

MUSIC AND MATERIAL CULTURE

ROUTLEDGE



Otto cattivi fivan plavia /  
vano dicto dilon moglie na /  
dicea luno lamia efi getite /  
di quattro e... /  
el castro fin... /  
eochol guadagno... /  
diceva laltro lamia efi buona /  
chella fin... /  
vate non... /  
eochol guadagno... /  
diceva laltro lamia efi al... /  
chella ne va a f... /  
tutta la casa nab... /  
eochol guadagno... /  
diceva laltro lamia efi valente /  
chella mis... /  
tante m... /  
La mia /

# SENZA VESTIMENTA

## THE LITERARY TRADITION OF TRECENTO SONG

Lauren McGuire Jennings

An Ashgate Book



***SENZA VESTIMENTA*: THE LITERARY TRADITION OF  
TRECENTO SONG**

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# *Senza Vestimenta: The Literary Tradition of Trecento Song*

*Lauren McGuire Jennings*

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b) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61, fol 100r.

c) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1040, fol. 48r. 141

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6.1 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup>, fol. 36v.

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## **Note to the Reader**

Throughout this book, I have chosen to modernize and standardize incipits for all song texts and for poems by known authors. Though a certain amount of information from the original manuscript (including regional linguistic characteristics, scribal spelling preferences, and slight variations in word choice) are lost by so doing, it is my hope that this approach will aid readers in connecting the texts at hand to their appearance in other contexts, both inside and outside this book. All incipits from anonymous poems without musical concordances and all rubrics have been semi-diplomatically transcribed. Unless specifically indicated, composer, poet, and genre information listed in tables is not contained in the manuscripts themselves. Finally, all translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

# Sources, Sigla, and Abbreviations

## Secondary Literature

- CCMS Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellmann, eds. *Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550*, 5 vols. Renaissance Manuscript Studies 1. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, s.l. 1979–88.
- PMFC *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, edited by Leo Schrade, Frank L. Harrison, and Kurt von Fischer. 25 vols. Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956–91.
- RISM *Répertoire International des Sources Musicale*, Series B IV. B IV Munich: G. Henle Verlag.

## Libraries, and Other Abbreviations

- BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France
- BNCF Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze

## Manuscripts

In this study, I have declined to use the RISM sigla common in musicological scholarship in favor of sigla that allow each manuscript to be more readily identified at first sight and that are pronounceable. For musical manuscripts



rather than creating an entirely new and unfamiliar system, I have chosen to follow the sigla proposed by Michael Cuthbert in his study, “Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006). Though Cuthbert’s system prioritizes the use of locations (city names) over library-specific details, for the literary sources I have chosen to base my sigla on collection names where possible (for example Ashburnham 574 rather than Florence 574) to retain information that will be obviously recognizable to literary scholars who may already be familiar with many of the manuscripts to which I refer.

## **Musical Sources**

Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 187 (Assisi 187)

Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* central) 883 (Barcelona 883)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 4° 523 (Berlin 523)

Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Atti dei notai del distretto di Bologna, Rolando Castellani, filza 23, seconda di coperta (Bologna Archive Covers, Bologna 23)

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1549 (Bologna 1549)

Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q 15 (Bologna Q15)

Brescia, Biblioteca di Queriniano, C.VI.5 (Brescia 5)

Chicago, Newberry Library, VAULT case 171, manuscript formerly in the private library of Edward E. Lowinsky (Lowinsky)

Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, LXXIX (Cividale 79)

Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale, 117 (Faenza 117, Fa)

Fiesole, Library of Michele Manganelli, manuscript without shelfmark (Manganelli)

Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, “Luigi Cherubini,” Cassa forte 74 (*olim* D 1175) (Florence 1175, FC)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo, 2211 (San Lorenzo 2211, SL)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi codex, Sq)

Florence Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Incunab. F.5.5 (Florence 5)

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26 (FP)

Frosinone, Archivio di Stato, Collezione delle pergamene 266 (Frosinone 266)

Frosinone, Archivio di Stato, Collezione delle pergamene 276 (Frosinone 267)

Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Kript. Lati. 219 (Grottaferrata 219, Grot. 219)

Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, CV (104) (Ivrea 105)

London, British Library, Additional 29987 (London 29987, Lo)

Lucca, Archivio di Stato, 184 (*part of the Mancini Codex, Man*)

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, a.M.5.24 (Mod A)

Montefiore Dell'Aso, manuscript formerly in the possession of Francesco Egidi (*lost*) (Egidi)

Ostiglia, Biblioteca Musicale Opera Pia "G. Greggiati," mus. rari B 35 (*part of the Rossi Codex, Ostiglia*)

Oxford, Bodleian Library Canonici Latin Patristic (=Pat. Latin) [Scriptores Ecclesiastici] 229. (Oxford 229, *part of Pad A*)

Padua, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Giustina, 553 (Padua 553)

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, busta 2/1 (*from ms 1283*) (Padua 1283, *part of Pad D*)

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, busta 2/2 (*from ms 1225*) (Padua 1225, *part of Pad D*)

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, busta 2/3 (*from ms 675*) (Padua 675, *part of Pad D*)

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 656 (Padua 656)

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 658 (Padua 658, Pad C)

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 684 (Padua 684, *part of Pad A*)

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1106 (Padua 1106, *part of Pad D*)

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1115 (Padua 1115, Pad B)

Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1475 (Padua 1475, *part of Pad A*)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fronds français 9221 (Machaut Ms E)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 568 (Pit)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 4917 (Paris 4917)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6771 (Reina codex)

Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale “Augusta,” 3065 (*part of the Mancini Codex, Man*)

Perugia, Biblioteca del Dottorato dell’Università degli Studi, Incunabolo inv. 15755 N.F. (Perugia 15755)

Perugia, Library of Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti, fragment without shelfmark (Ciliberti)

Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, B 3 n. 5 (Pistoia 5, Pist)

Reggio Emilia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Comune Re, Appendice, Frammenti di codici musicali (no. 16) (Reggio Emilia Mischiati)

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 1607 (Rome 1067)

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossi 215 (Rossi Codex)

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottoboniano latino 1790 (Rome 1790)

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbino latino 1419 (Rome 1419)

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 129 (Rome 129)

Seville, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, 5.2.25 (Seville 25, Sev)

Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, L.V.30 (Siena 30)

Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, L.V.36 (Siena 36)

Siena, Archivio di Stato, Framm. Mus. b. n. 1. ins. n. 11 (*olim* Frammenti di musiche, n. 207) (Siena 207)

Stresa, Biblioteca Rosminiana, Collegio Rosmini al Monte, 14 (*olim* Domodossola, Convento di Monte Calvario) (*lost*) (Stresa 14)

Trent, Fondazione Biblioteca di S. Bernardino (*olim* dei Padri Francescani), Incunabolo n. 60 (Trent 60)

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2 (Boverio)

## **Literary Manuscripts**

Berlin, Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz,  
Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.B.17 (Rohan Chansonier)

Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Archivi privati, Lambertini, busta 48 (Bologna  
Archive Covers, Bologna 48)

Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Comune-Governo, Consigli e ufficiali del  
comune, Consiglio dei Quattromila, busta 58 (Bologna Archive Covers,  
Bologna 58)

Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Filippo Formaglini, busta 22.14  
(Bologna Archive Covers, Bologna 22.14)

Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Paolo Cospi, registro 14.1A (Bologna  
Archive Covers, Bologna 14.1A)

Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Ufficio dei Memoriali, Provvisori, serie  
pergamene, busta 36, registro 5 (Bologna Archive Covers, Bologna  
36)

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 177.3 (Bologna 177.3)

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1072 XI 9 (Bologna 1072)

Cape Town, South African Library, Grey 7 b 5 (Grey 7 b 5)

Chantilly, Musée Condé 474

Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, C.155 (Marucelliana 155)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, XL. 43 (Pluteo 43, Plut. 43)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, XC. Inf. 37 (Pluteo 37, Plut. 37)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 569 (Ashburnham  
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Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574 (Ashburnham  
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Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conventi Soppressi 122 (Conv.  
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Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palatino 105 (Palatino 105, Pal.  
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Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Tempi 2 (Tempi 2)

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61 (previously  
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Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 217 (Banco Rari 217)  
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Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1040  
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Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 688 (Riccardiana 688, Ricc. 688)  
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Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1280 (Riccardiana 1280, Ricc. 1280)  
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Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2786<sup>11</sup> (Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup>, Ricc. 2786<sup>11</sup>)  
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Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX. 28 (Genoa 28)  
Lucca, Archivio di Stato, 107 (Lucca 107)  
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Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 56 Sup (Ambrosiana 56, Amb. 56)  
Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 193 (Trivulziana 193, Triv. 193)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 554 (Paris 554)  
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 1069 (Paris 1069)  
Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081 (Parmense 1081, Parm. 1081)  
Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, C 43 (Perugia 43, Per. 43)  
Piacenza, Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Antonio, cassetta C. 49, fram. 10  
(Piacenza 49)  
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberino latino 3695 (Barberino  
3695, Barb. 3695)  
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Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Patetta 352 (Patetta 352)  
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 3195 (Vaticano 3195,  
Vat. 3195)  
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 3196 (Vaticano 3196)  
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 3213 (Vaticano 3213,  
Vat. 3213)  
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 3793 (Vaticano 3793;  
*Vatican Canzoniere*)  
Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, V. Emanuele 1147 (previously  
Oliveriano 34) (Rome 1147)  
Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale 43 (Treviso 43, Trev. 43)  
Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, XIV, lat. 233 (Marciana 223)  
Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. IX 529 (Marciana 529)

# Introduction

Fue adunche in questo felicissimo e grazioso anno la città molto di feste e di letizia gioconda: i famosi cittadini governatori di tanta republica lietissimi e contenti nella pace sicura; i mercanti ottimo temporale avieno; per che li artefici e la minuta gente senza spese o gravezza, sendo convenevolmente l'anno abondante, in questa felicità si vedieno. E volentieri ciascheduno e festeggiare e godere si trovava.<sup>1</sup>

The city thus rejoiced and celebrated in this most happy and lovely year: the famous governing citizens of the republic happy and content in the secure peace; merchants enjoying a time of prosperity; the artisans and lower classes, too, without expenses or burdens in this year of abundance, joined in this happiness. And everyone willingly found themselves celebrating and being glad.

Giovanni Gherardi da Prato (c. 1360–c. 1445), *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, III: 11

With these words, the stage is set for the third book of Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*. The *Paradiso degli Alberti*, a fictional work, is modeled after Boccaccio's *Decameron*, in which a small group of Florentine citizens flee the plague-ridden city, passing 10 days in the Tuscan countryside entertaining themselves with conversation, stories, dancing, and song. Writing in 1425–26, Gherardi looks back nostalgically on the final years of the fourteenth century. Gathered in the Alberti family's grand Florentine palazzo, Francesco degli Organi (commonly known today as Francesco Landini)—praised by Gherardi for his broad knowledge of the liberal arts—and nine other guests eagerly await their departure to Antonio degli Alberti's idyllic country villa in the hills outside the city walls.<sup>2</sup> There, they will entertain each other by reciting moralizing stories, singing songs, and engaging in philosophical dialogue. The year is 1389, half a decade after the fall of Florence's last guild government, and the guests are enjoying a brief moment of calm before the next series of political storms—the long military struggle with Giangaleazzo Visconti (1351–1402) and the Alberti family's impending political exile. While the story itself is fictional,

Antonio's guests are real historical figures, and all of them highly influential in Florence's intellectual and civic life: Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) and Luigi Marsili (c. 1342–94) in particular stand out for their central role in the rise of humanism.

Within this setting, Francesco degli Organi and his music can be read as a symbol of refinement and erudition, inviting reflection on the social and cultural contexts surrounding the oral and written circulation of Trecento secular song. The *Paradiso degli Alberti*'s fictional world is recognizable for being based on the elite intellectual milieu that shaped the most famous musical manuscript to be copied in late-medieval Italy: the Squarcialupi Codex (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palatino 87). The conservative repertory chosen by the manuscript's compilers and the book's lavish material form mirror efforts by Florence's short-lived university, as well as figures like Gherardi and Salutati, to restore the city's celebrated artistic heritage to the height it reached in the earlier Trecento.<sup>3</sup> The Squarcialupi Codex is unique in its luxurious illuminations and its conspicuous exclusion of both French repertoire and works in the *ars subtilior* style—the most avant-garde music of the time. It is not, however, entirely anomalous. While no other extant Trecento source is nearly as ornate or as focused, nearly all are high- or moderately high-quality manuscripts copied in gothic script by well-trained professional scribes. Even the scrappiest fragments—the strips of parchment re-appropriated as binding material in the incunable Perugia, Biblioteca del Dottorato dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia, Inv. 15755, for example— show clear signs of once having been part of large, anthologizing collections carefully organized by author and genre. The vast majority of manuscripts collecting Italian *ars nova* compositions (secular and sacred), then, are books with historicizing intent, created to assemble and even, in the case of the Squarcialupi Codex, to canonize a culturally prestigious repertoire for wealthy patrons and formal institutions.

It is therefore not surprising that studies dedicated to the sociocultural contexts framing the composition and performance of the written musical tradition in Italy have primarily highlighted its reception within elite circles and ecclesiastic settings. Just as John Nádas has pointed to cultural conservatism and elitism in the Squarcialupi Codex, so Michael Long has linked Francesco degli Organi to this milieu by drawing attention to the composer's interest in Ockhamist philosophy.<sup>4</sup> Secular song is all the more



associated with aristocratic society in northern Italy, especially in the Visconti court in Milan and the Carrara court in Padua. Oliver Huck, F. Alberto Gallo, Kurt von Fischer, and Geneviève Thibault have all worked to flesh out the Visconti's influence on the Italian *ars nova* tradition by exploring heraldic references, *senhals*, and acrostics hidden in poetic texts set by Jacopo da Bologna and Bartolino da Padova.<sup>5</sup> Musical life in northern Italy continued to be shaped by Visconti patronage into the early fifteenth century under the rule of Giangaleazzo, whom Reinhard Strohm has identified as a principal supporter of the *ars subtilior*.<sup>6</sup> Although direct documentary evidence of music-making and musical patronage in the courts of Luchino and Giangaleazzo is limited, the Visconti library helps elucidate music's function in courtly life. Copies of both Aristotle's *Politics* (in French) and Egidio Romano's *De regimine principum*, heavily influenced by the classical philosopher's writings, bespeak the influence of Aristotelian thought among Italian aristocratic circles.<sup>7</sup> In the Visconti court, as elsewhere in Europe, music thus served not only as entertainment but also as a barometer and agent of moral rectitude.<sup>8</sup> Several madrigals (for example Bartolino's *Imperial sedendo* and *La douce cere*) referencing Carrarese Padua suggest that secular song likewise played an important role in the Carrara court.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, music found itself at the heart of Padua's vibrant cultural scene, intimately bound to the production of visual art, as witnessed by Giotto's frescos in the Scrovegni chapel, which depict the lives of Mary and Jesus, Heaven, the Last Judgment, and the seven Virtues and Vices, and to the scholastic study of Aristotle's philosophy of nature, a cornerstone of intellectual activity at the University of Padua.<sup>10</sup>

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the papal chapel in Rome would rise to prominence as one of the most prestigious centers of music-making in Europe, eclipsing, at least partially, Florence and the northern Italian courts. The fourteenth century, in contrast, marked a nadir in central Italy's cultural and political significance as a result of the papacy's residency in Avignon (1309–76) and the subsequent instability created by the Great Schism (1377–1417). Nevertheless, the seat of the papal government in Rome became an important center of musical activity upon Gregory XI's return in 1377 to the Italian peninsula with not only the papal *curia* but also a retinue of northern musicians. In fact, documentary and manuscript evidence brought to light by John Nádas and Giuliano Di Bacco suggests the curia's geographic mobility

during the schism was more of an asset than a detriment to music-making in central Italy. This mobility served as a driving force behind the internationalization of musical styles via the spreading influence of French musicians, not just within the confines of the dual papal chapels in Rome and Naples, but throughout the Italian peninsula at the turn of the fifteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

In sum, we are able to articulate with reasonable precision the role of notated, mensural music within the papal chapels, the Visconti and Carrara courts, and within intellectually, socially, and economically elite circles in Republican Florence. We know rather less, however, about the circulation of this repertoire, and indeed about musical life in general, among the more modest echelons of society. Still, there is some evidence that Trecento secular song may have been read and performed by middle-class merchants, artisans, and notaries, particularly within Tuscany. Two notated sources (which I discuss in [Chapter 6](#)) hint at such circulation, though we know frustratingly little about their creation and their early use: London, British Library, Additional 29987 and one loose folio found amongst notarial records in the State Archives of Bologna (Bologna 23).<sup>12</sup> *Laudesi* companies, about which we can say a great deal more, offer a more concrete point of contact between music-making and mercantile culture in Florence.<sup>13</sup> These companies were quite heterogeneous in their membership, especially those located in Florence's *Oltrarno* area. Involvement reached beyond the city's social and economic elite to include more modest merchants and artisans from the *Arti Minori* (minor guilds) as well as the *Arti Maggiori* (major guilds), and all members would have experienced lauda singing (both monophonic and, by the later fourteenth century, polyphonic) regularly as part of their participation in the companies' devotional and celebratory activities.<sup>14</sup>

Music was thus an essential component of daily life in Florence, which involved a high degree of lay devotional activity. At the same time, the *laudesi* companies were integral to, and even a driving force behind, the city's musical life. As lauda singing became increasingly professionalized over the course of the fourteenth century, the companies provided steady work for singers and instrumentalists.<sup>15</sup> Blake Wilson has described Orsanmichele as "the city's largest and most stable professional musical establishment throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."<sup>16</sup> As such, it

was undoubtedly a key site of interaction between lauda singing and secular music-making, and indeed, at least one of its organists, Giovanni Mazzuoli, was also a noteworthy composer of secular song, although his works are all but lost to us today.<sup>17</sup> Other composers too were connected, more and less intimately, to Orsanmichele and other *laudesi* companies around Florence, including Gherardello da Firenze, Jacopo da Bologna, Giovanni's son Piero Mazzuoli, and Buonaiuto Corsino (a painter of wedding chests whose polyphonic ballate are included in London 29987).<sup>18</sup> What is more, employment records from several companies provide us with important information about the social status of professional musicians, indicating that many salaried singers were members of Florentine guilds. We know, therefore, that musicians—including those who likely performed mensural polyphony—were often artisans as well: lantern-makers, glove-makers, bakers, and so on.<sup>19</sup>

In what follows, I uncover new evidence of Trecento song's circulation in broad sociocultural circles in one little-studied body of source material that offers further evidence: the 50 literary manuscripts that transmit song texts without notation.<sup>20</sup> Unlike the musical manuscripts, the majority of these sources are informal collections copied by amateur scribes for their own private use. Not only does the frequent employment of *mercantesca* script (a cursive script used by Florentine merchants for their record keeping) suggest that most were created and read in mercantile contexts, several manuscripts have clear connections to specific individuals, some wealthy and politically active, and others artisans of low social and economic standing. Through a series of case studies, this book uncovers the diverse audiences these literary manuscripts reflect, expanding and sharpening our picture of Trecento musical life through the identification of new, concrete links to Florence's constantly shifting sociopolitical climate.<sup>21</sup>

I am simultaneously concerned with the relationship between music and literature that the unnotated sources embody. Until recently, both musicological and literary scholarship focused more on separating musical and poetic production than on investigating how musical settings might serve to interpret the texts they adorn. Aurelio Roncaglia and others, for example, identify a “divorce” between music and poetry as the fundamental difference between the work of Italy's earliest vernacular poets and that of their literary ancestors, the troubadours.<sup>22</sup> Focused on highlighting the increased

complexity in structure, rhetoric, and lexicon they perceive in Italian lyric, these scholars work to liberate poetry from music, which, were it present, might obscure the poet's verbal artistry. Yet even as this view becomes increasingly controversial, it continues to color our understanding of Italian literary and musical history, as does the commonly-used modern term "*poesia per musica*" (poetry for music).<sup>23</sup> By implying that song texts were born as unavoidable by-products of vocal polyphony, rather than as poetry in their own right, these two concepts have encouraged musicologists to focus more on the music than on the verbal texts and, simultaneously, discouraged literary scholars from taking "musical" poems seriously as literature. Though they have until now never been studied in detail, the literary sources on which I shall focus here have nevertheless been important protagonists in the traditional narrative of musical and poetic production in Trecento Italy. Based on the assumption that the song texts they contain stem from musical exemplars, F. Alberto Gallo and others have asserted that, for the most part, the poems intoned by Trecento composers enjoyed no independent literary tradition, handmaidens to music with little, or no, significance of their own.<sup>24</sup>

The evidence I present in this book refutes such a view. As I argue in [Chapter 1](#), there is little to support the assertion that scribes turned to musical rather than literary exemplars when copying song texts in non-musical manuscripts. Ultimately, though, it is my contention that hypothetical exemplars, notated or not, are of much less consequence than the materiality of song within the pages of the literary sources themselves. While I will suggest musical origins are unlikely, the true derivation of the unnotated song texts in question will always remain a mystery in most cases. However, what we can ascertain with reasonable certainty, and what I aim to show in the case studies presented in [Chapters 2–5](#), is that once entered into these literary collections, song texts function as poetry. To their scribes and to their subsequent readers, the poems we today recognize as musical were not peripheral to the Italian lyric tradition at large, they were active participants in it.

I therefore take a new, material approach to these sources that centers not just on the song texts themselves—as Gallo and D'Agostino have done—but also on the literary and material contexts in which they are placed. This methodology redefines song as—to use modern terms—a fundamentally interdisciplinary genre, and reveals its involvement in a wide variety of literary environments, ranging from the refined world of Dante and Petrarch

to the playful, satirical realm of un-courtly love related through witty language and light metric forms. While the chapters that follow focus more on the written, poetic lives of the song texts transmitted in literary manuscripts than their sung, musical ones, this is not to say that the interdisciplinarity I propose flows only in one direction. As much as I aim here to emphasize the literariness of these poems, it must also be borne in mind that they were not necessarily wholly divorced from music when copied without notation. The *cantasi come* tradition for example, in which lauda texts circulated with rubrics indicating the pre-existing song to which the poem should be sung, provides strong evidence that texts could encode musical information and serve as guides for sung performance even without the aid of notation.<sup>25</sup> That, however, is a story for a different book.

My discussion of the relationship between song and literature is informed by the ever-increasing body of scholarship dedicated to unraveling connections between text and music in the Italian *ars nova* tradition. Although much work remains to be done on the interaction between song texts and the greater tradition of Italian lyric poetry, on the one hand, and the word-tone relationship in secular song on the other, several studies have begun to address these issues from a variety of angles. A handful of detailed readings have explored the literary significance of certain song texts and interrelationships between poetic and musical meaning in individual works. Francesco Facchin, for example, has examined the influence of Petrarch's *Rerum vulgaria fragmenta* on song texts set by Donato da Firenze, Nicolò del Preposto, and Paolo da Firenze, highlighting both overt intertextual references and more subtle lexical allusions.<sup>26</sup> Pierluigi Petrobelli and Marco Gozzi have also explored connections between Petrarch and Trecento music-making, focusing on Jacopo da Bologna's setting of *Non al suo amante*, the only known setting of the poet's work dating from the fourteenth century.<sup>27</sup> While Petrobelli discusses potential biographical links between Jacopo and Petrarch, Gozzi uses the madrigal as a case study to illustrate one potential model for analyzing correspondences between text and music in the Italian *ars nova* tradition.<sup>28</sup>

Moving beyond the realm of the famed *Tre Corone* (Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio), a few studies have explored other literary influences and connections in anonymous song texts. Pedro Memelsdorff, for example, has presented Francesco degli Organi's setting of *Sì dolce non sonò* as a calculated reading of the poem in which the composer calls upon text and

music in combination to establish his artistic authority. Most discussions of text-setting in the Trecento repertoire focus on structural correspondences, but Memelsdorff's analysis suggests that composers responded to syntactic meaning as well.<sup>29</sup> Elena Abramov-van Rijk approaches the relationship between song and literature from a very different angle in her reading of Jacopo da Bologna's *Aquila altera*, which places the polytextual madrigal in the context of medieval bestiaries. Arguing convincingly that *Aquila altera* is not filled with specific heraldic references, as was previously believed, she proposes instead that it be read as a sophisticated moralizing and allegorical text that uses the eagle as a universal symbol for truth, good judgment, and *giustizia*.<sup>30</sup>

Our current understanding of the relationship between poetic and musical traditions in the Trecento is indebted to another vein of musicological scholarship as well: studies dedicated to the technical relationship between word and melody. Dorothea Baumann and Kurt von Fischer have discussed text underlay in the works of Johannes Ciconia and Francesco degli Organi, respectively.<sup>31</sup> Agostino Ziino, meanwhile, has investigated the phenomenon of text repetition more broadly, tracing shifts in composers' treatment of the poetry they set over the course of the Trecento.<sup>32</sup> Sandra Dieckmann and Oliver Huck, too, have addressed the issue of text setting.<sup>33</sup> Focusing on the musical treatment of *versi sdrucchioli* and *versi tronchi*, they demonstrate composers' concern for maintaining a poem's metric identity. Dieckmann and Huck's approach is particularly germane to this book's analysis of the relationship between music and literature, because of its effort to situate the occurrence of these metric phenomena in song texts within the broader context of their use in medieval Italian lyric poetry as a whole.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, recent years have witnessed an increasing interest among musicologists in unwritten traditions of both song and poetry. Nino Pirrotta's pioneering articles first cast the spotlight on this largely intangible world,<sup>35</sup> and subsequent scholarship has worked to further explicate the role of improvisatory singing in the practice of poetic recitation. In particular, the Florentine tradition of improvised poetry, known as the *cantari* tradition, has emerged as a locus of interaction between literature and musical performance. While much of the documentary evidence regarding the *cantarini*, or *cantastorie* ("history singers") dates from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Timothy McGee, Elena Abramov-van Rijk, Blake

Wilson, and James Haar have all traced the *cantari* tradition and other traditions of singing poetry *all'improvviso* (that is, in an improvised manner) back to the fourteenth century as well.<sup>36</sup> The centrality of song to these improvisers' recitation of epic verse, paired with the scattered references to the sung performance of *poesia aulica*, or "high art poetry," in the writings of Dante, Petrarch, and others, suggests the firm bond between poetry (both lyric and epic) and song characteristic of rhymed verse from both classical antiquity and the earlier Middle Ages remained relevant in the context of Italian vernacular literature, even if mensural settings were more often the domain of professional composers and their texts than of professional poets.

The tradition of poetic recitation is thus an important counterpart to the narrative I weave here. Many of the poems transmitted in the manuscripts I discuss may well have participated in that tradition, enjoyed not only through silent reading but also through public performance. Moreover, one key source in this study—Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1078—was likely copied and used by a performer whose primary interaction with its lyric collection was through recitation. However, because my focus is on manuscripts, manuscript culture, and poems directly linked to the (written) Italian *ars nova* tradition, I do not delve into the complex and inherently evanescent world of performance and oral transmission outside of my analysis of Magliabechiano 1078.

The approach to the literary sources of Trecento song texts I adopt in this book is indebted above all to the "New Philology" and to recent scholarship on "textual cultures."<sup>37</sup> These lines of inquiry take as their central premise the idea that a codex is not merely a neutral container for its texts. They argue rather that the entire manuscript matrix—its physical form, contents, scribe(s), readers, and history—determines a work's literary and cultural meaning. This premise has its roots in scholarship pertaining to the history of the (printed) book. Starting from the work of Lucien Febvre, Henri-Jean Martin, and Roger Chartier, studies concerned with the history of the book have, in the words of Robert Darnton, set out to "understand how ideas were transmitted through print and how exposure to the printed word affected the thought and behavior of mankind during the last five hundred years."<sup>38</sup> The "New Philology" argues for the use of a similar approach to manuscripts, shifting the emphasis from the work itself to its broader context. As Stephen Nichols explains, this approach advocates "that the language of texts be studied not simply as discursive phenomena but in the interaction of text

language with the manuscript matrix and both language and manuscript with social context and the networks they inscribe.”<sup>39</sup>

With the increased focus on print and manuscript cultures during the 1970s and 1980s, the codex as a material artifact began to assume a more central role in the world of literary studies. One study that has been particularly instrumental in changing philological discourse is Malcolm Parkes’ article, “The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book,” which emphasizes the role of the scribe as active compiler.<sup>40</sup> In the world of Italian scholarship, Armando Petrucci’s work relating the history of scripts and writing on the Italian peninsula to political and sociocultural history has also been highly influential. Italian paleographers continue to work towards an ever more clear definition of the diverse graphic and material panoramas present in the extant corpus of medieval Italian manuscripts through the close examination of a staggering number of codices in Italian and European libraries. Studies by Stefano Zamponi, Teresa de Robertis, Sandro Bertelli, and Maria Boschi Rotiroti have analyzed extensive data on the form and script of numerous groups of manuscripts, classifying, for example, the codices in which early Italian poetry circulated (based on their script, decorative scheme, and so on) and comparing the relative frequency of each salient characteristic.<sup>41</sup> This kind of data allows us to draw conclusions about the cultural milieu in which a given manuscript was created by providing an extensive framework for the analysis of its physical form.

Material-based methodologies have had a major impact on the study of Romance literature over the last three decades. They have, however, remained tangential to the study of medieval music manuscripts with a few notable exceptions, most especially Emma Dillon’s work on the *Roman de Fauvel* and on musical meaning in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century France, Jane Alden’s work on the Loire Valley *chansonnières*, and Deborah McGrady’s work on the Machaut manuscripts.<sup>42</sup> All three authors highlight the role of scribes and readers in the construction of meaning, exploring ways in which a manuscript’s physical form, and most especially its *mise en page*, can be expressive. Like Dillon, Alden, and McGrady, I am interested in moving beyond the texts themselves, both musical and literary, to a study of the complete material contexts in which they appear.



I begin in [Chapter 1](#) by introducing the literary manuscripts which stand at the core of this study. With 50 codices transmitting 130 song texts as poetry, the literary tradition of Trecento song is not, I argue, as sparse as previous scholarship has suggested. [Chapter 1](#) illustrates the richness of this tradition through several tables that outline the manuscripts' diverse geographic origins, their varied contents, and their chronological breadth. It also presents, and explains the rationale behind, a new detailed set of criteria for determining when song texts may have been copied from notated exemplars. These criteria form the foundation of my study, and their application strongly suggests that the vast majority of the 50 manuscripts considered here do not have musical origins. Fresh codicological analysis of three sources that have previously been viewed as phantom song collections (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 569; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 315; and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1078) illustrates this point. By shifting our focus from the potential “musicality” of these sources to their “literariness,” this discussion opens the door for the analyses presented in [Chapters 2–5](#), which explore the relationship between song texts and the greater literary traditions that frame them in five very different unnotated manuscripts.

In [Chapter 2](#), I examine the role of song in two extensive collections of *poesia aulica*, or “high art” poetry. While most compilers of literary collections seem to be unaware of or apathetic to the musicality of song texts, Franco Sacchetti—a composer himself—was very interested in the subsequent musical lives of his poems and kept careful track of their settings in the margins of his autograph manuscript: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574. While Sacchetti’s marginalia thus single out certain poems as musical, I shall argue that they simultaneously reveal that the poet did not differentiate between texts intended to be set to music and texts intended to remain purely verbal.

The second source on which this chapter focuses, Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081, is a fifteenth-century manuscript based around Petrarch’s *Canzoniere*. Because it attributes two poems to the composer Nicolò del Preposto, Gianluca D’Agostino has suggested that Parmense 1081 is a fragmented trace of a lost notated song collection, perhaps even a fascicle manuscript belonging to Nicolò himself.<sup>43</sup> Examining the codicological relationship between the song texts and the poems that

surround them, I argue that the attributions to Nicolò are most likely intended to reflect his status as poet, not as composer. Parmense 1081, like Ashburnham 574, is therefore indicative of extensive cross-pollination between musical and literary traditions.

Focusing on overt references to Francesco degli Organi's status as a composer and musician in Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria A.IX. 28, [Chapter 3](#) acts as a foil to the surrounding chapters, which argue that a song text's musical identity has little bearing on its meaning and function in literary manuscripts. Copied by brothers Giovanni and Filippo Benci between 1462 and 1485, this personal miscellany contains four ballate with the provocative rubric "*canzone del ciecho delli horgani*" (song by the blind organist, i.e. Francesco degli Organi) (fol. 205r) and the Latin epitaph inscribed on Francesco's tomb in San Lorenzo (fol. 201v). The unprecedented degree to which musical associations are manifest in these folios, I propose, makes Genoa 28 uniquely suited to illustrate how we might clearly identify and meaningfully articulate musical influence in non-musical manuscripts. Tracing connections between Lorenzo Benci (the brothers' father), Coluccio Salutati, and Florentine music-making found in Genoa 28 and throughout the Benci library—including in Filippo's *laudario*, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VII.266—I argue that the Benci brothers' understanding of the ballate ascribed to Francesco was shaped by knowledge of the composer's biography, his cultural status in late Trecento Florence, and perhaps even first-hand experience of his polyphonic settings.

The manuscripts examined in [Chapters 2](#) and [3](#) situate song texts in unquestionably learned literary environments. In contrast, [Chapters 3](#) and [4](#) investigate the literary life of song texts in two manuscripts that have traditionally been described as *popolare* or "folk-like." Although their physical informality is indeed striking, such taxonomies mask the complexity inherent in their multivalent contents. Therefore, the analyses in [Chapters 4](#) and [5](#) focus instead on each scribe's unique relationship with the texts he copied. [Chapter 4](#) considers interactions between oral and written traditions and between high and low style in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1078. Bringing literary scholarship on visual poetics and on orality and literacy to bear on my analysis of Magliabechiano 1078's unusually vague *mise en page*, I unsettle the notion that this source offers written testimony to oral traditions, as previous scholarship has suggested. I argue, conversely, that it is better understood as an oral account of written

tradition—a conspicuously anti-visual book, derived from physical exemplars, that collects not only *poesia popolare* (“folk” poetry) but also *poesia aulica* created within a highly literate poetic world. With its traditional classification inverted, Magliabechiano 1078’s musical-historical implications change, its performative nature helping to dissolve rather than reinforce disciplinary boundaries between literature and music.

Chapter 5 explores one final idiosyncratic source: a personal miscellany, or *zibaldone*, copied in the late fourteenth-century by a certain Amelio Bonaguisi, that is split today between two composite codices housed in Florence’s Biblioteca Nazionale (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61 and Magliabechiano VII 1040). Amelio’s *zibaldone* contains 10 poems set elsewhere by Trecento composers nestled within an unusual assortment of Italian and French lyric poetry that is preceded by Filippo Ceffi’s vernacular translation of Ovid’s *Heroides*. In its Ovidian frame, I argue, Amelio’s entire lyric collection—song texts included—participates in a process of linguistic and cultural “vulgarization” through which the mythological characters of the *Heroides* are refashioned as protagonists in various quintessential medieval courtly (and not-so-courtly) love scenes. Wedding them to the tradition of *volgarizzamenti* (vernacular translations) rejected by Florence’s most influential intellectuals around the turn of the fifteenth century, Amelio distances his musical ballate from the elite milieu to which they are bound by the Squarcialupi Codex and aligns them instead with middle-class Florentine mercantile culture.

Chapter 6 reintroduces sources more familiar to the musicologist: the notated codices and fragments containing Trecento secular song. Comparing the primary physical characteristics (material used, quality and category of script, organization, and decorative plan) of the notated sources to those of the literary manuscripts, I seek to identify what is at stake, culturally and literarily speaking, in the musical transmission of poetry. My analysis draws on recent studies by Marisa Boschi Rotiroti and Sandro Bertelli that examine the manuscript transmission of Dante’s *Divine Comedy* and of early Italian lyric poetry respectively.<sup>44</sup> Both Rotiroti and Bertelli note that the quality of a manuscript’s material form strongly correlates to the cultural prestige of the texts it contains. Considered in this light, the relative formality of the musical sources observable across the board, from mostly complete codices to poorly conserved fragments, can be seen as indicative of intentional scribal choice. I therefore propose that as song, vernacular poetry was able to

assume increased distinction, musical notation imparting a sense of value, import, and beauty to the words it adorns.

Chapter 6 concludes by returning to the issue of historical and sociopolitical context with which this introduction opened. Although we can formulate general hypotheses about the social and intellectual circles in which the notated sources were created based on their material form, in most cases we have no specific information about their compilers and early readers. In contrast, several of the text-only sources contain colophons, ex libris, and financial records linking them to specific scribes and owners. Before focusing on these individuals themselves, I first address vernacular reading and manuscript culture in late medieval Florence, laying out the cultural and intellectual context which gave rise not only to the literary sources discussed throughout this book but also, I argue, to the few informal musical sources that stand out as anomalous in the material panorama this chapter's first section describes (London 29987 and Bologna 23). Finally, drawing on information culled from the Florentine *Catasto* of 1427 and from the city's political records as well as on recent historical scholarship, I investigate the civic and professional identities of the Florentine citizens named as scribes and owners within the literary sources. This analysis brings to light a surprisingly diverse audience that includes Florence's intellectual and economic elite, modest merchants, and even artisans, and uncovers new, concrete links to Italy's complex social and political history.

I strive throughout all six chapters to understand this body of source material on its own terms by highlighting the unique identity of each manuscript discussed. My approach, as I mentioned above, bears the influence of recent scholarship pertaining to the intersection of musical traditions and manuscript culture in thirteenth- through fifteenth- century France. It, however, marks a radical departure from the way in which musicologists have dealt with not just the 50 literary manuscripts on which I focus here, but with all sources of Trecento song. In casting these text-only sources not as inherently musical objects but rather as material artifacts that reflect the tastes and cultural backgrounds of specific readers, the chapters that follow re-conceptualize both the relationship between musical and literary traditions in late-medieval Italy and the reception of Trecento song in Republican Florence. What is more, they broaden the very concept of "song"—its musical and poetic facets included—in ways that have important

implications for both our understanding of the Italian *ars nova* repertoire specifically and of medieval song more generally.

<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Gherardi, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. Antonio Lanza (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1975).

<sup>2</sup> Both Michael Cuthbert and F. Alberto Gallo have pointed out that the composer known today as Francesco Landini was not linked to that surname during his own lifetime and that his association with the Landini family is in fact tenuous. More historically accurate names would thus be Francesco da Firenze (which Cuthbert adopts), Franciscus cecus, or Francesco degli Organi. In this book, I follow the latter of the three, Francesco degli Organi, because of its predominance in both musical and literary manuscripts. Michael Scott Cuthbert, “Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006), 492–5 and F. Alberto Gallo, “Lorenzo Masini e Francesco degli Organi in S. Lorenzo,” *Studi musicali* 4 (1975): 59.

<sup>3</sup> John Nádas, “Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence,” in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. Angelo Pompilio et al. (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1990).

<sup>4</sup> William of Ockham (died c. 1350), one of the most prominent philosophers of the late Middle Ages, is best known for his writings on metaphysical nominalism. Francesco degli Organi picks up on one key tenet of Ockham’s philosophy in several of his song texts and in his one Latin poem (written in praise of the philosopher), namely that science and theology must be viewed as fundamentally distinct from each other. The articles of Christianity, Ockham argues, cannot be proven by reason and consequently must be accepted on faith. Michael Long, “Francesco Landini and the Florentine Cultural Elite,” *Early Music History* 3 (1983).

<sup>5</sup> Oliver Huck, “Music for Luchino, Bernabò and Gian Galeazzo Visconti,” in *Kontinuität und Transformation der italienischen Vokalmusik zwischen Due- und Quattrocento*, ed. Sandra Dickmann et al. (Hildesheim: Olms, 2007); F. Alberto Gallo, *Music in the Castle: Troubadours, Books, and Orators in Italian Courts of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. Anna Herklotz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Kurt von Fischer, “Das Madrigal ‘Si come al canto’ von Magister Piero und Jacopo da Bologna,” in *Analysen: Beiträge zu einer Problemgeschichte des Komponierens: Festschrift für Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht*, ed. Werner Breig et al. (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1984); Geneviève Thibault, “Emblèmes et devises des Visconti dans les oeuvres musicales du Trecento,” in *L’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento* 3, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Certaudo: Centro di studi sull’ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1970).

<sup>6</sup> Reinhard Strohm, “Filippotto da Caserta, ovvero i Francesi in Lombardia,” in *In cantu et in sermone. A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno*, ed. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Olschki, 1989).

<sup>7</sup> Gallo, *Music in the Castle*, 59–64.

<sup>8</sup> Gallo, *Music in the Castle*, 62–3. Regarding the impact of Aristotelian thought on medieval Italian conceptions of music’s moral value also see Eleonora Beck, *Singing in the Garden: Music and Culture in the Tuscan Trecento* (Innsbruck–Wien; Studien Verlag: 1998), chapter 3.

<sup>9</sup> See Pierluigi Petrobelli, “Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova,” in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1968).

<sup>10</sup> Eleonora Beck, *Giotto’s Harmony: Music and Art in Padua at the Crossroads of the Renaissance* (Florence: European Press Academic Publishing, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nádas, “The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism,” in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) and “Verso uno ‘stile internazionale’ della musica nelle cappelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378–1417): il caso di Johannes Ciconia da Liège,” in *Collectanea I. Drei Studien von Giuliano Di Bacco, John Nádas, Noel O’Regan, und*

Adalbert Roth. *Capellae Apostolicae Sistinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta III* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994).

