portrait.

PAOLO TENORISTA

in a new fragment of the Italian Ars Nova



A facsimile edition of an early fifteenthcentury manuscript now in the library of Professor Edward E. Lowinsky, Berkeley, California with an introduction by Nino Pirrotta.

Ernest E. Gottlieb



Palm Springs - 1961

468415

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THE LOWINSKY FRAGMENT

Introduction

IN 1955, A HITHERTO UNKNOWN source for the works of Don Paolo Tenorista, a late Florentine representative of the so-called Italian Ars Nova—Trecento polyphonic music—came to my attention. It is in the possession of Professor Edward E. Lowinsky of Berkeley, California. I have described elsewhere¹ the circumstances of my first examination of the manuscript. The object of this volume is to present a facsimile of the fragment and a modern transcription of the music it contains. An attempt has also been made to outline the problematic personality of the composer and his background.

The Lowinsky fragment consists of two vellum double leaves which were presented to him by Aldo Olschki of Florence. The latter had purchased them from a dealer who did not recall (or professed not to recall) how they had come into his possession among the many manuscripts he had acquired over the years. Hence, nothing is known about their origin. From a sharp cut in their upper margins, and from traces of having been folded on their lateral and lower margins, it is evident that they were part of an old binding.

Composers' names and folio numbers, if any existed, were removed by the cutting of the upper margins; as a result we are prevented from forming any idea about the size of the manuscript to which the two double leaves originally belonged. With regard to their position in the original codex, their contents indicate that they were placed one inside the other as the central part of a gathering. At present they form a small fascicle of four folios—a series of eight pages—henceforth designated by the letters a - d.

On the whole the fragment is in fairly good condition, but the ink of the external pages $(a \text{ and } d^v)$ is reduced to faint shadows. This is also true of some words that a later hand scribbled, upside down, and mostly on the older lines of text, on folio d^v . In addition, traces of humidity and glue, some spots, some small holes, and ink signs add

to the difficulty of reading the external pages; but similar flaws hardly interfere with the reading of the other pages. The present size of each page is 7 by 5 inches,² an unusually small format for musical sources of this period. As a result, only six staves, each formed by five red lines, are traced on a page.

The musical notation of the Lowinsky fragment appears to belong to Italian practice at the stage when, during the second half of the fourteenth century, it became similar to the basic and simplest form of French notation. It does not present any particular problem of transcription. Dots are merely used as *puncti additionis* or *perfectionis*; by a restrained use of syncopation the intricacies of the socalled mannered notation are avoided. Only in one piece (no. 4, folios $c^v - d$) empty black notes replace the red ones of a concordant source.³

Two hands are distinguishable in the fragment. The writing on folios a-b, and $c^v - d^v$ shows a bold cursive semigothic hand—the hand of a man who wrote fast but clearly, who strongly accentuated the thick strokes of his pen, but gave a sense of fluency to his script through the spontaneous elegance, proportion, and rhythm of his letters. A second hand, appearing on folios b^v and c^v , shows a considerable, though not absolute, similarity to that of the first scribe, mainly in the shapes of the letters. It lacks the other's force and weight, and is less regular. It is evident, however, that the two scribes belonged to the same school.

Three complete musical compositions are easily read, one on each of the internal openings of the fascicle, i.e., respectively, on folios $a^v - b$, $b^v - c$, and $c^v - d$. Two more, both incomplete, were identified, despite the unfavorable state of preservation, on each of the two external pages (folios a and d^v). This brings the contents of the fragment to a total of five pieces, as listed below, p. xx. They are all in the Italian *ballata* form. Four were already known from another source⁴ as being by Paolo Tenorista. No concordance could be found for the remaining *ballata* (no. 2; *Dolçe mia donna*). It constitutes a valuable addition to the repertory of the Italian Ars Nova known thus far. But the great interest of the Lowinsky fragment also lies in the light it helps to shed on the musical tradition of that period.

PAOLO TENORISTA IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE ITALIAN ARS NOVA

SINCE THE PIONEERING WORK of Johannes Wolf with the sources of medieval polyphony in Europe,⁵ the Italian Ars Nova of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries has tended to be identified mainly with the activity of Florentine masters. In spite of some reservations suggested by Friedrich Ludwig,⁶ the belief has continued that the Florentine works held a central and influential position—a position which they probably did not enjoy, at least not in the way and to the extent assumed.

The Florentine tradition is represented by four large collections, some of them handsomely decorated: the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichi 26; London, British Museum, add mss. 29987; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds ital. 568; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palat. 87, also known as the Squarcialupi Codex.7 As regards the music of the fourteenth century in the regions of Northern Italy, our knowledge still depended, long after Wolf's basic survey of the sources, on a single complete manuscript-Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. françaises 6771 (Reina codex)-and a few Paduan fragments.⁸ Some newly discovered sources have only slightly altered this disproportion.⁹ Nevertheless we are now in a better position to read beyond the fallacy of outward appearances. Although the artistic level of Florentine polyphony is high, and the chronological and stylistic continuity suggested by the works of its various composers is impressive, it is still true that the Florentines were more often influenced than influencing.

Evidence for this direction of influence is found in the position accorded by the above-mentioned Florentine sources to such composers as the mysterious Piero, Jacopo da Bologna, or Bartolino da Padova, who displayed their talents for the signorie, the lordly courts of the Scaligeri, Visconti, and da Carrara in Northern Italy. The most extensive collections of works by these men are in Florentine manuscripts. Even the unsystematic London manuscript¹⁰ reserves its place of honor for Jacopo's works. The Northern sources on the contraryand also such a source as the Tuscan, but not Florentine, manuscript Lucca, Archivio di Stato (Mancini codex)¹¹—include Florentine works only by composers who are known as having been active in Northern Italy: a few madrigals by Giovanni da Firenze, who worked in Verona (and probably also in Padua and Milan), and a small group of ballate by Francesco Landini, the outstanding representative of the polyphonic ballata, who is believed to have spent some early years in Venice.¹²

According to a fashion that probably spread from the French-Italian Anjevin court of Naples,13 the consumers, so to speak, of polyphonic music in the fourteenth century were mainly in the Northern courts. In Florence, on the other hand, where social prestige had to be tempered by observance of the prevailing democratic principles, only suspicion could arise from external display of luxury and courtly manners of life. Hence a birth or wedding only rarely occasioned heraldic madrigals like Gherardello's Di bella palla,14 or Donato's D' or pomo. In general, Florentine polyphony remained an art for the almost exclusively personal consumption of its composers. It slowly gained some appreciation by a small circle of connoisseurs, possibly at first because of their curiosity for the madrigals and cacce from the Northern courts. It reached a slightly larger public only at the end of the fourteenth century and in the first decades of the fifteenth, owing to the adoption of lyric ballata texts and to Landini's personal success.

The extant Florentine manuscripts reflect just such a slow increase of popularity. They are, without exception, from a late period—the last decade of the fourteenth and far into the fifteenth century-and do not preserve any work composed in Florence before 1350. They include from this early period, however, a good many works by the Northern composers Piero and Jacopo, and also madrigals by Giovanni da Firenze, who is known to have composed in Northern Italy. The Florentine sources, with a single exception, preserve only few works composed in Florence in the following period (roughly 1350-1375) by Gherardello, Lorenzo, and Donato. The intermediate phase represented by these masters would be little known without the latest and most comprehensive among the Florentine manuscripts, the Squarcialupi codex, which appears to have been the product of a pious and painstaking search for the remains of a vanishing art.¹⁵ Without this famous manuscript even our knowledge of the most recent phase of the Florentine Ars Nova would be far less complete. The Squarcialupi codex, indeed, is the only available source for about fifty of Landini's earliest pieces¹⁶—a third of his total output-and for thirty works by Andrea de' Servi, a vounger Florentine composer.17

Quite different is the situation with regard to the works by the composer known as Don Paolo Tenorista da Firenze, whom we have mentioned as the author of four out of five pieces in the Lowinsky fragment. None of Paolo's works appear in the Squarcialupi codex. However, there was no intention of ignoring him. Folio 55 contains his miniature portrait (Fig. 1), and the following pages up to folio 71^v, headed by his name, were prepared for his music. But the staves remained blank. Another of the Florentine manuscripts is the main source of Paolo's works. This is the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds italiens 568, containing thirty-two of his madrigals and *ballate*,¹⁸ plus one religious piece.

This beautiful vellum manuscript consists of 140 leaves equally divided into fourteen gatherings,¹⁹ two of them, however, inserted at a somewhat later time.²⁰ The basic plan of its original collection is quite evident in spite of the interpolation of short pieces to fill the spaces left free by the main contents. It was divided into two sections, the one including madrigals and *cacce*, the other devoted to pieces in the form of the *ballata*.²¹ According to the importance and productivity of each composer in either field, a certain space was assigned to his works to be entered when made available. The number of pages allotted to Paolo gave him a prominent place in the manuscripts both as a composer of madrigals and of *ballate*. The two fascicles added later, containing almost exclusively his works, brought him to preeminent position, second only to that of Landini.

The contrasting situation of the two sources lends itself to speculation. From one side one gets the impression that Paolo's name and activity were fairly well known to the zealous compilers of the Squarcialupi collection; but some obstacle, it seems, barred them from access to his music. On the other hand, the peculiarities of the Parisian manuscript strongly suggest a personal inference in its collection, if not by the composer himself, by somebody who was, or had been, closely in touch with him.

Consideration of other sources containing Paolo's works is apt only to strengthen the probability of such a personal relationship. The Lowinsky fragment contains, as already mentioned, four ballate certainly by Paolo, and is therefore second in importance among the sources of his work. A quick glance at its two handwritings²² allows us to recognize in the first of them the hand of the same scribe who had the principal role in the preparation of the two fascicles inserted in the Parisian codex (Fig. 3), and who also worked at many sections of the original body of that manuscript.²³ Such a coincidence was no surprise to me because I had already recognized the work of the same scribe in the last three pieces-one a ballate by Paolo-of the Lucca codex.²⁴ With less immediate evidence, but with no less certainty, the handwriting of Paolo's Doglia continua in the Lowinsky fragment (no. 3, folios $b^v - c$) can be related to the scribe who copied this same piece as one of the latest additions to the Paris manuscript (Fig. 4). He also copied other pieces in the same manuscript,²⁵ though his hand is not always easily distinguishable from others (at least in photographic reproductions).

Outside of this chain of related handwritings there remain only two sources of Paolo's works, each one containing but a single work attributed to him. The erratic London manuscript contains one M[adriale] di don paghollo. A ballata inscribed Dompni Pauli, not found in the main source nor elsewhere, is included in the Reina manuscript, already mentioned as being of Northern origin.²⁶

We must discard any thought that one of the two handwritings, in which the works by Paolo more often appear, might be his own. For one thing, they provide good, but not faultless, versions. Furthermore, the similarity of the two hands, their professional look, their reiterated copying of the same pieces in different manuscripts would seem to indicate that the work was done by some group of professional scribes who had succeeded, in ways unknown to us, in monopolizing Paolo's works.

Many hands alternate in the Paris manuscript, their scripts strongly resembling one another. A professional attitude can be discerned in the clear-cut organization of the main source of Paolo's works.²⁷ This makes it hard to believe that the manuscript originated as a repertory accumulated by practical musicians. If we consider, furthermore, the simple yet elegant finishing of the initials, the handsome, if not excellent, miniature of a musical allegory appearing on the first page (Fig. 2), and our knowledge of other manuscripts written by the same scribes, we are reminded of the workshops for the production of fine manuscript books which were to become, during the fifteenth century, one of the most renowned Florentine activities.

The thesis that the copyists of the manuscripts were professionals does not exclude their having had some personal relationship with Paolo. They may have been monks of the culturally famous Santa Maria degli Angeli, or of San Benedetto at the gates of Florence, both monasteries of the Camaldolite order, to which, as we shall see, Paolo was related. In Santa Maria degli Angeli a *scriptorium*, in existence at least since the first half of the fourteenth century, was flourishing in Paolo's time. It was famous for its miniature painters, among them Don Silvestro de' Gherarducci (d. 1399), Don Simone da Siena, Don Simone Stefani (d. 1437), and Piero di Giovanni, better known for his paintings as Don Lorenzo Monaco (d. about 1425). A Bartolomeo di Fruosino (1366-1441), possibly a pupil of Don Simone da Siena or Lorenzo Monaco, in 1404 decorated a missal for Cardinal Acciaiuoli,²⁸ with whom Paolo was associated.²⁹ There, at the Angeli, the Lowinsky fragment—or rather the codex to which it belonged—may also have been copied about 1425.³⁰

A Problematic Biography

Who was PAOLO TENORISTA? So little is known of the lives of medieval artists that we are often forced to create imaginary pictures of them, derived perhaps from no better clues than the sound, or the various spellings, of their names. Elements to stimulate our imagination are not lacking in the case of Paolo. His name, not too common in Florence at that time, his role as a performer which determined his surname,³¹ the peremptory, oratorical syntax of the poems he set to music, even the boldness of the hand that wrote the bulk of his music, concur in conveying the impression of an imperious, rather aggressive personality. A touch of elusive and dramatic quality is added by the omission of his music, so loudly announced, in the Squarcialupi manuscript.³²

Less imaginative but more significant information about Paolo can be gleaned from the two different forms in which his name appears. Because of stylistic affinities among the works it is generally assumed that both forms refer to the same composer. This assumption requires, however, supporting evidence.

It is safe to suppose that the scribes of the older section of the Paris codex,³³ having used the full name, "Don Paolo Tenorista Dafirence," at the head of the madrigal *Non piu infelice* on folios 34^v -35, intended to designate the same composer when they inscribed the following four madrigals with such abbreviated headings as "Don Paolo," "Don Pa.," and finally "D.P." The same applies to "Don Paolo" found above a series of seven *ballate* in another fascicle of the old stratum of the manuscript (folios 81-84). The peculiarity of these headings (the surname Tenorista is no longer repeated after the first statement) is the title "don." The same title accompanying the



Plate II. Codex Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds ital. 568, folio 51^v: Example of handwriting A.

same name ("Dompni Pauli" and "di don paghollo") above two pieces respectively in the Reina and London codices,³⁴ heightens the probability that they, too, are works of the "Tenorista."

The form of the name with "don," however, is used with fewer than half of Paolo's pieces. Six madrigals and thirteen ballate, which make up most of the contents of the two inserted fascicles of the Paris manuscript, bear a characteristic monogram combining the two capital letters P and A; it is used again for a Mass setting, anonymous in the last fascicle of the same manuscript (folio 138), but listed in the index as "Benedicamus P.A." A clue to the link between the "don" names and the monogram is "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia" found on the sixteen blank leaves of the Squarcialupi codex. It suggests Paulus Abbas as the interpretation for the monogram, and contains, in common with the inscriptions of the first group of works, the title "don." The meaning of this title seems to have been clear to the compiler of the Squarcialupi codex because he applied it-or actually its Latin equivalent-to Paolo and Donato, the only composers portrayed in the black cassock of the Benedictine monks in the miniatures of this manuscript.

Another document exists in which both titles are combined. "Dominus Paulus de Florentia abbas Pozzoli Aretine diocesis" was one of the witnesses³⁵ to an *Instrumentum procurationis* (i.e., a power of attorney) written in Rome, "in domo . . . domini Angeli cardinalis apud Sanctum Laurentium in Damasco," on July 16, 1404. The document, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 2664, folio 253 ff., is a preliminary draft. In spite of a number of corrections some mistakes remained, such as the attribution of Pozzoli to the Aretine diocese.³⁶ Actually this monastery, i.e., the abbey of San Pietro "de putheolis" six miles from Lucca, belonged to the Lucchese diocese. Pozzoli, or Pozzoveri, was a monastery of the Camaldolite order which, as a Benedictine branch, entitled its members to call themselves "don."

The Camaldolite monks usually wore white cassocks, but some monasteries still preserved the black ones of the Benedictine order. Assuming that the abbot of the *Instrumentum procurationis* is the same as the "Tenorista," the black robe in his portrait of the Squarcialupi codex is not necessarily a mistake. If the assumption is correct, the document preserved in the Vatican Library gives us at least one date for Paolo's life: he was in Rome in 1404. Another date may be deduced from his three-voice madrigal *Godi*, *Firenze*, undoubtedly inspired by the final victory of Florence over Pisa,³⁷ which was forced to surrender in 1406 after a fierce yet hopeless defense.

The faint glimpses of Paolo's life caught from these two dates only serve to whet the appetite for further biographical data. They led me to the hypothesis that Paolo's presence in Rome was determined by his association with the cardinal of San Lorenzo in Damaso, in whose interest, and at whose house, the Instrumentum procurationis was written in 1404. He was Angelo Acciaiuoli, a Florentine, bishop of his town from 1383 to 1387,38 and thereafter known as "the cardinal of Florence."39 The notary and most of the other people present or participating in the act were likewise Florentines. or at least Tuscans. They were apparently chosen with great care, because they were all influential members of the papal court. Indeed, two of them became cardinals in 1411.40 As a Florentine, as one of the cardinal's assistants, as his familiaris continuus commensalis-a title often given to musicians⁴¹—Paolo may have followed Acciaiuoli in the various steps of his ecclesiastical career and on his many political and diplomatic missions, the most important of which were performed in Naples in 1390-1395,42 and in Hungary in 1403.

If Paolo Tenorista is the abbot of Pozzuoli, he was involved in an intriguing story, at the core of the political and ecclesiastic troubles of that period. The abbey of Pozzuoli was suppressed in July, 1408, by decree of Pope Gregory XII, who complained that the monastery was half ruined, and had been abandoned by its abbot and monks.⁴³ Gregory XII was then resident in Lucca with a small part of his former retinue. Four cardinals, including Angelo Acciaiuoli, had accompanied the pope in Lucca; but they had subsequently deserted him in May, and joined the council which was assembling in Pisa with the purpose of ending the schism that had divided the Church for forty years. The papal bull suppressing the abbey assigns Pozzoli and its revenue to the chapter of the cathedral of Lucca, who had remained faithful to the pope. It was, too, an act of retaliation against the Camaldolite order and Acciaiuoli, who is known to have been its protector.