<sup>12</sup> On London 29987, see especially Giuseppe Carsaniga, “An Additional Look at London Additional 29987,” *Musica Disciplina* 48 (1994) and Michael Long “Singing Through the Looking Glass: Child’s Play and Learning in Medieval Italy,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61/2 (2008). On Bologna 23, see Agostino Ziino, “Sulla tradizione musicale della ballata ‘Per seguir la speranza che m’ancide’ di Francesco Landini,” in *L’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento* 7, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2009); Armando Antonelli, “Tracce di ballate e madrigali a Bologna tra XIV e XV secolo (con una nota sul meccanismo di copia delle ballate estemporanee),” in *L’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento* 7; and Chapter 6 of this book.

<sup>13</sup> *Laudesi* companies, one of several types of confraternities that cropped up throughout Tuscany during the late Middle Ages, were lay devotional organizations built around the singing of laude, religious (but non-liturgical) texts in the vernacular.

<sup>14</sup> On the social context of lauda singing and the Florentine *laudesi* companies, see Blake McDowell Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 35–6.

<sup>15</sup> Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, see esp. pp. 150–64.

<sup>16</sup> Blake McDowell Wilson, “Madrigal, Lauda, and Local Style in Trecento Florence,” *The Journal of Musicology* 15/2 (1997), 152. On music-making at Orsanmichele, and particularly on the role of polyphony at the confraternity, also see Blake McDowell Wilson, “If Monuments Could Sing: Image, Song, and Civic Devotion inside Orsanmichele,” in *Orsanmichele and the History and Preservation of the Civic Monument*, ed. Carl Brandon Strehlke (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, Center for Advance Study in the Visual Arts, Yale University Press, 2012).

<sup>17</sup> Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 83. The section in the Squarcialupi Codex devoted to Mazzuoli was never completed. As a result, the primary source for his compositions remains San Lorenzo 2211, which is largely illegible. Frank A. D’Accone, “Mazzuoli, Giovanni,” in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libproxy.usc.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40516> (accessed June 5, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> Wilson, “Local Style” 149–51 and 155–6. Also see Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, Chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>19</sup> Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 142.

<sup>20</sup> Two introductory studies provide an overview of these sources and their musically-relevant texts and have served as an essential starting point for my own investigation: Gianluca D’Agostino, “La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento: una revisione per dati e problemi. (L’area toscana),” in *Col dolce suon che da te piove: Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo in memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999) and F. Alberto Gallo, “The Musical and Literary Tradition of Fourteenth Century Poetry Set to Music,” in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984).

<sup>21</sup> While my discussion is, for the most part, centered specifically on Florence, due both to the provenance of the literary sources and to the unusual wealth of well-preserved and well-studied documents pertaining to the Republic’s civic and intellectual life, it must be borne in mind that much of the repertoire on which I focus—both musical and literary—circulated elsewhere in Italy too, particularly in the northern part of the peninsula. Moreover, many of the musical settings implicated in the following discussion, and in at least some cases their poetic texts as well, have their origins not in

Florence but in the northern courts. For this reason, throughout this book I have chosen to refer broadly to “Trecento song” and to the “Italian lyric tradition” despite simultaneously highlighting Florentine political and intellectual history in my analysis of the individual manuscripts and their reception.

<sup>22</sup> Aurelio Roncaglia, “Sul ‘divorzio tra musica e poesia’ nel Duecento italiano,” in *L’Ars nova italiana del Trecento* 4, ed. Agostino Ziino (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull’ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1978). For more recent discussion of the “divorce” hypothesis, see Maria Sofia Lannutti, “Poesia cantata, musica scritta. Generi e registri di ascendenza francese alle origini della lirica italiana (con una nuova edizione di RS 409),” in *Tracce di una tradizione sommersa: I primi testi lirici italiani tra poesia e musica*, ed. Maria Sofia Lannutti and Massimiliano Loncato (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005).

<sup>23</sup> For more on the term “*poesia per musica*” and its origins see Elena Abramov-van Rijk, “Corresponding through Music: Three Examples from the Trecento,” *Acta Musicologica* 83/1 (2011): 4. Abramov-van Rijk traces the concept back to the nineteenth century and to the work of Alessandro D’Ancona. I would argue, however, that it stems back not to D’Ancona but to Giosuè Carducci, whose work D’Ancona cites. Linked to Carducci, a scholar deeply influenced by the spirit of the Italian *Risorgimento*, it becomes clear that the concept of “*poesia per musica*” grew more out of nineteenth-century nationalistic ideals than out of medieval thought. For more on Carducci’s intellectual and institutional ties to the *Risorgimento*, see Guido Capovilla, “Il saggio carducciano *Musica e poesia nel mondo elegante del secolo XIV*. Alcuni presupposti,” in *Trent’anni di ricerca musicologica. Studi in onore di F.A. Gallo*, ed. M. G. Pensa (Rome: Torre d’Orfeo, 1996).

<sup>24</sup> Gallo, “Literary Tradition,” 75. Also see D’Agostino, “La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali” and Fabio Carboni and Agostino Ziino, “*O rosa bella* tra canto, oralità e scrittura: una nuova fonte,” *Studj Romanzi*, Nuova Serie V–IV (2009–10): 298.

<sup>25</sup> On the *cantasi come* tradition, see Blake McDowell Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence: The Cantasi Come Tradition (1375–1550)* (Florence: Olschki, 2009), and “Dante’s Forge: Poetic Modeling and Musical Borrowing in late Trecento Florence,” in “*Beyond 50 years of Ars Nova Studies at Certaldo, 1959–2009*.” *Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi (Certaldo, Palazzo Pretorio, 12–14 giugno 2009)*. *L’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento* 8, ed. Marco Gozzi, Agostino Ziino, and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2013).

<sup>26</sup> Francesco Facchin, “La recezione del Petrarca nella poesia musicale della sua epoca: alcuni esempi,” *Quaderns d’Italià* 11 (2006).

<sup>27</sup> Pierluigi Petrobelli, “Un leggiadretto velo’ e altre cose petrarchesche,” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975) and Marco Gozzi, “Sul rapporto testo-musica nel Trecento Italiano: il caso del madrigale petrarchesco *Non al so amante* intonato da Jacopo da Bologna,” *Polifonie* IV/3 (2004).

<sup>28</sup> Gozzi has also discussed connections between the Trecento musical repertoire and the ballate in Boccaccio’s *Decameron*. See Marco Gozzi, “Boccaccio, Gherardello e una ballata monodica,” in *L’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento* 7 and “Cantare il *Decamerone*: intonazioni trecentesche su testi di Boccaccio,” in *Con-scientia musica: contrappunti per Rossana Dalmonte e Mario Baroni*, ed. Anna Rita Addressi et al. (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2010).

<sup>29</sup> Pedro Memelsdorff, “La ‘tibia’ di Apollo, i modelli di Jacopo e l’eloquenza landiniana,” in *Col dolce suon*.

<sup>30</sup> Elena Abramov-van Rijk, “The Madrigal *Aquil’altera* by Jacopo da Bologna and Intertextual Relationships in the Musical Repertory of the Italian Trecento,” *Early Music History* 28 (2009).

<sup>31</sup> Dorothea Baumann, “Silben- und Wortwiederholungen im italienischen Liedrepertoire des späten Trecento und des frühen Quattrocento,” in *Musik und Text*; and Kurt von Fischer, “Text Underlay in Landini’s Ballate for Three Voices,” *Current Musicology* 45–7 (1989) and “A Study on Text



Declamation in Francesco Landini's Two-Part Madrigals," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) in Memoriam: Von seinen Studenten Freunden und Kollegen*, vol. 1, ed. Luther A. Dittmer, *Musicological Studies* 49 (Henryville: Pennsylvania Institute of Medieval Music, 1984).

<sup>32</sup> Agostino Ziino, "Ripetizioni di sillabe e parole nella musica profana italiana del trecento e del primo quattrocento: proposte di classificazione e prime riflessioni," in *Musik und Text*.

<sup>33</sup> Sandra Dieckmann and Oliver Huck, "Versi sdrucchioli e versi tronchi nella poesia e nella musica del Due- e Trecento," *Stilistica e metrica italiana* 7 (2007).

<sup>34</sup> Tiziana Sucato has also commented on the correspondence between verse scansion and musical settings as well as on the relationship between verse structure and musical phrase structure in her study of the Rossi Codex. See Tiziana Sucato, ed. *Il Codice Rossiano 215: Madrigali, ballate, una caccia, un rotondello* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2003).

<sup>35</sup> See especially Nino Pirrotta, "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition" and "Polyphonic Music for a Text Attributed to Frederick II," in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

<sup>36</sup> Timothy McGee, *Ceremonial Musicians of Late Medieval Florence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), chapter 3; Elena Abramov-van Rijk, *Parlar Cantando: The Practice of Reciting Verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2009); Wilson, "Local Style," 154; and James Haar, "Improvisatori and Their Relationship to Sixteenth-Century Music," in *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). Also see Blake McDowell Wilson, *Dominion of the Ear: Memory, Performance, and Oral Poetry in Early Renaissance Italy* (forthcoming). I thank Professor Wilson for sharing his work in progress.

<sup>37</sup> See in particular William Robins, ed. *Textual Cultures of Medieval Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011) and Steven Nichols, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," *Speculum* 65 (1990).

<sup>38</sup> Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111/3 (1982): 65. Seminal publications in the field of the history of the book include Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition due livre* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1958), published in English as *The Coming of the Book*, trans. David Gerard (London: Verso, 1990) and Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier, *Histoire de l'édition française*, 4 vols. (Paris: Promodis, 1982–86).

<sup>39</sup> Nichols, "Philology in a Manuscript Culture," 9.

<sup>40</sup> Malcolm Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

<sup>41</sup> See, for example, Stefano Zamponi, "Il libro del canzoniere: Modelli, strutture, funzioni," in *Rerum vulgarum fragmenta. Codice Vat. Lat. 3195. Commentario all'edizione fac-simile*, ed. Gino Belloni, Furio Brugnolo, H. Wayne Storey, and Stefano Zamponi (Rome: Editrice Antenore, 2004); Sandro Bertelli, *I manoscritti della letteratura delle origini. Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale* (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2002); and Maria Boschi Rotiroti, *Codicologia trecentesca della Commedia: Entro e oltre l'antica vulgata* (Rome: Viella, Libreria editrice, 2004). Another significant resource is the project *Manoscritti datati d'Italia*, an ongoing study that is systematically cataloging and analyzing manuscripts in Italian libraries that contain specific information regarding their origins (date, place of origin, scribal identification). The project's findings are published in the growing series entitled *Manoscritti datati d'Italia* and are also searchable through a database hosted on the project's website, <http://www.manoscrittidatati.it> (accessed April 30, 2014).

<sup>42</sup> Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the Roman de Fauvel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260–1330* (Oxford:

Oxford University Press, 2012); Jane Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society: The History and Reception of the Loire Valley Chansonniers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); and Deborah McGrady, *Controlling Readers: Guillaume de Machaut and His Late Medieval Audience* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

<sup>43</sup> D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicale," 415.

<sup>44</sup> Rotiroti, *Codicologia trecentesca della Commedia* and Bertelli, *I manoscritti della letteratura italiana delle origini*.

# 1

## Revisiting the Literary Tradition of Trecento Song

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

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

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

*Cosa sottile in canto poco muda:  
gli amorosi versi par che sia  
musica di servir sempre tenuta.<sup>1</sup>*

“Although I feel little value in me, I recognize how your verses work, and I know to what end the effect you hold in your heart will lead. If you are a speaker of philosophy, you would do well to send your rhymes elsewhere, to a place where the name of Jove resounds and where theology shows her splendor. Or if your words come in the form of a canzone morale, where through lofty material and difficult meaning you seem to always search for a new path [then you should send them elsewhere]. That which is subtle molts a little in song: music serves amorous verses best.”

Franco Sacchetti (1335–1400), *Il libro delle rime* CLVIII

The sonnet *Ben che io senta*, an opinionated invective against poets overeager to have their lyrics adorned with melody, is one of Franco Sacchetti's most famous reflections on the relationship between music and

poetry. Sacchetti's status as both the most prolific poet of Trecento song texts and a dabbling composer garners him authority on the subject, and considering the paucity of other contemporary writings directly addressing this issue, his words are of particular importance.<sup>2</sup> It is unsurprising, then, that *Ben che io senta* has caught the attention of scholars seeking to define the relationship between poetry and music in late medieval Italy through the term "*poesia per musica*." As far back as Giosuè Carducci's seminal article of 1870 on poetry and music in the Trecento, the sonnet has been cited as proof that this taxonomy, which segregates song texts from other forms of lyric poetry, is historically grounded. Sacchetti's sonnet, Carducci says, confirms that "musical" poetry is a verifiable, definable category distinct from the more serious and weighty class of "non-musical" poetry.<sup>3</sup>

This view has continued to shape musicological and literary scholarship up to the present day. Its impact is seen most clearly in modern literary anthologies, literary histories, and metric manuals, which typically relegate *poesia per musica* (or "poetry for music," namely madrigals, ballate, and cacce) to brief discussions devoted to "other" forms or "minor" poets. Placed in opposition to *poesia aulica* (a term used in modern scholarship to refer to the refined amorous lyrics of renowned poets like Cavalcanti, Dante, and Petrarch), song texts are treated as functional poetry, completely subservient to the music that adorns them.<sup>4</sup> What is more, this perceived opposition has led scholars to belittle the literary value of the poems selected for musical treatment by Trecento composers. Even while advocating for the importance of studying texts and their circulation in literary manuscripts, F. Alberto Gallo states that there is a clear distinction between "sophisticated poetry like the canzoni and sonetti which have their authoritative tradition in individual or collective literary manuscripts" and "less refined poetical production, that of madrigals and cacce, whose anonymous tradition is based only on musical manuscripts."<sup>5</sup>

In a literary world built on a divorce between music and poetry and on the subsequent elevation of autonomous verbal artistry, such value judgments are perhaps inevitable. Alluded to by Vincenzo De Bartholomaeis in 1943 and re-articulated by Gianfranco Contini in 1951,<sup>6</sup> the argument in support of a "divorce" between word and music in the Sicilian school—the earliest school of Italian poetry, which flourished during the reign of emperor Federico II (1184–1250)—comes to full fruition in Aurelio Roncaglia's

1978 article, “Sul «divorzio tra musica e poesia» nel Duecento italiano.”<sup>7</sup> For Roncaglia, the primary difference between early Italian lyric poetry and the work of the troubadours that came before it is found in the relationship between word and music. Poetry after the troubadours may still have been sung, he argues, but authors no longer conceived of their art as being musical as well as verbal. The poets of the Sicilian school were, in his opinion, purely literary authors who left the composition of song and its performance to specialized musicians. Roncaglia himself does not, therefore, advocate for a full divorce between the world of poetry and the world of music in the Italian tradition.<sup>8</sup> What he proposes is a separation in terms of creation but not necessarily in terms of performance or presentation. Still, while the increasing division of labor between poets and musicians throughout the Duecento and into the Trecento is a visible and verifiable phenomenon, it does not necessarily follow that poetry and music became two autonomous creative exercises.

The problem with the divorce hypothesis, though, ultimately lies not so much in its premise but in the broader implications that have come to be attached to it, in which song texts are considered inferior to non-musical poetry both in literary merit and use. The rhetoric Roncaglia, Contini, and De Bartholomaeis use to explain their hypothesis and its literary consequences in many ways echoes that of Carducci in his writing about “musical” poetry.<sup>9</sup> Writing in the late nineteenth century at a time when Italian intellectuals and politicians were steeped in the project of building and promoting an illustrious and uniquely Italian cultural heritage for the newly united nation, Carducci, one of the founding fathers of modern Italian philology, was deeply influenced by the patriotic atmosphere the *Risorgimento* engendered.<sup>10</sup> For Carducci, the concept of *poesia per musica* is a positive one, music serving as a link to “popular” or “folk” culture that enables him to identify an unquestionably native and universal Italian literary tradition. Roncaglia and others who support the “divorce” hypothesis, though writing a century later, remain invested in constructing for Italian literature a strong and autonomous heritage, in which the celebrated work of Dante and Petrarch is recognized as a logical culmination, rather than an isolated instance, of poetic virtuosity. In opposition to Carducci, Roncaglia, Contini, and De Bartholomaeis work to disassociate the peninsula’s most renowned poetry from any kind of “popular” residue that might taint its cultural prestige. In their view, it is poetry’s new freedom from music that allowed the Sicilian authors and their

literary descendants to achieve a higher level of verbal artistry than the French and Provençal poets who first began to compose vernacular lyric.

The ideologies hiding behind both the divorce hypothesis and the concept of *poesia per musica* have led to an undervaluing of music's role in later traditions, most specifically in the work of Dante.<sup>11</sup> Extending that point, I would argue that it has also had a major impact on our approach to the literary tradition of Trecento song texts by encouraging us to underestimate their poetic significance and their influence on the compositional process. There was, without a doubt, a gradual shift in the relationship between music and poetry over the course of the late Middle Ages manifest in the marked stylistic differences between troubadour song and the Italian *ars nova*. But as I shall demonstrate in what follows, there is little manuscript evidence to support the idea that Trecento poets, composers, and readers conceived of *poesia per musica* as an autonomous (and inferior) literary genre. Indeed, to go one step further, the literary sources transmitting Trecento song texts seem to draw into question whether their scribes and readers perceived any distinction at all between “musical” and “non-musical” poetry.

The material transmission of Trecento song, therefore, suggests that we read *Ben che io senta* in a new light. I would argue that the sonnet does not lay out a taxonomy of lyric poetry in which some poems were destined for musical settings and others were not. Rather, it stands as a diatribe against misguided poets who foolishly (in Sacchetti's opinion) push to have their philosophical and moralizing lyrics turned into song. Although Sacchetti is adamant that only amorous *rime* are well suited to music, he simultaneously implies that other kinds of poetry, too, were often used as song texts. As the story *Ben che io senta* tells, poets in fourteenth-century Italy requested composers to intone a variety of poems, a scenario borne out in the repertoire of Trecento song with which we are familiar today. Amorous themes do dominate, but there are numerous examples of madrigals, ballate, and cacce set to music that Sacchetti would have considered inappropriate, including many by composers highly respected in his day.<sup>12</sup> More importantly, though, nowhere in *Ben che io senta* does Sacchetti suggest musical settings should be limited to poems written expressly for that purpose. Instead, the literary world it describes is comprised of a broad range of poems differentiated by subject matter rather than function. Some texts may be better matched than others to song, but none are expressly “musical” rather than “literary.”

The manuscript sources of Trecento song to which this book is dedicated join Sacchetti's sonnet in demonstrating the interrelatedness of poetry and song. Even in notated *canzonieri*, where music arguably takes precedence over poetry visually if not conceptually, the considerable attention devoted to the verbal text bespeaks its centrality to a song's identity. Scribes' painstakingly precise notation of metric structure and text-underlay, in particular, suggests that correct poetic recitation was integral to the song itself, as was an accurate understanding of poetic form. Even more than the notated manuscripts already familiar to musicologists, the literary sources in which Trecento song texts circulated embody the fluid world *Ben che io senta* describes. They freely juxtapose texts that were selected for musical treatment with those that were not and genres associated with notated song (the madrigal, ballata, and caccia) with those that were primarily verbal (the sonnet and the canzone).<sup>13</sup> The remainder of this chapter, then, and the book as a whole, sets out to re-evaluate the relationship between song and poetry in late medieval Italy through the lens of these little-studied sources.

The discussion that follows thus centers on a group of poems we as musicologists recognize as "musical." To be clear, though, I do not consider these texts to be an independent genre of poetry, and I have selected the term "song text" rather than *poesia per musica* for that reason. In describing poems set to music by Trecento composers as "song texts," I do not intend to identify them as inherently "musical," nor to suggest that their authors would have viewed them as such. Rather, I use the term to designate poems that can be linked to the written Italian *ars nova* tradition either through concordances in musical manuscripts or through other documentation (such as the rubrics in Sacchetti's autograph manuscript, Ashburnham 574, discussed in [Chapter 2](#)). Moreover, while my interest here is on poems selected for musical treatment by composers of notated song settings, we must bear in mind that the poems I identify as "song texts" may not be the only poems in these literary manuscripts associated with musical or oral performance. Many of the other poems collected alongside them may have had lives beyond the written page as well, performed—that is, sung—for both public and private audiences.

## **The Literary Transmission of Trecento Song: An Introduction**

Although the literary manuscripts containing Trecento song have, until now, received little sustained scholarly attention, musicologists and literary scholars have long recognized their existence. Three introductory articles, one by F. Alberto Gallo and two more recent, related studies by Gianluca D'Agostino, have done much to raise awareness of song's literary transmission, and my own work is indebted to their discoveries.<sup>14</sup> Still, other than Sacchetti's sonnet *Ben che io senta*, the primary justification provided for the term *poesia per musica* is that this repertoire rarely circulated "*senza vestimenta*," or without musical garments. Even Gallo and D'Agostino, who advocate convincingly for the significance of Trecento song's literary sources, treat these manuscripts more as musical than literary objects. Asserting that scribes overwhelmingly copied from notated exemplars when working with song texts, they see the unnotated poetic collections as reflections of each poem's musical circulation rather than as witnesses to an independent literary tradition.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, scholars have all but ignored the literary contexts in which these manuscripts place song and have neglected to explore what their material form may reveal about the relationship between "musical" and "non-musical" poetry. Instead, discourse has centered on issues that seem more pertinent to the musical repertoire itself. Giuseppe Corsi, whose 1970 edition of Trecento song texts remains an invaluable resource for both musicologists and literary scholars, has used literary manuscripts transmitting multiple stanzas of madrigals and ballate to amend poems that are incomplete in their notated sources (for example, *De sospirar sovente*, set by Francesco degli Organi and transmitted with all six stanzas only in Magliabechiano 1040).<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, D'Agostino finds in song texts traces of lost notated collections hidden within certain literary sources. He also finds in certain attributions evidence that some composers wrote their own poetry, though the important implications this holds for the relationship between literary and musical production in late medieval Italy remains beyond the scope of his study.<sup>17</sup>

The literary tradition of Trecento song, however, is not as limited as the secondary literature suggests. Six hundred and thirty seven secular songs with vernacular texts from the Italian *ars nova* survive today: 414 ballate, 196 madrigals, and 28 cacce.<sup>18</sup> One hundred and nine (or about 17 percent) are also transmitted without notation in literary sources. This number climbs to 130 (20 percent) if we include the 21 poems that Franco Sacchetti indicates were set to music in his autograph manuscript, Ashburnham 574,



but whose settings have since been lost. These 130 song texts are listed along with their concordances in Appendix 1. While most song texts do indeed seem not to have circulated independent from their notation, the number that did enjoy literary as well as musical lives is significant both statistically and conceptually.

What is more, of the song texts that appear in non-musical manuscripts, at most 62 are by known authors, meaning that nearly 50 percent of “musical” poems granted a literary tradition were anonymous. This last figure is particularly noteworthy, for it contradicts the notion that the only song texts granted poetic lives and literary value were those connected to known, prolific authors such as Franco Sacchetti, Niccolò Soldanieri, and Petrarch.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, on the whole, manuscripts of Italian lyric poetry from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries draw into question the pertinence of an author-centric approach to this repertoire. Unlike the Trecento musical sources or the troubadour and trouvère *chansonniers* that form the foundation of vernacular poetry’s written tradition, Italian literary manuscripts rarely privilege authorship. While a few sources (for example the famous *canzonieri*, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 217 and Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.305) are organized by author and contain careful attributions, many more transmit their poems anonymously, whether or not they are largely organized by author. The anonymity of most Trecento song texts and the absence of poetic attribution in musical manuscripts, then, does not necessarily mean these poems were literarily insignificant. Rather, it is a natural consequence of a material world in which authorial identity was often not prioritized by scribes and readers, no matter how much poets like Dante and Petrarch strove to construct and control their poetic personas.

## **Freeing the Sources: Towards a New Methodology for Analyzing the Manuscript Evidence**

In order to revise our understanding of the relationship between music and poetry, we must therefore seek a new approach to this source material. The methodology I propose aims to free the literary manuscripts from the assumption that their song texts conceal phantom musical sources by looking beyond these poems alone to the complete material environment in which

they appear. Direct musical origins, I argue, are nearly impossible to prove. More importantly, though, they have little bearing on the meaning and function assigned to song texts in these notationless poetic collections. As we shall see, very few of the literary sources mark their song texts as musical. Regardless of the type of exemplar used, then, once copied into these manuscripts, the madrigals, ballate, and cacce we now recognize as song texts are not differentiated from the other poems copied alongside them. Consequently, the analyses that follow focus in large part on codicological and paleographic details through which we can work towards uncovering each scribe's unique approach to lyric collection and the role song texts assume as literature within that context. First, however, we must begin by becoming more familiar with the body of literary sources as a whole.

The tradition of Trecento secular song comes down to us in eight largely complete notated *canzonieri* and 34 fragments with Italian origins dating from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (listed in [Chapter 6](#) in [Table 6.1](#)). In comparison, there are 50 known manuscripts containing secular song texts without musical notation, and there may well be more that have not yet been discovered (see [Table 1.1](#)).<sup>20</sup> Twenty-four of the literary manuscripts are roughly contemporary with the musical sources, dating from the late Trecento and the early decades of the Quattrocento when the Italian *ars nova* was still a living tradition. Ten date from the middle of the fifteenth century shortly after the music of Trecento composers fell out of fashion, and 15 date from the turn of the sixteenth century and beyond. Significantly, only a select few overtly acknowledge the musicality of their song texts through rubrics, marginalia, or explanations in narrative prose. These are: Sacchetti's autograph (discussed in [Chapter 2](#)); Genoa 28 (discussed in [Chapter 3](#)); the two manuscripts that transmit Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*; Trivulziana 193, containing Sercambi's *Novelle*; the *cantasi come* sources;<sup>21</sup> and Chigi 79, the only literary source to contain several poems labeled "*canzone tonata*" (intoned song).

Table 1.1 The literary sources containing Trecento secular song texts

It has not been possible to amend this table for suitable viewing on this device. For larger version please see: [http://www.ashgate.com/pdf/ebooks/9781472418906Tab1\\_1.pdf](http://www.ashgate.com/pdf/ebooks/9781472418906Tab1_1.pdf)

| Source           | Date                                  | Contents                                                                                                                                                                          | Number of song texts | Support material | Number of folios | Decoration and colored ink                                                                                                                                             | Type of scribe      |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Ambrosiana 56    | Early 15th c (1408)                   | Miscellaneous moralizing and devotional poetry                                                                                                                                    | 2                    | Parchment        | 72               | Enlarged initials with pen-flourishing; red initials, rubrics, and highlighting (ff. 1-32)                                                                             | Prof.               |
| Ash. 569         | Late 14th/early 15th c                | Canzoni by Dante and poems by Petrarch (+ extra authors); composite ms; features <i>poesia antica</i>                                                                             | 4                    | Paper            | 28               | Enlarged initials planned but not executed; red rubrics (2nd unit only)                                                                                                | Semi-prof.?         |
| Ash. 574         | Late 14th c                           | Complete works of Franco Sacchetti; autograph ms; features <i>poesia antica</i>                                                                                                   | 34                   | Paper            | 134              | 1 red rubric; red and blue paragraph markers in 1st section                                                                                                            | Sacchetti (amateur) |
| Barb. 3695       | Early 15th c                          | Miscellaneous moralizing and devotional texts                                                                                                                                     | 2                    | Paper            | 90               | Red and purple ink for rubrics and highlighting                                                                                                                        | Amateur             |
| Bologna 14.1A    | 14th c                                | Snippets of texts on register cover                                                                                                                                               | 1 (partial text)     | Parchment        | N/A              | None                                                                                                                                                                   | Notary              |
| Bologna 22.14    | Early 15th c                          | Register, with 1st page filled with poem                                                                                                                                          | 1                    | Paper            | 150              | None                                                                                                                                                                   | Notary              |
| Bologna 36       | 14th c                                | Snippets of texts on register cover                                                                                                                                               | 1 (partial text)     | Parchment        | N/A              | None                                                                                                                                                                   | Notary              |
| Bologna 48       | Early 15th c                          | Scrap of paper with random texts tucked into book of "Recordanze"                                                                                                                 | 1                    | Paper            | 1                | None                                                                                                                                                                   | Notary              |
| Bologna 58       | Early 15th c                          | Snippets of texts on register cover                                                                                                                                               | 1 (partial text)     | Parchment        | N/A              | None                                                                                                                                                                   | Notary              |
| Bologna 177.3    | 17th c, copy of earlier ms            | Collection of canzoni, sonnets, and ballate; org. by author; features <i>poesia antica</i>                                                                                        | 1                    | Paper            | 24               | None                                                                                                                                                                   | Amateur             |
| Bologna 1072     | 15th c                                | Moralizing and devotional poems, mostly sonnets with a few ballate, one canzone, and one madrigal                                                                                 | 1                    | Paper            | 12               | None                                                                                                                                                                   | Prof./semi-prof?    |
| Chigi 79         | 15th c, last 1/3rd                    | Miscellany of lyric poetry ("rime antiche"); features <i>poesia antica</i>                                                                                                        | 3                    | Paper            | 202              | Yellow, red and blue initials; one decorated initial on f.1 (in gold, green, blue, and pink)                                                                           | Prof.               |
| Chigi 131        | 16th and 17th c                       | Miscellany of lyric poetry, including works by many 13th and 14th c poets; composite ms; features <i>poesia antica</i>                                                            | 11                   | Paper            | 419              | None                                                                                                                                                                   | Amateur             |
| Chigi 142        | 16th c                                | Lyric poetry org. by author; copy of the <i>Raccolta Aragonese</i> ; composite ms; features <i>poesia antica</i>                                                                  | 21                   | Paper            | 333              | None                                                                                                                                                                   | ?                   |
| Chigi 300        | 17th c                                | Complete works of Franco Sacchetti; features <i>poesia antica</i>                                                                                                                 | 34                   | Paper            | 125              | Red underlining for rubrics                                                                                                                                            | Amateur             |
| Chigi 301*       | 14th-16th c                           | Composite ms; song texts in units II (15th c, 2nd half), III (16th c, end), and IV (15th c) all of which contain lyric poetry, mostly by Sacchetti; features <i>poesia antica</i> | 5                    | Paper            | 134?             | Unit II: initials planned but not executed; red rubrics<br>Unit III: initials planned but not executed, some red rubrics<br>Unit IV: initials planned but not executed | ?                   |
| Conv. Sopp. 1746 | Mid 15th c (1st section, late 14th c) | Miscellany (poetry and prose, incl. poetry of Francesco D'Altobianco Alberti); composite ms; some <i>poesia antica</i>                                                            | 3                    | Paper            | 295              | Red ink for rubrics through fol. 7v                                                                                                                                    | Amateur             |
| Genoa 28         | 1462-85                               | Miscellany of poetry and prose                                                                                                                                                    | 4                    | Paper            | 219              | Some red and blue ink for enlarged initials; some red rubrics                                                                                                          | Amateur             |
| Grey 7 b 5*      | 15th c                                | Lyric poetry (primarily sonnets and <i>capitoli tenari</i> ), ordered according to theme and metric form; features <i>poesia antica</i>                                           | 1                    | Paper            | 112              | ?                                                                                                                                                                      | Prof. (?)           |
| Lucca 107        | 1400                                  | Giovanni Sercambi, <i>Cronache</i> ; song in narrative context                                                                                                                    | 1                    | Parchment        | 361              | Red and blue rubrics and initials; some pen flourished initials; historiated initials and illustrations                                                                | Prof.               |

|                                                |                 |                                                                                                                                                   |    |           |                                     |                                                                                                                                 |                                    |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Lucca 266                                      | Early 15th c    | Giovanni Sercambi, <i>Cronache</i> (part 2) and <i>Noelle</i> ; song in narrative context                                                         | 1  | Parchment | 160                                 | Red rubrics; illustrations planned but never executed                                                                           | Prof.                              |
| Magl. 640                                      | Early 16th c    | Miscellaneous lyric poetry; ms incomplete; features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                                                          | 1  | Paper     | 15                                  | None                                                                                                                            | Amateur?                           |
| Magl. 1040 (10th unit)/ Florence 61 (3rd unit) | Late 14th c     | Miscellaneous prose and miscellaneous poetry; composite ms                                                                                        | 10 | Paper     | Originally at least 165 (49 extant) | No formal decoration; some informal "doodles" and line drawings                                                                 | Amateur                            |
| Magl. 1040 (1st unit)                          | 16th c          | Sonnets by Alberto degli Albizi and Boccaccio; features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                                                      | 1  | Paper     | 4                                   | None                                                                                                                            | Amateur?                           |
| Magl. 1041                                     | early 16th c    | Miscellaneous lyric poetry (13-16th c); features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                                                             | 26 | Paper     | 104                                 | None                                                                                                                            | Amateur                            |
| Magl. 1078                                     | 15th c (early?) | Miscellaneous lyric poetry (mostly anonymous) incl. large collection of ballate and strambotti                                                    | 17 | Paper     | 41                                  | None                                                                                                                            | Amateur                            |
| Magl. 1187                                     | 15th/16th c     | Composite ms; relevant section is collection of poems by Sacchetti; features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                                 | 3  | Paper     | 78                                  | None                                                                                                                            | Amateur                            |
| Marciana 223                                   | 15th c (early)  | Miscellany (poetry, etc. incl. collection of poems by Giovanni Dondi d'Orologio, also several sonnets by Petrarch); features <i>poesia aulica</i> | 2  | Paper     | 78                                  | None                                                                                                                            | Amateur                            |
| Marucelliana 135                               | Early 15th c    | Boccaccio's <i>Filostrato</i> , followed by miscellaneous lyric poetry                                                                            | 7  | Paper     | 89                                  | Simple pen-flourish decoration on initials (ff. 3-38, 39v-57r); some red highlighting and rubrics                               | Semi-prof.?                        |
| Pal. 105                                       | 15th c          | Miscellaneous prose texts with some moralizing poetry (Boccaccio's <i>Filostrato</i> , Ovid's <i>Heroides</i> ); ms incomplete                    | 1  | Paper     | 129                                 | Simple pen-flourish decoration for initials and catchwords; traces of yellow highlighting                                       | Amateur                            |
| Pal. 204                                       | 16th c          | Lyric poetry organized by author; copy of the <i>Raccolta Aragonesa</i> ; features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                           | 24 | Paper     | 312                                 | One simple enlarged initial on f. 1 (even larger initial planned); other enlarged initials planned but never executed           | Amateur and prof./semi-prof.?      |
| Pal. 288                                       | 16th c          | Miscellaneous lyric poetry; ms incomplete, owned by B. Varchi; features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                                      | 1  | Paper     | 295                                 | None                                                                                                                            | Amateur                            |
| Pal. 315                                       | Late 14th c     | Dante's DC followed by Miscellaneous lyric poetry (mostly <i>carzoni</i> , several by Dante); some <i>poesia aulica</i>                           | 5  | Paper     | 100                                 | Red rubrics and highlighting; some simple pen flourishes (DC section only)                                                      | Amateur/semi-prof.?                |
| Paris 554*                                     | 16th c          | Lyric poetry organized by author; copy of the <i>Raccolta Aragonesa</i> ; features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                           | 22 | Paper     | 251                                 | Simple initials and flourished initials in green and red ink (alternating); some initials planned but not executed; red rubrics | ?                                  |
| Parm. 1081                                     | 15th c (early)  | Lyric poetry (mostly sonnets and canzoni), with Petrarch's RVE as base; features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                             | 10 | Paper     | 120                                 | Red initials and highlighting (only ff. 20v-23v)                                                                                | Amateur                            |
| Patteta 352                                    | 19th c          | Lyric poetry organized by author; copy of the <i>Raccolta Aragonesa</i> (direct copy of Paris 554); features <i>poesia aulica</i>                 | 22 | Paper     | 269                                 | None                                                                                                                            | Amateur                            |
| Perugia 43                                     | 15th c          | Miscellany (prose and poetry; incl. Boccaccio's <i>Filostrato</i> and large portion of Petrarch's RVE); features <i>poesia aulica</i>             | 2  | Paper     | 227                                 | None                                                                                                                            | Amateur                            |
| Plut. 37                                       | 15th c (late)?  | Lyric poetry organized by author; copy of the <i>Raccolta Aragonesa</i> ; features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                           | 23 | Paper     | 240                                 | Red rubrics; red (simple) initials                                                                                              | ?                                  |
| Plut. 43                                       | 15th c          | Lyric poetry followed by Petrarch's <i>Trionfi</i> ; features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                                                | 6  | Paper     | 119                                 | Some red rubric; enlarged initials planned but not executed                                                                     | Amateur?                           |
| Redi 184                                       | 15th and 16th c | Miscellaneous lyric poetry (partially org. by author); features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                                              | 12 | Paper     | 205                                 | None                                                                                                                            | Amateur                            |
| Ricc. 1100                                     | 15th c (early?) | Lyric poetry (anthology org. by author; incl. large portion of Petrarch's RVE, also poems by Dante and Petrarch); features <i>poesia aulica</i>   | 4  | Paper     | 97                                  | Red rubrics                                                                                                                     | Semi-prof.                         |
| Ricc. 1118                                     | 16th c          | Lyric poetry organized by author; copy of the <i>Raccolta Aragonesa</i> ; features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                           | 17 | Paper     | 167                                 | None                                                                                                                            | Prof.                              |
| Ricc. 1280                                     | 15th c (early)  | Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, <i>Paradiso degli Alberti</i> (2nd unit); song in narrative context; composite ms                                     | 1  | Paper     | 122                                 | None                                                                                                                            | Amateur?                           |
| Ricc. 1764                                     | 15th c          | Miscellaneous devotional texts, incl. collection of laude ( <i>cantata come</i> collection)                                                       | 1  | Paper     | 94                                  | Red and blue pen-flourished initial on f. 1, more modest red pen-flourished initials throughout; red rubrics and highlighting   | Semi-prof.?<br>(commissioned book) |

|                         |                   |                                                                                                         |    |           |     |                                                                                                                                                                 |                        |
|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----------|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Ricc. 2786 <sup>1</sup> | 15th c (early?)   | Petrarch's Triumpf and miscellaneous lyric poetry (mostly Petrarch); features <i>poesia aulica</i>      | 2  | Paper     | 39  | Red rubrics and highlighting; large red and blue initial (f. 1r)                                                                                                | Semi-prof.?            |
| Ricc. 2871              | 15th c (early?)   | Chess treatise, plus laude; composite ms ( <i>cantasi come</i> collection)                              | 1  | Paper     | 65  | Yellow ink in chess board illustrations                                                                                                                         | Amateur                |
| Trev. 43 (1st unit)     | 15th c            | Miscellaneous lyric poetry (mostly anonymous)                                                           | 3  | Paper     | 12  | None                                                                                                                                                            | Amateur                |
| Triv. 193               | 14th c (2nd half) | Giovanni Sercambi, <i>Noveili</i> ; song in narrative context                                           | 11 | Paper     | 277 | Simple enlarged initials (some planned but not executed)                                                                                                        | Amateur or semi-prof.? |
| Vat. 3195               | 1366-1374         | Petrarch, RVF (partial autograph); features <i>poesia aulica</i>                                        | 1  | Parchment | 270 | Small illuminated initials at start of two main sections; simple initials in alternating red and blue ink throughout most of ms; red and blue paragraph markers | Prof.                  |
| Vat. 3213               | 16th c            | Lyric poetry organized by author; copy of the <i>Raccolta Aragonesa</i> ; features <i>poesia aulica</i> | 23 | Paper     | 671 | None                                                                                                                                                            | Amateur                |

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

## High and Low Style versus High Grade and Low Grade Construction

In terms of understanding past classifications of the literary manuscripts discussed in the present study, it is important to note that all are fairly informal books created not in ecclesiastic, academic, or courtly environments but rather for Italy's vibrant community of lay readers, most of whom were merchants, notaries, and artisans. Yet even in that context, three manuscripts (Florence 61, Magliabechiano 1040, and Magliabechiano 1078) stand out for their low grade of construction. Their quickly-executed, often sloppy cursive scripts reinforce the air of informality that stems from a dearth of decoration, rubrics, and other paratextual apparatuses. Partially because of their form and partially because they primarily feature poems classified as *poesia popolare* (a modern term used to describe poetry believed to be "popular," or "of the people," in its origins and reception as well as its style) and as *poesia popolareggiante* (a modern term used to describe "art" poetry that evokes a "folk-like" or "popular" style in its linguistic and metric choices), these manuscripts, along with two others containing similar repertoire (Marucelliana 155 and Treviso 43) have been described by both literary and musicological scholars as *popolare* in nature. This classification has had significant ramifications for our understanding of song texts as poems, for it has helped to perpetuate the exclusion of so-called *poesia per musica* from the realm of *poesia aulica*.

The difference in register, lexicon, and structure between a “low” style ballata such as *Monico son tutto gioioso senza nulla fede* (preserved with notation in a fragmentary state in Seville 25 and in full without musical notation in Magliabechiano 1078) and, for example, the self-consciously learned poems from Petrarch’s *Canzoniere* featured in Parmense 1081, is palpable. Still, the modern terms *poesia popolare* and *poesia popolareggiante* should give us pause, as they are tinged with an implication of primitivism held over from late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholarship. While these taxonomies remain largely undiscussed by Italianists, in recent years scholars of French music and literature have begun to draw attention to the inability of simple binary oppositions to adequately explain the stylistic diversity and rich intertextuality that characterizes medieval literature.<sup>22</sup> As the fundamental re-interpretation of the dichotomy between “high” and “low” style they propose is pertinent to Italian literature and music too, despite the political and cultural differences between the two regions, and to the sources discussed in [Chapters 4](#) and [5](#) in particular, it is worth briefly re-visiting three key studies here.