Paolo was not, as I first thought, the "wandering abbot" blamed by the papal bull. This expression must refer rather to the "regular" abbot who was, and had been for many years, Agostino Moriconi of Lucca.⁴⁴ Paolo, therefore, probably had an abbacy *in commendam*, a title which conferred on its owner part of the revenue of the abbey without any obligation, least of all, residence. In order to explain the presence of a *ballata* by Paolo in the last pages of the Lucca manuscript—which is likely to be of Lucchese origin⁴⁵—we may suppose that he went to Lucca in 1407-1408 with the papal court, and that he eventually accompanied the cardinal of Florence to the council in Pisa.⁴⁶ It is also possible that he was later in Lucca, or returned there, to defend his right to lost prebends.

An abbacy *in commendam* was often the reward obtained by a cardinal or other ecclesiastic dignitary for a man attached to him. Such a man could even be a relative of the bishop or cardinal; but I have not been able to identify Paolo with any of the Acciaiuoli living at that time. Genealogic research led me, however, to the heraldic motto "Wann Gott will" used by the Capponi, another Florentine family, who seem to have been on good terms with the Acciaiuoli.⁴⁷ It is not known precisely when or by whom this device was used,⁴⁸ but it has a striking similarity to the one inscribed on the first page of the Paris manuscript (Fig. 2), where a coat of arms⁴⁹ is surmounted by a winged female figure displaying a banderole with the words "uuen · goth · uyel."⁵⁰

Two members of the Capponi family, Marco di Cione and Alessandro di Micozzo, entered the Camaldolite order during the first half of the fourteenth century. They both assumed the name "Don Paolo."⁵¹ Two others by name Paolo (Paolo di Recco and Paolo di Lorenzo), entered the same order in the following century and belonged to the monastery of San Benedetto at the gates of Florence.⁵² None of them, nor any other listed member of the family, seems to be Don Paolo the "Tenorista."⁵³ Nevertheless, if we consider the emphasis put on Paolo's works by the compilers of the Paris manuscript, we can be reasonably sure that he was a Capponi,⁵⁴ and that the manuscript belonged either to him, or to one of his relatives. Support comes from the fact that the acquisition of Pisa by the Florentines in 1406, celebrated in the already mentioned madrigal by Paolo, *Godi, Firenze,* was largely due to the political skill and wisdom of the *gonfaloniere* Gino Capponi.⁵⁵

If Paolo was attached to Cardinal Acciaiuoli since the time of the latter's bishopric in Florence (1383-87), and even if he came back to Florence after Acciaiuoli's death (1409), he would still have been away for about a quarter of a century, long enough to explain the scarcity of his works available in his native town.⁵⁶ Such a hypothesis, expressed in my definition of Paolo as a Florentine "extra moenia,"⁵⁷ fits well into what is known of the development of the artist's personality.

Paolo's Artistic Development

IF WE AGREE THAT THE EXISTENCE of two Paolos, both Florentine, both composers, both probably members of the same monastic order, is unlikely, then the titles "don" and "abbas" must distinguish pieces which precede and follow Paolo's promotion to the abbacy.

We do not know how long Paolo had been an abbot before his participation in the act of 1404; nor, more important, how long before this date the works attributed to "Don Paolo" were composed. If we are correct in assuming that Paolo belonged to the retinue of Angelo Acciaiuoli, we may ascribe these works to the period before 1387, the year in which Paolo should have left Florence in the following of his cardinal. Stylistic considerations do not contradict such a date.

To this group belong seven *ballate* and five two-voice madrigals. Four *ballate* have texts in both voices and follow a pleasant melodic style that probably derives from the earlier monodic *ballate*; they also move in the ternary rhythms that were characteristic of this genre.⁵⁸ A three-part *ballata* in *novenaria* rhythm, *Amor, de' dimmi*, is also treated in a traditional way. The two remaining *ballate*,⁵⁹ with their *senaria imperfecta* rhythm and instrumental tenor and contratenor, represent what in fourteenth-century Italy was superficially considered to be French style. We can speak, indeed, of these and similar *ballate* as "a traditional type of supposed imitation of French style." These *ballate* all belong to types cultivated by Landini early in his career,⁶⁰ that is, up to the 'seventies of the fourteenth century. They are, therefore, what we might expect up to the 'eighties from a young Paolo, born about 1360 or shortly before.

Paolo's madrigals belonging to the same early $group^{61}$ seem, on the whole, to be much less consistent with the Florentine tradition than his *ballate*—although this is true to a lesser extent of his very early *Una fera gentil* and *Fra verdi fronde*. A more punctilious search for rhythmic variety, a more fragmentary structure of the melody, a less pronounced distinction in the function of the two voices distinguish Paolo's madrigals of this period from the Florentine type and suggest contact either with extraneous works by some obscure transitional composer of the generation following Jacopo da Bologna, or possibly with early works by Bartolino da Padova.

The desire for models of madrigals, at a time when Florentine composers had practically discontinued the setting of such texts,⁶² might have induced Paolo to seek Northern examples of this genre. Communication between Florence and Bologna had always been easy, and between Florence and Padua it was particularly frequent in the 'eighties, when the two cities combined their efforts to check Milan's expansion. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that Paolo needed to travel to know the works of Northern composers. He might have had direct contact with Bartolino and Johannes Ciconia later, in 1403, if he accompanied Acciaiuoli on his mission to Hungary, because this trip should have led them through Padua.

The view that Paolo composed his early madrigals while still in Florence, is supported by the fact that one of them, *Se non ti piacque*, is his only work found in a Florentine manuscript unrelated to the Paris codex, namely in the London manuscript.

Some of my previous views on the role of Paolo's madrigals now need revision. I once suggested⁶³ that Paolo might have been a sponsor of a late "revival" of the madrigal. It now seems more appropriate to term it a "survival," by which Paolo's madrigals, together with those by such Paduan or Padua-centered composers as Bartolino and Ciconia, protracted the life of this most Italian genre of polyphony up to about 1415.64 As for Paolo, at least, his continued cultivation of the madrigal is accompanied by a persistent use of some old-fashioned forms of rhythmic notation that had been typical of the old Italian style-such as the octonaria and duodenaria measures, the punctus divisionis, and the three different values and shapes of the semibrevis. Another instance of musical archaism occurs at the beginning of the madrigal Non piu infelice, where upper voice and tenor exchange function and melody-a contrapuntal device (the so-called Stimmtausch) that had been much in favor with the early composers of the Vatican manuscript Rossi 215 and with Piero, but was used among the Florentines only by Gherardello. The use of this device marks Paolo's closest approach to the caccia, the other old Italian polyphonic genre displayed by the ballata.

Paolo's strong but discriminating feeling for old forms and stylistic trends, and the coexistence of conservative and progressive tendencies in his works seem typical of his personality and find equivalents in his literary taste. It is not unlikely that he wrote the poems for his music;65 at any rate, his choice of texts clearly indicates his preferences. The texts of his youthful works in their elegant smoothness, enlivened in the madrigals by graceful impressionistic description, can hardly be distinguished from the fashionable and conventional "poesia per musica." However, at least one of the early madrigals, the above-mentioned Se non ti piacque, anticipates the literary tendencies of Paolo's mature years, which parallel those of such aristocratic Florentine poets of his time as Cino Rinuccini, Antonio Alberti, Matteo Frescobaldi,66 and Iacopo da Montepulciano. Like these men Paolo shows admiration for the style that had characterized the apex of Florentine poetry at the beginning of the century-for the stil nuovo and for Dante.

The text of Paolo's early madrigal Una fera gentil is borrowed from a sonnet by Frescobaldi.⁶⁷ But Dante's lyric poems and Commedia are Paolo's most cherished models, from which he derives several almost literal quotations of well-known lines.⁶⁸ The contemplative mood of some passages of the Commedia is imitated in the poetic atmosphere of such madrigals as Era Venus and Nell' ora ch' a segar. More often, however, Paolo prefers the violent outbursts of political or moral invective such as the first two lines of Inferno XXVI, which are transferred almost literally, although with reversed meaning, to the beginning of his three-voice madrigal Godi, Firenze. Obscure and unsuccessful, the text of Se non ti piacque, also a madrigal, is an imitation of Dante's dramatic inversions of syntax. The political allegory of a deer, its horns "un nero, un bianco," in the madrigal Nell' ora ch' a segar, is reminiscent of the strifes that caused Dante's exile.⁶⁹

The musical tendencies observed in Paolo's early madrigals become stronger in his mature years and develop into a highly imaginative style. His belief in the madrigal as the vehicle for profound, serious expression, as "flos musicalis scientiae," the flower of art music, is evident in the rich and highly articulated variety of details, in the poignancy of rhythmic and melodic imitations, in the novelty of sequential patterns at unusual melodic and rhythmic intervals.⁷⁰ Paolo's style is even more striking if compared to the stiff and unconvincing tone of most of Landini's madrigals. To keep richness and variety of style from becoming incoherent, Paolo often uses, as a unifying device, persistent motives or rhythms throughout a piece.⁷¹ Although adding complete texts to both parts, Paolo includes passages strongly suggestive of instrumental performance either in support of, or in alternation with, the voices-a practice consistent with Northern models that adds vivid intensity to the picture. A typical example is the three-voice madrigal Godi, Firenze, a vehement piece belonging to what might be called the motet-madrigal type.⁷²

With one exception,⁷³ Paolo's madrigals are found only in the main source of his works, the Paris codex. The apparent lack of popularity may be understood if we consider that the madrigals ex-

pressed personal reactions to specific situations, and that the public showed little interest in this genre. The pieces found in more than one source mostly belong to the latter group of Paolo's *ballate*, including the twelve in the eighth fascicle of the Paris manuscript, the two at the beginning of its sixth fascicle (folios 51–52), and *Doglia continua* (folio 50°).⁷⁴ Actually these lyric pieces prove to be much less personal than the madrigals. Their display of conventional concepts and language derived from the *stil nuovo* hardly distinguishes them from the common practice of the *poesia per musica*. Influence of Dante's style, much less evident than in the madrigals, is revealed in the direct address often used in the texts of Paolo's *ballate*. But the situations described are generic—complaints, hopes, joys and sorrows of love—and even the personal allusions in the form of *nomi nascosti*, i.e., secret names,⁷⁵ were part of the accepted rules of the game.

Many feminine names occur in these *ballate*, indicating either imaginary situations or pieces written in behalf of somebody else. The latter is certainly true of the two *ballate* (*La vaga luce* and *Se per virtu*) playing on the names "Nencio" and "Lisa." But whether or not Paolo's own feelings were involved does not seem to have affected his attitude toward the *ballata* and the artistic problem of lyric expression.

Three-part texture prevails in twelve⁷⁶ of Paolo's later *ballate*. This may indicate the composer's increased skill, but it also demonstrates his intention to turn the polyphonic *ballata* into an art form. He clearly turns away from the traditional monodic *ballata* type. Even in those *ballate* that still preserve ternary rhythm,⁷⁷ the musical style has changed by absorbing many idioms of Paolo's own madrigal style. It is clear, however, that figurative variety is not so important an element as expressive intensity. Despite a certain independence of text declamation in the tenor, despite frequent spots of imitation in which the instrumental contratenor occasionally partakes, the main interest lies in the highest voice. An extensive use of *appoggiature*, large melodic leaps, and syncopation in the *cantus*, and of triadic chords and poignant dissonances in the general texture, defines the lyric character of the *ballata*.

texts of the philosophical nature of Dante's love, the psychological intensity of his music is reminiscent of the "melting sweetness" of love in the poet's descriptions.⁷⁸

Intensity is the mark of Paolo's personality—intensity in the lyricism of his *ballate* as well as in the accumulation of figurative details, and in the rhythmic drive of his madrigals. Its over-all manifestations, however, is in the strong determination of the composer's artistic purposes. The lyrical *dulcedo* in no way diminishes Paolo's striving for *subtilitas*, which was to bring even the *ballata* to a higher level of artistic expression. Having discarded the fashionable types of his early *ballate*, he now adopts some devices of the contemporary mannered style; he accepts some features of its notation, and combines them with odd survivals or developments of the old Italian notation;⁷⁹ at times he makes use of contrasting rhythms in different voices and expresses them graphically by means of proportion. However, in his works the intellectual, "scientific" purpose never prevails over the artistic.

Paolo is, indeed, a mannered artist—not because he takes advantage of the technical and notational possibilities of the mannered style, but because of the strong dualism between his striving for emotional intensity and his intellectual awareness of a multiplicity of styles past and present.

The Music in the Lowinsky Fragment

FOUR *ballate*, out of five, in the Lowinsky fragment are by Paolo.⁸⁰ Amor tu solo 'l sai, no. 4, is one of the best examples of the complexity of Paolo's *ballate* from his later period. This mainly applies, however, to the three-part version of this piece, as it exists in the Paris manuscript. Only two voices are given in the fragment. Therefore, the application of rhythmic proportions, suggested in the contratenor of the Paris manuscript by the prescription "ut jacet sed alij per medium," is indicated in the fragment by the direction "per diminucionem" given to the other two voices. In the three-part version (see Transcriptions, no. 4) the diminished measures of the two main voices organize themselves in a broader rhythm and give variety to the recitation of the poem by an alternation of binary and ternary accentuation (2/2 and 3/2 bars in the modern transcription). Against them the contratenor moves in *senaria imperfecta* (equivalent to 6/4 in the transcription);⁸¹ one wonders, however, how effective such a contrast of rhythms was in the actual performance, considering the smooth, purely quantitative character of the contratenor. Another subtle, but also merely notational, feature consists in the use of red notes (replaced by black empty ones in the fragment). They indicate an augmentation of the binary values and a diminution of the ternary ones. Nonetheless, the *cantus* is a beautifully inflected, fluent melody, to which the lower voices give the support of a subdued sonority, not without a few sharp and tasty dissonances.

S' Amor in cor gentil and Doglia continua, nos. 1 and 3 in the Lowinsky fragment, belong also to the ballate of Paolo's later period. The *cantus* of the former is one of those in which Paolo's display of melodic richness and rhythmic variety endangers the sense of unity of the piece. In its fragmentary melodic line the central part of the ripresa emerges, however, with the oratorical syllabic declamation of the question "Che vol dir che 'sta donna non si move / A ppiatà?" further stressed by an imitation at the lower fifth in the tenor. The poignancy of the question induced Paolo to bridge the usual break between lines with a connecting melisma (see Transcriptions, no. 1, measure 6 ff.), and to reach the climax of the phrase on the first words of the next line, "A ppiatà," proffered by the two voices in simultaneous declamation. Only then a break comes-corresponding to a comma in the text—before the words, "che par nata in gremb'a Giove," also emphatically underlined by syllabic declamation and rhythmic imitation.

Correctness and efficacy in the accentuation of the poetic text were as common among the Florentine composers as they were conspicuously lacking in most works by their Northern contemporaries. Paolo's declamation of the text, however, reaches a variety of recitative inflection seldom approached by Landini, and attained only in a few pieces by Andrea de' Servi. The naturalness with which the texts not only fit the melodic lines, but appear to have been instrumental in determining and shaping them, sets Paolo apart, in spite of superficial borrowings, from contemporary French-Italian manneristic composers; for these seldom appear to have given their texts more than accessory consideration. Paolo's fondness for fully texted tenors also enters the picture; further variety of effects and display of inventiveness arises from the interplay of declamation in the two vocal parts, from the alternation of their rhythmic disassociation and reassociation. Were we not aware of the gap in the Italian tradition between the Ars Nova and the new madrigalism arising more than one century later, we would suspect an underground stream of continuity existing between them. A connection exists, indeed, but it is based on the nature of the Tuscan tongue and on its shaping influence on the national literary language. As a Tuscan poet (I hardly doubt that he was one) and musician Paolo had a natural gift for oratorical expression.

More compact than S' Amor in cor gentil is Doglia continua (see Transcriptions, no. 3). In view of the type of its melismas and of its frequent points of imitation (over the words "Amor turba" and "Onde far pianto" in the ripresa; stressing the nome nascosto "A lle" s' andrà" in the *piedi* section) it may be considered as one of Paolo's ballate that bears a closer resemblance to the style of his own madrigals. Its lyric character is, nonetheless, clearly affirmed by the harmonic implications of such passages as the cadences with minor third going to unison (measures 7, 19, 22, 35), or the ascending motives based on the minor triad on g (measures 8-9, 14, 26-27, 39-40 of the cantus. 34-35 of the tenor)-the latter certainly meant, also, as a unifying device. Another unifying device is the repetition of the melodic line of measures 2-3-with its syncopation ending in a descending leap of a fourth-in a different context on measures 29-30. It was probably meant as a "madrigalism"—in the sense of the sixteenth-century madrigal—since it establishes a musical connection between two poetic concepts that are related to each other, "Doglia continua" and "fermo pensiero." Finally this ballata is another good example of Paolo's quasi-madrigalistic (again in the sense of the sixteenth century) style of declamation.

Amor de' dimmi is the only ballata from Paolo's earlier period in the Lowinsky fragment (see Transcriptions, no. 5), and one of his few pieces in novenaria rhythm. Strongly centered in its higher voice, in spite of an imitation in its second section over the words "Non si de'," it is a graceful but decorative piece. The dancelike rhythm of the cantus is integrated by similar figuration in the instrumental contratenor. Only a few dissonances introduced by the latter, which is missing in the Lowinsky fragment, add a touch of sophisticated sensibility. The supporting tenor has a marked tonal pattern insisting on the alternation of d and a, and, as frequently in Paolo's works, on the descending succession: da(e) f e. Like Amor, tu solo'l sai, this piece has an extended musical rhyme between ripresa and piedi.

Three pieces by Paolo-Amor tu solo 'l sai (no. 4), S' Amor in cor gentil (no. 1), and Amor, de' dimmi (no. 5)-appear in the Lowinsky fragment without the contratenors provided for them in the Paris manuscript. The same reduction in the number of voices occurs in two other pieces of the Lucca manuscript, La vaga luce (no. 75) and Tra speranza e fortuna (no. 76).82 The relatively large number of such instances among Paolo's ballate⁸³ raises the question which one of the two versions is the original. Some external elements induced me to suggest that the contratenors might have been added to pieces originally written in two parts.⁸⁴ Consideration of internal evidence, however, induces me now to favor the opposite view. In many cases-as in Ma'ri' aver or Chi vuol veder-the contratenors actively participate in the interplay of imitations between voices. In other pieces they fit in carefully calculated combinations of clef signatures, like the one in S' Amor in cor gentil (see Transcriptions, no. 1), where the *cantus* has no accidentals, the tenor one flat, and the contratenor two flats. True, this might be the accomplishment of another man; skilled composers are known to have provided new contratenors for already existing compositions.⁸⁵ In general, however, the contratenors of Paolo's ballate show such a consistency in style and

in notation with the other voices that they must have been conceived by the composer himself.