Elizabeth Aubrey has written cogently on the problem of identifying “high” and “low” style in troubadour and trouvère song. Acknowledging the circular logic that plagues traditional definitions and applications of these terms, she concludes that “high” and “low”—categories that cannot be grounded in medieval theoretical writings—are not useful constructs for understanding the Occitan and old French repertoires, particularly from a musicological point of view.<sup>23</sup> Richard Trachsler reaches a similar conclusion as he aims to make sense of the stylistic diversity found in an idiosyncratic poetic collection preserved in Chantilly, Musée Condé 475. Juxtaposing stereotypically “courtly” and risqué “un-courtly” texts within a literary environment that emphasizes devotion and morality, this literary miscellany, Trachsler argues, is ill-served by such labels, which create an artificial rift between its collection of *fabliaux* and the remainder of its contents.<sup>24</sup>

Both Aubrey and Trachsler argue for the need to move beyond the binaries of “high” and “low,” “courtly” and “uncourtly” and to establish ways of understanding medieval literature that find meaning rather than mere contradiction in its heterogeneity. Leonard Johnson’s study of bawdy lyrics by Jean Molinet, which predates the two articles by Aubrey and Trachsler, offers an example of how this might be achieved.<sup>25</sup> His analysis focuses on

the hybridity of these poems and identifies specific ways in which they subvert the conventions of courtly love poetry for expressive purposes. Ultimately, he finds in them “a tradition of parodic use of both secular and sacred religious genres, often by the same hands who regularly use them in a nonparodic fashion.”<sup>26</sup> Johnson thus reminds us that while “courtly” and “uncourtly” poetry may seem diametrically opposed, the two traditions (if they can even be identified as such) are united in both their production and in their circulation. In [Chapters 4 and 5](#), therefore, I demonstrate that visual appearances can be misleading. As material objects, the five literary sources described by previous scholars as *popolare* or *popolareggiante* are certainly not connected to a high sociocultural milieu. Nevertheless, the repertoire they transmit is not universally “low.” Mixing themes, linguistic registers, and metric schemes, in many ways these hybrid books defy classification, much like the manuscripts and repertoire discussed by Aubrey, Trachsler, and Johnson.

At the same time, it is important to note that most of the manuscripts considered in the present study (30 out of 50) feature the same repertoire championed by modern anthologies of Italian lyric poetry—that is, the canzoni and sonnets by poets renowned in their own day as well as ours, especially Dante and Petrarch. Despite the problematic nature of analyses based on “high” versus “low” style, recognizing these manuscripts as collections of *poesia aulica* is productive in that it calls attention to the untenability of taxonomies that define *poesia per musica* in opposition to what has become the Italian literary canon. A few more words must be said about the sources identified as featuring *poesia aulica* in [Table 1.1](#), for this category alone does not adequately represent their diversity. Two are autographs, or partial autographs, dedicated to the work of a single poet: Ashburnham 574, compiled by Franco Sacchetti, and Vaticano 3195, compiled by Petrarch in collaboration with Giovanni Malpaghini. Several feature significant collections of poems by Cavalcanti, Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch along with the work of poets lesser known today, such as Fazio degli Uberti, Sennuccio del Bene, and Niccolò Soldanieri. Some, like Riccardiana 1100 and the seven manuscripts derived from the *Raccolta Aragonesa*, are organized by author with careful attributions throughout. In others (Parmense 1081 and Pluteo 43), Petrarch, and to a lesser extent Dante, remain major figures, but silently so because the majority of poems are presented anonymously. Finally, while most of the literary sources

considered here collect only lyric poetry, a few feature narrative works as well. Palatino 315, for example, is primarily dedicated to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Pluteo 43 and Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup> contain Petrarch's *Trionfi*, while Palatino 105 and Marucelliana 155 open with Boccaccio's *Filostrato*.

Together, these manuscripts bear witness to the extensive and varied literary life of Trecento song texts and to the considerable poetic value assigned to them by medieval readers. Song texts are not only limited to collections of "popular" literature and works by "minor" authors, as they are in modern metric manuals and anthologies. In fact, most often they commingle with Petrarchan sonnets and canzoni by Dante. Moreover, in several instances these poems continued to circulate in literary collections long after their musical settings fell out of fashion. Some poems, primarily those by Franco Sacchetti, entered the literary canon and were copied again and again into the sixteenth century and beyond. If the primary reason for our isolation of song texts from Italian literary production at large is that it failed to achieve the status of "high" art, then the corpus of manuscripts collated here demands that we re-evaluate our stance.

## **Music Manuscripts as Text Exemplars**

The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to re-evaluating one assumption that has, until now, shaped the musicological discourse surrounding these manuscripts and song's literary circulation in general. As noted earlier, Gallo and others have asserted that most Trecento song texts in literary manuscripts were copied from musical exemplars and consequently do not represent an independent literary tradition. The rich and varied panorama described above, however, clearly illustrates the need for a fresh evaluation of Trecento song's literary tradition—a need that becomes all the more acute when we consider that only a few of the literary manuscripts overtly acknowledge the musicality of their song texts through rubrics, marginalia, or explanations in narrative prose. The idea that song texts must stem from musical sources may seem logical from the musicological perspective, but proving such origins is a difficult and complicated task. Considering that derivation from notated sources has been repeatedly cited as justification for the term *poesia per musica*, establishing a firm set of analytical criteria by which to evaluate the kind of exemplar used (i.e. musical or non-musical) is



absolutely essential to our understanding of Trecento song's literary transmission. Before presenting my own criteria, it will be useful to outline the characteristics cited by other scholars as markers of musical derivation.

Although discussing possible exemplars for text-only manuscripts is not his main focus, Gianluca D'Agostino has identified several potential criteria in his two articles on Trecento song's literary traditions.<sup>27</sup> Aiming to demonstrate that literary manuscripts can carry musical significance, he lists the following as telltale signs that a notated exemplar was used:

1. Labels or rubrics. Specifically, rubrics identifying a poem as musical in some way or rubrics attributing a poem to a composer rather than a poet. For example, he points to rubrics in Chigi 79 that label several poems "*canzona tonata*" (intoned song), including *I' fu' già bianc' uccel* and *El gran disio* set elsewhere to music by Donato da Firenze and Francesco degli Organi respectively.<sup>28</sup>
2. Disposition of pieces within the codices and their characteristic sequences. When a literary manuscript presents poems in the same order as they appear in a known musical manuscript. D'Agostino's primary example is Palatino 315, in which four madrigals set elsewhere by Jacopo da Bologna appear in an order mirroring that found in three notated sources (the Squarcialupi Codex, the Reina Codex, and Paris 568).<sup>29</sup>
3. Morphological and ecdotic phenomena of texts. When a literary manuscript presents a poem as incomplete such that it lacks verses that would be copied as residual text (or not at all) in a music manuscript. One such example is the anonymous ballata *Fenir mia vita*, copied with out its second *piede* and *volta* in both the Reina Codex and Maglibechiano 1040.<sup>30</sup> We might also include in this category instances where a literary manuscript presents repetitions or other variants not found in the original poetic text if they replicate readings found in the musical setting.<sup>31</sup>

In her 2008 dissertation on French poetic sources containing texts set by fifteenth-century composers, Katherine Sewright addresses in more detail the possibility of musical origins for literary manuscripts.<sup>32</sup> Her main criterion for establishing derivation from a musical exemplar is the percentage of known song texts within a given section. Each discrete section in which at

least 25 percent of the texts either have musical concordances or are identified in other documents as having musical settings is classified as one copied from a notated source. For example, Sewright suggests that the group of poems she terms Collection D in the Rohan *chansonniere* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78.B.17) may have been copied from a notated exemplar because 24 of its 82 poems (29 percent) have extant musical settings in other manuscripts.<sup>33</sup> Sewright also cites two additional criteria that support claims of musical origins. The first is a high instance of textual readings that are close or identical to those found in musical sources. The second is the disposition of song texts within a given section. If the song texts are scattered throughout a section rather than grouped together in one isolated chunk, she considers it more likely that the entire section derives from a notated source and that even those texts lacking musical concordances now were once intoned.<sup>34</sup>

The criteria employed by D'Agostino and Sewright are valid as potential signs that a text-only manuscript may be derived from a musical source.<sup>35</sup> However, as concrete proof I would argue that this evidence falls short—convincing only if one assumes song texts are inherently musical as opposed to literary in the first place. The presence of a high percentage of texts with known musical settings within a given codicological section is significant, but in isolation it is no more indicative of direct musical derivation than it is of second- or third-hand association with a notated source. Given that indirect musical origins imply the existence of additional literary sources containing song texts, only direct derivation from a notated source can be seen as indicative of limited literary dissemination. Furthermore, when evaluating the percentage of musical texts within a given section or concordant order between poetic sources and notated ones, the codicological and paleographic features of the text-only source must be taken into account. Sewright's analysis is more convincing than D'Agostino's in this regard, for she divides the texts in each source into discrete sections based on codicological evidence. Thus, she only treats texts as a group if they are physically linked in the manuscript. D'Agostino, however, sometimes finds correspondence in order between poetic manuscripts and musical ones when the texts are not adjacent or even necessarily contained within a single layer of copying in the unnotated manuscript, a point that I will revisit in the case studies that follow.<sup>36</sup>

Rubrics and marginalia may also provide useful clues regarding potential musical origins and the scribe's awareness of a given text's alternate, intoned form. These too, though, must be considered in relation to the surrounding material context and in relation to each manuscript's idiosyncratic use of potentially ambiguous labels such as "*canzona*" and "*cantilena*." Furthermore, rubrics that attribute a poem to the composer of its musical setting are not automatically indicative of recourse to a notated exemplar. As D'Agostino himself notes, there are at least three reasons why a poem might be attributed to a composer in a text-only source:<sup>37</sup>

1. The composer may also be the poet of the text and is recognized as such by the scribe, as seems to be the case with the attributions to Nicolò del Preposto in Parmense 1081 (discussed in [Chapter 2](#)).
2. The scribe was copying from a notated source that, as was customary, indicated only the name of the composer, a scenario for which there are only ambiguous examples. This could potentially be the case with Parmense 1081 and Genoa 28. The vague nature of the rubrics in question, however, leaves doubt as to their meaning (whether they intend to identify the author of the poem or the composer of the musical setting) and their origins.
3. The text was copied from an unnotated source, but when it passed from musical into literary transmission, it was accompanied by the name of the composer rather than the poet, as it would have been in a notated song collection. Likely examples of this scenario include the ballate attributed to Francesco degli Organi in Magliabechiano 1041 and Chigi 131, two manuscripts Michele Barbi argues share a common stem source.<sup>38</sup>

In the case of attribution, then, a composer's name by itself is not proof of direct musical origins.

The final criterion to be considered concerns the presentation of the text, specifically the number of verses or stanzas included. D'Agostino, Gallo, and Corsi have all suggested that when a text appears in a poetic manuscript in incomplete form such that the verses not normally aligned under the musical notation are omitted, it most likely derives from a notated exemplar. Truncation of poems in this manner may indicate musical origins but cannot be considered conclusive evidence for two key reasons. First, a large

percentage of song texts transmitted in musical manuscripts are complete, with their extra text presented clearly in the *residuum*. In many cases, then, the full poetic text could be pulled from a notated exemplar, if the copyist chose to transcribe not only the underlaid text but the *residuum* as well. Second, scribes of poetic manuscripts during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were not always faithful copiers. Often having poetic ambitions themselves, they eliminated verses or entire stanzas at will, added or substituted in new verses, and changed individual words to suit their tastes and/or needs. Consequently, it is not unusual for poems in literary sources of this period to be incomplete or significantly modified from their original form.<sup>39</sup> Fragmentary poems, then, must also be interpreted within a specific context and can only be considered conclusive evidence when they meet additional criteria, which I specify below.

While the number of stanzas included may not be particularly telling, it is possible that other, more localized details may provide verifiable fingerprints of the exemplars used. One such example would be an anomalous reading in a literary source whose irregularity precisely corresponds to readings found in one or more musical sources. In fact, such a correspondence could even be sufficient to prove derivation from a specific and identifiable musical manuscript. Additionally, poems in unnotated sources with one or more irregular readings linked to the misinterpretation of words whose syllables are oddly spaced in notated manuscripts may derive from musical exemplars. If a text were to appear in a poetic source with anomalous repetitions of words or syllables explained only by its musical setting, this too would also be a strong indication of musical origins. Significantly, however, clear-cut cases such as these do not exist in any of the literary manuscripts considered in the present study.

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

1. Exact concordance in order between a series of adjacent poems in a text-only source and adjacent pieces in a musical source, when the adjacent texts and compositions are also codicologically and paleographically linked. Poems or musical settings may be considered adjacent even if they are separated by physical space when it can be

proven that they were copied in succession by the same scribe. For example, two or more texts might be considered adjacent in spite of physical separation if they were copied by the same scribe in a single layer of activity, inserted sequentially into available blank space at the bottoms of folios. I have found no manuscripts that meet this criterion.

2. High percentage of texts (at least 70 percent) with known musical settings in a codicologically discrete section. I base my decision to define a high percentage as at least 70 percent on Michael Cuthbert's statistical analysis of the survival rate of the Trecento secular repertoire.<sup>40</sup> Cuthbert suggests that the majority of works in this tradition, between 80 and 90 percent of madrigals, ballate, and cacce, do survive today in notated manuscripts. Therefore, he proposes that if we were to find new musical manuscripts, they would be most likely to contain copies of pieces already known to us. Even if we adopt a more conservative view based on the percentage of surviving musical settings cited as song by Simone Prodenzani and Franco Sacchetti rather than statistical modeling, we must still assume that unnotated manuscripts would contain no more than a very small percentage of song texts whose musical settings are otherwise unknown.<sup>41</sup> I have found no manuscripts that meet this criterion.
3. Presence of incomplete poems in literary sources when all (or most) known song texts in a given section appear without verses that would be copied as the *residuum* in a musical source. I have found no manuscripts that meet this criterion. In fact, of the 81 ballate known to have been set to music that appear in the literary sources, only four are missing their second *piede* and their *volta*—text integral to the poem's first stanza but that would be copied in the *residuum* (if at all) in a notated manuscript.
4. Presence of an irregular reading in a literary source when that irregular reading can be shown to derive from the poem's musical form. I have found no manuscripts that meet this criterion.<sup>42</sup>
5. Presence of rubrics or marginalia that specifically reference the musical setting or a musical exemplar in an unambiguous way, such as "*canzona tonata*" (intoned song). Only five sources (Ashburnham 574, Genoa 28, Chigi 79, Riccardiana 1764, and Riccardiana 2871) meet

this criterion, and of those, two (Riccardiana 1764 and Riccardiana 2871) are *cantasi come* sources.

6. Attribution to a composer in a text-only source when the poem at hand appears elsewhere in the literary tradition attributed to a poet instead. The only example I have found of this criterion is *Non dispregiar virtù*, attributed to Nicolò del Preposto in Parmense 1081 but to the poet Stefano di Cino in Redi 184. For reasons I discuss in [Chapter 2](#), however, Parmense 1081 does not appear to derive from a notated exemplar.

Criteria 1–3 may be used to argue that a given section in a text-only manuscript derives from a notated exemplar. Criteria 4–6 are not indicative of musical origins for an entire section unless they are present for most texts with known musical settings. In all cases, when a given manuscript meets multiple criteria, it can be considered more likely that its musical texts, and any non-musical poems paleographically and codicologically associated with them, were copied from a notated exemplar. However as noted above, I have found that it is extremely rare for a literary manuscript to meet even one of the above criteria in an undisputable way. I argue, therefore, that the material evidence does not support the hypothesis that Trecento song texts had no true literary tradition despite their circulation as unnotated poetry. Furthermore, as already suggested, musical origins for a given poetic collection should not necessarily negate the “literariness” of song texts contained within. [Chapters 2–5](#) illustrate that once entered into these literary collections song texts function as poetry regardless of whether or not they were copied from notated manuscripts. When considering how readers perceived song texts in unnotated manuscripts, then, musical origins are, in reality, largely irrelevant, for only very rarely is a poem’s setting overtly referenced.

To more clearly illustrate the repercussions of the preceding discussion, I close with three brief investigations of sources previously believed to have musical origins. Fresh codicological analysis with a view to the criteria laid out above reveals that such derivation cannot be proven. These case studies set the stage for [Chapters 2–5](#) by demonstrating the motivation behind my focus on each manuscript’s literariness rather than on its potential musicality. Paradoxically, such an approach allows the literary sources to assume greater significance in music historiography. If we shift our emphasis away

from music itself and away from musical exemplars, we free ourselves to accentuate instead the compilers and early readers of these collections and to explore their civic lives, sociocultural status, and their individual experiences of this repertoire. Only by so doing, I argue, can we take these manuscripts on their own terms.

## **Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 569**

Dating from the late fourteenth or the early fifteenth century, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 569 is a small composite manuscript made from two distinct, paper units that were compiled at separate times by a single scribe.<sup>43</sup> While both units focus primarily on canzoni by Dante, tucked into the middle of the second are a few texts sure to catch the musicologist's eye: *I' fù già bianc' uccel*, *Lucida pecorella*, *I' ho perduto*, and *L'aspido sordo*—four madrigals set polyphonically by Donato da Firenze (see [Table 1.2](#)). Ashburnham 569's first unit (fols. 1–7), more simple than the second, is likely the older of the two and features ample margins, careful frame ruling, and fairly elegant cursive script. The scribe meticulously labels all its poems (exclusively canzoni by Dante) with their genre and author. This unit, however, has no colored ink or decorated initials. The second unit (fols. 9–28) is separated from the first by one blank folio clearly bound in at a much later date. Although reasonably uniform in its appearance, changes in ink and script size suggest that this unit was produced in several different sittings. Moreover, wider margins, use of red ink for rubrics, and space left for decorated initials all lend an air of increased formality in comparison with the first. The script, too, is executed with more care and precision, visible in the basic letter forms themselves and in the elegant elongated descenders used to decorate the bottom margin.

Table 1.2 Song texts in Ashburnham 569

| Fol. | Incipit                                 | Rubric                                   | Composer (poet)                             | Musical concordances | Text concordances |
|------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 27r  | I' fù gia bianc' ucciel con piuma d'oro | Madriale di messer antonio degli alberti | Donato da Firenze ( <i>Anonymous</i> )      | Sq, SL, Lo           | Chigi 79          |
| 27v  | Lucida pecorella son, scampata          | Madriale di niccholo Soldanieri          | Donato da Firenze ( <i>Anonymous</i> )      | Sq, FP, SL, Pit      |                   |
| 27v  | I' ho perduto l'albero e 'l timone      | Madriale di righo belondi                | Donato da Firenze ( <i>Arrigo Belondi</i> ) | Sq, SL               |                   |
| 27v  | L'aspido sordo e 'l tirello scorzone    | Madriale di righo belondi                | Donato da Firenze ( <i>Arrigo Belondi</i> ) | Sq, SL, Lo           |                   |

\* Rubrics transcribed semi-diplomatically from manuscript. Incipits modernized and standardized. Composer indications not included in manuscript.

Overall, Ashburnham 569's comparatively formal *mise en page* and high-quality script suggest that it may well be the work of a professional or semi-professional scribe. Even in its current incomplete and fragmentary form, then, Ashburnham 569 is one of the most elegant of the literary sources listed in [Table 1.1](#). In addition to their unique codicological features (different paper, different preparation, etc.), the fact that the two units contain overlapping repertoire suggests they were destined for two separate lyric collections, and, furthermore, that they were most likely not copied for personal use, but were intended to be sold. The second unit opens with a collection of 17 canzoni by Dante (fols. 9r–22v) that repeats in order the eight copied in the first unit.<sup>44</sup> It closes with a collection of shorter poetry (fols. 23r–28v) copied in a separate layer consisting of sonnets by Petrarch with a few by other authors, such as Cino da Pistoia (1270–1336), Antonio Pucci (c. 1310–88), and Dante mixed in as well. While Dante's canzoni are copied in prose format, the poems in this unit's section appear in verse format. The change in poetic format is paralleled by a shift in the overall dimensions of the writing space, which measures 190 × 120 mm in the first section and 210 × 90 mm in the second.<sup>45</sup>

Donato's four madrigals are the only poems in Ashburnham 569 with known musical concordances, and indeed the only representatives of "musical" genres in general. With the exception of a short excerpt from the opening of Dante's *Paradiso* on fol. 27v, all other texts are canzoni and sonnets. Because the madrigals appear in a compact group with no intervening non-musical poems, D'Agostino has argued that they are isolated from their surroundings and therefore likely derive from a musical exemplar, possibly a single fascicle (now lost) of pieces by Donato.<sup>46</sup> To describe those poems as "isolated," however, is misleading. While the four madrigals



are copied consecutively in a single layer of activity, they are neither paleographically nor codicologically separated from the rest of manuscript. The ink used matches with that of the poems on either side, suggesting that they were copied as part of a longer layer that extends from the top of fol. 27r through the end of the manuscript (fol. 28v). In addition to song texts, this layer also includes sonnets by Dante and Petrarch as well as the excerpt from the *Divine Comedy*. What is more, the entire second unit is codicologically and paleographically coherent, the change to grey ink at the top of fol. 27r notwithstanding. All gatherings in the second unit are made from the same paper with ink and pen changes occurring internally rather than between gatherings. Additionally, the red rubrics copied throughout the second unit were added together, not much later than the main text.

The material evidence thus argues against, rather than for, the use of a musical exemplar. Copied at the same time as several sonnets, which would never have been set polyphonically, it is much more likely that these four madrigals originate from the same literary exemplar used for the poems that flank them. The rubrics themselves, which attribute all four song texts to known poets rather than to Donato (see [Table 1.2](#)) also suggest literary origins, for a notated exemplar would cite the composer rather than the poet.

Applying the criteria for establishing musical origins laid out above, Ashburnham 569 fails the test. It meets neither criterion 1 (exact concordance in order with a musical source), nor 2 (high percentage of musical texts in a discrete section), nor 5 (musically significant rubrics or marginalia). Furthermore, if we look at the readings of the poems themselves, it fails to meet criterion 3 (all or most musical poems appearing without the residual text) and 4 (variants concordant with a musical source) as well. Fully integrated into the collection of sonnets and canzoni that surrounds them, the song texts in Ashburnham 569 seem not be identified as musical at all, their musical settings secondary to their inclusion here and maybe even unknown entirely. The most logical explanation for their inclusion is that Ashburnham 569's scribe or commissioner, or possibly the scribe of its exemplar, had an interest in the madrigal as a poetic genre and perhaps in the work of the individual poets to whom they are attributed. In other words, at least one reader intended to enjoy these texts as poems in a literary context wholly independent from their musical settings. This contradicts the notion that *poesia per musica* was a universally separate genre.

Ashburnham 569's madrigals were not added as an afterthought, nor are they included because they happen to fall within the output of a poet whose works were being collected on a large scale, as is the case with many of the literary manuscripts examined in this study. Rather, they form an integral but free component of Ashburnham 569's lofty lyric collection. Moreover, unlike many of the other literary sources (Barberino 3695, Parmense 1081, Genoa 28, and Magliabechiano 1041 to name a few), Ashburnham 569 is not a casual miscellany assembled gradually over time by an amateur scribe for his own personal use. Though still firmly situated in the world of middle-class reading, it places song texts in a pre-planned anthology characterized by a relatively refined graphic panorama and copied, whether on speculation or on commission, to be sold.<sup>47</sup> In so doing, it demonstrates that even before the *Raccolta Aragonesa*'s creation of a venerated Tuscan lyric canon, discussed in more detail in [Chapter 2](#), some readers viewed Trecento song texts as participating in a poetic tradition that was sufficiently significant, culturally, to warrant careful dissemination in elegant sources.

## **Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 315**

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 315, a paper manuscript copied during the late fourteenth century, has been singled out as having direct musical origins. Specifically, Gianluca D'Agostino has argued that Palatino 315's five poems (see [Table 1.3](#)) with musical concordances were copied from a notated fascicle manuscript containing a focused and homogeneous repertoire—madrigals by one or two composers. Evidence for this he finds in the organization of four madrigals by Jacopo da Bologna, which, as already mentioned above, appear in the same order in the Squarcialupi Codex, Paris 568, and the Reina Codex. Palatino 315 is thus a prime example of an unnotated source whose “literariness” has been forced to take a back seat to its supposed “musicality.” Seen as a valuable trace of small, informal musical sources that have largely disappeared from the material record, its non-musical contents have been ignored.

Table 1.3 Song texts in Palatino 315

| Fol. | Incipit                             | Composer (poet)                           | Genre    | Musical concordances                 | Text concordances                                                     |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 88v  | Nel mezzo del mar la navicella      | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit                          | Ash. 574,<br>Chigi 300                                                |
| 88v  | Nel bel giardino che l'Adice cinge  | Jacopo da Bologna                         | Madrigal | FC, Sq, FP, SL, Pit, Reina           |                                                                       |
| 88v  | O cieco mondo, di lusinghe pieno    | Jacopo da Bologna                         | Madrigal | Sq, FP, SL, Pad A, Pad C, Pit, Reina | Bologna 1072,<br>Magl. 1041,<br>Pal. 105,<br>Chigi 131,<br>Barb. 3695 |
| 97v  | Sotto l'imperio del possente prinze | Jacopo da Bologna                         | Madrigal | Sq, FP, SL, Pit, Reina               |                                                                       |
| 97v  | Aquila altera, ferma in su la vetta | Jacopo da Bologna                         | Madrigal | Sq, FP, SL, Pit, Reina               |                                                                       |

\* Incipits modernized and standardized. Composer, poet, and genre designations not included in manuscript.

Palatino 315's five song texts (the four madrigals set by Jacopo da Bologna and one set by Nicolò del Preposto) are copied along with a number of lyric poems and a few miscellaneous texts on the manuscript's final pages, as shown in [Table 1.4](#). Significantly, this manuscript is one of only four codices in which song texts do not appear to have been part of the compiler's original conception. The codicological and paleographic evidence, which I outline below, shows that these were clearly inserted after the primary texts where space allowed.<sup>48</sup> What is more, its song texts are by far the least integrated of all, added in two tertiary layers to an already-appended brief lyric collection that follows the *Commedia*. Thus while Palatino 315 may link its song texts to a literary environment more weighty and more refined than that of any other text-only source, it does so purely through physical juxtaposition, leaving their extra-musical significance in this particular context somewhat ambiguous.

Table 1.4 Appended poems in Palatino 315

| Fol.    | Incipit                                         | Poet<br>(composer)                             | Genre     | Scribe         |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| 88v     | Per quella via che la bellezza core             | Dante                                          | Sonnet    | B              |
| 88v     | Due donne in cima dalla mente mia               | Dante                                          | Sonnet    | B              |
| 88v     | Nel mezzo del mar la navicella                  | Franco Sacchetti                               | Madrigal  | C              |
| 88v     | Nel bel giardino che l'Adice cinge              | (Jacopo da Bologna)                            | Madrigal  | C              |
| 88v     | O cieco mondo, di lusinghe pieno                | (Jacopo da Bologna)                            | Madrigal  | C              |
| 89r     | Negli occhi porta la mia donna amore            | Dante                                          | Sonnet    | B              |
| 89r     | Vede perfectamente ogni salute                  | Dante                                          | Sonnet    | B              |
| 89r     | Ben che l'avarico ricco con profondo            | Alberto della Piagentina<br>trans. of Boethius | 4 terzine | C              |
| 89v-90r | Le dolci rime d'amor ch'i solia                 | Dante                                          | Canzone   | D              |
| 90r     | l' mi son pargholetta bella e nova              | Dante                                          | Ballata   | D              |
| 90v-91v | Blank                                           |                                                |           |                |
| 92r-v   | Udirò tuttavia senza dire nulla                 | Matteo Correggiaio                             | Canzone   | E              |
| 93r-96v | Blank                                           |                                                |           |                |
| 97r-v   | Se io sapessi formar quanto son belli           | Fazio degli Uberti                             | Canzone   | F              |
| 97v     | A lagrime di femina mondana                     |                                                | Sonnet    | F              |
| 97v     | Amaestrando ciascun va sonetto                  |                                                | Sonnet    | F              |
| 97v     | Sotto l'imperio del possente prinze             | (Jacopo da Bologna)                            | Madrigal  | F              |
| 97v     | Aquila altera, ferma in su la vetta             | (Jacopo da Bologna)                            | Madrigal  | F              |
| 98r-v   | S. Bernardo letter to Calvaliere messer Ramondo |                                                |           | C              |
| 99r     | Index of <i>canti</i> in the <i>Commedia</i>    |                                                |           | C              |
| 99v     | Description of Padiglione di Mambrino           |                                                |           | C              |
| 99v     | Alesandro lasciò la signora                     |                                                | Sonnet    | C              |
| 99v     | Il giovane che vuole avere honore               | Antonio Pucci                                  | Sonnet    | C              |
| 100r    | various Latin verses                            |                                                |           | G<br>(16th c?) |

\* Incipits modernized and standardized. Composer, poet, and genre designations not copied from manuscript.

Most of Palatino 315 is quite straightforward codicologically speaking. The first 88 folios contain Dante's *Divine Comedy*, copied in a relatively neat *mercantesca* bookhand by a certain Bartolomeo di Matteo (self-identified on fol. 88r).<sup>49</sup> Completed in 1383, this primary section is the product of a reasonably compact copying effort. Numerous marginalia, mostly written in Latin, grace Palatino 315's pages and offer commentary on Dante's narrative. Added later by a different hand, these notes show no solid paleographic link with the lyric texts entered on the manuscript's final folios. Within the graphic panorama created by the other text-only sources, Palatino 315, like Ashburnham 569, is a relatively refined manuscript—neat and orderly with red ink for rubrics and highlighting as well as decorative pen flourishes scattered throughout. In the context of fourteenth-century

*Commedia* sources, however, this codex is among the least luxurious. Copied on paper rather than parchment, with relatively modest dimensions, nothing more than the simplest of decoration, and a script that looks to be at best the work of a skilled semi-professional, Palatino 315 does not mirror the prestige of Dante's text in its physical form, as do so many other copies.<sup>50</sup>

The manuscript's early history is difficult if not impossible to untangle, but in order to come to grips with its song texts, we must give annotations and additions careful consideration. With its marginalia added by one hand and the various texts on fols. 88–100 added by several others during the very late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, it would appear that Bartolomeo did not copy Dante's *Commedia* for his own personal use. Along with Ashburnham 569 and Riccardiana 1100 (discussed in [Chapter 6](#)), Palatino 315 stands out among the literary sources considered in this study for its possible participation in Florence's commercial book trade. The manuscript soon passed out of his direct possession and into the hands of other readers who, to judge from their script, operated in similar cultural circles. Taking advantage of available blank folios, these readers filled the back of the manuscript with assorted sonnets and one canzone by Dante, a canzone by Fazio degli Uberti, a madrigal by Franco Sacchetti, several anonymous poems, and a few assorted other texts (see [Table 1.4](#)).

The physical structure of this final section, in which we find the five song texts, is much more complex than that of the manuscript's main body. The book's first 96 folios are divided into 12 gatherings of eight bifolios, which are regular and uniform in construction. In contrast, the penultimate gathering (fols. 81–96) and the final gathering (fols. 97–99), a quaternion, are rather less homogeneous, containing a variety of paper types not found elsewhere in the manuscript and several partial bifolios. The hybrid construction of Palatino 315's last two gatherings, when compared with the uniformity displayed by the rest of the manuscript, draws into question whether its current physical form is original. Several factors indicate that the final gathering, and perhaps some of the penultimate gathering as well, may be a later addition appended by one of the manuscript's earlier readers, perhaps one of the scribes responsible for the texts it contains: the different paper used for fols. 96–99, the inconsistency between their discoloration and that of the preceding pages, and the fact that fols. 93–96 are left blank.<sup>51</sup>

The codicological complexity in these last two gatherings is of direct musicological interest, for it strongly argues against the hypothesis that

Palatino 315's song texts stem from a single source. The first three madrigals, copied by scribe C on fol. 88v (pictured in [Figure 1.1](#)), are codicologically and paleographically distinct from the final two, which were copied by scribe F on fol. 97v (pictured in [Figure 1.2](#)).<sup>52</sup> As I noted above, D'Agostino proposes that all of Palatino 315's madrigals derive from a musical exemplar, most likely a fascicle manuscript transmitting a homogenous repertoire, because the four madrigals by Jacopo appear in the same order here as in Sq, Pit, and Reina.<sup>53</sup> Yet the complete lack of a codicological link between Jacopo's first two madrigals—*Nel bel giardino* and *O cieco mondo*—and his last two—*Sotto l'imperio* and *Aquila altera*—suggests that the intriguing ordering of these pieces may be coincidental rather than indicative of their presentation in a single stem source.

Furthermore, there is reason to doubt that Palatino 315's song texts were copied from notated manuscripts at all, the number of exemplars used aside. Scribe F's interpretation of Jacopo's polytextual madrigal is unusual in its disposition of the verses. Rather than placing each single-verse *ritornello* directly after its corresponding *terzina*, he collected all three together, copying them at the end as a complete and independent fourth *terzina*. This alternate approach does not ruin the sense of the text—only shifts it slightly and renders it more vague<sup>54</sup>—but arriving at such a reading when copying from a musical source would require a fair amount of scribal initiative, pulling apart the text copied below each voice and reassembling it in a new order. A much simpler, and I would argue more plausible, explanation is that scribe F worked from a text-only source in which the madrigal was already laid out in this form.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps, then, Palatino 315 presents the poem as it was originally written, the variant form found not here but in the musical sources. Indeed, if Jacopo did change the order of the verses for his musical setting, *Aquila altera* would not be the only poem he manipulated in this way.<sup>56</sup>

**P** que sta mia ch'oglabo l'oca core  
quando amore apofar uene a lamenta  
passa l'istetta bal d'angosamente  
come colui che mi si acco de tove  
ma quando e giunta apie di quella tove  
che sapre quando l'animo acco sente  
ode si uoce die coctamente  
partiti b'eda dona 2 no tipora  
**E** se dona danteo innamorata si ede  
che pria di signoria ch'ise lauogga  
2 tosto che lauogga amor gli e d'edde  
**Q** uando l'istetta accomiatu si uede  
di quella parte deus amore alberga  
tutta dipinta di uerogga riede

**D** ue dona incima de la mente mia  
uenute sono ad ragionar d'amore  
luna a in se coctesia 2 ualora  
prudenta 2 honesta incopagna  
baltra a b'edeca 2 uaga leggiera  
adorna gentileza le fa honora  
2 io merca del d'olca mio signore  
misto a pie de sta por signoria  
**P** arlay b'edeca 2 uirtu ad fonte detto  
2 fan quistion come un aior puote stare  
intra due dona cona mor p'facto  
**R** isponde il fonte del gentil parlare  
chamar si puo b'edeca p' diletto  
2 p'possi amar uirtu p'operato

*Handwritten marginal notes in a smaller cursive script, likely commentary or corrections related to the main text.*

Figure 1.1 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, fol. 88v. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence. Further reproduction by any means prohibited. Photo by Mario Setter.





extending beyond currently extant sources to their exemplars, in which song texts are made to participate in the broader tradition of Italian literature through physical proximity at the very least. Significantly, in this manuscript it is not just the song texts we most expect to have literary lives—those by Sacchetti, Soldanieri, and other known poets—that are implicated in a possible series of unnotated exemplars. Palatino 315’s transformation of Jacopo da Bologna’s *Aquila altera* from song into poem, a text that may have been written specifically to serve as the basis for a musical setting, shows that the literary tradition of Trecento song could encompass even those texts most firmly bound to their musical settings.

## **Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1078**

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1078 is the subject of [Chapter 4](#), but I address the issue of its potential exemplars here because, like Ashburnham 569 and Palatino 315, it has been singled out as a manuscript that has particularly strong ties to the notated tradition. As we will see, however, these ties do not stand up to close scrutiny.

Magliabechiano 1078’s 17 song texts are peppered throughout its pages, a few appearing in isolation and others grouped together in brief cycles of song texts. Based on consistency or inconsistency in pen and ink and on changes in page layout, they can be divided into seven groups, as summarized in [Table 1.5](#). Although codicologically discrete from each other, all groups are visually and physically integrated into their surroundings. Magliabechiano 1078 thus unabashedly juxtaposes song texts with poems that have no concordances in notated manuscripts, including some in genres that would not have been set to music during the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.

Table 1.5 Song texts and layers of scribal activity in Magliabechiano 1078

| Fol. | Incipit                                      | Composer               | Musical concordances              | Text concordances                 | Group |
|------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| 13v  | La donna mia vuol esser el messere           | Nicolò del Preposto    | Sq, Lo                            |                                   | A     |
| 20v  | Gia perch'ì penso ne la tua partita          | Francesco degli Organi | FP, Pit, Lo, Sq, Reina            |                                   | B     |
| 23r  | L'alma leggiadra del tuo viso pio            | Francesco degli Organi | FP, Sq                            |                                   | C     |
| 23r  | Piacesse a Dio ch'ì non fossi ma' nata       | Guiglielmus da Francia | Sq, Pit                           |                                   | C     |
| 23r  | Lasso! per mia fortuna ho posto amore        | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, Lo                            |                                   | C     |
| 23r  | Guarda una volta in cà verso 'l tuo servo    | Francesco degli Organi | FP, Sq, Lo                        |                                   | C     |
| 23v  | Sia maladetta l'ora e 'l di ch'io venni      | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, Pit, FP, Reina                |                                   | C     |
| 24r  | La mala lingua è d'ogni mal radice           | Francesco degli Organi | Pit, Sq                           | Magl. 1041                        | D     |
| 24r  | Occhi piangeti e tu cor tribulato            | Anonymous              | Reina                             |                                   | D     |
| 24r  | Con lagreme sospiro                          | Anonymous              | Reina                             |                                   | D     |
| 24r  | Con dogliosi martiri                         | Antonellus da Caserta  | Manc                              |                                   | D     |
| 24r  | De sospirar sovente                          | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, SL                            | Magl. 1040                        | D     |
| 24v  | Donna, la mente mia è sì 'nvaghita           | Francesco degli Organi | FP                                |                                   | D     |
| 27v  | Monico son tutto gioioso senza nulla fede    | Anonymous              | Sev (only text is incipit)        |                                   | E     |
| 36r  | Fenir mia vita                               | Anonymous              | Reina, Pad 553                    |                                   | F     |
| 36r  | Gran pianto agli occhi, greve doglia al core | Francesco degli Organi | FP, Pit, Lo, Sq, Reina, Padua 684 |                                   | F     |
| 36r  | Vita non è più misera e più ria              | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, FP, Pit, Fsl, Reina           | Triv. 193; Magl. 1041, Grey 7 b 5 | F     |

\* Incipits modernized and standardized. Composers not indicated in manuscript.

Given the disparate disposition of the song texts, it is highly unlikely that all 17 were copied from the same exemplar, musical or non. The more complicated question to answer is whether they might derive from several different notated exemplars. D'Agostino and Corsi have both proposed musical origins for at least some of Magliabechiano 1078's song texts, but neither author offers detailed analysis to support such claims. D'Agostino points vaguely to several signs of musical origins, including repetition of words and syllables ancillary to the original poetic text and the omission of the second *piede* and the *volta* in several ballate.<sup>57</sup> However, he cites no specific examples and does not clarify whether his observations refer only to poems with known musical concordances or if he means to imply that

adjacent poems may also descend from notated sources. Examining Magliabechiano 1078 in light of the criteria laid out above strongly suggests that claims of musical derivation cannot be sustained.<sup>58</sup>

Criterion 1 (exact concordance in order with a notated source) and criterion 6 (attribution to a composer) are not met by any single poem or group of poems. The manuscript's adherence, or lack thereof, to the remaining four criteria is not quite as straightforward and thus requires systematic explanation:

Criterion 2 (high percentage of musical texts within a discrete section). In the case of groups A, B, and E, each of which consists of only one text, this criterion is not applicable. The question is more complicated in the case of groups C, D, and F. Each group represents a small cluster of musical texts most of which are adjacent to each other. However, not one of these groups is codicologically distinct from the poems that flank it. The poems in Group C are copied using the same pen and ink as all the poems on fols. 23r and 23v. Group C makes up five of the 14 poems in this section (36 percent). The poems in Group D are copied with the same ink and pen as all the poems on fols. 24r through 27r. Group D makes up six of the 15 poems in this section (33 percent). Group F is copied with the same ink and pen as all the poems on the bottom of fol. 27r through fol. 28r. It is thus one of four poems in this short section (25 percent). Based on these observations, groups C, D, and F do not meet criterion 2.

Criterion 3 (presence of poems lacking the text that would be copied as *residuum* or omitted in a musical manuscript). This criterion is met by only one of the 17 ballate with musical concordances, *Fenir mia vita*. All but two song texts in Magliabechiano 1078 are fully complete and some contain extra text not present in their notated sources: *La donna mia vuol esser el messere* appears in here with two stanzas rather than one and *Piacesse a Dio* includes the *piedi* of a second stanza. Of the two poems that are incomplete in Magliabechiano 1078, one, *De sospirar sovente*, is a pluristrophic ballata that is complete only in Magliabechiano 1040, another literary source.<sup>59</sup> Thus the sole fragmentary song text is *Fenir mia vita*, which lacks its second *piedi* and *volta* as it does in the Reina Codex as well.