The omission of the contratenors can be taken as a criterion for the date of the manuscripts in which it occurs. It is a symptom of the tendency toward simplification which became particularly accentuated during the third decade of the fifteenth century. This adds to the external reasons that set the date of the latest section of the Lucca manuscript about 1425, and suggests the same date for the Lowinsky fragment.⁸⁶

Dolçe mia donna, no. 2 in the Lowinsky fragment, remains to be considered. It is the only three-part piece in the fragment, and the only one without concordance in other sources. I have stated elsewhere^{s7} that attribution to Paolo is not too farfetched, because it is found in the fragment among four other pieces by him. Nor are there serious reasons opposing the attribution on stylistic grounds. True, the persistent syllabic recitation in the second section (see Transcriptions, no. 2) is an unusual feature for Paolo's works. In addition, instrumental lower voices are associated in this piece with binary prolation, while Paolo ordinarily used them for pieces in *senaria imperfecta* rhythm. However, the type of syncopation consistently used throughout the piece, and the flexibility of the melodic line, even in such syllabic passages as "Dentr' al mie cor," are closely related to the style of Paolo's *ballate*.

The real problem posed by *Dolçe mia donna* is its form. Is it correct to call it a *ballata*?^{ss} While its music is divided in two sections which could be interpreted as *ripresa* and *piedi* of a *ballata*, its text lacks an element common to most *ballate* and never absent in those set by Paolo: this is the rhyme between the last line of the second *piede* and the first line of the *volta*.^{ss} The music, too, has some features unusual for a *ballata*. One of them is a double ending for its first section;⁹⁰ another is the fact that the *chiuso* ending of the second section—an ornamented version of the *chiuso* of the first section—gives more than the latter the impression of being a final cadence.⁹¹

Two conjectures are possible. Sense and rhyme of the presumed *volta* (that is, the second text of the first section) make it possible to

understand this group of lines as an immediate continuation of the presumed *ripresa.*⁹² The result, a poem consisting of a quatrain followed by two tercets, could be interpreted as a stanza of *canzone*. Another three-part setting (also with instrumental lower parts) of a stanza of *canzone*—on text by Cino da Pistoia, a contemporary of Dante!—is known from a manuscript now lost.⁹³ Its composer, Johannes Florentinus, might be the same as either Gian Toscano, whose ballata follows Paolo's madrigals in the Paris manuscript (folio 60¹), or "Magister Jouannes horganista de Florentia," whose pieces are as conspicuously missing as Paolo's in the Squarcialupi codex.⁹⁴ The *canzone* text is treated by Johannes Florentinus as a lyrical poem, that is, in a restrained melismatic, but seldom syllabic, style. The more syllabic treatment given to *Dolçe mia donna* might indicate that more stanzas were intended to be sung after the one given with the music.

Another possible conjecture is that a second quatrain—following the existing one, and to be sung to the same music—was missing. The poem should then be considered as a sonnet,⁹⁵ a form that became, during the course of the fifteenth century, the favorite one of the improvised *recitative* style of the *cantori alla viola*. The almost syllabic treatment given to *Dolçe mia donna* hardly needs to be emphasized.

Canzone and sonnet—the latter in spite of its future—were obsolete as musical forms at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Reviving one of them must have pleased the antiquarian taste of Paolo Tenorista.

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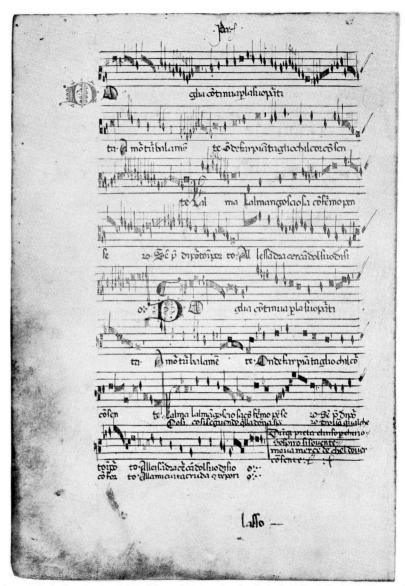


Plate III. Codex Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds ital, 568, folio 50^v: Example of handwriting B.

FOOT NOTES

¹ "Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell'Ars Nova" in *Musica Disciplina* X (1956), 61-66.

² This measurement is more accurate than the one in centimeters (17 by 12) given in the article mentioned in n. 1.

³ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. ital. 568, fol. 73^v-74.

⁴ See n. 3.

⁵ Geschichte der Mensural-Notation (Leipzig: 1904) and "Florenz in der Musikgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts" in Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft III (1901-02), 599 ff.

⁶ Review of Wolf's Geschichte der Mensural-Notation in Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft VI (1904-05), 601.

⁷ See Wolf, op. cit., and K. von Fischer, Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento (Bern: 1956). Also Florentine are the small fragments Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, D 1175, and Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1419.

⁸ Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 684 and 1475.

⁹ I mainly refer to the ms. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossi 215, and to the fragments Domodossola, Calvario; Oxford, Canonici, Script. eccl. 229 (originally belonging to the same codex to which the fragments mentioned in n. 8 belong); Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria 1106 (see D. Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment of Trecento Music" in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* VIII (1957), 165-181).

¹⁰ See above, p. xx and G. Reaney, "The Manuscript, British Museum, Additional 29987" in *Musica Disciplina* XII (1958), 67-91.

¹¹ See N. Pirrotta and E. Li Gotti, "Il Codice di Lucca" in *Musica Disciplina* III-V (1949-1951).

¹² Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. by Fr. Blume (Kassel: 1949 ff.), article "Landini, Francesco."

¹³ N. Pirrotta, "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars Nova" in *Musica Disciplina* IX (1955), 57-71.

¹⁴ Text by Sacchetti, music not preserved.

¹⁵ Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, articles on "Gherardellus de Florentia," "Donatus de Florentia," and "Laurentius de Florentia."

¹⁶ Ibid., article "Landini, Francesco."

¹⁷ I.e., almost all we know by Andrea.

¹⁸ Anonymous pieces attributed to Paolo with various degrees of probability are not included.

¹⁹ These figures do not include the index and covers. The manuscript was described by J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation*, I, 250-58, and Fr. Ludwig, introduction to G. de Machaut, *Musikalische Werke*, II (Leipzig: 1928), 27-28.

²⁰ As a consequence of the insertion, the original numbering of the folios and in the index had to be modified. See Fr. Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts" in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* IV (1902-03), 55-56; and introduction to Machaut, op. cit., II, 27.

²¹ Considerable information can be gained from the entries in the index drawn up

in an additional fascicle early in the history of the manuscript. Thus, the time at which each piece was entered can be approximatively determined by the order in which the incipits are listed under each letter in the index. The first fascicle (fol. 1'-10') contains works by Jacopo da Bologna. Next come madrigals and cacce by composers born or living in Florence, showing in their order scant awareness of chronology, and ending with Paolo's works on fol. 34v-39. The madrigal section further contains on fol. 39v-42 works by Bartolino (here given the surname "Schappuccia"), followed by a collection of miscellaneous works by composers already represented in the preceding fascicles. A *ballata* by Paolo on fol. 50° , at the very end of this section, is undoubtedly a late addition. A collection of ballate by Landini on fol. $61-70^{\circ}$ ($51^{\circ}-60$ before the insertion of the two additional fascicles). and one of ballate by Paolo on fol. 81-84 (originally 61-64) formed the second section of the manuscript. It was later expanded to include more ballate, mostly by Landini. in the fascicles up to the present fol. 120^v, plus a collection of Frenchworks in fascicle 13, and a group of Mass settings in the last fascicle. When the fascicles with Paolo's works were finally added, one of them, containing madrigals, was placed at the end of the madrigal section and became the present fascicle 6 (fol. 51-60^v); the other, with ballate, was placed in front of the already existing collection of Paolo's ballate, thus becoming fascicle 8 (fol. 71-80^v). The former contained only six works on fol. 54^v-60; the blank pages were later partly filled with two ballate by Paolo, one by Ciconia, and one by Gian Toscano. ²² See above, p. xx.

²³ In the first five fascicles of the Paris manuscript his contributions are limited to late-entered pieces of each main composer, or to short ones interpolated in space left free from the main contents. He has a larger part in the expanded collection of Landini's *ballate*, fascicles 10-12, and in the two last fascicles.

²⁴ See Musica Disciplina III, 122-123 and 133; V, 140-142; and X, 65-66.

²⁵ Another seems to be Ciconia's Con lagrime, fol. 52^v-53.

²⁶ See above, p. xx; and also K. von Fischer, "The Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. frç. 6771" in *Musica Disciplina* XI (1957), 37-38.
²⁷ See above, n. 21.

²⁸ G. Milanesi, Storia della Miniatura italiana (Florence: 1850); P. D' Ancona, La miniature italienne (Paris and Brussels: 1925) 37 and 74; M. Salmi, La miniatura fiorentina gotica (Rome: 1954), 18 ff. A group of illuminated manuscripts which originated in Santa Maria degli Angeli is now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana Medicea in Florence.

²⁹ See the next chapter.

³⁰ The same date is given for the last pages of the Lucca manuscript in *Musica Disciplina* V, 142.

³¹ "Tenorista" means the singer or instrumentalist who usually performed the tenor part of polyphonic pieces. It must have been, to a certain extent, a leading role. A. Seay, "The 15th-Century Cappella at Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence" in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XI (1958), 45-55, states that the *tenoristae* were given higher salaries than other singers.

³² See above, p. xx.

³³ See above, p. xx and nn. 20-21.

³⁴ See above, p. xxx.

³⁵ Listed between "Alamannus . . . Episcopus Tarentinus" and "Magister Benedictus de Pistorio litterarum apostolicarum scriptor." The initial section of this document is presented in my "Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino extra moenia" in *Estudios dedicados a Menendez Pidal* III (Madrid: 1952), 580, n. 2.

³⁶ Already indicated as a mistake in the analytical catalogue of manuscripts

through which I was able to trace the document in the Vatican Library.

³⁷ G. Carducci, Studi letterari (Livorno: 1874), p. 446.

³⁸ C. Heubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi* I (Munster: 1908), 23, and Errata.
 ³⁹ A. Ciaconius, *Vitae et res gestae Pontificum Romanorum* II (Rome: 1667), col. 657.

⁴⁰ They were Alamanno Adimari and Branda Castiglione (the only Lombard in the group). Acciaiuoli must have had strong connections with Cardinal Cossa from Naples, later John XXIII (antipope), who made them cardinals.

⁴¹ By these words is indicated Dufay's status in the retinue of Martin V in 1431. See F. X. Haberl, *Wilhelm Dufay* (Leipzig: 1885), 115. "Cantor capellanus ac continuus commensalis" became later the standard phrase used in the documents concerning papal singers. See H. W. Frey, "Regesten zur päpstlichen Kapelle unter Leo X" in *Die Musikforschung* VIII (1955), 58 ff.

⁴² Acciaiuoli acted as a regent during the minority of King Ladislaus. His four brothers all held influential positions in Naples, where Niccolo Acciaiuoli, Angelo's great-uncle, had been great seneschal of the kingdom under Johanna I.

⁴³ B. Mittarelli and A. Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses* (Venice: 1755-1773) VI, 241-242 and Appendix, col. 666-667.

44 *Ibid.* 240, and Appendix, col. 683.

⁴⁵ See above, p. xx, and Musica Disciplina III, 123-124.

⁴⁶ Neither Paolo's nor Moriconi's name is listed among those of the abbots present or represented at the Council. This is understandable for Paolo, if he was not a "regular" abbot. Moriconi seems to have had some differences with his order and was often reported absent at the meetings of the general Chapter. Acciaiuoli died as soon as he arrived in Pisa; he is buried near Florence, in the Certosa founded by his great-uncle Niccolo.

⁴⁷ A letter by Alamanno Acciaiuoli, Angelo's uncle, is often included in manuscripts containing Gino Capponi's description of the popular rising known as "tumulto dei Ciompi" (1378). It shows the close similarity of political views between the two families.

⁴⁸ It seems to have been among the oldest in use by the family; see L. Passerini, "Capponi di Firenze," Tavola I, in P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane* X (Milano: 1874).

⁴⁹ Its colors having altered, there is no way to recognize the black and white field of the Capponi coat of arms.

⁵⁰ J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation* I, 251, reads: "uuen goth upel," finding it "rätselhaft."

⁵¹ L. Passerini, op. cit., Tavola I.

52 Ibid., Tavola II, and IV.

⁵³ Paolo di Cappone, living in Rome in 1393 (Passerini, op. cit. Tavola V), does not seem to have had an ecclesiastic status. His nephew, Cappone di Bartolomeo, held a leading position in the Florentine Church, attended the Council of Pisa in 1409, and was made a bishop by John XXIII in 1411 (*ibid.*). But he never seems to have assumed the name "Don Paolo."

⁵⁴ After having completed my text, I learned from Mr. Frank D' Accone of some documents concerning singers in the Archivio dell' Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence. According to one of them, a house was assigned on March 14, 1407 (i.e., 1408) to "Dopnus Paulus monacus et Ser Marcus presbiter cantores dicte ecclesie S. Reparatae" (*Deliberazioni*, Serie II. 1, no. 54, fol. 3[°]). Another singer, to whom payments were made for the period August 20, 1407, to February 19, 1407 (i.e., 1408), is variously listed as "Prete Paolo da la Ghugla," "presbiter

Paulus de Aquila" and "Ser Paulus Masi." It is highly unlikely that this latter Paulus is identical with the "Tenorista."

⁵⁵ See his (or his son's) "Commentari dell' acquisto di Pisa" in D. Compagni, *Cronica fiorentina* (Firenze: 1862), 333-406. From one of Gino's descendants, Cappone di Jacopo (born 1464) were derived two branches of the Capponi family which established themselves in France. One line became extinct in 1655, when Gaspero di Alessandro died (L. Passerini, op. cit., Tavola XVI). His only daughter married a member of the other branch. This latter branch ended with Gilberto Francesco (d. 1788) and his brother Gilberto Enrico, a priest, who died in Florence in 1797, a refugee from the French Revolution. One notes that the Paris manuscript bears a stamp with the letters A. N., the mark of a "provisory deposit" at the National Assembly during the Revolution.

⁵⁶ See above, p. xx.

⁵⁷ See above, n. 35.

⁵⁸ Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, article "Ballata." The four ballate in this group are: Donna, perchè mi veggi; Or sie che puo; Perche vendetta far; and Poc' ànno di mirar.

⁵⁹ Benchè partito and Uom ch' osa.

⁶⁰ Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, article "Landini."

⁶¹ They are: Non piu infelice; Se non ti piacque; Tra verdi fronde; Una fera gentil; and Un pellegrin uccel.

⁶² Such pieces as Landini's *Piu dolce non sonò* and *De' dimmu tu* must be considered as exceptions, and are in many ways exceptional. No madrigals are known by Andrea de' Servi (d. 1415).

63 Musica Disciplina V, 126 and 141-142.

⁶⁴ Some of Ciconia's madrigals might belong to an earlier phase of his Italian activity than the Paduan, a phase which is expected to be clarified in a forthcoming study by Suzanne Clercx. However, at least *Una pantera* was composed not earlier than 1400. *Del glorioso titolo* by Antonello da Caserta cannot be earlier than 1415 (*Musica Disciplina* V, 135).

⁶⁵ See E. Li Gotti's section of the article "Paolo Tenorista, etc." in *Estudios dedicados a Menendez Pidal* III, 587-606, including all poems set to music by Paolo.

⁶⁶ It is not clear who among the Frescobaldi was the poet by this name. Literary scholars agree that the poems under Matteo's name were actually written by various members of the family living at different times, one of them, however, contemporary with Paolo. See E. Li Gotti, *Restauri trecenteschi* (Palermo: 1947), 116-139.

⁶⁷ G. Carducci, *Studi letterari* (Livorno: 1874), 429-430. Paolo's borrowing by no means implies friendship with Frescobaldi; in 1348 members of the Capponi family gave access to the fortified houses of the Frescobaldi to the Florentine mob rebelling against the aristocracy. See G. Capponi, *Storia di Firenze*, 2d ed. (Florence: 1876), I, 241.

⁶⁸ Line 6 of Paolo's La vaga luce is taken from Dante's Così nel mio parlar, line 75; significantly it is preceded in both poems by reference to "bionde trezze." The final line of Amor mi stringe derives from Inferno V, 103; "Se'l ciel ci mostra il sole e lle suo stelle" in Chi vuol veder comes from the last line of Paradiso. The first line of S' Amor in cor gentil à signoria, although no actual borrowing, is unmistakably under Dante's influence. See below for a discussion of Godi, Firenze. ⁶⁹ A mediocre imitator, Paolo, or whoever wrote his texts, arouses mixed feelings when he is on his own. His propensity for rhetorical apostrophe has the vigor and directness of vernacular expression; but it also produces a comic effect comparable to hearing Dante's "volgare illustre" read with the thick accent of the popular sections of modern Florence. His attitude might be related, however, to the realistic tendencies expressed with much more success in the Florentine visual arts of the early fifteenth century.

⁷⁰ To the group of Paolo's later madrigals belong: Corse per l' onde già; Era Venus; Fra duri scogli; Nell' ora ch' a segar; and Godi, Firenze.

⁷¹ As a unifying device—which he may or may not have used consciously—there must be considered the instances of similar rhythms repeated at the key structural places of a piece, such as beginnings or endings of sections. They have been considered as "traces of isorhythmic technique" by F. D' Accone, *The Music of Paolo Tenorista* (paper read at a meeting of the New England Chapter of the American Musicological Society in October, 1955).