Criterion 4 (irregular readings stemming from anomalies in musical sources). Corsi argues that the syllabic repetition in *Piacesse a Dio* proves this work was copied from a notated source.<sup>60</sup> In his opinion, the repetition cannot be part of the poem's original text because it makes the tenth verse hypermetric. However, a notated manuscript would be unlikely to transmit this particular repetition, "*faza quy me me de marito*,"—at least not for musical reasons—because this portion of the poem would appear in a *residuum*, as it does in Pit.<sup>61</sup> Given that the repetition falls over a line break, the more likely source of the superfluous "me" is scribal error resulting from an eye-skip. Of Magliabechiano 1078's other variants, none can be linked to or easily explained by notated exemplars either.

Criterion 5 (rubrics or marginalia that indicate musical origins). The only potential visible trace of song in Magliabechiano 1078 comes in the form a few scattered rubrics labeling certain lyrics as "*cantilene*." On fols. 21v and 22r, two consecutive ballate, neither of

which have known musical settings, appear with the rubric “*alia cantilena*.” A similar rubric is found at the top of fol. 24v before another ballata with no known musical setting. Centered in the top margin and using the plural *cantilene*, this rubric may possibly be intended to refer to all poems on the page and thus may encompass one known song text, Francesco degli Organi’s *Donna la mente mia*. Finally, the canzone that ends at the bottom of fol. 25v is identified as a *cantilena* in a short explicit. Given the vague nature of this designation and its association with a variety of genres, including those not selected for musical treatment by Trecento composers, it is impossible to assert with certainty that the word *cantilena* carries specific musical significance in this context. Thus, of Magliabechiano 1078’s verifiable song texts, at most one meets criterion 5. Furthermore, whether or not they were ever selected for musical treatment, it is unlikely that those poems designated *cantilena* derive from a notated exemplar. The marginal brackets on fol. 24v (identical to those in [Chapter 4](#)’s discussion of typical sonnet layout), indicating the internal metric divisions of the ballata *Amor che may condotta in l’ultim’ora*, serve as proof that this poem was copied from a literary source in spite of being labeled “*cantilena*.” In light of the scribe’s noteworthy disregard for poetic structure (illustrated in [Chapter 4](#)), it is doubtful that he is responsible for adding such marks without prompting from an exemplar.

Based on Magliabechiano 1078’s very limited adherence to the six criteria, there is no evidence that the song texts have direct musical origins. However, based on the disposition of the texts in groups C, D, and F and on the fact that each of these groups marginally satisfies criterion 2, it is also possible that they and the sections in which they appear could derive indirectly from notated fascicle manuscripts or *rotuli*. If the song texts here are at best indirectly derived from musical sources, Magliabechiano 1078 too does more than demonstrate that these poems circulated in one isolated literary source. Like Ashburnham 569 and Palatino 315, it suggests the tantalizing possibility that behind this single manuscript lie multiple exemplars in which song texts circulated as literature. While it is dangerous to place too much stock in the existence of hypothetical exemplars, we must nevertheless consider the possibility that derivation from a musical source, and most especially indirect derivation, does not diminish the literary significance of these manuscripts. Rather, in some cases, it may be an indication that song texts enjoyed more extensive literary circulation than the extant material record would seem to suggest at first glance.

These three manuscripts thus prompt us to consider why these songs spoke to their readers as literature. What might they have meant to the scribes who copied them, and how do they relate conceptually to their literary surroundings? These questions are the subject of [chapters 2–5](#), which aim to articulate the cultural status and function of song texts as understood by

contemporary and near-contemporary readers. The case studies presented provide a historically grounded alternative to the categorization of song texts as *poesia per musica*, which, as noted above, is a term more linked to nineteenth-century nationalistic ideology than to late medieval literary thought. In light of the preceding discussion, the chapters that follow focus not on the latent musicality of poems separated from their musical settings, but rather on cultures of readers, or what Donald McKenzie terms the “sociology of texts.”<sup>62</sup> By engaging in the detailed analysis of multiple manuscripts, I aim not only to give voice to an important body of source material that has until now stood on the sidelines of musicological and literary discourse, but also to demonstrate the sheer range of material and literary environments in which song texts are found. Ultimately, it is this breadth and diversity—as much as the autonomy of these manuscripts from musical sources—that requires us to re-evaluate our understanding of song’s literary tradition, for it underscores the surprising extent to which this repertoire was consumed as poetry.

<sup>1</sup> Franco Sacchetti, *Il libro delle rime*, ed. Franca Brambilla Ageno (Florence: Olschki, 1989).

<sup>2</sup> Sacchetti's poetic activities, his connection to fourteenth-century Florentine musical life, and his autograph manuscript are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

<sup>3</sup> Giosuè Carducci, "Musica e poesia nel mondo elegante italiano del secolo XIV," *Opere* 8 (1893): 303 (article first published in *Nuova Antologia* in 1870).

<sup>4</sup> Throughout this book, I use the term "lyric" in its traditional literary sense to refer to lyric poems, that is to relatively short works in verse such as canzoni, sonnets, madrigals, and so on (as opposed to narrative poetry, which typically refers to large-scale, plot-driven works in verse such as Dante's *Divine Comedy*).

<sup>5</sup> F. Alberto Gallo, "The Musical and Literary Tradition of Fourteenth Century Poetry Set to Music," in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 59–60.

<sup>6</sup> Vincenzo De Bartholomaeis, *Primordi della lirica d'arte in Italia* (Turin: Societa Editrice Internazionale, 1943) and Gianfranco Contini, "Preliminari sulla lingua del Petrarca," in *Varianti e altra linguistica* (Turin: Einaudi, 1970). Contini's essay was originally published in 1951.

<sup>7</sup> Aurelio Roncaglia, "Sul 'divorzio tra musica e poesia' nel Duecento italiano," in *L'Ars Nova italiana del Trecento* 4, ed. Agostino Ziino (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1978).

<sup>8</sup> Ziino, "Rime per musica e danza," in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 2, *Il Trecento* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1995), 456 and Maria Sofia Lannutti, "Poesia cantata, musica scritta. Generi e registri di ascendenza francese alle origini della lirica italiana (con una nuova edizione di RS 409)," in *Tracce di una tradizione sommersa: I primi testi lirici italiani tra poesia e musica*, ed. Maria Sofia Lannutti and Massimiliano Loncato (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005), 161.

<sup>9</sup> See Carducci, "Musica e poesia."

<sup>10</sup> Guido Capovilla, "Il saggio carducciano *Musica e poesia nel mondo elegante del secolo XIV*. Alcuni presupposti," in *Trent'anni di ricerca musicologica. Studi in onore di F.A. Gallo*, ed. M. G. Pensa (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> Nino Pirrotta, "I poeti della scuola siciliana e la musica," *Yearbook of Italian Studies* 4 (1980): 6.

<sup>12</sup> Two particularly well-known examples of such settings are Jacopo da Bologna's *O cieco mondo* and Francesco degli Organi's *Contemprar le gran cose*.

<sup>13</sup> Throughout this book, I use the term "canzone" in its most specific sense to refer to the metric form derived from the Provençal *canso* and described by Dante in his treatise, *De vulgari eloquentia*. Canzoni are made up of multiple stanzas, identical in their syllabic formula and rhyme scheme, and typically close with an *envoi*.

<sup>14</sup> Gallo, "Literary Tradition;" and Gianluca D'Agostino, "La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento: una revisione per dati e problemi. (L'area toscana)," in *Col dolce suon che da te piove: studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo in memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), and "La tradizione letteraria delle poesie musicali dell'*Ars nova*," in *Problemi e metodi della filologia musicale*, ed. Stefano Campagnolo (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2001).

<sup>15</sup> What is more, their assessment has been echoed by other scholars as well. See especially Agostino Ziino, "Rime," 458; and Francesco Carboni and Agostino Ziino, "O rosa bella, tra canto, oralità e scrittura: una nuova fonte," *Studi romanzi Nuova serie*, 5–6 (2009–10): 298.

<sup>16</sup> Guiseppe Corsi, *Poesie musicali del Trecento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970).

<sup>17</sup> D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali."

<sup>18</sup> Statistics based on Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of Schism," *Musica Disciplina* 54 (2009), plus all works transmitted in the Rossi Codex, which are not included in Cuthbert's calculations.

<sup>19</sup> As noted above, Gallo, in particular, has espoused this view. Gallo, "Literary Tradition," 74.

<sup>20</sup> The list of literary manuscripts cited in Table 1.1 and used as the basis for this study was compiled from sources cited in secondary literature and primarily consists of those identified by Corsi, Gallo, and D'Agostino. The extremely limited digitalization of manuscript catalogues and inventories in Italian libraries, along with the fact that many miscellanies are only partially indexed at best, make it difficult at present to identify new text-only sources. However, it is quite possible that the ever increasing push in Italy, and in Europe as a whole, to digitize resources pertaining to medieval manuscripts will soon make such an inquiry feasible on a large scale.

<sup>21</sup> *Cantasi come* sources are literary collections of *contrafacta* laude in which poems are accompanied by rubrics instructing the reader which secular ballata (monophonic or polyphonic) is to serve as the musical model for the new devotional text. Because the present study is limited to secular song texts, it includes only those *cantasi come* sources that transmit both the devotional lauda and its original (profane) model.

<sup>22</sup> Emilio Pasquini draws attention to the problematic nature of terms like *popolare*, *popolareggiante*, and *giullaresco* (a term that denotes association with the minstrel tradition), as well as to the difficulty of identifying firm characteristics that would allow one to distinguish between "popular" (*popolare*) and "refined" (*colto*) poetry in his essay "Letteratura popolare e popolareggiante," in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 2, *Il Trecento* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1995). Thorough discussion of these issues, however, is beyond the essay's scope.

<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey, "Reconsidering 'High Style' and 'Low Style' in Medieval Song," *Journal of Music Theory* 52 (2008).

<sup>24</sup> Richard Trachsler, "Uncourtly Texts in Courtly Books: Observations on MS Chantilly, Musée Condé 475," in *Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness: selected papers from the Eleventh Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 29 July–4 August 2004*, ed. Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz (Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 2006).

<sup>25</sup> Leonard W. Johnson, *Poets as Players: Theme and Variation in Late Medieval French Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

<sup>26</sup> Johnson, "Poets as Players," 245.

<sup>27</sup> D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali" and "Tradizione letteraria delle poesie musicali."

<sup>28</sup> D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali," 393–5.

<sup>29</sup> D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali," 412. I revisit the placement of Jacopo's madrigals in more detail below.

<sup>30</sup> D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria delle poesie musicali," 46.

<sup>31</sup> On the significance of irregular repetition within a song text copied sans notation, see Carboni and Ziino, "O rosa bella."

<sup>32</sup> Kathleen Frances Sewright, "Poetic Anthologies of Fifteenth-Century France and Their Relationship to Collections of the French Secular Polyphonic Chanson" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2008).

<sup>33</sup> Sewright, "Poetic Anthologies," 55.

<sup>34</sup> Sewright, “Poetic Anthologies,” esp. 55–7 and 97–9.

<sup>35</sup> Giuseppe Corsi also invokes similar criteria in support of his claims that various poems in text-only sources were copied from musical manuscripts in his edition of Trecento song texts. See Corsi, *Poesie musicali*.

<sup>36</sup> Specific doubts pertaining to D’Agostino’s analysis of the text-only sources will be addressed in more detail in connection with individual manuscripts. D’Agostino, “Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali,” 410–12.

<sup>37</sup> D’Agostino, “Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali,” esp. 399–400.

<sup>38</sup> Michele Barbi, *Studi sul canzoniere di Dante, con nuove indagini sulle raccolte manoscritte e a stampa di antiche rime italiane* (Florence: Sansoni, 1915). For more information on Magliabechiano 1041, see Lauren McGuire Jennings, “Technologies of Un-Notated Transmission: Trecento Song as Literature in an Early Sixteenth-Century Poetic Anthology,” in *Cantus scriptus: Technologies of Medieval Song. Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Lawrence J. Schoenberg Symposium on Manuscript Studies in the Digital Age*, ed. Lynn Ransom and Emma Dillon (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012).

<sup>39</sup> Furio Brugnolo, “La poesia del Trecento,” in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 10, *La tradizione dei testi* (Rome: Salerno, 2001), 227.

<sup>40</sup> See Cuthbert, “Tipping the Iceberg.”

<sup>41</sup> Cuthbert, “Tipping the Iceberg,” 42–3.

<sup>42</sup> Francesco Carboni and Agostino Ziino have found one example of a song text, *O rosa bella* (set to music by Johannes Ciconia), containing repetitions that seem to stem from a musical exemplar in a literary source that falls outside the bounds of the present study: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1289. See Carboni and Ziino, “*O rosa bella*.”

<sup>43</sup> Ashburnham 569 is briefly described in Domenico De Robertis, ed. *Dante Alighieri. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1, 151–2 (Florence: Le lettere, 2002). Although there is no old foliation in either to confirm any hypothesis regarding the original form of the two units, both give the impression that they were intended to be part of larger, more comprehensive lyric collections.

<sup>44</sup> According to De Robertis, fols. 9 and 10 (a single bifolio re-folded backwards) were incorrectly bound and should in fact be placed after fol. 16. It is following this original arrangement that the texts appear in the same order as in the first unit. De Robertis, *Dante*, pt. 1, 151–2.

<sup>45</sup> A description of the manuscript’s physical structure and contents compiled by Alessio Decaria can be found through the online database *LIO (Lirica Italiana delle Origini)* hosted through the portal *Mirabile* ([http://www.mirabileweb.it/risultati.aspx?cpage=ASP.p\\_testi\\_italiani.aspx](http://www.mirabileweb.it/risultati.aspx?cpage=ASP.p_testi_italiani.aspx). pinfo [accessed May 1, 2014]).

<sup>46</sup> D’Agostino, “Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali,” 412–13.

<sup>47</sup> For more on the copying of manuscripts on speculation or on commission by semi-professional scribes in late medieval Florence, see Marco Cursi, “Ghinozzo di Tommaso Allegretti e altri copisti ‘a prezzo’ di testi volgari (XIV–XV Sec.),” *Scrittura e civiltà* 23 (1999) and “Fare scrivere il Boccaccio: codici e copisti ‘a prezzo’ fra Bologna e Firenze all’inizio del sec. XV,” *Studi sul Boccaccio* 30 (2002).

<sup>48</sup> The other manuscripts that fall into this category at least to some degree are Parmense 1081 (specifically the cycle of madrigals copied on fols. 91v–92r), Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup>, and Florence 61.

<sup>49</sup> *Mercantesca*, a cursive script, was typically used by merchants for their account books during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was also adopted for the copying of informal vernacular books.

<sup>50</sup> See Sandro Bertelli, *La Commedia all’antica* (Florence: Mandragora, 2007), esp. 47 and Marisa Boschi Rotiroti, *Codicologia trecentesca della Commedia: Entro e oltre l’antica vulgata* (Rome:



Viella, Libreria editrice, 2004).

<sup>51</sup> It should be noted that original foliation is present only at the very beginning of Palatino 315 on the first 15 folios. The foliation in the rest of the manuscript is modern.

<sup>52</sup> These scribal attributions, based on my own observations, are confirmed by descriptions of Palatino 315 in Simona Bianchi, ed. *I manoscritti datati del fondo Palatino delle Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze, Manoscritti datati d'Italia* (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2003), 33 and De Robertis, *Dante*, pt. 1, 308–9.

<sup>53</sup> D'Agostino, "Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali," 412.

<sup>54</sup> There has been much ink spilled on elucidating the meaning of this madrigal, full of opaque allegory and symbolism. It is generally believed to be a celebratory piece written either for the coronation of Charles IV (according to Kurt von Fischer and Nino Pirrotta) or for the wedding of Gian Galeazzo Visconti and Isabella Valois (according to Pedro Memelsdorff and Oliver Huck). Recently, however, Elena Abramov-van Rijk has offered a different interpretation linking Jacopo's description of the eagle, which she sees as an allegorical reference to the power of human intellect, to medieval bestiaries. See Elena Abramov-van Rijk, "The Madrigal *Aquil'altera* by Jacopo da Bologna and Intertextual Relationships in the Musical Repertory of the Italian Trecento," *Early Music History* 28 (2009).

<sup>55</sup> It should be noted that Pirrotta reads *Aquila altera*'s three texts as incomplete, suggesting a second *terzina* and a second verse in the *ritornello* are missing from each voice part. However, given that all sources—both musical and literary—present the same text (even if not in the same order), it seems more likely that the linked madrigal texts are simply irregular in their form. See Nino Pirrotta, ed. *The Music of Fourteenth Century Italy*, vol. 4, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* (Amsterdam: American Institute of Musicology, 1954), IV.

<sup>56</sup> Jacopo's setting of *O in Italia mia* re-orders two verses. This madrigal text, somewhat atypical in its form, contains two stanzas of three verses followed by not one but two couplets. Rather than setting both of the final couplets as a *ritornello*, Jacopo uses only the second for this music. The first he pulls apart and grafts on to the two tercets, placing the first verse at the end of the madrigal's first tercet and its companion verse at the end of the madrigal's second tercet. For a modern edition of Jacopo's *O in Italia mia*, see PMFC, vol. 6, 126–7; for an edition of the text, see Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 41.

<sup>57</sup> Gianluca D'Agostino, "On the Ballata Form(s) of Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Case of Historical Misunderstanding." In *'Et facciam dolci canti' Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleanno*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Teresa M. Gialdroni, and Annuziato Pugliese (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004), 303.

<sup>58</sup> Not only, as will soon be shown, do the songs texts fail to exhibit the characteristics D'Agostino associates with musical origins (namely, repetition and lack of the second *piède* and *volta*), for the most part the ballate without musical concordances do as well. He himself cites no examples, but in my own reading of Magliabechiano 1078's ballate, I have found only one fragmentary text and very few cases of repetition in any poems, "musical" or not.

<sup>59</sup> Corsi suggests that Magliabechiano 1078's truncation of *De sospirar* to a single stanza could be seen as a sign that the poem was copied from a musical exemplar. In his opinion, however, this poem was copied from memory, a hypothesis that he supports by pointing out several variants between Magliabechiano 1078's reading and what he takes as the poem's standard form. Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 156–7. As will be explained in Chapter 4, I do not agree with the conclusion that this poem or any other was copied from memory. Moreover, we should not forget that notated sources are inconsistent in the number of stanzas they include for pluristrophic ballate, and thus the amount of text copied in a given manuscript is not conclusive in terms of proving or disproving musical origins.

<sup>60</sup> Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 90–91.

<sup>61</sup> Pit's reading of *Piacesse a Dio* differs from Magliabechiano 1078's in several places including verse 10, which contains no syllabic repetition in that manuscript.

<sup>62</sup> Donald F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts: The Panizzi Lectures, 1985* (London: British Library, 1986).

## 2

### Song Texts as *Poesia Aulica*

The previous chapter established a context within which to explore the relationship between the Italian *ars nova* tradition and the tradition of Italian lyric poetry at large and proposed a new analytical approach to the literary sources in which Trecento song texts are transmitted. Arguing that the “musicality” of song texts seems to be secondary to their meaning and function within these manuscripts, [Chapter 1](#) asked us to look beyond individual poems to the broader material context in which they are placed. What specific evidence is there, though, that medieval readers saw song texts as part of a greater literary tradition?

We begin our search for answers in the very place that has come to be the conventional antithesis of so-called *poesia per musica*: the realm of *poesia aulica* (refined love poetry). Modern anthologies and literary histories tend to imply that the poems selected for musical treatment by Trecento composers stood on the sidelines of lyric poetry, isolated from what, since the early sixteenth century, have been considered the two most serious and artistic poetic genres—the canzone and the sonnet—and from the illustrious work of Italy’s poetic super-stars, Dante and Petrarch.<sup>1</sup> Yet we have also seen that the majority of the literary sources introduced in [Chapter 1](#) situate song texts in precisely this context. The case studies presented in this chapter therefore set out to explore the varied functions and meanings song texts might assume in unquestionably learned literary environments.

Before we move on to specific examples, it will be useful to begin with a brief overview of the manuscripts in this category, that is of the sources featuring *poesia aulica* (as indicated [Table 1.1](#)). These sources may contain

much of the same repertoire highlighted in modern anthologies of Italian literature, but the manner in which they present their contents is drastically different. The anthologies through which we often encounter medieval Italian poetry today, for example Cesare Segre and Carlo Ossola's *Antologia della poesia italiana*, are highly structured collections, organized by author, genre, and chronology—much like the Squarcialupi Codex and many of the *chansonniers* dedicated to troubadour and trouvère lyric.<sup>2</sup> Such an ordered and rational experience of poetry, however, is not to be found in any of the manuscripts considered in the present study. Even the most thoroughly organized of these sources—manuscripts like Palatino 204, discussed later in this chapter—paint a comparatively flexible and integrated picture of the poetic repertoire they contain. Several of the manuscripts in [Table 1.1](#) are organized by author (for example Palatino 204 and Riccardiana 1100); yet even then they frequently juxtapose different metric types, subject matter, and linguistic registers. Many more are freely ordered miscellanies that weave together heterogeneous contents, defying the thematic or generic taxonomies that so often shape our modern view of late medieval Italian literary production.<sup>3</sup>

The rich variety in form and organization displayed by the literary sources featuring *poesia aulica* should not be underemphasized. Nevertheless, the sources on which I focus in this chapter—Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 204; and Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081—do typify the manuscripts considered in this study in two crucial ways. First, despite their relatively weighty contents, they are fairly informal books, made of paper rather than parchment and copied by amateur scribes for their own private use.<sup>4</sup> Second, their song texts are fully integrated into the literary panorama each source creates. Making no organizational distinction between “musical” and “non-musical” poems, the manuscripts discussed in this chapter—like all the manuscripts considered in the present study—encourage us to look beyond modern taxonomies such as *poesia per musica* and *poesia aulica* and towards new, more fluid ways of understanding this poetry.

If there is one manuscript that stands out among the corpus of literary sources as a potentially fruitful site to begin investigating the relationship between musical and literary traditions in Trecento Italy, it is Franco Sacchetti's autograph of his complete literary works: Ashburnham 574. Not

only is Sacchetti himself a figure who embodies both traditions simultaneously more so than any other fourteenth-century poet or musician, Ashburnham 574 is also the only autograph manuscript (other than Vaticano 3195, Petrarch's partial autograph) among the 50 literary sources identified in [Table 1.1](#). As such, it offers a unique window onto the poet's own perception of the relationship between his "musical" and "non-musical" output. Meanwhile, this chapter's second case study, Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081, places song texts in the midst of the most illustrious and influential collection of lyric poetry composed in fourteenth-century Italy, Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*. As we shall see, Parmense 1081 is intriguing for another reason as well—its rubrics attributing several poems to the well-known composer, Nicolò del Preposto.

## **Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574**

Born into a prominent merchant family, Franco Sacchetti (c. 1332–1400) was one of the most prolific writers of both poetry and prose in Florence during the second half of the fourteenth century. A successful merchant, he was highly active in Florence's political life, as was typical for a male from a family of such high social stature, serving as *podestà* to several towns in the surrounding countryside. Sacchetti was active, too, in the city's wealthiest *laudesi* company, Orsanmichele.<sup>5</sup> Confraternities in general played a central role in Florence's musical life, and Orsanmichele, with a budget large enough to pay several singers and instrumentalists, was particularly influential.<sup>6</sup> Sacchetti's connection to the company thus holds musicological significance, for it would have provided the poet ample opportunity to interact with Florence's most prominent musicians and composers.

Indeed Ashburnham 574 attests to Sacchetti's interest in Florentine music-making and has long been recognized by musicologists for the wealth of information it contains regarding Trecento song. The manuscript—compiled, organized, and copied by the poet himself during the late fourteenth century—collects Sacchetti's complete literary output: 169 sonnets, 55 ballate, 28 canzoni, 28 madrigals, 12 historical poems (termed *capitoli storici* in Italian) in *terza rima*, five frottole, three sestine, three cacce, two compositions destined to be engraved on public buildings, one vernacular oration, and one didactic work in verse.<sup>7</sup> In it Sacchetti also

incorporates 69 sonnets sent to him by various correspondents and numerous letters in prose written by himself and others. Ashburnham 574 thus bears witness not only to the poet's sizeable output but also to his position within Florentine culture. His correspondents included members of Florence's wealthiest and most powerful families (specifically, Antonio degli Alberti and Alberto degli Albizzi), accomplished writers such as Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, poet-performers such as Dolcibene and Antonio Pucci, and composers of secular polyphony—namely Francesco degli Organi and Ottolino da Brescia.<sup>8</sup>

The autograph's musically related contents include not only epistolary sonnets exchanged with Francesco and Ottolino, but also poems in which Sacchetti expresses his opinions on the musical treatment of poetry—most notably *Ben che io senta* (discussed in [Chapter 1](#)) and *Ben s'affatica invano chi fa or versi*, a sonnet lamenting the ubiquity of poor quality poetry clothed with correspondingly inferior music—as well as a sonnet on the death of Gherardello written by Francesco di Simone Peruzzi. Perhaps even more significant are the 34 texts—17 ballate, 14 madrigals, and two cacce—Sacchetti identifies as having been set to music (see [Table 2.1](#)). Ascriptions placed in Ashburnham 574's margins number the song texts and name the composer responsible for each setting. These marginalia have had a notable impact on music historiography, for they identify as musical 22 poems whose settings are now lost. It is thanks to Ashburnham 574, then, that we are able to recognize Sacchetti as the most prolific poet of song texts, far surpassing his closest competitor Niccolò Soldanieri, to whom as many as 12 Trecento song texts have been attributed. What is more, the manuscript's marginalia reveal the poet's connections to a broad range of musicians from the most prominent—Francesco degli Organi, Nicolò del Preposto, Donato da Firenze, Gherardello da Firenze, and Guilielmus de Francia—to several whose exclusion from the extant musical sources would seem to suggest their relative obscurity—Ottolino da Brescia, Gherardello's sons Jacopo and Giovanni, and Gherardello's brother Jacopo. Finally, Sacchetti notes his own musical activity as well, ascribing the settings of two ballate, *Innamorato pruno* and *Mai non serò contento immaginando*, to himself.

### ***ASHBURNHAM 574 AS MATERIAL OBJECT***

While Ashburnham 574 thus has much to tell us about Florentine musical life and about Sacchetti's own musical activities, what interests me here are its

34 song texts and the way in which Sacchetti incorporates them into his collection as a whole. Before addressing the role they assume within the poet's oeuvre, though, it will be useful to briefly describe Ashburnham 574's physical form and review what is known about its origins.

Sacchetti's autograph currently contains 134 folios and originally had at least 148.<sup>9</sup> Its first half (fols. 1–70) is dedicated primarily to Sacchetti's lyric poetry, while its second half collects the poet's letters and other works in prose. Sizable not only in length, Ashburnham 574 measures 405 × 300 mm, making it noticeably larger in format than the other literary sources introduced in [Chapter 1](#), most of which are closer in size to modern quarto or octavo format books. Yet despite its dimensions, there is little about Ashburnham 574 to suggest prestige or luxury. As already mentioned, this book is made of paper rather than parchment, decorated sparsely, and copied (informally) by Sacchetti himself rather than by a professional scribe. It thus bears the signs of relative affordability, a book destined to be something other than a presentation manuscript. As such it differs significantly from the most celebrated author-ordered collection featured in the history of medieval music: the poetic works of Guillaume de Machaut. Unlike Ashburnham 574, the majority of the Machaut manuscripts (most of which were copied slightly earlier than Sacchetti's autograph) are richly illuminated, copied by highly skilled professional scribes on quality parchment. While Sacchetti's cursive script conspicuously links his autograph with Florentine mercantile culture, the elegant manuscripts in which Machaut's work circulated originated in French courtly culture, created as presentation manuscripts for aristocratic patrons. Indeed, one of the most sumptuous, Ms E (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 9221; dating from around 1400), was famously owned by Jean de Berry, one of Europe's foremost collectors of luxurious manuscripts in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup>

Table 2.1 Song texts in Ashburnham 574

| Fol. | Incipit                                       | Rubric                                          | Marginalia                                                                        | Genre    | Composer                      | Musical concordances | Text concordances                                                                                                |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2v   | Donna servo mi sento                          | Ballata di franco detto                         | p(ri)ma intonata   mag(ister) Laurentius de Florentia sonu(m) dedit               | Ballata  | Lorenzo da Firenze            |                      | Chigi 300                                                                                                        |
| 3r   | Se crudeltà d'amor sometta fé                 | Ballata di franco detto                         | ija intonata   Ottolinus de Brezia sonum dedit                                    | Ballata  | Ottolino da Brescia           |                      | Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352                          |
| 3r   | Di bella palla e di valor di petra            | Madriale di franco detto                        | iiija intonata   Mag(ister) Gherardellus de florentia sonu(m) dedit               | Madrigal | Gherardello                   |                      | Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352                          |
| 3v   | I sento pena, omé, per tali amanti            | Ballata di franco detto                         | iiija intonata   Ottolinus de Brezia sonu(m) dedit                                | Ballata  | Ottolino da Brescia           |                      | Chigi 300                                                                                                        |
| 4r   | Sovra la riva d'un corrente fiume             | Madriale di franco detto                        | va intonata   Mag(ister) Laurentius de florentia sonu(m) dedit                    | Madrigal | Lorenzo da Firenze            | Sq, FP, Pit          | Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Magl. 1187, Paris 554, Patetta 352              |
| 4r   | Se ferma stesse giovinezza e tempo            | Ballata di franco detto                         | via intonata   S(er) Iacobus frater S(er) Gherardelli sonum dedit                 | Ballata  | Jacopo da Firenze             |                      | Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352                          |
| 5r   | Lontan ciascun uccel d'amor si trova          | Madriale di franco detto                        | via intonata   S(er) Iacobus S(er) Gherardelli sonum dedit                        | Madrigal | Jacopo da Firenze             |                      | Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352                          |
| 5v   | Verso la vaga tramontana è gita               | Madriale di franco detto                        | viita (i)n)tonata   Ottolinus de brixia sonu(m) dedit                             | Madrigal | Ottolino da Brescia           |                      | Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352                          |
| 5v   | Come selvaggia fera fra le fronde             | Madriale di franco detto                        | viiija intonata   Magister nicolaus pro positi sonu(m) dedit                      | Madrigal | Nicolò del Preposto           | Sq                   | Plut. 37, Vat. 3213, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Magl. 1187, Paris 554                           |
| 6r   | Come la gru quando per l'aere vola            | Madriale di franco detto                        | xa intonata   S(er) nicolaus pro positi sonum dedit                               | Madrigal | Nicolò del Preposto           | Sq                   | Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Paris 554                                     |
| 8r   | Temer perché, po' ch'esser pur convener       | Ballata di franco detto                         | xia intonata   Mag(ister) Laurentius sonu(m) dedit                                | Ballata  | Lorenzo da Firenze            |                      | Chigi 300                                                                                                        |
| 8r   | Correndo giù del monte a le chiat' onde       | Madriale di franco detto                        | xia intonata   S(er) Nicolaus propositi sonum dedit                               | Madrigal | Nicolò del Preposto           |                      | Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352                          |
| 9r   | Di diavol vecchia femina ha natura            | Ballata di franco detto                         | xiia intonata   Magister Nicolaus propositi sonum dedit                           | Ballata  | Nicolò del Preposto           |                      | Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352                                                 |
| 9r   | Fortuna adversa, del mio amor nemica          | Madriale di franco detto   p(er) altrui         | xiijia intonata   Magister donatus p(re) sb(ite)r de chascia sonu(m) dedit        | Madrigal | Donato da Firenze             |                      | Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Vat. 3213                                                              |
| 9r   | Nel mezzo già del mar la navicella            | Madriale di franco detto                        | xva intonata   Magister Nicolaus propositi sonum dedit                            | Madrigal | Nicolò del Preposto           | Sq, FP, Pit          | Pal. 315, Chigi 300                                                                                              |
| 13v  | Di tempo in tempo di martino in pena          | Ballata di franco detto                         | xvvia intonata   S(er) Iacobus s(er) Gherardelli sonu(m) dedit                    | Ballata  | Jacopo da Firenze             |                      | Chigi 300                                                                                                        |
| 14v  | Volgendo i suoi begli occhi invèr le fiamme   | Madriale di franco detto                        | Mag(ister) donatus de cassey sonu(m) dedit                                        | Madrigal | Donato da Firenze             |                      | Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352                                     |
| 16r  | Vana speranza, che mia vita festi             | Madriale di franco detto                        | xviiia intonata   Iacobus s(er) Gherardelli sonu(m) dedit                         | Madrigal | Jacopo da Firenze             |                      | Chigi 300                                                                                                        |
| 16r  | Passando con pensier per un boschetto         | Chaccia di franco detto                         | S(er) Nicolaus p(ro)posito sonum dedit                                            | Caccia   | Nicolò del Preposto           | Sq, Pit              | Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Marucelliana 155, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554                    |
| 18v  | Chi più ci crede, fare colui men fa sacchetti | Ballata di franco sacchetti                     | [x]viii intonata   Iohannes S(er) Gherardelli sonum dedit                         | Ballata  | Giovanni di Jacopo da Firenze |                      | Chigi 300, Magl. 1041                                                                                            |
| 19r  | Una augelletta, Amore, di penna nera          | Madriale di franco Sacchetti fatto p(er) altrui | xviii intonata   Magister Nicolaus p(re)sb(ite)r sonum dedit                      | Madrigal | Nicolò del Preposto           |                      | Chigi 300                                                                                                        |
| 19r  | Se la mia vita con vertù s'ingegna            | Ballata di franco detto                         | xva intonata   S(er) giovanis s(er) gherardelli sonu(m) dedit                     | Ballata  | Giovanni di Jacopo da Firenze |                      | Chigi 300                                                                                                        |
| 19r  | Chi 'l ben sofrir non pò                      | Ballata di franco detto                         | xvvia intonata   [M]ag(ister) Nicolaus p(ro)positi sonu(m) dedit                  | Ballata  | Nicolò del Preposto           | Sq, Lo               | Redi 184, Chigi 300                                                                                              |
| 21v  | La neve e 'l ghiaccio e' venti d'orientè      | Madriale di franco detto                        | xvvia intonata   Mag(ister) Guiglelmus pariginus fr(ater) romitanus sonu(m) dedit | Madrigal | Guiglelmus de Francia         | Lo                   | Plut. 37, Magl. 1041, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Chigi 301   |
| 21v  | Povero pelegrin salito al monte               | Madriale di franco Sacchetti                    | xvvia intonata   Mag(ister) Nicolaus d(omi)ni p(ro)positi sonu(m) dedit           | Madrigal | Nicolò del Preposto           | Sq, Lo               | Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Plut. 43, Ricc. 1118, Parmense 1081, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554 |
| 22r  | Mai non serò contento immaginando             | Chanzonetta di franco detto                     | xviija   p(er) francu(m) Sacchetti                                                | Ballata  | Franco Sacchetti              |                      | Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 325                                                 |
| 22v  | Né te né altra voglio amar giammai            | Chanzonetta di franco detto                     | xviija intonata   Franciscus de organis sonu(m) dedit                             | Ballata  | Francesco degli Organi        |                      | Magl. 1040, Magl. 1041, Chigi 300, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352              |
| 24r  | Non creder, donna, che nessuna sia            | Ballatina di franco detto                       | xviija intonata   franciscus dorganis sonu(m) dedit                               | Ballata  | Francesco degli Organi        | Sq, FP, Pit          | Plut. 37, Magl. 1040, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Patetta 352              |
| 24v  | Lasso, s'io fu' già preso                     | Ballata di franco fatta p(er) altrui            | xvvia intonata   Mag(ister) Nicolaus sonu(m) dedit                                | Ballata  | Nicolò del Preposto           |                      | Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352                          |



|     |                                        |                              |                                                                  |         |                        |    |                                                                                                     |
|-----|----------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|------------------------|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 25v | Innamorato pruno                       | Ballata di franco detto      | francus dedit sonu(m)                                            | Ballata | Franco Sacchetti       |    | Magl. 1041, Chigi 300, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Risc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Palteta 352 |
| 26v | State su, donne! Che debian noi fare?  | Caccia di franco detto       | xvviija intonata   Mag(ister) Nicolaus p(ro)positi sonu(m) dedit | Caccia  | Nicolò del Preposto    | Lo | Plut. 37, Magl. 1041, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Palteta 352             |
| 26v | Chi vide più bel nero                  | Ballata di franco            | xvviija intonata   mag(ister) Nicolaus p(ro)positi sonu(m) dedit | Ballata | Nicolò del Preposto    |    | Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Risc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Palteta 352 |
| 30v | Perché virtù fa l'uom costante e forte | Ballata di franco detto      | fra(n)ciscus dorganis sonum dedit                                | Ballata | Francesco degli Organi | FP | Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Palteta 352                         |
| 48v | Altri n'avrà la pena et io il danno    | Balatina di franco sacchetti |                                                                  | Ballata | Francesco degli Organi | Sq | Chigi 300                                                                                           |

\* Rubrics and marginalia transcribed semi-diplomatically from the manuscript. Incipits modernized and standardized. Genre and composer columns not copied directly from manuscript.

Looking more closely at the portion of Ashburnham 574 dedicated to Sacchetti's lyric poetry, the first 36 folios of the manuscript form their own discrete codicological section. They feature ample margins, clearly presented rubrics above each poem providing attributions (generally to Franco himself) and genre indications, and red and blue paragraph signs marking the start of each poem. Such characteristics suggest careful planning and a desire for transparent organization. Yet while this section appears orderly at first glance—much more so than the rest of the manuscript—behind its tidy facade hides a chaotic copying process. Frequent changes in ink reveal that Sacchetti was in fact a surprisingly scattered scribe, who intermittently entered numerous stanzas and complete poems into blank space and even mistakenly copied some texts twice.<sup>11</sup> What is more, the superficial visual coherence of the manuscript's initial folios wanes towards the end of the first section and soon slips away entirely. After fol. 36, the colored ink disappears, the margins become smaller and less consistent in size, and Sacchetti's script becomes progressively more casual. Prose and long works in verse sneak in, at first sporadically, but soon begin to dominate after fol. 70, transforming the manuscript from a standard lyric *canzoniere* to a much more inclusive and flexible anthology.<sup>12</sup>

## Poetic Anthologies in Late Medieval Italy

If Sacchetti's autograph is unusual in its organization and contents, what, then, might a more typical collection of fourteenth-century Italian poetry look like? While literary historians will be familiar with the development of lyric anthologies over the course of the Trecento, I summarize that history here for the sake of musicologists who may be less aware of how Ashburnham 574

relates to broader trends in the transmission of lyric poetry in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian manuscripts. The three most famous sources of early Italian poetry dating from the late thirteenth century—the so-called Vatican *Canzoniere* (Vaticano 3793), Palatino *Canzoniere* (Banco Rari 217), and Laurentian *Canzoniere* (Redi 9)—are typical of pre-Petrarchan collections of lyric poetry. Organized first by genre and only secondarily by author, they gather canzoni in one section, ballate in another, and sonnets in a third. Each poet's works are thus split into three separate groups spread across the manuscript rather than being collected into one unified single-author cycle.

Even the few author-ordered collections from the first half of the fourteenth century that paved the way for Petrarch's famous *Canzoniere*, Niccolò de Rossi's lyric poetry in particular, were organized by genre.<sup>13</sup> Petrarch therefore broke radically with tradition by conceptualizing his *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* as a *canzoniere* in which genres intermingle freely. Attentive to the unique characteristics of different genres, and especially to the impact of certain forms and rhyme schemes on the reader's perception of time, Petrarch organizes his poems into a unified narrative arch that tells the pseudo-autobiographical story of his love for Laura from their first encounter through her death and his mourning thereafter.<sup>14</sup> Ashburnham 574's similarly integrated approach to genre thus bespeaks Petrarchan influence, which I shall discuss in more detail below. Sacchetti simultaneously blazes new ground, however, after fol. 36v by incorporating texts in prose as well. Ultimately, Ashburnham 574 turns into an entirely new kind of *canzoniere*, a cross between a *prosimetrum* (a work in which sections of verse alternate with narrative prose, like, for example, Dante's *Vita nova*) and a *zibaldone* (a miscellany, generally characterized by the free juxtaposition of diverse texts, including, in many cases, works in prose and works in verse).<sup>15</sup>

### ***NOTEBOOK OR CRAFTED CANZONIERE?***

Because of the multiple scribal layers visible throughout Ashburnham 574 and the seemingly chronological ordering of the manuscript's contents, Sacchetti's autograph has traditionally been portrayed as a notebook-like collection compiled gradually over the course of the poet's life. This view, first articulated by Salomone Morpurgo in 1884, has given rise to various hypotheses about Sacchetti's literary and intellectual development and about

the chronology of Trecento song.<sup>16</sup> Expanding on Morpurgo's description, Ettore Li Gotti identified 1363, the beginning of Sacchetti's political career, as the starting date for Ashburnham 574's compilation and argued that Sacchetti's poetic activity was interrupted in 1378, based on dates associated with the final poems in the manuscript's first section.<sup>17</sup> Noting changes in Sacchetti's handwriting and the manuscript's turn away from amorous poems to political and moralizing texts after fol. 36, Li Gotti proposed that the year 1378 marked a moment of existential crisis for the poet, sparked in part by the political turmoil in Florence surrounding the Ciompi Rebellion. This crisis, Li Gotti argued, became the catalyst for the re-orientation of Sacchetti's literary activity.<sup>18</sup> The story of Ashburnham 574's genesis has had musicological ramifications, for the proximity of certain musically-relevant poems to datable texts would seem to hint at a rough timeline of Trecento musicmaking. Ashburnham 574 has thus been mined for clues that might allow for the dating of its song texts and assorted important events in Florentine music history. The primary evidence for the proposed deathdate of Gherardello da Firenze as 1362–63, for example, is the placement of the two sonnet-laments exchanged between Francesco di Simone Peruzzi and Sacchetti on the composer's death near other lyrics Sacchetti tells us were composed in 1362 and 1363.<sup>19</sup>

Lucia Battaglia Ricci's studies of Sacchetti's autograph, however, tell a rather different story of the manuscript's genesis. Given the implications her findings hold for music historiography and for any discussion of the meaning song texts may assume in the context of Ashburnham 574, in what follows I outline her work in some detail. While Battaglia Ricci, too, draws attention to the presence of multiple scribal layers and the manuscript's division into two macro-sections at fol. 36, she argues convincingly that Ashburnham 574 was assembled in a relatively compact period of time shortly after 1380, although it was never fully completed. Sacchetti's autograph thus seems not to have been a private notebook compiled gradually (and casually) over the last 40 years of the poet's life but rather a codex carefully assembled according to a precise project.<sup>20</sup>

Battaglia Ricci's argument hinges on an analysis of the paper used in Ashburnham 574 and several old systems of foliation found throughout the manuscript, evidence interesting not only for what it suggests about Sacchetti's copying process but also for the cultural milieu it reveals.