⁷² That a ternary modus underlies the alternating octonaria and senaria imperfecta measures in the first section of this piece had not yet been realized. See H. Besseler, Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (Potsdam: 1931), 164, ex. 112. The modal solution helps to solve some of the problems deriving from mistakes in the contratenor. Other examples of the motet-madrigal type are the anonymous La nobil Scala in the Reina manuscript, and Ciconia's Una pantera. ⁷³ Se non ti piacque in the London manuscript.

⁷⁴ Amor mi stringe is included in this group on the assumption that the monogram at the head of Se per virtu on the same pages of the Paris manuscript (fol. 78'-79) applies also to it. Doglia continua was entered in the manuscript even later than the two ballate of fascicle 6. The other ballate in this group are: Amor, da po' che tu; Amor, tu solo 'l sai; Che l' agg' i' fatto; Chi vuol veder; Lasso, grav' è 'l partir; La vaga luce; Lena virtu; Ma' ri' aver pieta; Non c' è rimasa fe'; S'Amor in cor gentil; Sofrir m' estuet; and Vago et benigno Amor.

⁷⁵ For example, "A lle'ss' andra" in *Doglia continua* (see Transcriptions, no. 3, measures 37-38); "Nè 'n cio Li sa" in *La vaga luce* and *Se per virtu*; "Lena" in *Lena virtu*, lines 1, 7, and 10.

⁷⁶ I include *Amor mi stringe*, whose contratenor is missing, though staves were prepared for it.

⁷⁷ Most of them do not. Four are in *senaria imperfecta*, associated with instrumental lower voices. An intermediate position between the early and the later groups of Paolo's *ballate* is held by the piece "Dompni Pauli" in the Reina codex (*Perch' i' non seppi*), which preserves the fashionable ternary rhythm, but is set for three parts. The tenor of this piece originally must have had a full text.

⁷⁸ I am not attempting to explain Paolo's personality as being determined by his admiration for Dante; but I want to show that some temperamental affinity made him express his peculiar way of thinking and feeling through a subjective interpretation of his model. As regards "sweetness," which is the most usual qualification of both love emotions and musical beauty, it must be stressed that, if applied to the latter, sweetness indicates the subjective reactions of the listener as well as the objective qualities of the music. Subjective sweetness could reach a considerable degree of intensity, for, in Dante's words, "music draws to itself all the spirits of man (which are mainly sort of fumes emanating from his heart), so that they almost cease from any activity" (*Convivio*, II, 14).

⁷⁹ Although never to the point of purely virtuoso display of notational ability, Paolo frequently seems to have composed following a self-imposed notational "canon," a new one for each piece. Works belonging to the mannered style are present in fascicle 13 of the Paris codex; but Paolo may have had personal contacts with such Italian mannerists as Antonello da Caserta and the musicians of John XXIII in Bologna. ⁸⁰ See above, p. xx.

⁸¹ A facsimile reproduction of the version in the Paris manuscript is given by W. Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: 1953), p. 409. Most difficulties in the notation of the contratenor mentioned by Apel (pp. 407-408) disappear when the final *longa* of the *ripresa* is replaced by a dotted *brevis* and a *semibrevis* rest, as in the *verto* and *chiuso*.

⁸² Musica Disciplina III, 138. The attribution of this ballata and of Amor mi stringe (see n. 74) to Paolo seems highly plausible because of their position in the sources and their style. The attribution of Se già seguir (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds ital. 568, fol. 105^{*}-106) to him (K. von Fischer, Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento, 68-69), although not supported by external evidence, is also acceptable because of its great affinity to works of an early period such as Amor de' dimmi.

⁸³ Similar discrepancies in the number of voices occur only for 8 of Landini's 142
 ballate. See Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, article "Landini."
 ⁸⁴ Musica Disciplina X, 64.

⁸⁵ See, for instance, the three new contratenors composed by Matteo da Perugia for ballate by Antonello da Caserta, Ciconia, and Grenon, in G. Cesari and F. Fano, La Cappella musicale del Duomo di Milano, I (Milano: 1956), 387-398.

⁸⁶ See above, p. xx.

⁸⁷ Musica Disciplina X, 62-63.

⁸⁸ I am revising my own statement in *Musica Disciplina* X.

⁸⁹ See the text given, as a *ballata*, in *Musica Disciplina* X, 63.

⁹⁰ This cannot be counted against attribution to Paolo, who often introduced *verto* and *chiuso* endings even in his madrigals.

⁹¹ It must be remembered that, the *ballata* being, so to speak, a *da-capo* form, its final cadence is that of its first section.

⁹² See Transcriptions, no. 2.

⁹³ Given by J. F. Fétis, *Histoire generale de la Musique* V (Paris: 1876), 308-310.
⁹⁴ As in the case of Paolo, his miniature portrait and headings with his name were prepared on fol. 1951-216, but the music was never written down.
⁶⁵ Dimensional APPA LADE CODE

⁹⁵ Rhyme scheme: ABBA [ABBA] CDE CDE.

INVENTORY OF THE LOWINSKY FRAGMENT

46

INVENTORY OF THE LOWINSKY FRAGMENT

Folio	Incipit	No. of voices Concordance
a	1. S' Amor in cor gentil à signoria Incomplete: end of Cantus, and tenor	2 p 51*-52
a ^v - b	2. Dolçe mie donna graçios' e pia Possibly a sonnet or <i>canzone</i> setting	1+2 —
b" - c	3. Doglia continua per la suo partita	2 p 50°
c^{v} - d	 Amor, tu solo 'l sai Canon: "per diminucionem" and "Tend 	$\begin{array}{ccc} 2 & \mathbf{p} \ 73^{\mathrm{v}} - 74 \\ (a \ 3: 2 + 1) \\ \text{or etiam per diminutionem". In } \end{array}$
	"Contra Tenor. ut iacet sed alij per me	

d^{v}	5. Amor, de' dimmi se sperar mercede	2	P 81 ^v -82
	·····		(a 3: 2 + 1)
	Incomplete: only Cantus		

Italics in the number of voices indicates parts without text.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:

- FL Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Palatino 87 (codex Squarcialupi)
- LM Lucca, Archivo di Stato (codex Mancini)
- Lo London, British Museum, add. mss. 29987
- LW Berkeley (California), Fragment Lowinsky
- P Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, fonds ital. 568
- \$8 Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, nouv. acq. frc. 6771 (codex Reina)

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CATALOGUE OF PAOLO'S WORK

CATALOGUE OF PAOLO'S WORK

	MADRIGALS	Number of voices	Sources	Name
1.	Corse per l' onde già di speme piena Verto and chiuso endings	2 for the <i>ritornello</i>	р 59 ^v -60	P.A.
2.	Era Venus al termin del suo giorno	2	₽ 54 [•] -55	P.A.
3.	Fra duri scogli, sanç' alcun governo Transcr. by Wolf in SIM verto and chiuso ending	2 G VI, p. 644. In s, while the tenor	P 58 ^v -59 a the <i>ritornello</i> th r is "through con	P.A. ne <i>cantus</i> is repeated with mposed."
4.	Godi, Firençe, po' che Partial transcr. in Bessele	3 er, Die Musik der	P 56 ^v -57 Mittelalters etc.	P.A. p. 164.
5.	Nell' ora ch' a segar la bionda spiga Facs. and transcr. in W provided with verto and of the music of the ritorn	chiuso endings, a	P 55 ^v -56 Mens. Notat. II- lthough the text o	P.A. III, no 38. Both sections does not require repetition
6.	Non più infelice alle suo membra nacque	2	р 34 ^v -35	Don Paolo Tenorista Dafirençe
7.	Se non ti piacque in ingrat'abitare 4-line verses in the 1st s		^{(v} -36; LO 51 ^v -52 <i>chiuso</i> endings i	LO M. di don paghollo
8.	Tra verdi frond' inn' isola 'n sul fonte <i>Verto</i> and <i>chiuso</i> ending mark "vacat."		^{v-37} and 46 ^v -47 o. The 2d version	Don Paolo n has no text but the re-
9.	Una fera gentil più ch' altra fera Text derived from a sonn	2 et attributed to M	Р 37 ^v -38 latteo Frescobald	D.P.
		53		

10.	Un pellegrin uccel gentil e bello <i>Verto</i> and <i>chiuso</i> endings	of voices Number 2 in the ritor	Sources P 38°-39 nello.	Name Don Pa:
11.	Ventilla con tumulto la gran fama	2	₽ 57 [*] -58	P.A.
12.	BALLATE Amor, da po' che tu ti maravigli	2+ <i>1</i>	р 79 ^v -80	P.A.
13.	Amor, de', dimmi se sperar merçede	2+1	р 81°-82; Lw <i>d</i> °	Don Paolo
14.	Amor mi stringe assai più che non sole Monogram at the head which was not written do		р 78 ^v -79 ata no. 31. Staves prepa	(P.A.) red for the contratenor
15.	Amor, tu solo 'l sai Facs. of the version of iacet sed alij per mediur "Tenor etiam per dimini	$(\mathbf{LW} 2)$	P 73 ^v -74; LW c ^v -d Notation of Plyph. Mus ontratenor. LW. canons	P.A. ., p. 409. p canon "ut per diminucionem" and
16.	Benchè partito da tte 'l corpo sia Facs. in Apel, Notation o	1+2 f Polyph. M	р 84 Iusic р. 399.	Don Paolo
17.	Che l' agg' i' fatto a questa donna altera	2+ <i>1</i>	р 76 ^v -77	P.A.
18.	Chi vuol veder l'angelica belleça	1+2	₽ 75 [*] -76	P.A.
19.	Doglia continuo per la suo partita	2	р 50 [°] ; lb <i>b</i> [°] -с	Pa:
20.	Donna, perchè mi veggi altra mirare Transc. by J. Wolf in La	2 Uuova Mus	P 81 sica.	Don Paolo
21.	Lasso, grav' è 'l partir, anima mia	2	Р 51	P.A.
		5	4	