Ashburnham 574, she demonstrates, consists of three distinct paper types, one primary type used for fols. 1–60 and 82–128 and two secondary types: one inserted in the middle (fols. 61–70) and another added at the end (fols. 129–145).<sup>21</sup> Each has an independent, old system of foliation not related to Ashburnham 574 itself that strongly resembles numbering typically found in Florentine account books in terms of format and script, a feature that, along with Sacchetti's *mercantesca* hand (a cursive script used by merchants for their record keeping), links Ashburnham 574 to Florentine mercantile culture.<sup>22</sup> Highlighting the predominance of her paper type 1, Battaglia Ricci thus proposes that Sacchetti's autograph began its life as a blank book assembled from a relatively large supply of paper, already grouped into gatherings for a different use. Therefore, Sacchetti seems to have planned Ashburnham 574 to house an extensive project from the very beginning. As he reorganized and expanded his collection, the poet then added and redistributed gatherings as necessary.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, even though Sacchetti's copying process was neither straightforward nor systematic, the neatness of his script (especially on fols. 1–36) and the relatively limited number of corrections suggest he copied Ashburnham 574 from a pre-existing exemplar, perhaps an early collection of his work which he sought to re-order and re-present.<sup>24</sup>

Drawing attention to elements that hint at careful planning on the one hand, such as strategic creation of blank space and careful labeling with rubrics, and to the manuscript's ultimate lack of cohesion and uniformity on the other, Battaglia Ricci concludes that Sacchetti began copying with a clear organizational plan in mind, but that he soon began to modify and even disregard it. While acknowledging the impossibility of fully reconstructing Sacchetti's intended organizational structure, she argues that the framework for the lyric poetry collected in Ashburnham 574 is not literal chronology as Morgurgo, Li Gotti, and others have assumed, but rather a fictional narrative progression loosely based on the Petrarchan model—telling the story of the poet's love from the moment of *innamoramento* on. Indeed, there are numerous correspondences between the two poets' stories, from the place in which their love was first kindled (a church) to the physical attributes of their ladies.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps, then, Sacchetti intended to divide his *Libro delle rime* into two macro sections as Petrarch did: one taking place during the lady's

life and one describing events after her death, a sort of funeral lament focusing on the effects of her passing on the poet-lover.<sup>26</sup>

Whether or not Sacchetti expressly modeled his book on Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, Battaglia Ricci's analysis is significant because it portrays Ashburnham 574 as more than a simple, haphazardly compiled chronographic collection. Sacchetti may have been a distracted copyist who was not terribly rigorous about sticking to one method of organization and, as a result, we may never be able to identify with certainty the full logic behind his ordering. Still, it is clear that the poet designed Ashburnham 574 with an eye towards presenting his work to his reading public. From the general overall ordering, which Battaglia Ricci shows was both pre-planned and tweaked along the way, to the placement of poems on a single page, there is ample evidence that Sacchetti endeavored to craft a specific image of his oeuvre and that he intended this manuscript to be used as the basis for its subsequent dissemination.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, Sacchetti himself tells us on several occasions that he allowed Ashburnham 574 to circulate among his friends and correspondents as he was compiling it. The rubric preceding *Ferma colonna di virtù sostegno* on fol. 66v, for example, indicates the poet sent this sonnet along with Ashburnham 574 to Giovanni Colonna, a mercenary soldier who commanded Florentine troops during the city's struggle with Giangaleazzo Visconti.<sup>28</sup>

### ***SONG AS LITERATURE***

If Sacchetti intentionally ordered his output towards the end of his life and if he hoped to dictate its reception through Ashburnham 574, the manuscript's presentation of his 34 song texts offers invaluable clues regarding the poet's own thoughts about the relationship between his song texts and the rest of his literary production. With the exception of *Altri n'arà la pena et io 'l danno* copied on fol. 48v, all of Sacchetti's song texts (listed in [Table 2.1](#) on p. 59–62) appear in the manuscript's more formal first section (fols. 1–36). As we consider the way in which Sacchetti incorporates song texts into his *Libro delle rime*, it bears emphasizing that he chooses not to organize Ashburnham 574 by genre. Sonnets and canzoni commingle with the three genres modern scholarship identifies as “musical”—the madrigal, ballata, and caccia. The precise order in which Sacchetti entered his poems into Ashburnham 574 is difficult to determine due to the complex web of scribal layers that

characterizes the entire codex, its relatively orderly opening section included. Nevertheless, the manuscript's physical form leaves little doubt that Sacchetti, like Petrarch, saw his lyric output as generically integrated and was not concerned with differentiating between "musical" and "non-musical" metric forms.

A detailed literary analysis addressing the relationships between Ashburnham 574's song texts and the rest of Sacchetti's lyric output is beyond the scope of this chapter. I would, however, like to offer one brief example that illustrates how Sacchetti fully incorporated his song texts conceptually as well as physically into his *Libro delle rime*, weaving them into the narrative arch that shapes and orders the entire collection. The majority of the poet's song texts are love poems and thus are germane, at least in a general sense, to the pseudo-autobiographical story Battaglia Ricci suggests may undergird the opening portion of Ashburnham 574. More specific intertextual connections between the manuscript's song texts and its other lyrics can be traced as well. The madrigal *Verso la vaga tramontana è gita*, copied on fol. 5v with a marginal annotation attributing its musical setting to Ottolino da Brescia, takes as its central theme the lady's absence. Introduced first here, this theme is explored more fully on fol. 7r in *Quel spirito amoroso, ch'al cor luce*. This sestina adopts two key terms from the earlier madrigal, including them among the six rhyme words repeated in every stanza: *luce* (light) and *tramontana* (sunset). Sacchetti thus draws attention to the thematic link between the two poems through his lexical choices. Both poems are nostalgic and contemplative in tone as the poet lover reflects on the absence of his lady, who has traveled away towards the sunset (*tramontana*) to sojourn in the north. Moreover, another madrigal set to music by Guilielmus, *La neve e 'l ghiaccio é venti d'oriente*, tackles a related theme—the lady's return to Florence—featuring prominently again the word *tramontana*.<sup>29</sup>

While Sacchetti seems to have envisioned his song texts as being part of a greater poetic and narrative whole, he was at the same time very much interested in the musical garments that came to robe them, making careful note of each poem's setting (see [Table 2.1](#)). Noteworthy though it is that Sacchetti was deeply invested in the musical life of his poetry, what I find most significant about these annotations is how the poet incorporated them into Ashburnham 574's *mise en page*. Placed in the internal margin of the page and aligned at the top of each relevant poem, the majority start by

numbering the musical poems, “*prima intonata*,” “*ija intonata*,” (“first intoned poem,” “second intoned poem,”) and so on (see [Figure 2.1](#)).

Sacchetti entered this text in red ink using a simplified gothic script during his final round of work on the manuscript’s first section—the rubrication and insertion of colored paragraph signs. While much of this rubrication seems to have been entered in a single layer of scribal activity, some of the colored ink was added at a later time, as evidenced by the presence of multiple distinct shades of red.<sup>30</sup> Below the numeric label, preceded by either a red or blue paragraph marker, lies the composer indication itself. Sacchetti copied these attributions, like the main text, in a *mercantesca* script using black ink. Many were clearly entered at the same time as the poems to which they are attached, but differences in the tempering of the pen reveal that occasionally Sacchetti went back later to insert the composer attributions. This is the case for poems incorporated into the primary numbering scheme for the song texts and with some that were only identified as musical after that system of labeling was completed. The marginalia attached to the poems in this latter category do not participate in the numbering scheme and are copied much more sloppily than the other annotations.<sup>31</sup>

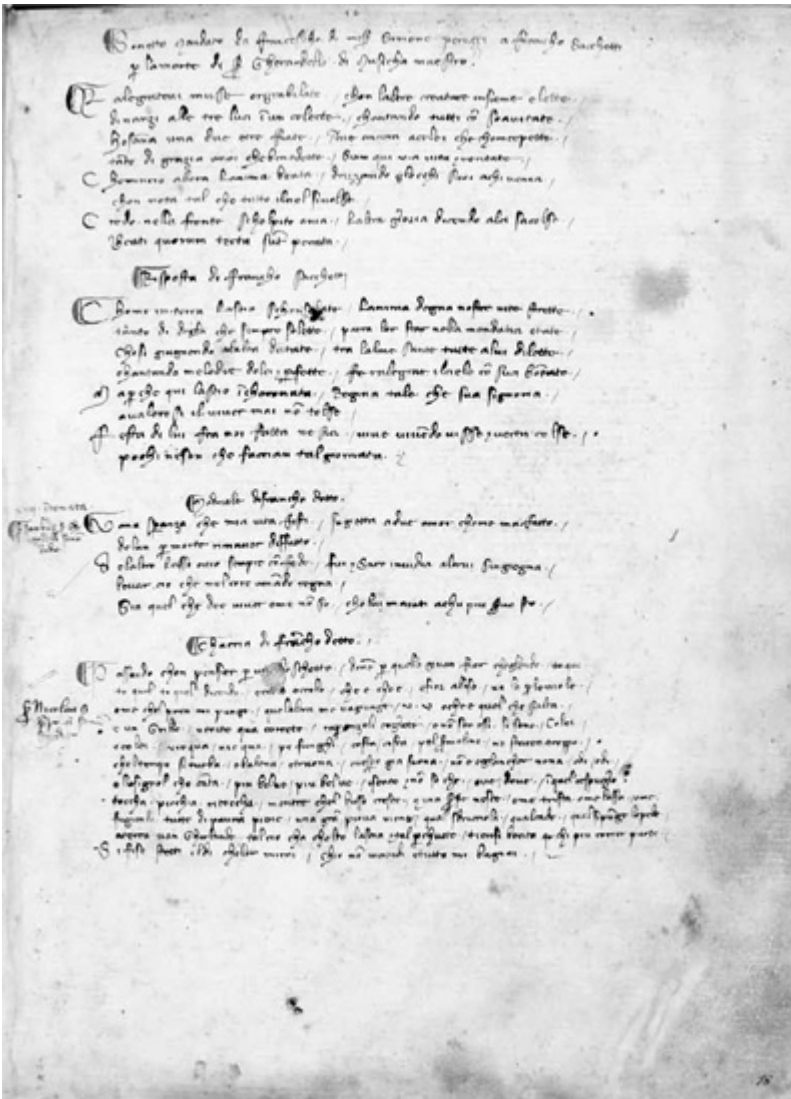


Figure 2.1 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574, fol. 16r. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo. Further reproduction by any means prohibited.

From this system of musical marginalia, we can make a few key deductions about Sacchetti's relationship with his song texts. First, by placing the annotations in Ashburnham 574's margins rather than by incorporating them into the main rubrics indicating genre, Sacchetti frees himself from the need to include them in the manuscript's original planning. In the margins, they can easily be inserted after the main copying effort without interfering with the completed text or the orderly *mise en page* maintained throughout Ashburnham 574's first section. Moreover, their exclusion from a position of higher prestige within the main writing block



itself creates a hierarchy of rubrics—genre indication, poet attribution,<sup>32</sup> and sometimes brief historical background first, status as song second. Physically prioritizing his non-musical rubrics, Sacchetti shows the reader that these song texts are poetic above all else. Their musical settings are important to their identity but seem not to be their defining characteristic.

Furthermore, the marginal placement argues against the idea that Sacchetti wrote certain madrigals, ballate, and cacce expressly to be set to music and others to remain “purely” literary, so to speak. We know from Ashburnham 574’s epistolary sonnets that Sacchetti did send specific poems to composers with requests that they adorn them with music. We also know he had strong opinions about what kind of poems were best suited for use as song texts, as the discussion of his sonnet *Ben che io senta* in [Chapter 1](#) highlights. Yet the fluidity with which Sacchetti moves between what are traditionally perceived today as “musical” and “non-musical” genres asks us to reconsider such taxonomies. By leaving open the possibility of labeling musical poems gradually when he learned of their settings, Sacchetti’s marginalia suggest he did not necessarily predetermine which poems were to be indicated as musical.

Moreover, while on the one hand Ashburnham 574 demonstrates that song texts might function literarily, on the other it also subtly reminds us that even genres not used for notated settings might be sung. We have no notated versions of canzoni or sonnets remaining from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, but traces of an unwritten tradition in which these long and lofty poems were recited to improvised melodies hide scattered throughout a variety of sources, from literary treatises to Dante’s *Divine Comedy*. Whether or not one takes Dante literally when he explains in his *De vulgari eloquentia* that the poetic form of a canzone is determined by the structure of the melody to which it will be sung, it seems clear that the poet expected his canzoni to be performed musically some of the time.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, the *cantarino* tradition active in Florence and elsewhere in Italy throughout the late Middle Ages demonstrates there was strong precedent for (and an established context within which to place) the improvised singing of poetry.<sup>34</sup> The material form of Ashburnham 574 therefore supports my reading of *Ben che io senta*, in which I propose that this sonnet serves as evidence against, rather than for, the existence of *poesia per musica* as an autonomous literary genre. If Ashburnham 574 was designed, as Battaglia Ricci argues, to guide the transmission and reception of the poet’s output, then its marginalia signal that

Sacchetti accepted each poem's musical setting as part of its identity, even in a fully literary context. At the same time, it illustrates that the poet saw his song texts as integral to his greater literary output.

The history of Sacchetti's *Libro delle rime* along with that of the poet's song texts does not, however, end with Ashburnham 574, though Sacchetti failed to finalize the manuscript and put it into circulation before his death in 1400. In fact, both Ashburnham 574 and Sacchetti's copy of his *Trecento novelle*—a series of short stories *à la* Boccaccio's *Decameron*—remained closed in the family's private library throughout the fifteenth century.<sup>35</sup> Sacchetti's works thus enjoyed only limited dissemination during the years in which Italian *ars nova* polyphony was still in Florence's active musical repertoire, or so it would appear from the extant sources. Yet while his *Libro delle rime* seems not to have been copied in its entirety until the eighteenth century, when a few copies of Ashburnham 574 were made, Sacchetti was not forgotten in the interim.<sup>36</sup> Both individual poems and larger cycles appear in many mid to late fifteenth-century poetic anthologies, among them a significant number of Ashburnham 574's song texts.

For whatever reason, though, Sacchetti's composer attributions never passed out of Ashburnham 574 and into the subsequent material tradition of his *canzoniere*, despite the fact that many of the later sources likely derive from his autograph.<sup>37</sup> One possible explanation for the omission of the annotations in all other manuscripts is the impact of time. Perhaps when these later collections of his rhymes were compiled, the musical works to which the marginalia refer were archaic enough to be essentially irrelevant, prompting the scribe(s) to abandon the annotations. The disappearance of musical references from the later transmission of Sacchetti's work notwithstanding, the life of his song texts after Ashburnham 574 warrants consideration. These poems may never have entered the modern canon of Italian literature as it began to crystallize with Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525) and the rise in printed anthologies of lyric poetry towards the end of the sixteenth century, for the shadow cast by Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Dante already loomed large by that point.<sup>38</sup> But the scant attention modern scholarship has paid to Sacchetti's *rime* is, I believe, an inaccurate barometer of their diffusion in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Florence.

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

Twenty-seven of Sacchetti's 34 song texts went on to circulate in thirteen manuscripts copied between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries (Table 2.2 lists these manuscripts, which are also included in the concordances tracked in Table 2.1). The most substantial collection of Sacchetti's lyric poetry outside of Ashburnham 574 (and its eighteenth-century copies) appears in the *Raccolta Aragonese*, a summa of Tuscan poetry assembled during the latter half of the fifteenth century, years after the musical settings linked to his song texts had fallen out of fashion. This lengthy anthology includes 88 of Sacchetti's poems (approximately one third of his lyric output) and is believed to descend from the poet's autograph.<sup>39</sup> Given that the *Raccolta Aragonese* is not as well known to musicologists as it is to literary scholars, the collection's background merits a brief synopsis. It was compiled in 1476 by Lorenzo de' Medici and Poliziano as a gift for prince Federigo d' Aragona, heir to the throne of Naples, upon Federigo's own request.<sup>40</sup> Prefiguring the major printed anthologies of Italian poetry first published in the early sixteenth century—the famous *Giuntina* among others—this selective and well-ordered anthology self-consciously aims to build a venerated canon of Tuscan lyric, leading up to and culminating in the work of Lorenzo himself. The *Raccolta Aragonese*'s contents attest to its historicizing intent. Organized partially by hierarchy and partially by chronology, it opens with a decided emphasis on Dante, presenting the poet's earliest biography (written by Giovanni Boccaccio) as well as his own pseudo-autobiography, the *Vita nova*. The collection then goes on to gather the lyric poetry of all the major Tuscan authors still central to the Italian canon today, from Guido Guinizelli (c. 1230/40–76) and Guittone d'Arezzo (c. 1235–94) on, as well as the most famous poets of the Sicilian School, Pier delle Vigne (c. 1190–1249) and Giacomo da Lentini (d. before 1250).<sup>41</sup> The dedicatory letter written by Poliziano makes the collection's aims even more explicit.<sup>42</sup> In introducing Federigo to the most important protagonists in early Tuscan literary history, Poliziano overtly portrays Dante and Petrarch as leading figures and works to associate this tradition with the celebrated cultural heritage of ancient Rome and Greece.

Table 2.2 The manuscript transmission of Sacchetti's song texts outside of Ashburnham 574  
(fourteenth–sixteenth-century sources)

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|                                                                                                                                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana C.155 (early 15th c)                                                                             |
| *Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, XC. Inf. 37 (late 15th c)                                                               |
| Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Rediano 184 (15th and 16th c)                                                            |
| Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1040 (10th unit, late 14th c)                                          |
| Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1041 (early 16th c)                                                    |
| Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1187 (15th and 16th c)                                                 |
| *Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 204 (16th c)                                                                    |
| Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 315 (late 14th c)                                                                |
| *Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1118 (16th c)                                                                                   |
| Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081 (early 15th c)                                                                           |
| Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.301 (2nd unit: 15th c, 2nd half;<br>3rd unit: 16th c, end; 4th unit: 15th c) |
| *Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.VII.142 (16th c)                                                                 |
| *Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana latino 3213 (16th c)                                                                         |

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\* Indicates manuscripts derived from the *Raccolta Aragonesa*.

Table 2.3 Song texts in Palatino 204

| Fol.          | Incipit                                           | Composer<br>(Poet)                                       | Genre    | Musical<br>concordances | Text concordances                                                                                               |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 131v          | Se crudeltà d'amor<br>somette fé                  | Ottolino da Brescia<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )       | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Ricc.<br>1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352                |
| 134v–<br>135r | Di bella palla e di<br>valor di petra             | Gherardello da<br>Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Ricc.<br>1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352                |
| 137v          | Sovra la riva d'un<br>corrente fiume              | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )        | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit             | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Ricc.<br>1118, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Vat. 3213, Magl.<br>1187, Paris 554, Patteta<br>352 |
| 138r          | Se ferma stessi<br>giovinezza e tempo             | Jacopo da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )         | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Ricc.<br>1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352                |
| 139v          | Lontan ciascun uccel<br>d'amor si trova           | Jacopo da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )         | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>142, Chigi 300, Ricc.<br>1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352                |
| 140v          | Come selvaggia fera<br>fra le fronde              | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )       | Madrigal | Sq                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Vat.<br>3213, Ricc. 1118, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Magl.<br>1187, Paris 554, Patteta<br>352 |
| 140v          | Verso la vaga<br>tramontana è gita                | Ottolino da Brescia<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )       | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Ricc.<br>1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352                |
| 142v          | Come la gru quando<br>per l'aere vola             | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )       | Ballata  | Sq                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Ricc.<br>1118, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Patetta 352, Paris 554                              |
| 146r          | Correndo giù del<br>monte a le chiar'<br>onde     | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )       | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Ricc.<br>1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352                |
| 150v          | Di diavol vecchia<br>femmina ha natura            | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )       | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352                                          |
| 150v–<br>151r | Fortuna adversa, del<br>mio amor nimica           | Donato da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )         | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352                                          |
| 151v–<br>152r | Volgendo i suo'<br>begli occhi invèr le<br>fiamme | Donato da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )         | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554,<br>Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                              |

|               |                                             |                                                 |          |                            |                                                                                                                              |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 156v          | Passando con<br>pensier per un<br>boschetto | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Caccia   | Sq, Pit                    | Ash. 574, Plut. 37,<br>Marucelliana 155, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Patetta<br>352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554                       |
| 161v          | La neve 1 ghiaccio e'<br>venti d'oriente    | Guiglielmus de<br>Francia<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Madrigal | Lo                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl.<br>1041, Ricc. 1118, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Patetta<br>352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554                 |
| 162v          | Povero pelegrin<br>salito al monte          | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Madrigal | Sq, Lo                     | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Plut.<br>43, Ricc. 1118, Parmense<br>1081, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Patetta 352, Vat.<br>3213, Paris 554 |
| 162v-<br>163r | Mai non serò<br>contento<br>immaginando     | Franco Sacchetti<br>(Franco Sacchetti)          | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300,<br>Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352                                                    |
| 164v-<br>165r | Né te né altra voglio<br>amar giammai       | Francesco degli<br>Organi<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Magl. 1040,<br>Magl. 1041, Plut. 37,<br>Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Paris 554, Vat.<br>3213, Patteta 352              |
| 168v          | Non creder, donna,<br>che nessuna sia       | Francesco degli<br>Organi<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit                | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl.<br>1040, Ricc. 1118, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213,<br>Paris 554, Patteta 352                 |
| 169r-v        | Lasso s'io fu' già<br>preso                 | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Ricc.<br>1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352                             |
| 170v          | Innamorato pruno                            | Franco Sacchetti<br>(Franco Sacchetti)          | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Vat.<br>3213, Magl. 1041, Chigi<br>142, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554,<br>Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                 |
| 173r          | State su, donne! Che<br>debian noi fare?    | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Caccia   | Lo                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl.<br>1041, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Vat. 3213, Paris 554,<br>Patteta 352                             |
| 174r          | Chi vide più bel nero                       | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041,<br>Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554,<br>Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                 |
| 175v          | Perché virtù fa l'uom<br>costante e forte   | Francesco degli<br>Organi<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Ballata  | FP                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213,<br>Paris 554, Patteta 352                                            |
| 250v          | Con gli occhi assai<br>ne miro              | Francesco degli<br>Organi<br>(Cino Rituccini)   | Ballata  | Sq, Florence<br>5, FP, Pit | Ricc. 1118, Chigi 142,<br>Vat. 3213, Patteta 325,<br>Paris 554, Plut. 37                                                     |

\* Incipits modernized and standardized. Composers not indicated in manuscript.

Although the original manuscript is now lost, the *Raccolta Aragonesa* comes down to us today in the form of several derivative sources dating from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see [Table 2.2](#)). As these codices all share similar physical appearances and organization, I examine Sacchetti's place in the anthology through one early sixteenth-century example: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 204.<sup>43</sup> Though smaller in its dimensions than Ashburnham 574 (measuring 281 × 210 mm), with 313 folios, Palatino 204 is among the longest of the text-only sources of Trecento song and the most complete of the *Raccolta Aragonesa* copies.<sup>44</sup> Its ample margins and elegant humanistic cursive bookhand, as well as the occasional space reserved for decorated initials, suggest that this early sixteenth-century

copy was planned to be relatively sumptuous, even if it is not the kind of truly deluxe book one imagines the original must have been. Today, however, Palatino 204 is a modest manuscript. The planned illumination was never added, leaving it devoid of any decoration, even simple pen flourishes. What is more, the book's current form is fragmented and inconsistent in appearance. Its two primary sections, fols. 1–35r and fol. 114r to the end, are elegant in their form, copied as described above in a graceful cursive bookhand. By contrast, the middle section—which contains the second half of Dante's *Vita nova* along with canzoni and sonnets by Guido Guinizzelli, Guittone d'Arezzo, Guido Cavalcanti (c. 1258–1300), and Cino da Pistoia (1270–1336/37)—was compiled rather more sloppily by a different principal scribe. These folios are more informal not only in execution but by design as well, for their scribe reserved no space for decorated initials.

In the *Raccolta Aragonesa*, and specifically in Palatino 204, Franco Sacchetti is placed in the latter primary section, in the midst of an esteemed Tuscan literary tradition, the first of the post-*stil novo* poets to be included. While the work of earlier authors is ordered by genre, Sacchetti's poems appear as they do in Ashburnham 574, with different metric forms freely mixed together. Consequently, as in the poet's autograph, the poems with musical settings (listed in [Table 2.3](#)), are woven into Sacchetti's lyric output. With the composer attributions absent, though, all unambiguous traces of musicality the song texts once carried have been erased. In Palatino 204 and the other sources derived from the *Raccolta Aragonesa*, these song texts have become exclusively literary. This manuscript, then, is a prime example of one in which song texts are fully fused with the greater Italian lyric tradition, appearing alongside madrigals, ballate, and cacce with no musical concordances and alongside canzoni and sonnets that would never have been set by Trecento composers. In Palatino 204, as in nearly all of the sources examined in this study (including those featured in [Chapters 4](#) and [5](#)), song texts offer no hint that they might have a different past or a different literary status, no hint that a medieval reader would have viewed them any differently from the remainder of the manuscript's contents.

The *Raccolta Aragonesa* thus has interesting implications for our understanding of the literary life of Trecento song. As explained in [Chapter 1](#), modern anthologies treat song texts as tangential to the Italian literary tradition as a whole. Even those by known authors such as Sacchetti are appended to, rather than integrated within, the canon as we now know it.

Both physically and conceptually, they stand isolated from the work of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Yet Palatino 204 identifies Sacchetti as central to the literary canon it builds. In fact, the *Raccolta Aragonese* contains more poems by Sacchetti than by any other poet. The only other author to be granted comparable space is Cino da Pistoia, who has 87 *rime* in Palatino 204 compared to Sacchetti's 88 (the other two poets to whom a substantial amount of space is dedicated are Cino Rinuccini, with 52 poems and Guido Cavalcanti, with 40). We tend to think of song texts, even those by known authors, as being relatively insignificant from a poetic perspective, and in fact Sacchetti is best known to literary scholars today for his *novelle* rather than for his lyric poetry. The *Raccolta Aragonese*, however, demonstrates that in the fifteenth century, some song texts achieved remarkable literary success. Not only appearing here and there in private, informal miscellanies, a few—namely those by Sacchetti and Rinuccini—managed to enter the literary canon, even if only briefly. Moreover, they managed to do so both on equal footing with poems still considered to be at the pinnacle of late medieval Italian literary production and wholly independent from their musical identities.

### **Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081**

Among the earliest manuscripts to transmit Sacchetti's poetry outside Ashburnham 574 is Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081, a paper codex copied some years before the *Raccolta Aragonese* in the first half of the fifteenth century. Nestled in a short cycle of madrigals found near the middle of the manuscript are three poems attributed to the Florentine poet: one that appears in Ashburnham 574 and the *Raccolta Aragonese*, *Povero pelegrin* (set by Nicolò del Preposto); and two now considered to be of dubious attribution due to their exclusion from his autograph, *Agnel son bianco* and *Somma felicità* (set by Giovanni da Cascia and Francesco degli Organi respectively). Parmense 1081 is primarily known to musicologists not for its ascription of these madrigals to Sacchetti, though, but for linking four song texts (two madrigals, one ballata, and one caccia; see [Table 2.4](#)) to the prominent Trecento composer, Nicolò del Preposto (also known as Niccolò da Perugia).<sup>45</sup> These rubrics make Parmense 1081 one of only five literary sources to directly reference Trecento composers, the other three



being Ashburnham 574, Genoa 28 (the subject of [Chapter 3](#)), Magliabechiano 1041 (an informal poetic collection dating from the early sixteenth century with rubrics attributing two poems to Francesco degli Organi), and Chigi 131 (a second sixteenth-century manuscript indirectly linked, in part, to the same stem source that gave rise to Magliabechiano 1041 and sharing the same attributions to Francesco).<sup>46</sup>

Table 2.4 Song texts in Parmense 1081

| Fol. | Incipit                                | Rubric                                     | Composer (poet)                                                                 | Musical concordances                         | Text concordances                                                                                |
|------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 55v  | Non al suo amante più Diana piacque    | madriale d.f.p.                            | Jacopo da Bologna ( <i>Petrarch</i> )                                           | Sq; FP; Pit; Reina                           | Vat. 3195, Ricc. 1100, Redi 184, Plut. 43 and many others                                        |
| 91v  | La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba      | madrigale di m.f.p.                        | Nicolò del Preposto and Bartolino da Padova ( <i>Petrarch</i> , false attrib.?) | For Nicolò: Sq<br>For Bartolino: Sq; SL; Pit | Triv. 193                                                                                        |
| 91v  | O Giustitia regina, al mondo freno     | madrigale di m. giova(n)ni Bocchacci       | Nicolò del Preposto ( <i>Boccaccio</i> )                                        | Sq                                           | Plut. 43                                                                                         |
| 91v  | Povero pelegrin salito al monte        | madrigale di fra(n)cho sacchetti           | Nicolò del Preposto ( <i>Sacchetti</i> )                                        | Sq; Lo                                       | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Plut. 43, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213 |
| 92r  | Agnel son biancho e vo belando be      | madrigale di fra(n)cho sacchetti           | Giovanni da Cascia ( <i>Sacchetti</i> , dub.)                                   | Sq; FP; SL; Pit; Reina                       |                                                                                                  |
| 92r  | Tal mi fa guerra, che mi mostra pace   | madrigale di s(er) niccholo del p(ro)posto | Nicolò del Preposto                                                             | Sq                                           |                                                                                                  |
| 92r  | Non dispriegar virtù, ricco villano    | madrigale di (ser) niccholo del p(ro)posto | Nicolò del Preposto ( <i>Stefano di Cino</i> )                                  | Sq; Lo; Pit                                  | Redi 184, Plut. 43, Barb. 3695                                                                   |
| 92r  | Somma felicità, sommo tesoro           | madrigale di francescho sacchetto          | Francesco degli Organi ( <i>Sacchetti</i> , dub.)                               | Sq                                           | Plut. 43                                                                                         |
| 111v | Tosto che l'alba del bel giorno appare | chaccia di s(er) Niccholo del p(ro)posto   | Gherardello da Firenze                                                          | Sq; FP; SL; Lo; Pit                          |                                                                                                  |
| 111v | Non più dirò, omai così farò           | frottola di s(er) Niccolo del p(ro)posto   | Nicolò del Preposto                                                             | Lo                                           | Redi 184, Plut. 43, Florence 61                                                                  |

\* Rubrics transcribed semi-diplomatically from manuscript. Incipits modernized and standardized. Information in composer/poet column appears in manuscript only if also indicated in the Rubric column.

While Sacchetti indubitably intended his marginalia in Ashburnham 574 to convey musical information, the significance of Parmense 1081's references to Nicolò is more ambiguous. In their brevity, these rubrics alone offer no clear answer as to whether they mean to acknowledge the composer's musical contributions to the texts at hand, to acknowledge him as

poet, or both. Moreover, as the rubrics themselves make no mention of music, one would not know from reading Parmense 1081 that some of its poems were song texts without having independent knowledge of their polyphonic settings. Is it possible, then, that Nicolò may be cited here not as composer but as poet? And might Parmense 1081's scribe perhaps have copied the manuscript's song texts primarily because he was interested in them as works of poetry, whether or not he was familiar with their musical settings? Difficult though it is to answer such questions for certain, in what follows I shall propose that Parmense 1081 in fact provides us with several clues that shed light on the significance of Nicolò's name and on how 10 Trecento song texts may have found their way into this collection.

### ***PARMENSE 1081 AND PETRARCH'S RERUM VULGARIUM FRAGMENTA***

Just as the *Raccolta Aragonese* locates Sacchetti's song texts among some of the most prominent and influential literature produced in late medieval Italy, so too does Parmense 1081 link its song texts to a body of literature recognized today as central to the tradition of *poesia aulica*. The relative paucity of rubrics in the collection at first obscures its contents. Upon closer examination, though, one cannot miss that Parmense 1081 is centered around what would become by the sixteenth century the most celebrated and influential body of Italian lyric poetry ever composed: Petrarch's *Canzoniere* (or *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*). In spite of its illustrious contents, Parmense 1081, like Ashburnham 574, is a rather unassuming book, much more modest than the manuscript in which Petrarch himself collected his lyric poetry. The poet's final copy of his *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (Vaticano 3195) is an elegant parchment manuscript meticulously copied in *littera textualis*—a script most often associated with Latin (as opposed to vernacular) texts. Visually emphasizing the *Canzoniere*'s organization and further adding to Vaticano 3195's impression of prestige are two illuminated initials placed at the collection's beginning and at the start of its second half, which begins after Laura's death. Petrarch's manuscript is further decorated with alternating red and blue initials and paragraph markers, echoing scribal techniques characteristic of late medieval academic books.

Parmense 1081, in contrast, is a plain paper codex devoid of decoration and colored ink, save a few red rubrics on fols. 20v–23v. Like most of the literary sources considered in the present study, it is copied in a legible but not especially elegant cursive hand with influences of *mercantesca*, a script

(as already mentioned) used by Italian merchants for ledger books and, by the later fourteenth century, for vernacular literature as well (never, however, for Latin texts). The hand belongs to a single amateur scribe who rather unusually signs his name, Gaspar Totti, in the outer margin next to nearly every poem. Totti's identity unfortunately remains unconfirmed, but his script and orthography suggest he lived and worked in Tuscany, most likely in Pisa.<sup>47</sup>

Judging from the uniform visual appearance of Parmense 1081's primary layer, Totti copied the main portion of the manuscript in a relatively compact period of time. Variations in ink, general formatting, and overall visual appearance of the text reveal that with this base in hand, he then continued to add to the collection for quite some time, filling blank pages and spare space within the main writing block first, and later adding poems into the manuscript's wide margins. Parmense 1081's ultimately heterogeneous form clearly sets it apart from more formal and systematically ordered anthologies like Riccardiana 1100 (see Appendix 2) that were copied either on commission or on speculation, intended to pass out of the hands of their compilers and into those of other readers.<sup>48</sup> With so many additions gradually added by Totti himself, Parmense 1081 is most likely a collection of poetry assembled and copied by an amateur scribe for his own personal use. Moreover, the deterioration it suffered before its recent restoration, along with the assorted minor additions by other hands, show the book had a long life of heavy use not just by Totti but by subsequent readers as well. Two hands more or less contemporary with Totti inserted several texts towards the end of the manuscript, and one eighteenth-century hand added corrections, notes, and attributions throughout, along with an index on fols. I'r-IX'r.<sup>49</sup>

Given that Petrarch's *Canzoniere* forms the foundation of Parmense 1081's collection, Totti's organizational scheme is somewhat out of the ordinary. Here, Petrarch's poems do not follow the order the poet himself prescribes in Vaticano 3195, which is driven by narrative concerns rather than metric classification. Instead, Totti turns to the pre-Petrarchan *canzoniere* model described above, dividing poems into sections according to their genre: one devoted to sonnets and one devoted to canzoni (see [Figure 2.2](#)).<sup>50</sup> Mixed in with Petrarch's lyrics, mostly respecting the manuscript's overall ordering by genre, are the works of other poets including Dante, Boccaccio, Cecco Angiolieri (before 1260–1311/13), Guittone d'Arezzo,

and Cino da Pistoia, as well as several anonymous poems.<sup>51</sup> The sonnet section, which runs from fol. 1r to 49v, is fairly consistent in appearance through fol. 43r, copied up to this point in a single layer of scribal activity. The last few folios (fols. 43v–49v), mostly containing sonnets by authors other than Petrarch, were filled in separately. The first portion of the canzone section (fols. 50r–90v) matches the collection of sonnets in appearance, presumably planned in tandem. After the last of Petrarch’s *rime* on fol. 90v, the manuscript becomes much less cohesive, both in terms of paleographic features and content. Canzoni still represent the general organizational underpinning, but they no longer dominate the metric panorama.

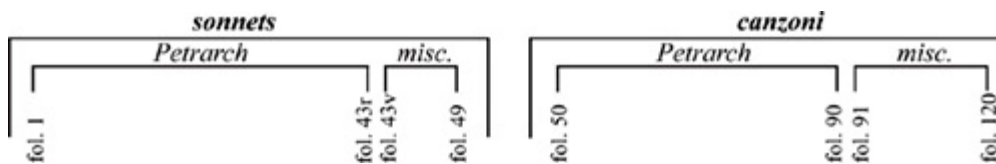


Figure 2.2 Structure of Parmense 1081. © 2013 Biblioteca Palatina. Reproduced by permission. All rights reserved.

### ***NICOLÒ DEL PREPOSTO: POET OR COMPOSER?***

It is in this final, most heterogeneous section that we find nine out of the 10 song texts included in Parmense 1081 (see [Table 2.4](#) for a complete list of Parmense 1081’s song texts and their concordances). The one outlier is, not surprisingly, the madrigal *Non al suo amante*, the only Trecento song text to have an active literary life that was unarguably independent from its polyphonic tradition thanks to its inclusion in Petrarch’s *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*. Copied on fol. 55v, *Non al suo amante* appears near the beginning of Parmense 1081’s collection of canzoni in a small cycle of Petrarchan madrigals. Totti’s reading of the poem is concordant with the final version copied in the poet’s autograph (the afore-mentioned Vaticano 3195), rather than with the alternate version on which Jacopo da Bologna’s two-voiced musical setting is based.<sup>52</sup> In this context, then, *Non al suo amante* seems not to carry any direct musical association. The remaining nine song texts, in contrast, are less easily explained and more musicologically significant, for they prompt us to consider carefully the meaning of composer attributions in literary manuscripts. It is thus on these poems that the remainder of this chapter focuses.



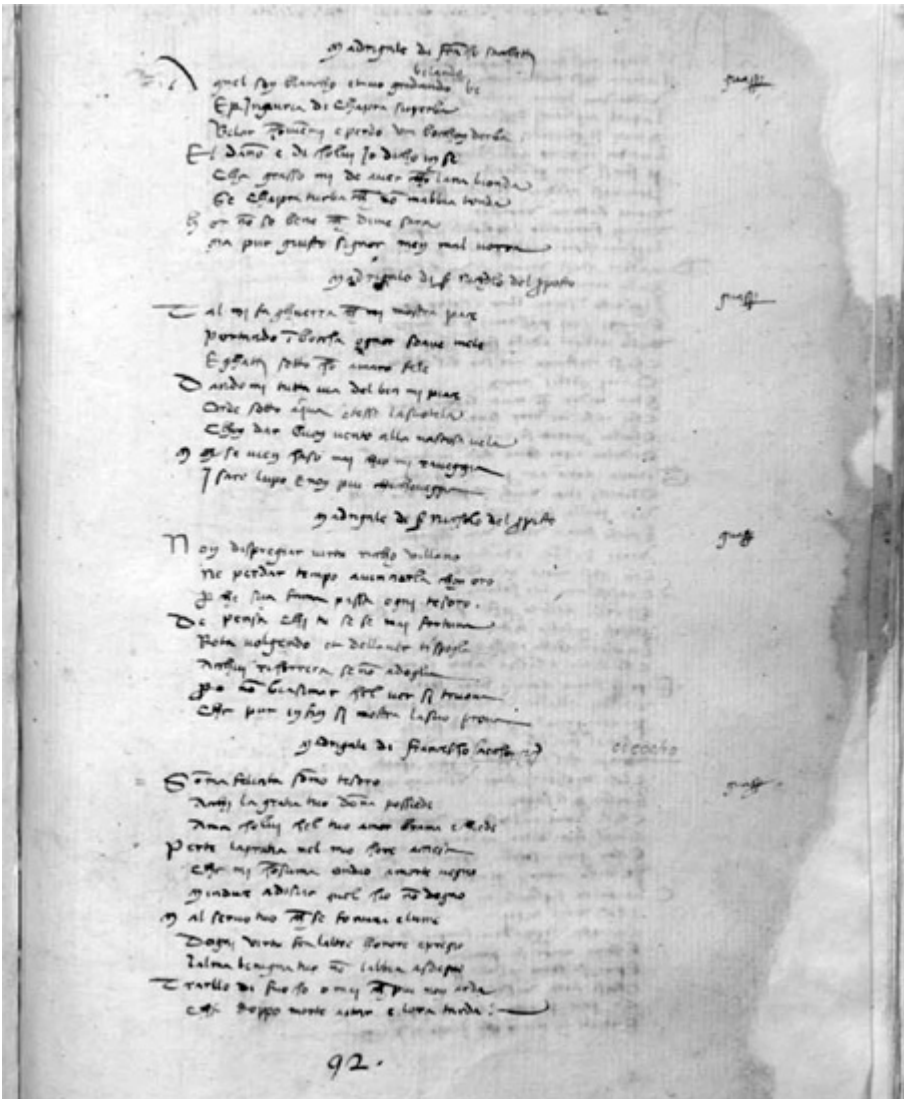


Figure 2.3b Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081, fol. 92r. © 2013 Biblioteca Palatina. Reproduced by permission. All rights reserved.

One possible explanation of both the origin and meaning of the attributions to Nicolò is that Totti copied the song texts in Parmense 1081 from a notated manuscript, basing his rubrics on those in his exemplar. Given the frequency with which Trecento musical sources include composer attributions, it is certainly likely that were Totti to have had one at his disposal, Nicolò's name would have appeared in it. Focusing on the composer's prominence in Parmense 1081, Gianluca D'Agostino hypothesizes that Totti's exemplar may even have been a notated fascicle manuscript belonging to Nicolò himself.<sup>53</sup> While a direct connection between composer and exemplar is impossible to verify, there are indeed good

reasons to believe that this madrigal cycle derives from some kind of musical source. In addition to the rare mention of a composer's name, here we also have the equally exceptional phenomenon of song texts copied in a unified and discrete paleographic section. Although flanked on both sides by canzoni that surely would never have appeared in a notated collection of song, the seven madrigals on fols. 91v–92r all have known musical concordances. Turning to the criteria for musical derivation laid out in [Chapter 1](#), Parmense 1081 thus meets criterion 2 (high percentage of song texts in a discrete section). It also meets criterion 6 (attribution to a composer instead of a poet) in the case of *Non dispregiar virtù*, a madrigal attributed to the poet Stefano di Cino in another literary source, Riccardiana 1100.<sup>54</sup>

There is, however, one key detail for which a musical exemplar fails to account. Only two of the seven song texts in this section are attributed to a composer; the rest are associated with poets. D'Agostino attempts to address this issue by proposing that Totti amended the attributions found in his notated exemplar, substituting poet names for composer names where he could, and leaving Nicolò's name where he knew of no separate author for the text at hand.<sup>55</sup> But such initiative is not consistent with Totti's treatment of rubrics and attribution in Parmense 1081 as a whole. Most of the attributions currently preserved in the manuscript were added long after the main copying effort by the eighteenth-century hand responsible for many of the other notes and corrections as well. The madrigal cycle is thus anomalous in its thorough labeling. Nowhere else in the manuscript are so many poems in a row carefully labeled with their genre and authors by Totti himself at the moment in which he entered the main text. It seems unlikely that a scribe who was otherwise quite nonchalant about attributions would go out of his way here to change information in his exemplar as he copied. The simpler, more plausible explanation is that Totti's exemplar for folios 91v–92r was a literary source in which these seven madrigals appeared with the same attributions found in Parmense 1081, including those to Nicolò. We must therefore consider the possibility that despite its conspicuous concentration of song texts, Totti's collection does not directly reflect a lost musical exemplar but instead a broader tradition of song circulating as literature.<sup>56</sup>

We must consider, too, the possibility that Nicolò may be cited here, and in the exemplar from which Totti copied, as the author of the two poems rather than the composer of their musical settings, whether or not the attributions are correct. Indeed, Parmense 1081 gives no particular

indication that Totti was at all aware of Nicolò's compositional activities, and in the context of the other rubrics on fol. 91v–92r—all attributing texts to well-known poets—there is good reason to question whether Totti intended those referencing the composer to carry musical significance. What is more, the disposition of the texts on fols. 111 and 112 strongly suggests that the ballata and caccia on fol. 111v derive from a literary source in which Nicolò is named as poet. D'Agostino has argued that these two song texts originate from the same source as the madrigals on fols. 91v and 92r—that is, from the notated fascicle manuscript possibly belonging to the composer himself. Codicological evidence, however, casts doubt on such a hypothesis. Separated by 20 folios and several changes in ink and pen, no clear codicological or paleographic bond between the two sections is discernable. I would argue, therefore, that Parmense 1081's song texts most likely do not derive from a single exemplar, much less from a single exemplar used only for them.

In fact, the two musical poems on fol. 111v ([Figure 2.4](#)) present a rather different codicological situation than do the madrigals copied earlier. Not isolated from their surroundings in an independent scribal layer, these poems were copied at the same time as the canzoni on either side, suggesting that Totti took all four (and possibly other canzoni preceding them too) from the same exemplar. Brief elaboration on this point is required, for pages as complex and messy in appearance as those in [Figure 2.4](#) would seem to defy such a straightforward explanation. Pictured in this image are in fact two discrete layers of scribal activity. In the initial, primary layer, Totti copied the darker texts contained within the main writing block, namely the ballata (incorrectly marked as a frottola by Totti), caccia, and canzone on the opening that spreads across fols. 111v–112r. The canzone on fol. 111r, not shown here, is also part of the same layer.<sup>57</sup> Then, at some later point, he returned with a less stable (and now much more faded) ink, squeezing several poems (in this case, sonnets) into whatever space was still available on the page, margins included. Considering that canzoni were not among the genres set by Trecento composers, the exemplar for these folios cannot have been a musical one. In this case then, even more clearly than in that of the madrigal cycle, it seems we are confronted with song texts that circulated in literary manuscripts free from, rather than dependent on, their musical settings.



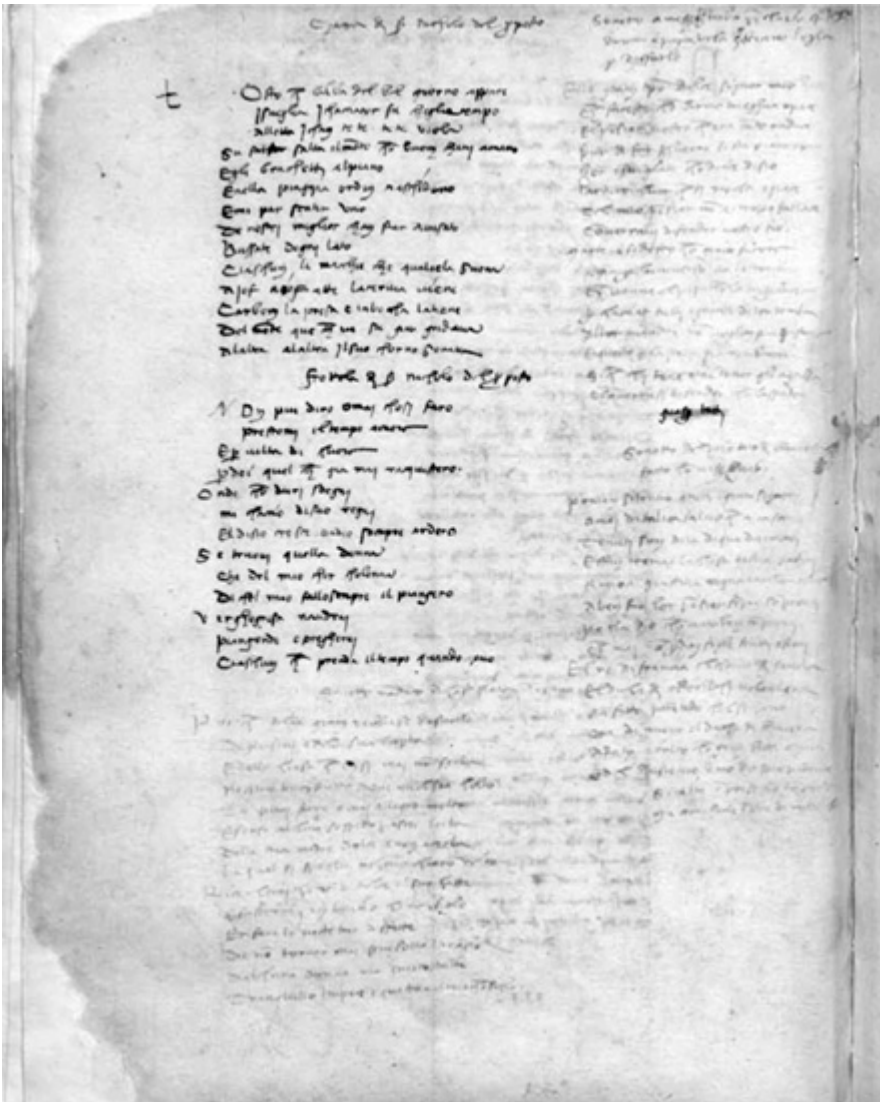


Figure 2.4 Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081, fol. 111v. © 2013 Biblioteca Palatina.

If Totti copied his song texts from one or more literary exemplars, what, then, of the attributions to Nicolò? What evidence might there be that he names the composer on fol. 111v as poet rather than composer? The answer to this question lies, I believe, in one final detail found on fol. 112r. Here, attached to the canzone, *Amore in cui pietà nulla si trova*, Totti includes an intriguing rubric: “chasona chontra amore per uno innamorato di una giovane et ella di lui e volendosi chongiungere di uno volere. lo giovane perdeo la virtu attiva et non poteo advegna che sperasse tornare al disiato chaso. *fecela Niccholo soprascrito*” (canzona against love [that tells of] one in love with a young girl and she with him, who wished to marry. The youth lost his active virtue and could do nothing but hope to return the desired fate.

*It [i.e. the poem] was written by Niccholo who is named above*).<sup>58</sup> Given that the two sonnets intervening between this canzone and the two poems attributed to Nicolò on fol. 111v were not added during Totti's original copying effort, as we have just seen, the Nicolò in question is almost certainly the composer. Parmense 1081, then, suggests that Nicolò may have been an active poet as well as a composer, one who wrote not only texts he planned to set to music but also lyrics to be read or recited, on the basis of their genre, as poetry rather than sung polyphonically.

Treating Nicolò as poet rather than composer not only fits with the physical evidence on fols. 111v–112v; it also provides a possible explanation for Totti's apparent misattribution of *Tosto che l'alba*. If Nicolò is cited as the caccia's poet, Parmense 1081's attribution is not necessarily in conflict with the one found in London 29987 connecting *Tosto che l'alba*'s polyphonic setting to Gherardello da Firenze. Misattributions are common in Parmense 1081, but perhaps in this case Totti is correct in his association of the poetic text with Nicolò. Moreover, the idea that some composers may also have been poets is not out of line with what we know about Trecento musical and literary culture. Franco Sacchetti, for instance, is a prime example of someone who worked in both fields. While a poet first and foremost, Sacchetti was very much involved in Florentine musical life and, as we have already seen, even dabbled in composition himself. Conversely, Francesco degli Organi, most famous as a composer, organist, and organ builder, was also known as a poet and an intellectual. We have only one literary text firmly attributable to Francesco—a lengthy work in Latin verse praising William of Ockham's logic. But while manuscript evidence is scarce, Filippo Villani's biography of the composer confirms Francesco's literary skill, describing him as a master of rhetoric who composed poetry and novellas, including many works in Italian.<sup>59</sup> Thanks in part to Villani's description, it is commonly accepted that Francesco wrote a number of his own song texts, particularly those which are self-referential, such as the polytextual madrigal *Musica son*. And Francesco is not the only composer to have set poems that are pseudo-autobiographical or which take as their subject matter a critique of current musical practices. Scholars generally agree that poems like *Oselletto selvaggio* (set by Jacopo da Bologna), *Se premio virtù* (set by Bartolino da Padova), *Dolgomi a voi* (set by Lorenzo Masini), and *O tu, cara scienza mia* (set by Giovanni da Cascia) were written by the composers of their musical settings.

It is therefore not at all surprising that Nicolò, too, may have written poetry as well as music. Parmense 1081's rubrics are noteworthy, though, in that they attribute to Nicolò not the kinds of texts we tend to associate with composers—i.e. poems about music, composition, and singing—but rather a wide range of poems, from moralizing texts like *Tal mi fa guerra* and *Non dispregiar* to amorous poems like *Non più dirò* and *Amore in cui pietà* (the canzone on fol. 112r), to a playful caccia, *Tosto che l'alba*. Parmense 1081 thus opens up the possibility that literary and musical production may have been more closely intertwined than the musical sources alone reveal. At the same time, it reinforces the impression that Nicolò himself was rather literary-minded. Clearly interested in working with serious, elevated poetry, he stands out among Trecento composers for setting an unusually large number of attributable texts. At least nine, and possibly ten of the 41 poems he selected for musical treatment are by known authors: seven by Sacchetti, one by Boccaccio, one by Soldanieri, and one dubiously attributed to Petrarch.

While on the one hand the rubrics in Parmense 1081 and Ashburnham 574 confirm the musicality of the madrigals to which they are attached (whether intentionally or not), in this chapter I have aimed to show that their musicological significance may lie equally in their reflection of an extensive cross-pollination between musical and literary traditions. Taking a broad view of text-only manuscripts like those highlighted here, a view in which their “literariness” takes center stage, we open the door to a new understanding of the relationship between song texts and the greater Italian literary tradition. Ashburnham 574, Palatino 204, and Parmense 1081 all illustrate that Trecento song texts did indeed circulate as literature independent from their musical settings, not only during the fourteenth century, but into the fifteenth and even into the sixteenth century as well. If we therefore look at each manuscript as a whole book, moving beyond the song texts themselves, we begin to see that some medieval scribes and readers deemed song texts worthy of cohabiting space primarily dedicated to the most refined *poesia aulica*, to texts that have won lasting prominence in the Italian literary canon—a repertoire often disassociated from Trecento song. Moreover, we begin to see that in such space, a poem's musical identity might become secondary to its literary identity. Reframing our discussion of the literary sources in this way is, I argue, crucial to arriving at a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between music and poetry in late

medieval Italy. Copied by scribes of varying skill level and socio-cultural background, the text-only collections based around *poesia aulica* reflect a wide range of uses and compilational strategies. But all—even those with overt musical references—create a certain equality between “musical” and “non-musical” poetry. By so doing, they hint that we should take Dante more literally when he discusses the inherent musicality of the canzone and of poetry in general in his *De vulgari eloquentia* and *Convivium*. Is it possible that for Dante, and for later Trecento poets as well, music unites rather than divides poetic production? In spite of the increasing division of labor between poets and professional musicians (composers and performers), we are constantly uncovering new evidence suggesting that music and poetry remained, in many ways, fundamentally linked. The case studies presented in this chapter and in the following chapters add to this picture. Like recent research on the *cantarino* tradition and on two early thirteenth-century fragments preserving Italian vernacular verse with musical notation, Ashburnham 574, Palatino 204, and Parmense 1081 all illustrate that to understand this repertoire (musical and poetic) on its own terms, we must resist the temptation to lean on modern taxonomies that eject music from the poetic tradition, and vice versa.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In his discussion of Petrarch's reception during the fifteenth century, Carlo Dionisotti notes that Francesco Filelfo, a humanist who produced an important commentary on the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, was explicitly interested in the poet's canzoni and sonnets, not his madrigals and ballatas. Carlo Dionisotti, "Fortuna del Petrarca nel Quattrocento," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 17 (1974), 85.

<sup>2</sup> Cesare Segre and Carlo Ossola, eds. *Antologia della poesia italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> We must, of course, always be cautious when considering the miscellaneous nature of manuscripts. The books we term miscellanies may seem random and disorganized, but it is important to remember that their compilation may well be guided by a scribal rationale that we cannot or do not perceive. See Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds. *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

<sup>4</sup> For more on the physical characteristics of the literary sources as a group and for a discussion of the contrast between these manuscripts and the notated sources in which Trecento song circulated, see Chapter 6.

<sup>5</sup> Blake McDowell Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 163. Also see Blake McDowell Wilson, "If Monuments Could Sing: Image, Song, and Civic Devotion inside Orsanmichele," in *Orsanmichele and the History and Preservation of the Civic Monument*, ed. Carl Brandon Strehlke (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, Center for Advance Study in the Visual Arts, Yale University Press, 2012).

<sup>6</sup> On the history of Orsanmichele in late medieval Florence see Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 74–85 and "If Monuments Could Sing."

<sup>7</sup> Lucia Battaglia Ricci, "Comporre il libro, comporre il testo. Nota sull'autografo di Franco Sacchetti." *Italianistica* 21/2–3 (1992): 597.

<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, nothing is known of Ottolino da Brescia and his compositional output other than what Sacchetti himself tells us. While the marginalia in Ashburnham 574 attribute three settings to the composer (see Table 2.1), none of Ottolino's music remains extant today.

<sup>9</sup> For a brief codicological description of Ashburnham 574, see *Mostra di codici romanzi delle biblioteche fiorentine, Congresso internazionale di studi romanzi* (Florence: Sansoni, 1957), 49–50.

<sup>10</sup> A description of Machaut MS E and information regarding its dating, provenance, and early ownership, can be found in Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland, 1995), 92–4.

<sup>11</sup> Lucia Battaglia Ricci, "Tempi e modi di composizione del *Libro delle rime* di Franco Sacchetti," in *La critica del testo: Problemi di metodo ed esperienze di lavoro; Atti del Convegno di Lecce 22–26 ottobre 1984* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1985), 439–50 and "Comporre il libro," 598. To cite just one musicologically relevant example, the ballata *Se crudeltà d'amor somette fé*, marked on fol. 3r as being set to music by Ottolino da Brescia, appears on fol. 1 as well but with no composer attribution.

<sup>12</sup> Battaglia Ricci, "Comporre il libro," 600–604.

<sup>13</sup> Niccolò de Rossi (1290–after 1348), a poet from Treviso, was likely at least indirectly responsible for the organization of his poems in two manuscripts (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 3953 and Seville Biblioteca Capitulare, Colombino 7.1.32). For more on Niccolò and on the rise of author-ordered cycles in late medieval Italy, see Olivia Holmes, *Assembling the Lyric Self: Authorship from Troubadour Song to Italian Poetry Book* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

<sup>14</sup> Teodolinda Barolini has written cogently on Petrarch's manipulations of time in the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* and on the role genre plays in this aspect of his poetics. See Barolini "The

Making of a Lyric Sequence: Time and Narrative in Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*," *MLN* 104 (1989).

<sup>15</sup> Battaglia Ricci draws the comparison between Sacchetti's autograph and a prosimetrum, noting that often the prose texts serve to explain the adjacent poetry. Battaglia Ricci, "Comporre il libro," 603–4.

<sup>16</sup> Battaglia Ricci, "Tempi e modi," 426. Morpurgo's observation was re-articulated and expanded upon by Ettore Li Gotti. See Ettore Li Gotti and Nino Pirrotta, *Il Sacchetti e la tecnica musicale del trecento italiano* (Florence: Sansoni, 1935). Battaglia Ricci notes various elements in the chronology of the Italian *ars nova* repertoire that musicologists have derived from Sacchetti's autograph. Battaglia Ricci, "Comporre il libro," 602, n. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Li Gotti and Pirrotta, *Tecnica musicale*, 13–17.

<sup>18</sup> Li Gotti and Pirrotta, *Tecnica musicale*, 14–15 and 17–18.

<sup>19</sup> Gherardello's deathdate was first proposed by Nino Pirrotta and has been a widely-accepted cornerstone of Trecento musical chronology ever since, still cited in the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, among other places. The only other evidence of Gherardello's death is his disappearance from documents after 1362. Li Gotti and Pirrotta, *Tecnica musicale*, 44 n.

<sup>20</sup> Battaglia Ricci, "Comporre il libro," 434.

<sup>21</sup> To be more specific, Battaglia Ricci in fact identifies four different paper types, but treats the second and third as a single unit due to strong similarities in their watermarks, weight, and color and to their placement within a single gathering. Battaglia Ricci, "Tempi e modi," 428–9.

<sup>22</sup> Battaglia Ricci, "Tempi e modi," 430–34.

<sup>23</sup> Battaglia Ricci, "Tempi e modi," 434–5.

<sup>24</sup> Battaglia Ricci, "Tempi e modi," 436.

<sup>25</sup> Battaglia Ricci, "Comporre il libro," 607.

<sup>26</sup> Battaglia Ricci, "Comporre il libro," 606–9.

<sup>27</sup> For example in Ashburnham 574's lyric section, Sacchetti often places a canzone at the top of the page and fills in available space at the bottom with shorter metric forms. Battaglia Ricci, "Comporre il libro," 608.

<sup>28</sup> The rubric reads "Sonnetto mandato da Franco a Gian Colonna, quando gli prestò il presente libro, anno MCCCXCIX." (Sonnet sent by Franco to Gian Colonna when I lent him the present volume, 1399). See Battaglia Ricci, "Comporre il libro," 599 and 610–11.

<sup>29</sup> For an edition of all three poems along with brief critical commentary, see Franco Sacchetti, *Il libro delle rime*, ed. by Franca Brambilla Ageno (Florence: Olschki, 1989).

<sup>30</sup> The red ink on fol. 8r used to attribute the setting of the ballata *Temer perché, po' ch'esser pur convene* to Lorenzo da Firenze, for example, is a different color than the red ink on surrounding folios.

<sup>31</sup> Examples of these more haphazard labels are found on fol. 14v (the annotation attributing *Volgendo i suo' begli occhi invèr le fiamme* to Magister Donatus de Cascia) and fol. 16r (the annotation attributing *Vana speranza, che mia via festi* to Jacobus ser Gherardelli).

<sup>32</sup> Throughout Ashburnham 574, Sacchetti includes rubrics that provide attribution in addition to genre information even for poems that are his own work, a feature which supports Battaglia Ricci's hypothesis that the poet intended this manuscript not for his own personal use but to serve as the basis for disseminating his writing more widely.

<sup>33</sup> Musicologists and literary scholars alike disagree on the significance of Dante's references to music and melody in the *De vulgari eloquentia*. See, for example, Margaret Bent, "Songs without music in Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*: *Cantio* and related terms," in "*Et facciam dolci canti*":

*Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65 compleanno*, ed. by Bianca Maria Antolini, et al. (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2003) and Maria Sofia Lannutti, “‘Ars’ e ‘scientia,’ ‘actio’ e ‘passio’: Per l’interpretazione di alcuni passi del *De vulgari eloquentia*,” *Studi medievali* 41 (2000). Dante, however, does describe the sung performance of his canzoni on multiple occasions, most famously when he meets the singer-composer Casella on the edge of Purgatory (*Purgatorio* II).

<sup>34</sup> For more on the *cantarino* tradition in Florence, see Timothy McGee, *The Ceremonial Musicians of Late Medieval Florence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), ch. 3. Also see James Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350–1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), ch. 4 and Blake McDowell Wilson, *Dominion of the Ear: Memory, Performance, and Oral Poetry in Early Renaissance Italy* (forthcoming), ch. 2. I thank Professor Wilson for sharing a draft of this work in progress.

<sup>35</sup> Roberto Ballerini, “Per la fortuna di Franco Sacchetti nel Quattrocento: Il caso del Pataffio,” *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 25 (1982), 6. Also see Michele Feo, ed. *Codici latini del Petrarca nelle biblioteche fiorentine* (Florence: Casa editrice Le Lettere, 1991), 382. However, if Ballerini is correct in his assertion that the cycle of Sacchetti’s lyrics included in the *Raccolta Aragonese* (discussed below) was copied from Ashburnham 574, the manuscript must have been made available to that collection’s compilers during the latter years of the fifteenth century.

<sup>36</sup> Ballerini, *Studi e problem*, 5–6 and Feo, *Codici latini*, 382.

<sup>37</sup> Ballerini, *Studi e problem*, 6.

<sup>38</sup> On the development of the Italian lyric canon, see Louise George and William G. Clubb, “Building a Lyric Canon: Gabriel Giolito and the Rival Anthologists, 1545–1590,” *Italica* 68/3 (1991) and Amilcare A. Iannucci, “The Italian Canon Abroad,” *Quaderns d’Italià* 4/5 (1999/2000).

<sup>39</sup> See n. 35 above.

<sup>40</sup> The *Raccolta Aragonese* is the subject of numerous studies including Michele Barbi, “La Raccolta Aragonese,” in *Studi sul canzoniere di Dante, con nuove indagini sulle raccolte manoscritte e a stampa di antiche rime italiane* (Florence: Sansoni, 1915); Domenico De Robertis, “La Raccolta Aragonese primogenita,” *Studi Danteschi* 47 (1970); Mario Santoro, “Poliziano o il Magnifico? (Sull’attribuzione dell’Epistola a Federigo d’Aragona),” *Giornale italiano di filologia* I (1948); and Giuliano Tanturli, “La Firenze laurenziana davanti alla propria storia letteraria,” in *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo tempo*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence: Olschki, 1992).

<sup>41</sup> On the original order of the *Raccolta Aragonese*, see Barbi, *Studi*, 228–31. Many of the poets included in the *Raccolta Aragonese* continue to enjoy prominence in modern narratives of Italian literary history. Today’s canon, however, originates not from the *Raccolta Aragonese* but from Pietro Bembo’s *Prose della volgar lingua* and printed anthologies like the *Giuntina*, which were directly influenced by Bembo. For this reason, some of the authors featured in the *Raccolta Aragonese*, such as Sacchetti, have since fallen into relative obscurity. Again, see Clubb and Clubb, “Building a Lyric Canon” and Iannucci, “The Italian Lyric Canon Abroad.”

<sup>42</sup> For further information regarding the dedicatory letter and its attribution, see Santoro, “Poliziano o il Magnifico?.”

<sup>43</sup> De Robertis dates Palatino 204 to after 1514. Domenico De Robertis, “L’Appendix Aldina e le più antiche stampe di rime dello stil novo,” in *Editi e rari: studi sulla tradizione letteraria tra Tre e Cinquecento* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1978), 27, 35–6.

<sup>44</sup> For a brief description of Palatino 204 and its contents, see De Robertis, ed. *Dante Alighieri. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1 (Florence: Le lettere, 2002), 304–7.

<sup>45</sup> Although Parmense 1081 attributes *Tosto che l’alba* to Niccolò, the polyphonic setting of the caccia is attributed to Gherardello da Firenze in its only notated source, London 29987. I discuss this

conflicting attribution in more detail below.

<sup>46</sup> For more on the song texts and musical rubrics in Magliabechiano 1041 and Chigi 131 see Lauren McGuire Jennings, “Technologies of Un-Notated Transmission: Trecento Song as Literature in an Early Sixteenth-Century Poetic Anthology,” in *Cantus scriptus: Technologies of Medieval Song. Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Lawrence J. Schoenberg Symposium on Manuscript Studies in the Digital Age*, ed. Lynn Ransom and Emma Dillon (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012).

<sup>47</sup> De Robertis, *Dante Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 578 and Emilio Costa, “Il codice Parmense 1081,” *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 12 (1888).

<sup>48</sup> For further on Riccardiana 1100 and its connection to the Florentine book trade, see Chapter 6.

<sup>49</sup> Texts inserted by scribes contemporary with Totti appear on fols. 97r, 107v, and 109v. According to De Robertis, the eighteenth-century hand may belong to the bibliophile, Pietro Vitali. De Robertis, *Dante Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 578.

<sup>50</sup> The division of texts into two sections based on genre notwithstanding, Parmense 1081 does present the final 31 texts of Petrarch’s *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* in order. The sequence, however, is not the final one imposed by Petrarch himself in his partial autograph, Vaticano 3195, but that of an earlier version preserved in Vaticano 3196. Simona Brambilla, *Itinerari nella Firenze di fine Trecento: fra Giovanni dalle Celle e Luigi Marsili* (Milan: Edizioni C.U.S.L., 2002), 200. On connections between Parmense 1081 and Vaticano 3196, also see Alessandro Pancheri, “Una prima testimonianza della fortuna del Codice degli abbozzi,” *Studi Petrarqueschi* 22 (2009).

<sup>51</sup> A complete inventory of Parmense 1081, along with a brief codicological description, can be found in Brambilla, *Itinerari*, 176–89.

<sup>52</sup> On the variations between Petrarch’s final text and that used by Jacopo da Bologna, see Pierluigi Petrobelli, “‘Un leggiadretto velo’ e altre cose petrarchesche,” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975).

<sup>53</sup> Gianluca D’Agostino, “La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento: una revisione per dati e problemi. (L’area toscana),” in Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani, *Col dolce suon che da te piove: studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo in memoria di Nino Pirrotta* (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), 415.

<sup>54</sup> Based on the rubric in Riccardiana 1100, a source that is generally reliable in its attributions, Stefano di Cino merciaio is commonly accepted as the poet responsible for *Non dispregiar*. See Natalino Sapegno, *Poeti minori del Trecento* (Milan: Ricordi, 1952), 495.

<sup>55</sup> D’Agostino, “Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali,” 415.

<sup>56</sup> Indeed, Davide Checchi has suggested that a large portion of Parmense 1081 (fols. 91v–92r included) derives from a stem source in which song texts already appeared alongside Petrarch’s poetry. Checchi’s hypothesis is based on an analysis of variant readings and scribal errors in texts concordant between Parmense 1081 and Plut. 43, another fifteenth century literary source containing Trecento song texts and numerous poems from Petrarch’s RVF. Davide Checchi, “I versi della musica: il problema dell’autorialità letteraria nel repertorio dell’Ars nova italiana,” paper read at the VI International Seminar of Medieval Musicology “Clemente Terni,” *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano. Verso una nuova edizione critica dell’ars nova*. Florence, Italy, 2 December 2013. Gianluca D’Agostino has also noted the connection between Parmense 1081 and Plut. 43. See D’Agostino, “Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali.”

<sup>57</sup> This layer of copying may extend as far back as fol. 99r and therefore incorporate a large selection of canzoni, many attributed to Dante by a later hand. Moreover, this entire section is characterized by frequent later additions like those found on fols. 111v–112r.

<sup>58</sup> Emphasis added.



<sup>59</sup> “quod grammaticam atque dialecticam plene didicerit, artemque poeticam metro fictionibusque tractaverit.” Quoted in Eleonora Beck, *Singing in the Garden: Music and Culture in the Tuscan Trecento* (Innsbruck–Wien: Studien Verlag, 1998), 25. On Francesco’s poem in praise of Ockham, see Michael Paul Long, “Francesco Landini and the Florentine Cultural Elite,” *Early Music History* 3 (1983). Also see Antonio Lanza, *Polemiche e berte letterarie nella Firenze del primo Rinascimento (1375–1449)* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1989), 107–28.

<sup>60</sup> Again, on the *cantarino* tradition, see especially McGee, *The Ceremonial Musicians of Late Medieval Florence*. The two thirteenth-century fragments containing musical notation for two early Italian poems (the earliest extant sources of Italian vernacular poetry set to music) are discussed at length in Maria Sofia Lannutti and Massimiliano Locanto, eds, *Tracce di una tradizione sommersa: i primi testi lirici italiani tra poesia e musica* (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005).

## **Musical Interlude: Francesco degli Organi and Elite Florentine Culture in Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX.28**

Thus far, I have argued that any musical associations song texts may carry is ancillary to the meaning these poems assume within the pages of literary sources, even in manuscripts like Ashburnham 574 that are visibly aware of musical traditions. But might there be unnotated manuscripts in which such associations are central to a poem's significance even in the absence of notation? This chapter proposes that scribes of one mid fifteenth-century miscellany—Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX.28—employ four ballate attributed to Francesco degli Organi in good part to conjure up their composer's famed musical talents and status as a leading intellectual in late medieval Florence. Through Genoa 28 we can thus address one fundamental question raised by Franco Sacchetti's tangible interest in the musical lives of his song texts, illustrated in the previous chapter: how might we clearly identify and meaningfully articulate musical influence in non-musical manuscripts? Sacchetti's song texts in Ashburnham 574, we have seen, are first and foremost literary objects, their meaning bound up with the narrative and organizational arch that shapes his entire output. Despite Ashburnham 574's numerous musical marginalia, then, the answer to the question posed above lies not in Sacchetti's autograph but rather in Genoa 28.

It is relatively rare for literary sources to attribute poems with musical settings to their composers, and even rarer for them to do so while openly acknowledging the text's musicality. Genoa 28, however, does both. On fol.

205 (pictured in [Figure 3.1](#)), written in a casual, almost sloppy *mercantesca* hand and preceding four ballate set to music elsewhere by Francesco degli Organi, are the words: “*canzone del ciecho delli horgani*” (song by the blind organist, i.e. Francesco degli Organi). The use of the label “canzone” as a nonspecific classification rather than a precise reference to the metric genre is certainly not unheard of, but Genoa 28 marks one of the few places where the term seems to carry clear musical significance—in other words, where it truly means “song.”<sup>1</sup> Why these four poems’ polyphonic settings would have significant bearing on their meaning in this context deserves careful consideration, though, given that Genoa 28 dates from long after their composition. What interest, we must wonder, might the scribes have had in Francesco in the second half of the fifteenth century? How familiar were they with his music? And why was he selected to be one of the few vernacular poets not part of the scribes’ family, the Bencis, to be included in this zibaldone (or personal miscellany) that primarily focuses on prose texts of humanistic interest? These questions are, of course, difficult to answer with certainty. Nevertheless, clues about the Benci’s literary interests, their connection to Florentine musical life, and about the cultural significance Francesco degli Organi may have held for the brothers can be found in Genoa 28 and in the rest of the family’s library as well.

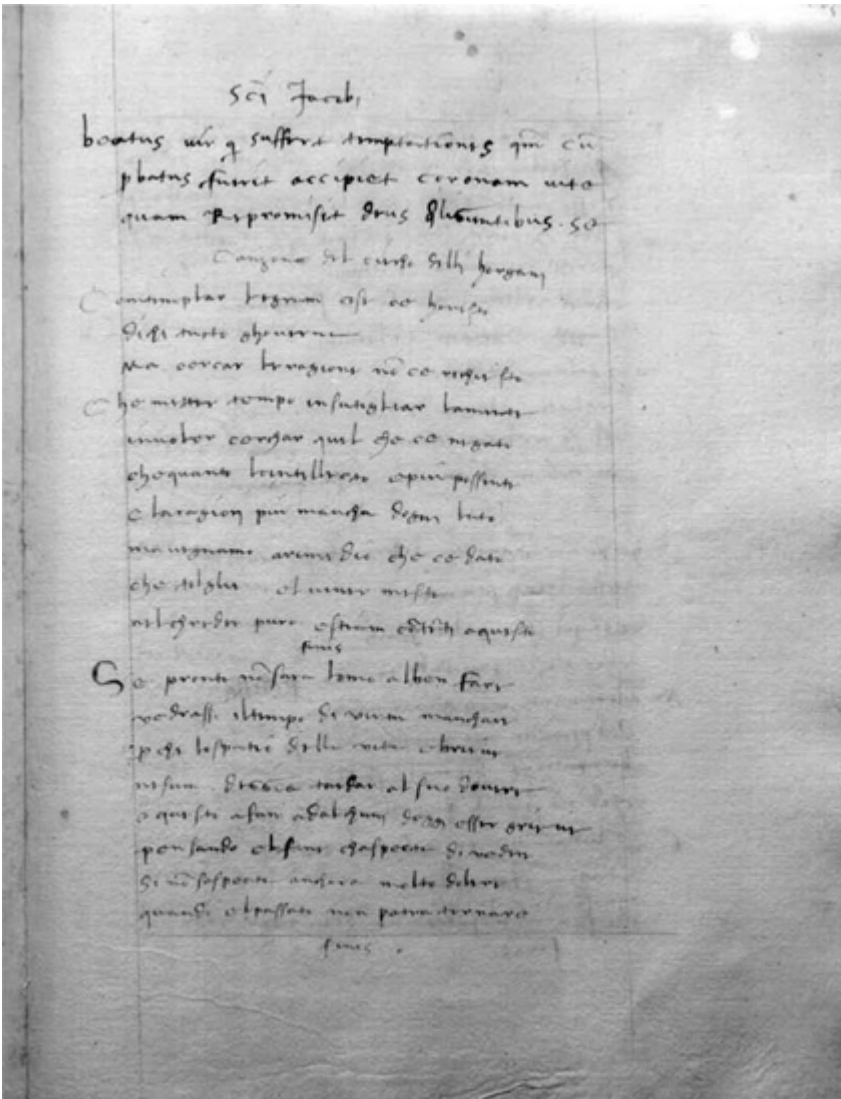


Figure 3.1 Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX.28, fol. 205r. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo. All rights reserved.

## The Benci Family in Late Medieval Florence

Before peering into this miscellany and into the cultural world of its compilers, it will be useful to begin with a brief discussion of their familial background. Genoa 28 was copied between 1462 and 1485 by two amateur scribes, Giovanni and Filippo Benci, who were born into an affluent Florentine merchant family during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Their father, Lorenzo di Giovanni Benci, was a successful wool merchant (*lanaio*) who rubbed elbows with a number of Florence's important

intellectual figures around the turn of the century, including Franco Sacchetti and one of the fathers of Italian humanism, Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406).<sup>2</sup> Following in Lorenzo’s footsteps, Giovanni, Filippo, and their younger brother Tommaso were active members of the city’s civic and intellectual life as well. Giovanni, in particular, took part in Florentine politics, elected to two of the city’s top offices, the *gonfalonieri di compagnia* and the *priori* in 1451 and 1464 respectively.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile Tommaso seems to have been the most involved in scholarly pursuits. A friend and student of the prominent humanist Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), Tommaso was a poet and a *volgarizzatore* (translator of Latin literature into the vernacular) as well as a merchant.<sup>4</sup>

The family’s literary and intellectual interests during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are fortunately well documented. Lorenzo and his sons were avid book collectors, and much, if not all, of their library remains extant today.<sup>5</sup> As I shall discuss the literary works the family collected and read in more detail below, here I offer, by way of an introduction, only a brief overview of the their library. Tanturli has linked 27 different manuscripts now scattered among various modern institutions in Florence, Genoa, Milan, Rome, and Oxford to the Benci’s collection through notes of possession, presence of the family’s heraldic stem, and through paleographic evidence. Though relatively noteworthy in size considering that the Benci family’s wealth was far below that of Florence’s most prosperous households, their library was a relatively modest one, made up not of deluxe parchment codices but of informal paper books often written in *mercantesca*; and most of their manuscripts, like Genoa 28, were miscellaneous collections of literary and philosophical texts copied by the brothers themselves.<sup>6</sup> Curated by Lorenzo until his death, the library then passed to the care of Filippo, who was responsible during his father’s lifetime and beyond for copying, and in some cases purchasing, a large portion of the family’s books.<sup>7</sup>

## **Genoa 28 and its Song Texts**

In its material form and in its content, Genoa 28 is typical of the Benci’s library, and, in many respects, typical of books copied and owned by

merchants in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Florence as well.<sup>8</sup> Covered in a tooled red leather binding, it opens with an index and a cover page copied in high-grade humanistic scripts.<sup>9</sup> Beyond this elegant facade, however, the Benci's *zibaldone* is quite heterogeneous in its construction and often informal in its appearance. Copied by Filippo and Giovanni as individual fascicles over a span of 20 years, the last phase of Genoa 28's compilation was its organization and binding as a single volume, a process most likely overseen by Giovanni, who contributed the index found on fols. 1r–2v along with a substantial portion of Genoa 28's texts.<sup>10</sup> The manuscript's 219 paper folios vary considerably in appearance, though almost all share similar preparation—frame ruled for text in a single column with ample margins (see [Figure 3.1](#)). Many texts are visually similar to Francesco's ballate, their script a casual, quickly executed and highly cursive *mercantesca*. Others, for example Leonardo Bruni's *Vita di Dante*, are much more carefully copied in humanistic cursive, sometimes even decorated with pen flourishes and enlarged colored initials in alternating red and blue ink.

This paleographic hybridity can be seen as a physical manifestation of Genoa 28's literary environment, one characterized by the intermingling of humanistic scholasticism (primarily associated with the Latin language) and late-medieval civic ethos cultivated by Florentine merchants (primarily associated with the vernacular). As we shall see, the Benci's miscellany eschews straightforward classification as much in contents as its material form. Nevertheless, Giovanni and Filippo do devote particular attention to prose texts of humanistic interest by authors from Trismegistus (his *Pimander*, in Italian translation), Aristotle (his *Ethics*, in Italian translation), Plato (a short excerpt from his *Laws*, in Latin), and Petrarch (two short non-lyric texts, the first translated into Italian and the second in Latin).<sup>11</sup> These texts range in scope from a few complete large-scale works to short excerpts and letters, sometimes in Latin but more often translated into the Tuscan vernacular. In addition, the brothers peppered their collection with various lyric poems (in Italian) by Tommaso and Lorenzo, along with a few by poets from outside of the family, most notably Feo Belcari (1410–84).

We will return to the literary environment of the collection presently. First, though, I turn back to the manuscript's four song texts, listed in [Table 3.1](#). Francesco's ballate, written consecutively, appear towards the end of the manuscript in a section copied by Giovanni Benci. This single layer of scribal activity extends from the first ballata on fol. 205 through the bottom

of fol. 208r and also includes a short excerpt by Cicero on the immortality of the soul and an oration to the Virgin Mary (both in the vernacular). Like many of the texts in the Benci's *zibaldone*, these musical ballate are moralizing and philosophical rather than amorous. *Contemprar le gran cose*, the most overtly intellectual of the four, famously references William of Ockham's beliefs on faith and reason, arguing that while one should meditate on the great works of God, one need not seek to explain them.<sup>12</sup> The following two, *Non pronto sarà* and *Nessun ponga isperanza* warn about the fleeting nature of life and extoll good virtues, while the fourth, *Che pena è questa al cor*, expresses the poet's determination to hold steadfast to his chosen life path despite being discouraged by the evil remarks of envious people. As is likely the case in many of Trecento song's literary sources, from Sacchetti's autograph (discussed in [Chapter 2](#)) to Amelio Bonaguisi's *zibaldone* (discussed in [Chapter 5](#)), tone and subject matter seem to motivate, at least in part, the Benci brother's compilational decisions. That is to say, these four song texts appear in Genoa 28 at least in part because they resonate with themes explored in the manuscript's other texts, in particular, the theme of morality—a subject popular among Florentine merchant readers.<sup>13</sup>

Table 3.1 Song texts in Genoa 28

| Fol. | Incipit                                    | Rubric                           | Composer               | Musical concordances                        | Text concordances                  |
|------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 205r | Contemprar le gran cose c'è onesto         | Canzone del ciecho delli horgani | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit, SL, Mod A                  | Ricc. 2786 <sup>11</sup>           |
| 205r | Se pronto non sarà l'uom al ben fare       |                                  | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit, SL, Mod A                  |                                    |
| 205v | Nessun ponga speranza                      |                                  | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit, SL                         |                                    |
| 205v | Che pena è questa al cor, che si non posso |                                  | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, Florence 5, FP, Pit, Paris 4917, SL, Fa | Trev. 43, Ricc. 2786 <sup>11</sup> |

\* Rubric transcribed semi-diplomatically from manuscript. Incipits modernized and standardized.