		Number of voices	Sources	Name
22.	La vaga luce che fa invidi' al sole	2+1 (lm 2)	р 71°-72; LM no 75	P.A.
23.	Lena, virtù e sperança ogni cor duro	2+1	р 74 ^v -75	P.A.
24.	Ma' ri' aver pietà di me non veggio	1+2	р 72°-73	P.A.
25.	Non c' è rimasa fe'	2+1	р 71	P.A.
26.	Or sie che può com' a vo' piace sia First line of text derived	2 I from a bal	р 82 ^v llata by Taddeo Pepoli d	Don Paolo ated 1377.
27.	Perchè vendetta far or non si po'	2	р 83 ^v	Don Paolo
28.	Perch' i' non seppi passar caut' al varco	1+2 (2+1?)	pr 25	Dompni Pauli
29.	Poc' ànno di mirar gl' occhi mie stanchi	2	р 83	Don Paolo
30.	S' Amor in cor gentil à signoria	2+1 (Lw 2)	р 51°-52; lw <i>а</i>	P.A.
31.	Se per virtù, Amor, donna m' accese	1+2	р 78°-79	P.A.
32.	Sofrir m' estuet et plus non puys durer French text in the <i>ripress</i>	1+2 and <i>volta</i> , I	Р 80° talian in the <i>piedi</i> .	P.A.
33.	Uom ch' osa di veder tuuta beleça Transct. by Wolf in La N	1+2 Juova Musico	р 82 г.	Don Paolo
34.	Vago et benigno Amor, fammi contento	2+1	р 77°-78	P.A.
35.	MASS SETTINGS Benedicamus Domino In the index: "Benedicar p. 379; transcr. by G. de	3 nus Domino Van in <i>Les</i>	P 138 P.A." Facs. in Apel, No Monum. de l'Ars Nova	tation of Polyph. Mus, Paris 1939, p. 18-20.

A	HEORETICAL WORKS NONYMOUS WORKS FRIBUTED TO PAOLO	Number of voices	Sources	Name
36.	Ars ad discendum contrapunctum	—	Florence, Bibl. Laur., Ashb. 1119 f. 64-69	Magister Paulus de Florentia
37.	Dolçe mia donna graçios' e pia Probably the setting of a s	1+2	LW a ^v -b	-
38.	Se già seguir altra che tte non volli Similar in style to no. 13.	1+2	₽ 105 [*] -106	-
39.	Tra sperança e fortuna pur m' aggiro	2+1 (lm 2)	р 130°-131; LM по. 75	

Following no. 22 in LM.

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THE FACSIMILE







a^v

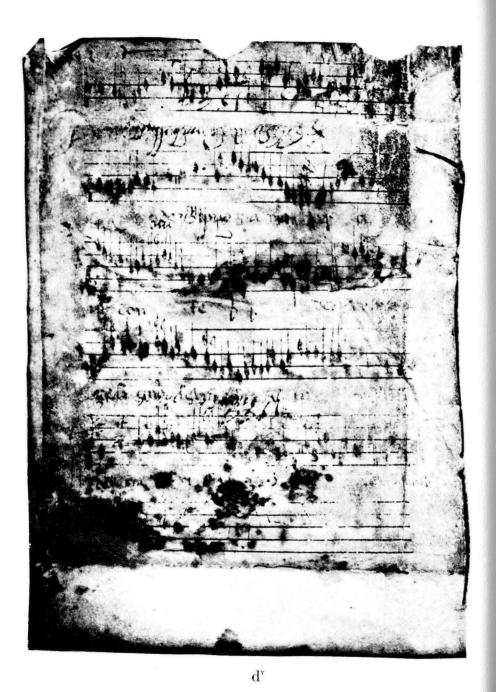




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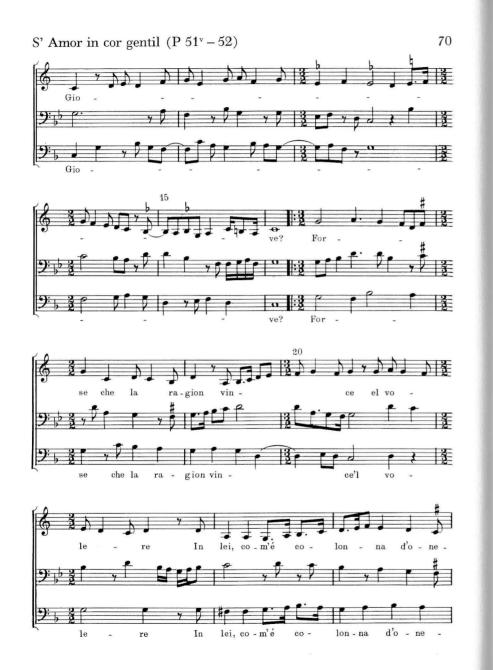


 $\mathbf{c}^{\mathbf{v}}$



THE TRANSCRIPTIONS







S'Amor in cor gentil (P $51^{v} - 52$)

S'Amor in cor gentil à signoria, Che vol dir che 'sta donna non si move A piatà, che par nata in gremb' a Giove?

Forse che la ragion vince 'l volere In lei, com' è colonna d' onestate? Et è somma prudenzia, Donna che vole onestà mantenere E adornar di pregio suo biltate, Mostrar dura apparenzia. Ma per antica e chiara 'sperienzia Amor pur vive in lor, e ragion piove Quando el servo ama e non vacilla altrove.





Dolce mie donna (Lw $a^v - b$)

Dolce mie donna, grazios' e pia, Quando sarà che ma' più ti riveggia? Come e dove 'l mie pensier vagheggia, Sempr' aspettando che quell' ora sia.

I' non sapre' ridir che pena sente Dentr' al mie cor di si lunga dimora, Se non a te, a cui null' è nascoso.

Che me ne fosse creduto niente. Rispett' à foco che dentro divora, Nè di scoprirlo ad altri sare' oso.





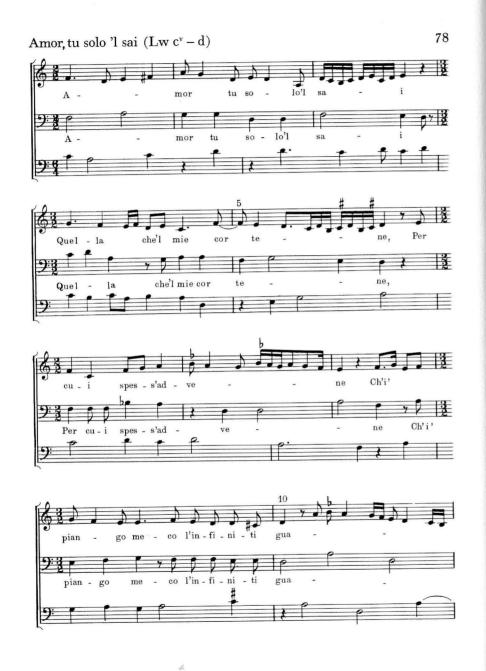
Doglia continua (Lw $b^v - c$)



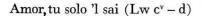
Doglia continua (Lw $b^v - c$)

Doglia continua per la suo partita, Amor, turba la mente; Onde far piant' a li occhi 'l cor consente.

L' alma angosciosa con fermo pensiero Sempre di port' in porto A LE' S' ANDRA, cercando 'l suo disio. Cosi, seguendo quella donna, spero Trovar qualche conforto Alla mie vita crud' e tempo rio. Dunque pietà el viso, per cu' io Sospiro sí sovente, Mov' a merzede che 'l dover consente. 77







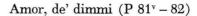




Amor, tu solo 'l sai (Lw $c^v - d$)

Amor, tu solo 'l sai Quella che 'l mie cor tene, Per cu' ispess' advene Ch' i' piango meco l' infiniti guai.

Nessuno 'l sa, se non colui che 'l prova, Come dentro dimora Chi non à con cui sprema 'l suo dolore. Fa come 'l foco ch' ardendo non trova Via, onde divora Più che non fa sfogando suo valore. Omai per tanto ardore Non sentirò più bene; Chè, chi tanto sostene, Già più non po', e morir lo vedrai.



80









81



Amor, de' dimmi (P 81^v - 82)

Amor, de' dimmi (P 81^v – 82)

Amor, se' dimmi se sperar merzede Si può già ma' per ben servir con fede.

Perchè, dolce signor, se 'l mie servire Non si de' meritare, Quest' angosciose pene e lo martire Non le potrò durare. De' signor caro, fa che 'l ben amare Merto riceva di suo ferma fede.

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N. P.



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