Were our reading to stop here, then, we might conclude that Giovanni saw the musical settings of Francesco's ballate as largely inconsequential and was perhaps even entirely unfamiliar with them. Indeed, as with the majority of song texts copied in literary sources, there is no firm evidence that these four ballate derive from a notated exemplar. Though the label preceding them alludes to their musical nature, they are not isolated in their

own scribal layer nor do they contain any unusual readings that might connect them to one of the extant notated collections of Trecento song.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, even if Giovanni did copy from a musical source, we cannot help but wonder if in the late Quattrocento he would have intended their polyphonic settings—music generally believed to have fallen out of fashion by the middle of the century—as sounding realities to impact the poems’ reading in any literal, direct way.

Yet, while it is unlikely that Francesco’s song texts directly derive from a notated source and while their subject matter alone offers one plausible explanation for their inclusion, several aspects of Genoa 28 set it apart from the literary sources explored elsewhere in this book and strongly suggest that within its pages the literary and cultural significance of these poems was shaped by, rather than independent from, their musical settings. Most obviously, the rubric introducing the four ballate is conspicuously musical, a gesture unusual for the text-only sources. Even more significant, though, is a short text on fol. 201v, which clearly reveals Giovanni’s appreciation of Francesco’s musical skills and hints that he may have been aware of the ballate’s musical settings. Here, also copied by Giovanni but at a separate time, we find Francesco’s epitaph as inscribed on his tombstone in San Lorenzo.<sup>15</sup>

Luminibus captus Franciscus menti capaci  
cantibus organicis, quem cunctis musica solum  
pertulit, hic cineres, animam super astra reliquit.

*Deprived of the light [i.e. of sight], Francesco—who alone is  
extolled above all others by Music, for his great intellect and his  
instrumental music—rests his ashes here, his soul above the stars.*<sup>16</sup>

What is more, the epitaph appears at the end of another volume in the family’s library as well (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Tempi 2). Tempi 2, though copied largely by an unknown fourteenth-century hand, includes some texts added by Lorenzo Benci and by his son Filippo, among others. Francesco’s epitaph falls on its final folio alongside an epitaph celebrating Caesar copied by a secondary hand (also unknown, but not the main scribe).<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, in Genoa 28, Francesco’s epitaph appears in a short series of epigraphs that also includes words from the Baptistery in Florence and the temple at Delphi. The context created by both manuscripts, therefore, joins forces with the words of the epitaph itself, drawing further



attention to the composer's prestige by juxtaposing his epitaph with inscriptions of conspicuous cultural import. When read in conjunction with Francesco's epitaph the cultural significance of the ballate on fol. 205 thus shifts. Their tone and subject matter assume new meaning in relation to the reputation of their composer, and in the broader context of Genoa 28 they emerge as a conscious recognition of the Francesco degli Organi's status as a key figure in Florentine cultural heritage.

## Genoa 28 in Context: The Benci Family's Literary Tastes

Giovanni Benci's interest in Francesco speaks to the composer's ongoing fame in later Quattrocento Florence. In order to more fully understand Francesco's continued relevance and the Benci's connection to Florentine musical life, however, we must consider the family's literary tastes in more detail. Genoa 28 offers a microcosm of the family's cultural world as described by Giuliano Tanturli in his 1978 study of their library.<sup>18</sup> Atypical for fifteenth-century manuscripts displaying a decided interest in humanistic texts, this *zibaldone* juxtaposes classical works in Latin with texts written in or translated into Italian, drawing upon both scholastic humanism and the vernacular literary traditions popular among Florence's middle-class merchants and artisans. Setting the stage is Trismegistus's *Pimander*, not in its original Greek but instead in Italian. Translated from Marsilio Ficino's Latin rendition by Tommaso Benci (Giovanni and Filippo's brother) at the request of Ficino himself, this version of the *Pimander* marks one of the first returns to Florence's early fourteenth-century tradition of translating classical literature into the Tuscan vernacular.<sup>19</sup> In fact, Ficino, although apparently too busy to complete this translation himself, is credited by modern scholars as the motor behind the mixing of academic Latin and mercantile vernacular culture in the latter half of the fifteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Bridging the gap between these two worlds so often seen as diametrically opposed, he played a foundational role in restoring the vernacular to a position of intellectual significance, and as Tanturli demonstrates, the Benci brothers—Tommaso and Giovanni especially—were engrossed by and implicated in Ficino's initiative.<sup>21</sup>

The remainder of Genoa 28 continues in a similar fashion, juxtaposing Latin and the Tuscan vernacular and referencing both Florentine and classical

culture. Donato Acciaiuoli's (1429–78) *Vita Karoli* offers perhaps the most obvious linguistic link between these two worlds, appearing in Latin and in two different vernacular translations (one by Acciaiuoli himself).<sup>22</sup> Moreover, in addition to complete and partial texts by classical authors, some in Latin and some translated into the vernacular, the Benci brothers also incorporated texts of direct relevance to Florence's political and cultural scene during the fifteenth century, most notably Antonio Cornazzano's (c. 1430–84) *Florentinae urbis laudes* (with a prologue in Latin and main text in Italian verse), Leonardo Bruni's (c. 1370–1444) *Vite di Dante e di Francesco Petrarca*, and an excerpt from Cristoforo Landino's (1424–98) commentary on Dante's *Divine Comedy*. All three authors actively participated in the blurring of boundaries between scholastic humanism and mercantile reading during the mid-fifteenth century and with the subsequent politically-motivated revival of the Florentine language by Lorenzo de' Medici. In his *Vita di Dante* (1434), for example, Bruni rather radically suggests that both Latin and the vernacular were capable of perfection as he co-opts Dante, a poet who garnered little respect from most fifteenth-century humanists despite his popularity among merchant and artisan readers, in what Gilson describes as a "specific political and ethical programme" centered on promoting Florence through its cultural patrimony.<sup>23</sup>

The other 26 books Tanturli identifies as being part of the Benci library paint a similar picture of the family's cultural tastes and influences. Overall, they are grounded in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Florentine intellectual life, and yet they are simultaneously idiosyncratic in their mixing of vernacular mercantile and Latin humanist culture and in their interest in certain old texts.<sup>24</sup> Most of the Benci's manuscripts feature large-scale classical and humanistic works in Latin such as Acciaiuoli's *Vita Karoli* (included in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. XXIC 147 as well as in Genoa 28), Coluccio Salutati's *De nobilitate legum et medicinae*, Ficino's *Commentarium in convivium Platonis de amore*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. But at the same time, the family's library also includes several mainstays of Florentine mercantile vernacular culture, notably Dante's *Commedia*, Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo*, and Boccaccio's *Filostrato* and *Filocolo*. Only a few miscellanies contain lyric poetry of any variety, most of which primarily highlight works by Dante and Petrarch along with works by Lorenzo and Tommaso Benci.<sup>25</sup>

In the context of Genoa 28, and in fact the entire Benci library, Francesco degli Organi's four ballate are thus situated in an environment considerably different from that which characterizes the other literary sources with concordances in notated collections of Trecento song. Most are literary anthologies and miscellanies akin to the codices we have encountered thus far. Within their pages, song texts commingle with sonnets, canzoni, ballate, madrigals, and poems in other metric forms that represent a variety of authors and thematic material. A few sources present lyric poetry along with large-scale narrative works, but their non-lyric content is, for the most part, amorous, fictional, and not of humanistic interest. They juxtapose song texts with Boccaccio's *Filostrato* (Palatino 105 and Marucelliana 155), Italian translations of Ovid's *Heroides* (Palatino 105 and Florence 61), Petrarch's *Trionfi* (Pluteo 43 and Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup>), and Dante's *Divine Comedy* (Palatino 315)—all of which played a central role in the vernacular culture of middle-class mercantile Florence. While some of these works do appear in the Benci library, though not in Genoa 28, the texts associated with scholastic humanism that seem to have held an even greater interest for the family are, for the most part, conspicuously absent in other literary sources transmitting Trecento song texts.

## **Francesco degli Organi and the Musical Associations of Genoa 28's Song Texts**

How then do Francesco's ballate fit into this context, and what impact might their musical associations have had on Genoa 28? The cultural and literary world displayed in the Benci's miscellany reveals potential personal and philosophical connections between the family itself and Florence's fourteenth-century musical heritage, in which Francesco degli Organi played a central role. As Tanturli has explained, the series of epistolary sonnets found on the manuscript's final pages (fols. 208v–209v), between Lorenzo Benci, a certain Bernardo medico (Lorenzo's teacher), and Coluccio Salutati offers evidence that the three were involved in the same intellectual circle.<sup>26</sup> Salutati is known to have been a prominent member of an intellectual elite which sought to restore Florence's culture to the artistic heights it achieved during the first half of the fourteenth century, epitomized by the illustrious *Tre Corone* (Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio).<sup>27</sup> John Nádas has convincingly

argued that the Squarcialupi Codex and its extensive collection of Italian *ars nova* polyphony—a collection in which Francesco degli Organi features prominently—represents the traditionally-minded tastes of this elite, also manifest in Florence’s short-lived university and in Giovanni Gherardi da Prato’s *Paradiso degli Alberti*.<sup>28</sup> In this context, Francesco degli Organi’s works are signifiers of a political and intellectual movement that saw contemporary Florentine art as contiguous with its celebrated forbearers.

While the epistolary sonnets in Genoa 28 reveal direct ties between Salutati and the Benci family, the influential humanist is known to have had contact with Francesco degli Organi as well. Fictionally associated with the composer in Gherardi’s *Paradiso degli Alberti*, in which both figures are protagonists, Salutati was also acquainted with Francesco in real life, as his 1375 letter to the Bishop of Florence praising the musician’s skills reveals.<sup>29</sup> Thus, we can map out links between the Benci family and Francesco degli Organi himself through their mutual acquaintance with Salutati, and a close reading of Genoa 28 suggests that this connection, and the intellectual climate in which it occurred, had an impact not only on Lorenzo Benci, but on his sons as well.<sup>30</sup>

Francesco’s fame is well known to musicologists. Nevertheless, a brief review of his reputation as a musician and an intellectual in late medieval Florence will be useful in tying together the various threads we have traced through the Benci family library with the composer’s significance as perceived by the scribes of Genoa 28, Lorenzo Benci’s sons Giovanni and Filippo. Most of what we know about Francesco’s life and career comes from Filippo Villani’s *De origine civitatis florentie et de eiusdem famosis civibus* (*On the origins of the city of Florence and her famous citizens*, written after 1381). While the factual accuracy of his account is at times dubious, there can be little doubt that Villani offers a valuable window onto Francesco’s reputation in Florence around the turn of the fifteenth century. Indeed, the sheer amount of space Villani devotes to this composer testifies to Francesco’s prominence in Florentine cultural life. Standing alongside the city’s most illustrious figures, from Dante and Petrarch to Giotto, Francesco degli Organi is the only composer about whom Villani has much to say. Jacopo da Bologna, Giovanni da Cascia, Bartolino, and Lorenzo Masini receive brief mention, but only Francesco is celebrated with a full biography detailing his childhood and career and praising his multifarious talents.<sup>31</sup> The disproportionate weight placed on Francesco’s works in the major notated

sources, the Squarcialupi Codex especially, corroborates the implication behind Villani's account—that the blind organist was Florence's most renowned musician during the fourteenth and early fifteenth century.

What interests me here, however, is not so much Villani's admiration of Francesco's musical skills, but rather his commendation of the composer's other intellectual pursuits and his moral rectitude. As noted in [Chapter 2](#), Villani describes Francesco as not only a musician and organ builder but also a master of rhetoric and logic who composed numerous literary works. Recognition of Francesco's intellect and scholastic interests stands as something of a trope in other documents that mention him as well. The contract recording the organist's hire at San Lorenzo, for example, describes him as “wise, honest, and gifted with morality,” even before identifying him as an eminent master of music.<sup>32</sup> In the *Paradiso degli Alberti*, which opens this book's Introduction, Gherardi portrays Francesco in a similar light. When introducing the composer at the beginning of Book III, he writes:

Francesco degli Organi flourished in that time as well—musician and music theorist, miraculous to recount. Blind almost from birth, he displayed so much divine intellect that even in the greatest abstractions he showed the subtle proportions of his musical numbers (i.e. his perfect knowledge of harmony); and he played the organ with more sweetness than can be believed. What is more, he debated with every artist and philosopher not just about music but all the liberal arts, for he was in good part erudite in them all.<sup>33</sup>

And what he states outright here, Gherardi builds upon implicitly throughout his narrative. As one of the story's main protagonists, Francesco participates in intellectual and philosophical discussion with the other guests at Antonio degli Alberti's villa, including Coluccio Salutati and Luigi Marsili (c. 1342–94). Moreover, the image of Francesco as erudite and morally upstanding is fostered by several of his own works as well, from polytextual and isorhythmic madrigals like *Musica son* and *Si dolce non sonò* to his Latin poem in praise of Ockham.<sup>34</sup>

It is this Francesco—the intellectual, lettered, and ethical Francesco—that seems to hold the greatest interest for Giovanni Benci. Not only does the composer's epitaph, included on fol. 201v of Genoa 28, remark directly upon his great intellect, the ballate Giovanni selects for inclusion in this manuscript are among the most scholastic texts known to be set to music during the Trecento. *Contemprar le gran cose* in particular stands out for its link to Ockhamist philosophy and therefore to Francesco's most intellectual

work—his aforementioned defense of Ockham in Latin verse.<sup>35</sup> Placed in an intellectual and literary context characterized by an unusual meeting of civic, mercantile culture and scholastic humanism, within Genoa 28's pages the composer becomes implicated in a process of mediation between these two conflicting worlds. Given Francesco's status in late medieval Florence, and the Benci brothers' apparent knowledge of it, Giovanni could well have singled out the blind organist precisely because he saw the role Francesco played in Florentine intellectual life during his own lifetime as analogous in its bridging of scholasticism and vernacular traditions. Thus, while it is noteworthy that the subject matter of these four song texts mirrors the overall tone and content of Genoa 28, I would argue that Francesco's identity—his unsurpassed musical skill, his intellectualism, and his centrality to late fourteenth-century vernacular culture—shape the significance of his ballate in this context.

### **Chigi 266, the Benci family, and Florentine Lauda Singing**

Connections between the Benci family, Francesco degli Organi, and music-making in fourteenth-century Florence do not stop here, however. More explicit evidence of Lorenzo's involvement in the city's musical life and of the brothers' sustained interest in Trecento song can be found in another manuscript, once part of the Benci's library: Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VII.266. This vast collection of laude, many of which have *cantasi come* designations, was copied by Filippo Benci between 1448 and 1464.<sup>36</sup> Although *cantasi come* sources in general are beyond this book's scope, Chigi 266 merits consideration in relation to Genoa 28 because it opens up the possibility that the Benci brothers may have had direct knowledge of Francesco's polyphonic settings as well as his reputation.

The texts Filippo selected, and their *cantasi come* models, span a relatively wide chronological period extending from the mid thirteenth century up until the compilation of Chigi 266 itself. According to the introductory rubric on fol. 18r and the *explicit* on fol. 19v, a number of the pre-fifteenth-century texts have their origins in the religious processions of the Bianchi in 1399 and were copied from a book belonging to Lorenzo Benci.<sup>37</sup> Given that several of the Bianchi laude have *cantasi come* models by Francesco degli Organi and his contemporaries, Lorenzo Benci, who

participated in the Bianchi processions, must have been well versed in late Trecento vocal polyphony.<sup>38</sup>

Throughout the manuscript, Filippo rigorously indicates not just models for contemporary laude undoubtedly still in active repertoire during the second half of the fifteenth century but also those for older texts—Trecento polyphonic ballate generally believed to have fallen out of fashion by the mid-fifteenth century. Were the codicological situation of Chigi 266 straightforward, the *passé cantasi come* indications could be explained by Filippo's direct and faithful copying from a book owned by his father.<sup>39</sup> But frequently changing ink, pen size, and ductus indicate that the laudario was likely compiled from multiple exemplars over the course of numerous sittings.<sup>40</sup> What is more, Chigi 266 is not ordered chronologically, and the texts with Trecento *cantasi come* models, listed in [Table 3.2](#), are scattered throughout the manuscript in many scribal layers as the foliation in the table implies.

Meanwhile, the *cantasi come* indications themselves create further complications. Both those referring to new models and those referring to old ones were not always copied at the same time as the texts to which they correspond.<sup>41</sup> To cite just one example, the rubric on fol. 208r indicating that lauda n. 430 should be sung to *Né te né altra voglio amar giammai*, a ballata written by Franco Sacchetti and set to music by Francesco degli Organi, was clearly added after the main texts, copied in a different ink, and not incorporated into the original plan for the folio's *mise en page* (see [Figure 3.2](#)). As this evidence indicates, Filippo added to and revised his book over an extended period of time, gradually inserting rubrics into the late fifteenth century. In many cases it is thus not clear if the *cantasi come* indications pertaining to the Trecento laude originate from Lorenzo's old manuscript or if they were compiled separately from various different sources. Moreover, their gradual addition independent from the main text suggests that Filippo himself was specifically interested in the early secular models, Francesco's compositions included. It is certainly possible that his motivation was more historical than musical—that he worked hard to compile a thorough and accurate collection even if not all of the models cited would have been familiar to him or to other readers.

Table 3.2 Laude with Trecento *cantasi come* indications in Chigi 266

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



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

\* Incipits and rubrics transcribed semi-diplomatically. Composers not indicated in manuscript.



Figure 3.2 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VII.266, fol. 208r. © 2013.

However, we must also consider the possibility that Filippo, and perhaps Giovanni too, was familiar with Francesco’s music and that of his contemporaries as a sounding reality. In other words, Chigi 266’s material form suggests that the old *cantasi come* references may have been more than just a reminder of the historical and cultural background behind Florentine lauda singing. They may also have served as practical performance indications.

Chigi 266 thus seems to clinch what Genoa 28’s musical rubric first seemed to imply: that despite the lack of notation, its song texts do carry concrete musical associations and that knowledge of their polyphonic identities as well as Francesco’s fame shaped the way in which they were

read by Filippo and Giovanni Benci. Throughout this book, I argue that in nearly all of the other literary sources transmitting Trecento song, musical awareness on the part of the scribe is tenuous at best. In this one, unique manuscript, however, musical associations remain of paramount importance to the meaning of the song texts it contains. Still, even here, that meaning can be uncovered only by broadening our discussion out from the song texts alone. Thus, although it allows a composer and the musical tradition in which he operated to briefly take center stage, this chapter nevertheless echoes those that surround it in demonstrating the necessity of considering the entire manuscript matrix as we strive to understand the full musicological significance of the literary sources transmitting Trecento song texts.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On rubrics that use canzone in a generic sense to mean “song,” see Gianluca D’Agostino, “La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento: una revisione per dati e problemi. (L’area toscana),” in Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani, *Col dolce suon che da te piove: studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo in memoria di Nino Pirrotta* (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> According to the city’s 1427 catasto (census), Lorenzo had 2375 florins worth of private, public, and real-estate investments, placing his household among Florence’s top 20 percent. David Herlihy, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, R. Burr Litchfield, and Anthony Molho, eds., *Online Catasto of 1427*, version 1.3, machine readable data file based on D. Herlihy and C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Census and Property Survey of Florentine Domains in the Province of Tuscany, 1427–1480* (Florentine Renaissance Resources/STG: Brown University, Providence, RI, 2002), <http://cds.library.brown.edu/projects/catasto/> (accessed July 16, 2014). Lorenzo’s connection to Salutati and Sacchetti will be discussed in more detail below.

<sup>3</sup> David Herlihy, R. Burr Litchfield, Anthony Molho, and Roberto Barducci, eds., *Online Tratte of Office Holders, 1282–1532*, machine readable data file, (Florentine Renaissance Resources/STG: Brown University, Providence, RI, 2002), <http://cds.library.brown.edu/projects/tratte/> (accessed July 16, 2014).

<sup>4</sup> A number of Tommaso’s sonnets and canzoni are preserved in Genoa 28, along with his vernacularization the *Pimander* (discussed below).

<sup>5</sup> We are knowledgeable today about the Benci’s library and its contents thanks to the work of Italian philologist Giuliano Tanturli, who identified in 1978 numerous volumes that once constituted the family’s collection. Giuliano Tanturli, “I Benci copisti: Vicende della cultura fiorentina volgare fra Antonio Pucci e il Ficino,” *Studi di filologia italiana* 36 (1978).

<sup>6</sup> While Lorenzo Benci’s assets reported in the 1427 catasto place his household among top 20 percent in Florence (see n. 2 above), they fall significantly short of those reported by the city’s 137 wealthiest households, whose total assessment was 10,000 florins or more. Herlihy et al., *Online Catasto of 1427*. Although prominent humanists like Salutati and Niccolò Niccoli had libraries of nearly 800 books, typical non-aristocratic libraries in late medieval Italy were substantially smaller, containing anywhere from two or three codices to 20 at the very most. Armando Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, trans. Charles M. Radding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 214–18 and 222.

<sup>7</sup> Tanturli, “I Benci copisti,” 201.

<sup>8</sup> For more on the kinds of books owned and read by Florentine merchants during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Chapter 6.

<sup>9</sup> According to the catalog description, the binding is contemporary with the manuscript itself and has since been restored. Oriana Cartaregia, ed. *I manoscritti “G. Gaslini” della Biblioteca Universitaria di Genova* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1991), 16.

<sup>10</sup> Both Tanturli and the catalog of the Gaslini manuscripts attribute the index to Giovanni’s hand. Tanturli, “I Benci copisti,” 288 and Cartaregia, *I manoscritti “G. Gaslini,”* 16.

<sup>11</sup> For a full inventory of Genoa 28 and information on the scribal breakdown, see Cartaregia, *I manoscritti “G. Gaslini,”* 15–29 and Tanturli, “I Benci copisti,” 287–96.

<sup>12</sup> On the significance of this text and on broader connections between Francesco and the philosophical works of Ockham, see Michael Long, “Landini and the Florentine Cultural Elite,” *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 88–93.

<sup>13</sup> The literary interests of Florence’s middle classes are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

<sup>14</sup> For a detailed explanation of the criteria on which my analysis of direct musical derivation is based, see Chapter 1.

<sup>15</sup> The catalog description ascribes the texts on fols. 196r–202v to the hand of Giovanni Benci. Tantarli, however, ascribes the same texts to the hand of Filippo Benci. Nearly identical in appearance to fol. 205, which is certainly copied by Giovanni, fol. 201v (and the surrounding folios) must also be his work in spite of Tantarli’s indication otherwise. See Cataregia, *manoscritti “G. Gaslini,”* 15 and Tantarli, “I Benci copisti,” 288.

<sup>16</sup> Translation by Leonard Ellinwood in “Francesco Landini and His Music,” *The Musical Quarterly* 22/2 (1936): 205.

<sup>17</sup> Both inscriptions immediately follow a short memorial noting the death in 1470 of Tommaso Benci, inserted by his brother Filippo at the top of the folio. Tantarli, “I Benci copisti,” 263–8.

<sup>18</sup> Tantarli, “I Benci copisti.”

<sup>19</sup> For more on the history of vernacular translation, or *volgarizzamenti*, in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Florence, see Chapter 5. The practice of vernacular translation all but disappeared during the latter part of the Trecento and the first half of the Quattrocento, scorned by humanists who believed Latin to be a superior language.

<sup>20</sup> See Tantarli, “I Benci copisti” and Simon Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 142.

<sup>21</sup> Tantarli, “I Benci copisti.”

<sup>22</sup> Tantarli sees the presence of Acciaiuoli’s *Vita Karoli* in three different versions as particularly revealing in terms of the Benci’s interest in both vernacular and academic Latin culture. Tantarli, “Benci copisti,” 234–9.

<sup>23</sup> Gilson, *Dante*, 114.

<sup>24</sup> For example, sonnets by Cino da Pistoia (1270–1336) and Chiaro Davanzati (d.1303). Tantarli, “I Benci copisti,” 215.

<sup>25</sup> For a list of the manuscripts known to have been part of the Benci library and brief descriptions of their form and contents, see Tantarli, “I Benci copisti,” esp. 247–313.

<sup>26</sup> Tantarli, “I Benci copisti,” esp. 199 and 244.

<sup>27</sup> On Salutati’s support of Dante and the Florentine vernacular, see Gilson, *Dante*, 56–69.

<sup>28</sup> John Nádas, “Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence,” in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. Angelo Pompilio et al. (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1990).

<sup>29</sup> Kurt von Fischer and Gianluca D’Agostino. “Landini, Francesco,” in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed January 18, 2011), <http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:4124/subscriber/article/grove/music/15942>.

<sup>30</sup> In light of Chapter 2’s discussion of Ashburnham 574, it is worth noting that the shared intellectual circle of Francesco degli Organi and Lorenzo Benci extends to Franco Sacchetti as well, for both exchanged correspondence sonnets with the poet.

<sup>31</sup> Giuliano Tantarli, ed., *Philippi Villani De origine civitatis Florentie et de eiusdem famosis civibus* (Padua: Antenore, 1997), A1 XLVI, B II.XXV, C XXIV.

<sup>32</sup> “quod providus et honestus et moribus bonis ornatus Francischus Iacobi musice magister egregius . . .” Quoted and translated into Italian in Alessandra Fiori, *Francesco Landini* (Palermo: L’Epos, 2004), 26–7. I thank John Nádas for brining this document to my attention.

<sup>33</sup> “Fioriva ancora in que[l] tempo Francesco delli Organi, musico teorico e pratico, mirabil cosa a ridire; il quale, cieco quasi a natività, si mostrò di tanto intelletto divino che in ogni parte piú astratta

mostrava le sottilissime proporzioni de' suoi musicabili numeri, e quelle con tanta dolcezza col suo organo praticava ch'è cosa non credibile pure a udilla; e non istante questo, elli con ogni artista e filosofo gio disputando no tanto della sua musica, ma in tutte l'arti liberali, perché di tutte quelle in buona parte erudito si n'era." Giovanni Gherardi, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. Antonio Lanza (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1975), 165.

<sup>34</sup> On *Si dolce non sonò*, its mythological references, and Francesco's intellectualism, see Pedro Memelsdorff, "La 'tibia' di Apollo, i modelli di Jacopo e l'eloquenza landiniana," in *Col dolce suon*, ed. Delfino and Rosa-Barezzani (Florence: SISMELE, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999).

<sup>35</sup> Long, "Landini and the Florentine Cultural Elite."

<sup>36</sup> Laude, devotional lyric poems, were often modeled after secular ballate, *contrafacta* intended to be sung to a pre-existing melody. Unnotated lauda collections therefore often include *cantasi come* rubrics, which are labels that instruct the singer to which secular ballata melody the devotional poem should be sung. For further information on Chigi 266 and the *cantasi come* tradition of lauda singing in Florence, see Blake McDowell Wilson, "Song collections in Renaissance Florence: the *cantasi come* tradition and its manuscript sources," *Recercare* 10 (1998) and *Singing Poetry In Renaissance Florence: The Cantasi Come Tradition (1375–1550)* (Florence: Olschki, 2009). Regarding the Benci's ownership of Chigi 266, see Tanturli, "I Benci copisti," 302–3.

<sup>37</sup> Although laude are found on earlier folios, immediately following the index, the collection originally started on fol. 18r with the laude of the Bianchi. Running out of room at the end of the manuscript, Filippo later returned to fill available blank space between the index and the first lauda with extra texts. See Domenico De Robertis, ed. *Dante Alighieri. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 2 (Florence: Le lettere, 2002), 748–50.

<sup>38</sup> Wilson, *Singing Poetry*, 44.

<sup>39</sup> On fol. 19v, at the end of the first lauda in the collection, Filippo includes a caption which ends "e Io lo copiato da una copia di mio padre chessi trovo essere vivo i(n) quel tempo e pero la metto p(er) cierto vero che n(on) era huomo avesse schritto le frasche" (and I copied it from a copy of my father, who lived during that time, but who I admit was not the man to have written it). This rubric may indicate that a manuscript belonging to Lorenzo served as Filippo's exemplar for all of the older laude, but it is equally possible that it applies only to this first lauda and that the others derive from different sources. See Bernard Toscani, ed. *Le laude dei Bianchi contenute nel Codice vaticano chigiano L. VII 266* (Florence: Libreria editrice fiorentina, 1979), 35.

<sup>40</sup> *Ductus* is a paleographic term that refers to the general nature or appearance of a script. At its most specific, as defined by Albert Derolez, it refers to "the number of strokes used for the writing of a single letter or graph, their order and direction." Albert Derolez, *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), xx.

<sup>41</sup> Francesco Luisi, ed. *Laudario giustiniano* (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1983), 199 and Wilson, *Singing Poetry*, 14.

<sup>42</sup> I borrow the term manuscript matrix from Stephen Nichols. Stephen G. Nichols, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," *Speculum* 65 (1990), 9.

## Intersections between Oral and Written Tradition in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1078

If called upon to imagine the book culture associated with late medieval vernacular poetry, the modern scholar would be forgiven for conjuring a library of lavish codices. Certainly, the manuscripts best known to us today fit comfortably within the profile of formalized, standardized commercial bookmaking. They are deluxe manuscripts copied by professional scribes who employed highly conventionalized techniques of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*.<sup>1</sup> From the famous anthologies of early Italian lyric (Redi 9 and Banco Rari 217, in particular) to later Italian sources like Chigi 305 and Petrarch's famous autograph manuscript (Vaticano 3195), from *chansonniers* transmitting troubadour song to the Machaut manuscripts, these sources all represent carefully planned and carefully executed compiling efforts. Often organized by author and genre and featuring colored ink, enlarged decorated initials, and indices, they are both easy to navigate and clear in their aim to order and historicize the poetic traditions they assemble.<sup>2</sup> It is within this familiar material context that Trecento secular polyphony most often finds its home as well. Song texts are monumentalized as a musical tradition in ornate, sophisticated manuscripts like the Squarcialupi Codex and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds it. 568 (Pit) that project authority and prestige through clear visual references to high medieval book culture.<sup>3</sup>

Though much less formal than the majority of medieval musical manuscripts, all the literary sources we have considered thus far display

important correspondences with this material world, the most formal sections of Ashburnham 574 and Genoa 28 especially. In stark contrast, the manuscripts on which the next two chapters focus embody a rather different approach to lyric anthologizing and bookmaking. Within their pages, song texts inhabit a space that bears little resemblance, physically or conceptually, to the manuscripts with which we as musicologists are accustomed to working; they are distanced from notation, from the kinds of references to music found in Ashburnham 574 and Genoa 28, and from elegantly constructed, orderly codices.

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1078, the subject of this chapter, was copied during the early fifteenth century not in Tuscany but instead farther north, in Emilia Romagna, and collects an array of anonymous ballate and strambotti, for the most part eschewing the canonic repertoire of *poesia aulica* found in manuscripts like Parmense 1081, Ashburnham 569, and in the *Raccolta Aragonesa*.<sup>4</sup> More striking than its contents, however, is Magliabechiano 1078's material form. Among the smallest of the literary sources, it is also one of the most informal. Completely devoid of even the simplest decoration and copied in a quickly-executed cursive script on low quality paper, it contains an unusually high number of ink changes and differences in *mise en page*. Despite its many concordances with the major notated sources of Trecento song, Magliabechiano 1078 thus stands as the antithesis of these *canzonieri*. Not aiming to anthologize or canonize, this is a very personal and personalized collection of lyric poetry; a practical book created by an amateur scribe that reveals a much more varied repertoire in terms of the cultural associations called into play than most of the musical sources, along with a very different function from most contemporary or near-contemporary literary sources.

Not surprisingly, given its extreme visual informality, scholars have tended to classify Magliabechiano 1078 as “popular” (*popolare*) or “folk-like” (*popolareggiante*) in nature and to treat it as a rare written testimony of the oral tradition. But visual appearances can be misleading, and although not completely out of line for manuscripts of such a low grade, this kind of characterization abounds with difficulties. As I suggested in [Chapter 1](#), Magliabechiano 1078's material form links it to decidedly modest socio-cultural circles, but the repertoire it transmits cannot, in fact, be easily categorized, nor is it universally low in style. In their hybridity, this manuscript, along with Amelio Bonaguisi's *zibaldone* discussed in the



following chapter, illustrates that the doubts several scholars have expressed regarding the classification of French medieval literature as either “high” or “low,” “courtly” or “popular,” are relevant to the Italian tradition as well.<sup>5</sup> In what follows, I therefore aim to move beyond the traditional taxonomies that have until now defined our understanding of Magliabechiano 1078 and its repertoire, for such binary oppositions mask the complexity of not only this manuscript, but also the social and cultural interactions that characterized urban life in late medieval Italy. Focusing on its material form, on its scribe’s unusual approach to *mise en page*, and on its highly varied contents, I propose a new interpretation of Magliabechiano 1078 and the poetry it collects, in which I read this codex not as a written testimony of oral, “popular” traditions, but rather as an anti-visual, performance-oriented account of a highly literate poetic world, characterized by stylistic diversity. That is to say, Magliabechiano 1078 bears witness to the oral performance of written poetic traditions, created to serve as a memory aid, or possibly a physical prompt, for the recitation of the repertoire it collects.<sup>6</sup>

### **Judging a Book by its Cover: Introducing the Conflict between Form and Content in Magliabechiano 1078**

Scattered amongst Magliabechiano 1078’s now-obscure lyrics are several texts well known to musicologists: 17 anonymous and unattributed ballate with concordances in notated manuscripts (see [Table 4.1](#)). Because of its temporal proximity to the Trecento polyphonic sources, its sizeable collection of song texts (among the largest found in the literary sources), and the unusual nature of both its contents and appearance, this manuscript has much to tell us about the literary life of song. Yet, although it is frequently cited in discussions of “*poesia popolare*” and “*poesia popolareggiante*” as well as in discussions of Trecento song’s literary transmission, Magliabechiano 1078 has mostly managed to escape in-depth literary or musicological scrutiny.<sup>7</sup> The most detailed account of the source in print remains an 1889 article by Tommaso Casini, which, in keeping with the nationalistic interest in “folk” culture that swept across all of Europe during the late nineteenth century, focuses almost exclusively on its abundant collection of “popular” ballate.<sup>8</sup> Casini acknowledges the inclusion of some

“literary” poetry (or poetry “*di forma puramente letteraria*”) alongside popular lyrics, but he classifies the manuscript as a “*repertorio giullaresco*” (minstrel collection) that is primarily “popular” in nature. Familiar to modern scholars thanks largely to Casini’s early work, Magliabechiano 1078 is referenced in more recent studies as well.<sup>9</sup> In spite of recognizing variety and difference in the manuscript’s contents and exercising caution in perpetuating its association with the minstrel tradition, scholars (D’Agostino and Pasquini in particular) have continued to classify its repertoire as popular, generally avoiding discussion of the implications, and inaccuracies, undergirding this terminology.

Table 4.1 Song texts in Magliabechiano 1078

| Fol. | Incipit                                         | Composer               | Musical concordances              | Text concordances                 |
|------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 13v  | La dona mia vuol esser el messere               | Nicolò del Preposto    | Sq, Lo                            |                                   |
| 20v  | Già perch’ i’ penso nella tua partita           | Francesco degli Organi | FP, Pit, Lo, Sq, Reina            |                                   |
| 23r  | L’alma leggiadra del tuo viso pio               | Francesco degli Organi | FP, Sq                            |                                   |
| 23r  | Piacesse a Dio ch’i’ non fossi ma’ nata         | Guiglielmus da Francia | Sq, Pit                           |                                   |
| 23r  | Lasso! per mie fortuna ho posto amore           | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, Lo                            |                                   |
| 23r  | Guarda una volta in cià verso<br>’l tuo servo   | Francesco degli Organi | FP, Sq, Lo                        |                                   |
| 23v  | Sia maladetta l’ora e ’l di ch’io venni         | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, Pit, FP, Reina                |                                   |
| 24r  | La mala lingua è d’ogni mal radice              | Francesco degli Organi | Pit, Sq                           | Magl. 1041                        |
| 24r  | Occhi piangeti e tu cor tribulato               | Anonymous              | Reina                             |                                   |
| 24r  | Con lagreme sospiro                             | Anonymous              | Reina                             |                                   |
| 24r  | Con dogliosi martiri                            | Antonellus da Caserta  | Manc                              |                                   |
| 24r  | De sospirar sovente                             | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, SL                            | Magl. 1040                        |
| 24v  | Donna, la mente mia è si ’nvagita del tuo       | Francesco degli Organi | FP                                |                                   |
| 27v  | Monico son tutto gioioso senza<br>nulla fede    | Anonymous              | Sev (only text is incipit)        |                                   |
| 36r  | Fenir mia vita                                  | Anonymous              | Reina, Pad 553                    |                                   |
| 36r  | Gran pianto agli occhi, greve<br>doglia al core | Francesco degli Organi | FP, Pit, Lo, Sq, Reina, Padua 684 |                                   |
| 36r  | Vita non è più misera e più ria                 | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, FP, Pit, SL, Reina            | Triv. 193, Magl. 1041, Grey 7 b 5 |

\* Incipits modernized and standardized. Composers not indicated in manuscript.

While some texts collected in Magliabechiano 1078 are characterized by playful and sometimes scandalous subject matter, witty language, and light

metric forms, the line between *popolare* (popular) and *colto* (refined) is in fact more blurry than previous discussions of the manuscript have suggested.<sup>10</sup> As is not uncommon in Trecento and Quattrocento poetic collections, Magliabechiano 1078 both juxtaposes and combines linguistic and cultural registers.<sup>11</sup> Poems that are relatively obvious in their invocation of low linguistic registers stand alongside others belonging to the tradition of *poesia aulica* (including a few by well-known poets such as Petrarch and Fazio degli Uberti), and many employ the standard lexicon of refined courtly love poetry while exploring rather un-elevated subject matter. We shall examine Magliabechiano 1078's contents and the significance of its song texts in the second half of this chapter. First, however, we must come to grips with the manuscript's atypical visual appearance, for its material form has much to tell us about its creation and about its intended use.

Magliabechiano 1078's unassuming modern binding—cardboard covered in brown paper with a floral design and parchment spine—mirrors its casual, inelegant interior. Inside, paper folios (which measure just 224 × 155 mm and show no signs of trimming) are filled with text copied in an extremely simple cursive script, plain and unadorned, with minimal margins and constantly shifting page layout (see [Figure 4.1](#)). Such an informal manuscript can only have been copied for personal use, and indeed the scribe's total avoidance of the visual aids standardly employed to organize and order late medieval manuscripts (indices, rubrics, hierarchical systems of initials and scripts, use of colored ink, et cetera) suggests ease of navigation by other readers was not a priority. Its relatively small dimensions add to the impression that Magliabechiano 1078 was planned to be a private miscellany. Slim and easily portable, this is a manuscript well suited to being read, consulted, or performed from in a variety of locations.

Alma liqadria del tu d'io p' d'ona d' h' u' m' h' e' n' e' et par die r' m' d' e' p' n' e' .  
 Al' t' o' n' o' p' o' s' i' o' p' p' a' i' d' o' l' b' i' o' p' e' r' d' e' r' e' m' o' p' r' i' u' m' c' o' r' a' t' o' e' r' u' d' a  
 b' e' n' i' s' i' o' d' e' y' a' t' e' s' e' r' u' o' c' o' s' e' d' o' b' e' r' a' p' n' e' s' e' m' p' r' e' d' e' p' i' e' t' a' m' u' d' a  
 C' o' m' e' c' u' d' o' r' a' s' i' e' p' c' o' s' i' g' s' e' d' e' d' e' o' r' a' m' o' r' d' e' m' e' r' e' i' s' t' o' n' o' c' r' e' b' e' /  
 m' a' l' e' r' o' n' e' t' e' m' u' t' o' r' p' e' r' m' e' m' u' d' i' s' i' g' e' a' d' e' l' t' u' o' p' a' n' n' e' a' l' c' o' r' p' e' r' i' u' r' e' d' i' a  
 a' l' m' a' l' i' q' a' d' r' i' a' e' d' e' -

piace se adio che eno fosse maynati d'is' adolorosa frescha son pui che rosa  
 de gome in v' n' i' a' d' i' o' m' a' r' i' t' a' t' a' o' y' n' e' d' o' l' e' n' t' e' s' e' m' u' a' g' a' v' o' c' e' d' a' e' t' d' a' m' o' r'  
 s' e' m' o' s' a' s' o' l' e' r' p' u' g' i' t' a' / C' u' i' a' d' e' i' d' o' n' e' l' s' p' e' d' i' o' b' i' m' a' t' a' e' b' i' a' m' e' a' m' e' b' u' c' o'  
 t' u' a' q' u' i' t' a' i' m' o' r' o' s' e' t' a' o' n' d' i' o' p' r' i' u' g' o' y' e' s' u' d' e' q' u' i' u' e' n' d' e' t' a' p' a' c' a' q' u' i' m' e'  
 m' e' d' e' m' a' i' n' t' o' / m' e' d' e' d' i' e' c' u' s' i' o' r' i' t' o' d' i' a' s' i' o' b' u' b' i' a' b' u' a' m' b' a' e' t' e' n' e' r' e' a' t' a' p' i' a' c' e' s' e'  
 c' o' e' r' a' m' i' s' e' r' e' b' e' m' i' s' e' r' a' e' s' s' e' r' m' e' c' e' n' a' p' a' r' u' o' l' a' p' o' b' e' l' e' t' a' d' o' m' o' m' e' r' a' d' e' a'  
 e' s' s' e' r' c' o' s' i' b' o' g' n' a' t' e' g' r' e' q' u' a' s' a' d' e' m' a' y' v' e' d' e' r' n' o' p' o' s' s' o' p' r' i' m' a' m' a' t' a'  
 p' i' a' c' e' s' e' n' o' e' d' -

l'iso per mia fortuna postamor e in d'ona che pui d'ulera dur' o' l' e' r' e' /  
 m' o' r' u' o' l' e' y' e' s' t' u' o' l' m' i' o' i' n' g' e' q' u' i' p' o' b' e' m' i' d' a' c' e' l' s' a' s' p' e' t' o' p' i' a' c' e' s' e' r' e'  
 o' r' a' p' u' r' d' e' l' m' i' s' t' i' r' e' l' l' a' b' i' a' s' i' c' a' g' n' o' / c' o' m' e' c' r' u' d' e' l' c' o' l' d' u' n' o' a' m' o' r'  
 n' o' s' e' n' t' e' / m' e' y' a' l' l' o' i' n' c' a' s' o' c' o' s' i' d' o' l' e' n' t' e' v' i' u' e' r' m' e' f' u' y' e' s' t' a' r' t' e' n' o' c' o' r' e'  
 G' u' a' r' d' a' s' o' m' u' o' l' t' a' i' n' c' a' v' e' r' s' o' l' t' u' o' s' e' r' u' o' c' u' i' t' o' d' e' m' e' y' e' d' e' l' o' q' u' i' d' a' t' i'  
 p' i' e' t' o' s' i' m' i' d' e' d' i' e' d' e' / p' o' y' d' e' s' i' b' e' l' a' d' e' n' o' s' i' e' c' r' u' d' e' l' e' r' o' a' s' i' b' e' m' i' g' n' a'  
 b' i' p' e' r' a' s' o' p' a' r' a' v' o' l' e' a' y' o' d' e' e' l' a' m' e' t' e' a' l' t' u' o' p' e' d' e' l' e' / c' h' e' s' e' n' t' e' s' o' n' i' o' b' e' y'  
 q' u' a' r' o' t' e' m' i' r' a' i' q' u' e' l' a' u' e' n' t' u' d' a' m' i' o' d' e' l' u' y' r' e' s' p' i' e' r' a' i' p' d' e' c' a' s' e' t' i' v' e' d' e'  
 a' t' e' n' d' e' a' t' i' p' l' a' s' o' a' p' u' r' a' p' e' d' e' / -

p' r' i' m' a' v' e' r' t' u' t' e' p' o' y' b' e' l' e' n' t' e' a' c' e' s' e' . Q' u' e' l' l' a' a' m' o' r' o' s' a' p' i' a' m' a' m' e' l' i' u' o' c' o' r' e'  
 c' h' e' s' e' m' p' r' e' a' b' e' y' s' e' r' u' o' / m' e' d' a' u' a' l' o' r' e' c' u' s' s' e' r' u' o' s' u' m' e' s' e' r' o' s' e' m' p' r' e' m' a' y'  
 a' m' o' r' y' o' m' e' l' a' m' e' t' o' / d' e' b' i' m' a' n' i' i' n' a' m' o' r' a' t' o' / e' a' u' o' l' d' e' s' i' a' p' r' i' u' a' t' o' d' e' l' i' m' o'  
 d' o' l' c' e' t' a' l' e' n' t' o' / a' m' o' r' f' o' r' t' u' n' a' p' u' e' s' t' o' r' t' e' = d' e' b' o' n' a' m' e' l' i' m' o' r' t' e' =  
 p' o' y' d' e' p' e' r' u' i' t' a' s' e' n' t' o' = a' l' l' a' s' o' d' i' m' a' m' o' r' t' o' = o' r' a' p' u' r' m' e' d' o' c' o' n' s' o' r' t' o' =  
 e' s' t' i' n' g' r' a' t' o' r' m' e' t' o' = a' l' c' o' r' d' e' p' u' r' m' e' d' o' l' e' = d' e' l' a' s' p' e' t' a' r' d' e' v' u' o' l' e' =  
 t' a' t' o' c' i' s' t' i' m' e' c' o' n' t' e' n' t' o' = a' s' p' e' r' o' e' n' o' s' o' g' n' a' d' o' = p' e' r' o' s' u' r' d' e' p' o' l' u' n' d' o' =  
 c' h' a' l' s' u' o' v' o' l' e' r' c' o' n' s' e' n' t' o' = a' m' o' r' y' o' m' e' l' a' m' e' t' o' = a' m' i' o' e' d' -

d' e' s' t' e' g' n' o' i' n' d' o' n' a' n' o' e' c' o' n' u' e' n' e' v' o' l' e' = d' e' s' i' c' o' r' e' t' a' m' o' c' u' d' a' m' i' o' s' e' y' f' r' i' g' i' d' a'  
 p' o' y' d' e' g' u' a' n' d' a' r' m' e' s' e' y' s' i' a' s' p' r' a' e' r' i' g' i' d' a' = c' h' i' o' m' e' d' e' s' p' i' e' r' e' l' u' i' u' e' r' e' m' e'  
 i' n' c' e' s' t' e' v' o' l' e' = t' u' l' l' e' r' b' e' n' i' g' n' a' s' e' y' m' a' y' o' d' e' s' u' b' i' t' a' = d' e' d' e' n' t' i' c' r' u' d' a'  
 t' u' n' d' i' o' m' o' l' t' o' m' e' d' u' b' i' t' o' = c' h' e' l' m' i' o' s' e' r' u' i' r' n' o' s' i' a' d' e' l' e' t' e' v' o' l' e' =  
 p' i' a' c' e' n' t' e' d' o' n' a' n' o' v' o' l' e' r' m' u' u' a' d' e' r' e' = o' r' a' p' a' i' u' e' r' m' e' c' o' u' o' l' t' o' a' l' i' e' g' r' o'  
 e' r' i' d' o' r' e' = c' h' e' l' a' t' u' a' p' a' c' e' e' n' t' u' t' e' e' s' a' l' u' t' e' v' o' l' e' = -

Figure 4.1 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1078, fol. 23r. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence. Further reproduction by any means prohibited. Photo by Mario Setter.

Magliabechiano 1078's 41 folios are arranged in six gatherings, varying significantly in size.<sup>12</sup> In all likelihood, however, the gathering structure was modified at the time of the last rebinding, if not before. As a result the manuscript's current state may have little bearing on its initial physical form, and because of various repairs and a dearth of catchwords, signatures, and original foliation it is impossible to accurately hypothesize what the original structure may have been.<sup>13</sup> The modern foliation is mostly regular and continuous throughout, but traces of ink on a small stub hiding between fols.

36 and 37 hint that the manuscript was damaged after the original copying effort.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, the main scribe left several folios blank, three of which still remain empty: fols. 14r, 15v, and 17v. Fol. 14v, originally blank, was filled by a later scribe with a list of people owing money for the restoration of the oratory, Madonna Sancta Maria de Terrabora, while fols. 15r and 28v (also originally blank) were filled with lyric texts added by a third fifteenth-century hand.

To judge from the coarseness of the hybrid cursive script as well as the book's overall simplicity, Magliabechiano 1078's primary amanuensis lacked formal training as a scribe and was someone who moved in relatively low socio-cultural circles.<sup>15</sup> The frequent changes in ink and pen and the inconsistent approach to *mise en page* indicate that the scribe compiled Magliabechiano 1078 in multiple phases varying in length and intensity of labor and spread out over a significant period of time. While there are very few corrections and changes by the original scribe, a later hand has mutilated several poems by violently crossing out offensive and sacrilegious words and phrases.<sup>16</sup> These edits, along with physical damage and subsequent repair to certain folios, suggest that the manuscript enjoyed a long history of use in the hands of various readers in spite of its unusual repertoire and low grade of construction.

## **Hints of Orality? Visual Ambiguity and the Problem of *Mise en page***

When considered in relation to more typical collections of lyric poetry in the Italian vernacular, Magliabechiano 1078's unusual form reveals a great deal not only about the social status of its compiler and owner but also about the way in which its contents—song texts included—were intended to be read. With very few visual cues and no organizational apparatus, any reader who opens its cover is left to work out the metric structure of each poem and even where one lyric ends and the next begins. In short, he or she is forced to act as both editor and reader at once.<sup>17</sup> But such a haphazard approach to *mise en page* and disposition of verses is at odds with the Trecento poetic mentality. At a time when a poem's identity and literary status were so closely tied to

its genre, prosody, and rhyme, one would expect a manuscript's visual appearance to highlight rather than conceal these features.<sup>18</sup>

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

### ***ESTABLISHING THE NORM: VISUAL TRANSPARENCY OF POETIC STRUCTURE IN LATE MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS***

In order to better understand what Magliabechiano 1078's material form reveals about its scribe and about his relationship with the poems he copied, we must lay out a set of guidelines for thinking about orality and literacy in a visually oriented manuscript culture. Wayne Storey's work on visual poetics in Duecento and Trecento lyric brings to light the extent to which poets and scribes co-opted *mise en page* as a tool to construct poetic meaning.<sup>19</sup> Focusing on unconventional visual presentation used for expressive purposes by authors such as Guittone d'Arezzo (c. 1235–94) and Petrarch, Storey proposes that “the most innovative of these experimenters integrated scribal forms as part of their written poetics and codes of meaning.”<sup>20</sup> These authors, well aware of the liberties scribes notoriously took when copying poetry, turned to new, complex visual forms in an attempt to assert authorial control over their works and guard against misreadings and editorial re-readings that could sneak in during the process of written transmission.<sup>21</sup>

While Storey's analysis of the visual dimension of Italian lyric highlights the extent to which literacy pervades this repertoire, Katherine O'Brien

O’Keeffe’s work on manuscripts of Old English poetry explores ways in which written sources may hide traces of orality.<sup>22</sup> The tradition she deals with is, admittedly, distant from that at hand both temporally and geographically. Nonetheless, there is much in O’Brien O’Keeffe’s approach that is applicable to Magliabechiano 1078, for the material panorama she describes is a similar one. Her analysis points to the temporality of speech as the primary factor separating oral from written transmission. In oral delivery, surprise, emphasis, and clarity are produced through vocal manipulation of time and sound— that is, through inflections of the voice and careful use of silence. In written texts, these oral signals are transformed into visual ones. Where the orator manipulates time, the scribe manipulates the physical space of the page, and “literacy thus becomes a process of spatializing the once-exclusively temporal.”<sup>23</sup> Consequently, the fewer non-lexical graphic cues a scribe provides for the reader, the more difficulty the reader will have decoding the text through purely visual consumption, which, I suggest, is the case with Magliabechiano 1078. Contrasting the presentation of Old English poetry with that of Latin poetry in contemporary sources, O’Brien O’Keeffe argues that the comparative graphic poverty of the vernacular sources provides strong evidence for a “persisting residual orality.”<sup>24</sup> The visual presentation of Old English poetry in manuscripts, then, indicates oral performance (i.e. recitation) continued to impact that repertoire, even as it became increasingly bound to writing.

Like the Latin manuscripts in O’Brien O’Keeffe’s study, manuscripts of Italian lyric are rich in non-lexical cues. First and foremost, as Storey’s work illustrates, the visual world of medieval Italian poetry is characterized by the widespread adaptation of standard scribal forms for each metric genre. Already in the famous *canzonieri* copied during the late Duecento and very early Trecento, scribes adhere rigorously to certain conventions that aid in the visual recognition of poetic structure.<sup>25</sup> Sonnets, for example, are usually copied such that the two quatrains appear on four lines, each with two verses. The tercets, more mutable in their presentation, may appear on three lines (with two verses per line), on four lines (with either the first or last verse copied on its own line), or on two lines (with each tercet contained entirely on one written line).<sup>26</sup> In these early sources and in subsequent lyric collections, verses are always separated from each other by a clearly visible *punctus* (dot) or *virgula* (slash). Moreover, marginal brackets or parentheses (see [Figure 4.2](#)) or internal paragraph markers as well as enlarged and/or

colored initials serve to highlight the sonnet's division into its component parts (octet and sestet, or two quatrains and two tercets). The natural effect of these scribal conventions is that the structure of each poem is visually transparent and the metric genre is discernible at first glance even without the aid of rubrics. This kind of structural clarity was key to a reader's interaction with a poetic manuscript, for genre identification was likely the first step in the reading process.<sup>27</sup>

Other genres, too, tend to follow certain formulae. In the case of canzoni, blank space and/or enlarged initials and paragraph markers in alternating colors set one stanza apart from the next.<sup>28</sup> Within a strophic unit, the text is copied in prose format with two or more verses per line, and, as with sonnets, the end of each verse is always clearly delineated by a *virgula* or *punctus*. Scribal forms for ballate lie somewhere in between those for the sonnet and those for the canzone, sometimes emphasizing the whole strophe as a unit and sometimes highlighting the division into *ripresa*, *piedi*, and *volta* (see [Figure 4.3](#)).

Moving forward chronologically, closer to the turn of the fifteenth century and to Magliabechiano 1078, there is ample evidence of continuing concern for the visual presentation of poetry. Most famously, Petrarch experimented with visual poetics, attempting to revise standard scribal forms to further emphasize generic difference.<sup>29</sup> For both sonnets and ballate, he increased the visual separation between the two verses copied on a single line by dividing the page into distinct columns to be read horizontally rather than vertically (see [Figure 4.4](#)). But Petrarch's experimental use of double columns never became standard practice, and soon after his death scribes were quick to abandon the poet's own formatting in favor of a more conventional approach to the split page (i.e., each column to be read vertically left before right, with lyrics copied in verse rather than prose format). Untouched by Petrarch's visual influence, many traditionally-oriented manuscripts from the late Trecento and early Quattrocento continued to use various versions of prose format, producing a visual effect similar to that of the early collections discussed above.<sup>30</sup>



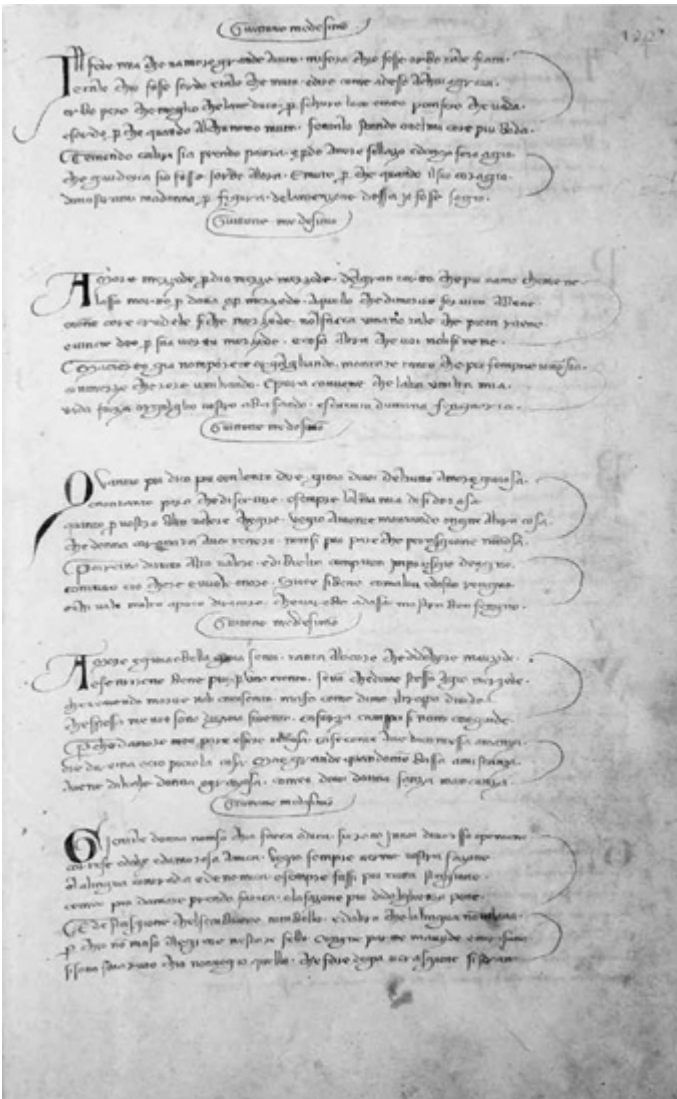


Figure 4.2 Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana Apostolica, Vaticano latino 3793, fol. 122r © 2013. (Example of brackets used to delineate the octet and sestet in sonnets.) Reproduced by permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. All rights reserved.

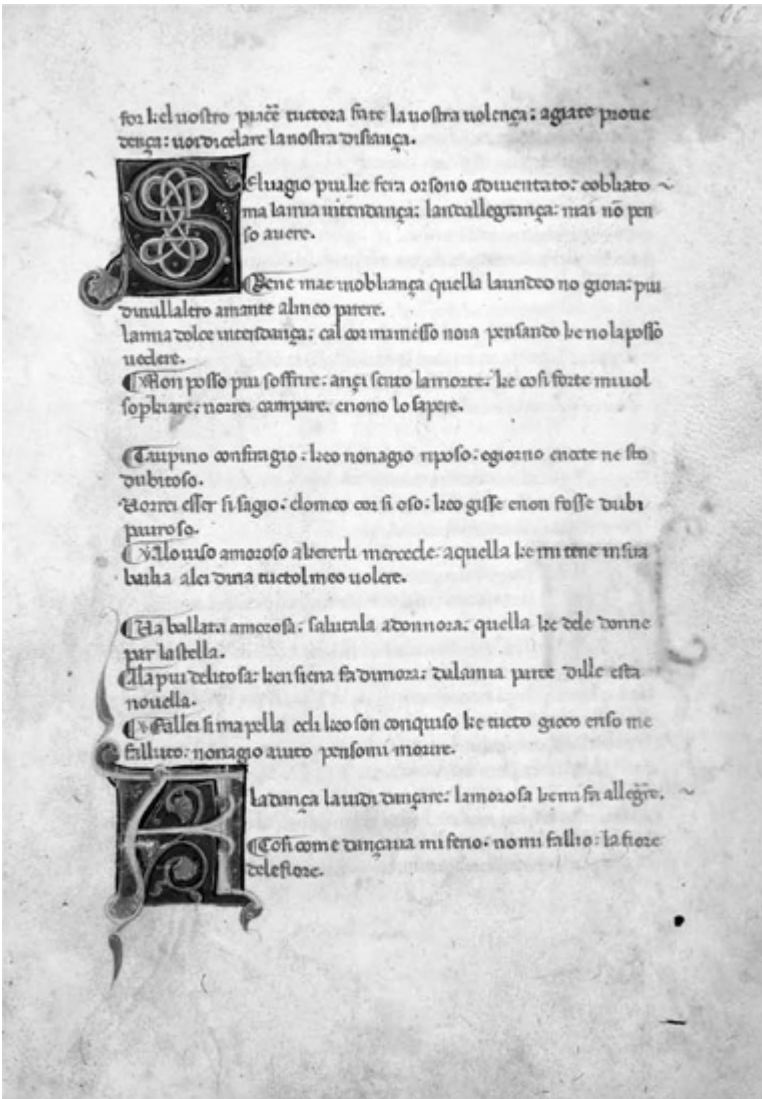


Figure 4.3 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 217, fol. 66r. (Example of ballata format [alternating red and blue paragraph signs mark the first *piede* and the *volta*, blank space delineates stanza breaks, and the decorated initials mark the start of a new poem].) Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence. Further reproduction by any means prohibited. Photo by Mario Setter.

Significant in the context of Magliabechiano 1078's *mise en page* is the shift from a preference for prose format to a preference for verse format that begins around the turn of the fifteenth century. By the mid-fifteenth century, the kind of verse format standard in modern editions dominates poetic transcription. While not completely out of line with early Quattrocento trends, our scribe's predilection for prose format is thus somewhat antiquated, as is much of the poetry he collects. Regardless of their

fundamental transcriptional choices, scribes continued to focus on the clear presentation of poetic structure. Early sources copied in verse often maintain conventions from prose formatting, including now-obsolete signs such as *virgule* to mark the end of each verse. In most cases, scribes retain various methods to show the internal divisions of the poem too, setting off, for example, each *terzina* of a madrigal, and its *ritornello* as well, through the use of enlarged initials and sometimes a paragraph marker in the left-hand margin (see, for example, fols. 91v–92r in Parmense 1081, pictured in [Figure 2.3](#) on pp. 82–3).

### ***CREATING POETIC FOG: UNCONVENTIONAL MISE EN PAGE IN MAGLIABECHIANO 1078***

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

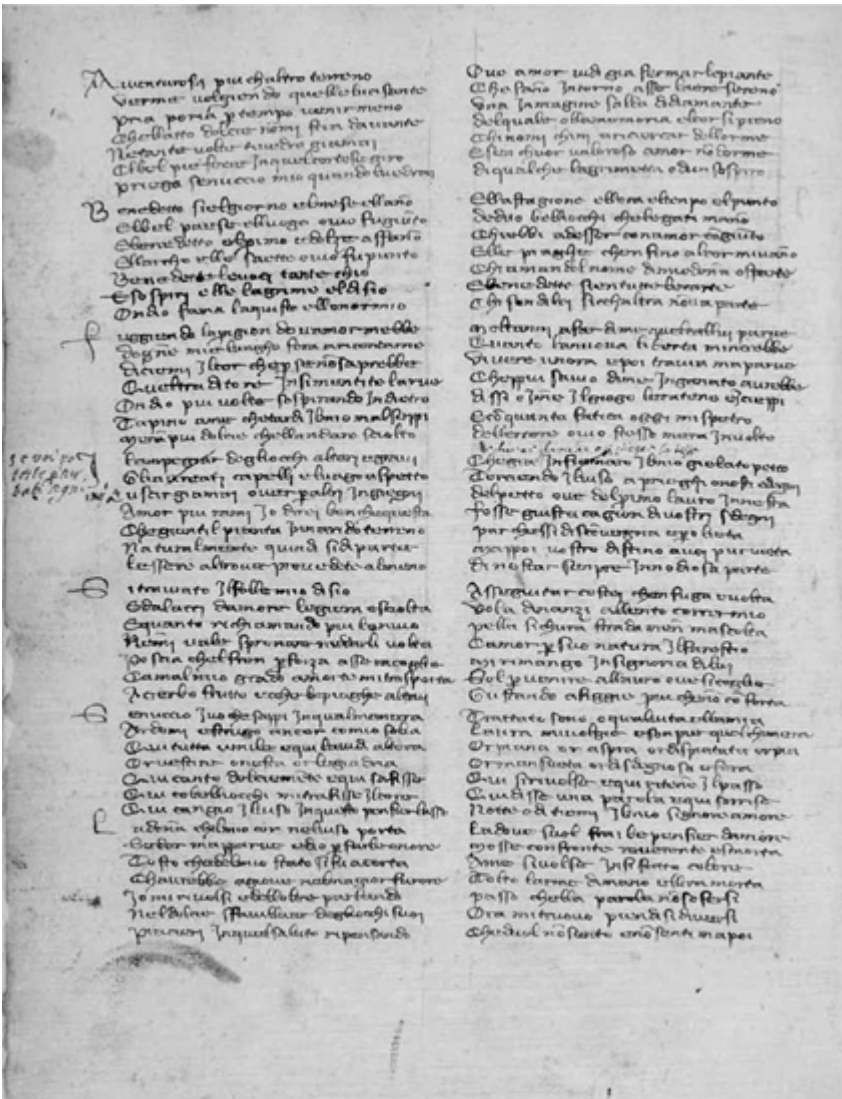


Figure 4.4 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1100, fol. 13v. (Example of Petrarch's formatting for sonnets and ballate [text to be read horizontally from left to right: first line of the left-hand column, first line of the right-hand column, second line of the left-hand column, etc.] )

The poems in single-column sections are generally copied in prose format, but the correspondence between written line and poetic verse is as inconsistent as the method of notating verse breaks. In some poems, the scribe indicates the end of each verse with *puncti*, while in others he marks the verses with single or double *virgule* and in others still with two parallel, horizontal dashes (=). Often, however, close spacing and ambiguous pen strokes obscure these signs and compel the reader to scrutinize the text in order to parse out the structure. The scribe's tendency to split verses between lines haphazardly when he runs out of space further complicates the reader's

ability to discern poetic structure. Only in the double-column section of strambotti and other short lyrics on fol. 9r through 13v is Magliabechiano 1078's scribe particularly concerned with maintaining the integrity of the poetic verse. More often, though, he seems to have made no effort at all to demarcate the verse structure, thoroughly depriving the reader of the usual tools used to identify the genre, rhyme scheme, and prosody—all of which are elements central to medieval categorizations of Trecento lyric poetry.

Inconsistent in his delineation of stanzas and entire poems as well, Magliabechiano 1078's scribe often leaves the reader guessing about even the most basic feature of the lyrics he collects: namely which text belongs to which poem. On fol. 23v, shown in [Figure 4.1](#) on p. 114, the long horizontal stroke placed at the end of the single-stanza ballata *Donna sperar poss'io* would seem to indicate that the opening three paragraphs on the page (the first of which happens to be the ballata *Sia maladetta l'ora*, set to music by Francesco degli Organi) were three stanzas of the same ballata rather than the three separate ballate they actually are. This impression is heightened by the fact that the end of the following monostrophic ballata, *De questa don(n)a amore*, is set off with an identical horizontal stroke. On numerous other occasions, too, Magliabechiano 1078's scribe employs the same kinds of horizontal strokes in similarly inconsistent ways, sometimes using them to mark the end of each stanza in a canzone (as is the case with Fazio degli Uberti's *Ahi donna grande, possente e magnanima*, the first and third stanzas of which appear on fol. 31r) and other times to mark only the end of an entire poem (as we just saw with certain ballate on fol. 23v). Most of Magliabechiano 1078's poems, however, lack even these ambiguous signs, their structure hinted at only through the use of blank space—the situation encountered, for example, in Antonio da Tempo's canzone *Quando il pensiero l'animo conduce* on fol. 30v, among other lyrics. Frustratingly vague in so many respects, Magliabechiano 1078's scribe does occasionally employ brackets analogous to those used in the Vatican *canzoniere* (Vaticano 3793) to highlight the internal division of certain poems. Fol. 29r, for example, contains traces of standard sonnet format: the octet of the anonymous sonnet, *Ardente flama me metisti al core*, appears on four lines and the sestet on three (always with two verses per line) with the division into two component parts illustrated through faint brackets in the margin ([Figure 4.5](#)).

Struggling to untangle the contents of Magliabechiano 1078, one cannot help but wonder how a manuscript that is so extremely hazy and inconsistent in its visual presentation would have been used. It is possible that some of the confusion stems from his ignorance of conventional *mise en page* and/or from misinterpretation of his exemplars. Yet, there are signs—like the brackets on fol. 29r and the inclusion of certain poems by Petrarch, Antonio da Tempo (d. 1339), and other known authors discussed below—that he was neither entirely clueless about the lyric tradition nor wholly unfamiliar with its material transmission. Might the scribe’s primary interaction with these lyrics, then, have been through performance rather than private reading? The easiest and most logical entry into the majority of Magliabechiano 1078’s rhymes is in fact not with the eye but rather with the ear. Read silently, the meter, rhyme, and prosody of each poem remain well hidden, only decipherable through syllable counting and multiple re-readings. Read aloud, on the other hand, the rhyme scheme and verse structure are more easily perceived.

This kind of oral relationship with written poetry stands in opposition to the picture of the late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian literary world I set out above. Speaking of poets’ perspectives on their compositions during the latter part of the Duecento, Wayne Storey notes that “the issue of performance is superseded by the poem’s written textuality in an environment of literary exchange based on the transcribed text.”<sup>31</sup> Interacting with their poems as written entities, authors such as Guittone and Dante are concerned not with performative poetic codes but rather with written transmission and with the distinct possibility of liberal interpretation, or misinterpretation, on the part of the scribe.<sup>32</sup> Of course, this does not mean that poetry was no longer performed or that oral transmission ceased to exist, a point which Storey himself emphasizes and to which I will return later. Still, both Storey’s analysis and the attention to visual presentation of poetry displayed by so many manuscripts from the late thirteenth century on strongly suggest that the text’s written, material form was primary. While the occasional gesture towards visual clarity hints that a concern for the written presentation of poetic structure was present in at least some of Magliabechiano 1078’s exemplars, the manuscript itself gives the impression that ease of interpretation through direct interaction with the written text was not a priority, superfluous to its intended use. Like the Old English sources discussed by O’Brien O’Keeffe that are similarly opaque in their visual

presentation of verse, Magliabechiano 1078 is suffused with traces of “residual orality.” While the manuscript itself is a written source copied, as I shall argue below, from written exemplars, it bears the signs of not of a book copied to be read silently like the other sources we have considered thus far, but rather of a book intimately bound to performance.

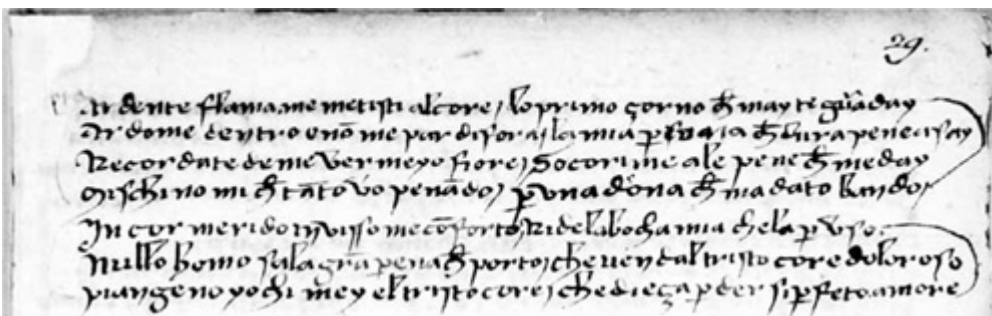


Figure 4.5 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1078, fol. 29r (detail). (Brackets similar to those found in Vaticano 3793 used to delineate the octet and sestet of the anonymous sonnet *Ardenre flama me metisti al core*.) Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence. Further reproduction by any means prohibited. Photo by Mario Setter.

## “Popolare” or “Colto”? Stylistic Hybridity in Magliabechiano 1078 and its Collection of Song Texts

The possibility that Magliabechiano 1078 was intended for recitation has already been suggested by other scholars, most especially Gianluca D’Agostino and Tommaso Casini.<sup>33</sup> Yet, discussion of the manuscript’s performative nature has until now been limited to passing observations that reinforce its association with popular culture, characterizing it as a written testimony of oral tradition. These observations, however, fail to account for the rich stylistic variety exhibited in Magliabechiano 1078’s eclectic lyric collection. To be sure, there are many poems that combine low linguistic registers with bawdy subject matter while employing forms recognized by Dante and others as distinctly un-elevated; in other words, poems that are fully consistent with both modern and medieval conceptions of low style. One prime example of such a text is *Monico son tutto gioioso senza nulla fede*, a pluristrophic ballata set polyphonically by an anonymous Trecento composer, despite being rather atypical for a song text.<sup>34</sup> Both D’Agostino

and Casini link pluristrophism to low style in ballate, and in the case of *Monico son*, such classification holds true.<sup>35</sup> Narrated by a self-professed faithless monk, this ballata details his scandalous exploits in love, which of course take place within the monastery's walls, through a series of not-so-subtle double entendres. The witty *ripresa*, repeated after every stanza, hammers home the poem's sacrilegious premise, prompting one later reader to censor the text by carefully crossing out all its monastic references: "monicho son tuto çoyoso sença nula fede / biancho bello et amoroso mato chi me crede" ("monk I am, joyous and without faith / white, handsome, and loving, anyone who believes me is crazy").

Many of Magliabechiano 1078's ballate, however, defy simple classification. Some, such as *Amor amaro qua(n)to me fay languire* on fol. 20v and *Post'a nel tuo valore signor mio* on fol. 21v (both anonymous *uniche*), display some of the same formal elements found in *Monico son*—pluristrophism with the *ripresa* repeated after each stanza—while simultaneously invoking characteristics typically associated with *poesia aulica*, or "high art" poetry, most notably the elevated language and imagery of courtly love codified in the canzoni of the *stilnovisti*.<sup>36</sup> At the same time, other ballate reference high style in terms of their form but are risqué and indecorous in their subject matter and vocabulary. *Do mala vechia lo mal fuoco t'a(r)da* (fol. 36v), typical of such lyrics, is hendecasyllabic, monostrophic, and copied with no indication at all that the *ripresa* should be repeated. Yet, as a crude invective against an old lady who has imprisoned the poet's *donna*, it invokes rather colloquial language and tone to mirror its unsophisticated subject matter.<sup>37</sup>

While much of Magliabechiano 1078's repertoire adopts various linguistic and formal elements of low style, several of its poems fall firmly within the category of high art poetry, complicating attempts to categorize the manuscript as a collection of either popular or oral poetry even more so than the hybrid poems discussed above. Most conspicuous in this regard are its 12 attributable poems (listed in [Table 4.2](#)), all of which feature a refined lexicon and artful poetic structure. We must remember, too, that while lyrics like Petrarch's sonnet *Benedetto sia 'l giorno, e 'l mese et l'anno* (RVF, LXI) and the canzoni by Antonio da Tempo and Fazio degli Uberti (d. after 1367) almost certainly entered the oral realm from time to time through recitation, they were never truly part of an oral tradition. Rather, they were born into the visually-oriented written tradition discussed above.



Furthermore, even if they may sometimes have been recited in a song-like manner, such lyrics would not have been set to music during the fourteenth century.<sup>38</sup> In spite of its large concentration of ballate and strambotti, Magliabechiano 1078 seems not to have been a collection of poems gathered together because of their shared musicality; not, in other words, a collection specifically focused on so-called *poesia per musica*.

Table 4.2 Attributable texts in Magliabechiano 1078

| Fol. | Incipit                                                | Poet                      | Genre    |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------|
| 3r   | Benedetto sia 'l giorno e 'l mese e l'anno             | Petrarch                  | Sonnet   |
| 4r   | Poi che la fortuna e 'l mondo me vuol più contrastar   | Frate Stoppa dei Bostichi | Ballata  |
| 22v  | A ti Signor la mia vita comando                        | Antonio da Tempo          | Ballata  |
| 22v  | Mercede è la parola che più chiama                     | Antonio da Tempo          | Ballata  |
| 22v  | Quando di prova vede mio intelletto                    | Antonio da Tempo          | Ballata  |
| 24v  | Io son la mala pianta di suberba                       | Fazio degli Uberti        | Sonnet   |
| 27r  | Or si disparte la speranza mia                         | Giovan Matteo di Meglio   | Ballata  |
| 30r  | Tutto sfredito per la gran rosata                      | Antonio da Tempo          | Madrigal |
| 30v  | Quando 'l pensiero l'animo conduce (cont. on fol. 32r) | Antonio da Tempo          | Canzone  |
| 31r  | Ahi donna grande possente e magnanima                  | Fazio degli Uberti        | Canzone  |
| 34r  | Mentre d'amor pensava io udii gridare                  | Giannozzo Sacchetti       | Caccia   |
| 36v  | Perché la bianca neve cader vidi                       | Antonio da Tempo          | Madrigal |

\* Incipits modernized and standardized. Poet and genre indications not included in manuscript.

Of Magliabechiano 1078's attributable poems, the collection of texts by Antonio da Tempo (three ballate and two madrigals in addition to two canzoni) raises the most intriguing questions about the manuscript's exemplars and about its scribe's interaction with poetry as a written tradition. All seven are texts taken from da Tempo's didactic treatise on vernacular poetry, *Summa artis rithimici vulgaris dictaminis*, known to musicologists for its famous description of the madrigal that addresses not only the poetic genre but also the kind of music to which it was typically set. In da Tempo's *Summa*, these lyrics serve as examples to teach aspiring poets how to correctly write in each genre discussed, and it is likely that Magliabechiano 1078's scribe came to know them in that context.<sup>39</sup> Their presence here suggests that he was interested in composing poetry as well as in reciting it, though this particular manuscript is more a product of the latter than the former. Even if he encountered them through other channels, the

didactic nature of these seven poems nonetheless ties them firmly to the written tradition in terms of their creation and primary circulation.

Turning at last to Magliabechiano 1078's song texts, they do as much to unsettle the manuscript's traditional associations with "popular" and "folk-like" style (*poesia popolare* and *poesia popolareggiante*) as its lyric collection on the whole. All but one of the ballate with musical concordances call upon the same formal characteristics of high style discussed above: they are monostrophic poems with the repeat of the *ripresa* indicated only at the end, if at all.<sup>40</sup> In fact, the majority of Magliabechiano 1078's song texts, including those that have been categorized as *siciliane*, are among the manuscript's most refined lyrics.<sup>41</sup> Narrated by the male lover, 13 ballate employ the language, themes, and imagery typical of elevated amorous poetry: the beauty of the idealized *donna*, the pain of unrequited love, the *donna angelica* (angelic lady), and the theme of *partenza* (departure) or separation of the lovers. Describing the lady's eyes and her pious face (*viso pio*), the various male narrators tell us of their fidelity, their suffering (*martiri*), and their tears, begging the *donna* for pity and mercy. In addition to the widespread lexical links to fourteenth-century *poesia aulica*, Magliabechiano 1078's collection of song texts contains at least one specific intertextual reference to that tradition. *Sia maladetta l'ora e 'l dì ch'io venni* (fol. 23v), set to music elsewhere by Francesco degli Organi, loosely parodies the famous Petrarchan sonnet mentioned above, *Benedetto sia 'l giorno*, which appears in Magliabechiano 1078 without attribution on fol. 3r.<sup>42</sup>

But like the non-musical ballate, Magliabechiano 1078's song texts do not fit exclusively into one registral category or another. Four are rather less refined in their subject matter and lexicon, touching on themes common among low style poetry from the Trecento: *malmaritata*, invectives against and criticism of women and wives, and accounts of the scandalous exploits of monks.<sup>43</sup> *Piacesse a Dio ch'i' non fossi ma' nata* (fol. 23r), for example, relates the woes of a young woman who, unhappily married to a white-bearded, old man, wishes she had never been born. While it employs formal elements associated with high style (monostrophism and mixed seven- and eleven-syllable verses), its theme and its tone are decidedly unrefined. Similarly colloquial is *La donna mia vuol esser el messere* (fol. 13v), a ballata set to music by Nicolò del Preposto in which an angry husband

expresses displeasure with his unfaithful wife and her tiresome attempts to usurp him as master of the house.

## **Materiality and Function: Towards a New Theory Regarding the Making and Use of Magliabechiano 1078**

If the modern taxonomies typically used to describe Magliabechiano 1078, and late medieval Italian poetry in general, obscure the hybridity of its repertoire, where might we turn instead to develop a new, more nuanced interpretation of the relationship between Magliabechiano 1078's function and its contents—its song texts in particular? I would like to suggest that recent studies on orality and literacy in the Middle Ages offer a useful point of departure for such a task. Scholarship in this field underscores the difficulties of defining medieval literature as either purely oral or purely literate, suggesting that it is more fruitful to recognize a continuum stretching between these two poles.<sup>44</sup> Consequently, we are becoming increasingly aware of the over-simplicity inherent in equating oral with popular and literate with cultivated. In fact, in his 2008 assessment of orality in medieval studies, Alaric Hall goes so far as to question the usefulness of the concept at all in the analysis of medieval literature. Stressing the dangers of applying the orality/literacy axis too widely and too uncritically, Hall warns that it tends to subconsciously perpetuate the earlier ideas of primitivity it aims to move beyond.<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile, Storey and D. H. Green both remind us of the importance of maintaining a clear distinction between oral tradition and oral performance. In other words, oral delivery (either from memory or from physical text) of both poetry and music created as part of a thoroughly literate tradition must be considered separately from and on different terms than true oral poetry, composed and transmitted without writing, for the two differ significantly in their genesis and cultural associations.<sup>46</sup>

The distinction between oral delivery and oral tradition is particularly pertinent to our understanding of Magliabechiano 1078, for as we have just seen some of its repertoire has strong ties to the written tradition. Yet, focused on its song texts and on its less refined ballate and strambotti—all poems that could potentially have been set to music during the late Middle Ages—musicologists have connected the manuscript not just to performance,

but explicitly to the oral tradition, by asserting that several of the poems it collects were written down from memory.<sup>47</sup> While this may perhaps be true for a few isolated texts, the bulk of the manuscript was certainly copied from written exemplars, albeit several different ones. This point is absolutely key to understanding the traces of orality in Magliabechiano 1078 and its 17 song texts and is therefore worthy of further elaboration.

There are, in fact, numerous signs that the manuscript's scribe worked from physical exemplars. In two instances, for example, he erroneously copied poems twice in close proximity, clearly the result of an eye-skip: Petrarch's *Benedetto sia 'l giorno* on fols. 3r and 3v and a strambotto on fols. 11v and 12r, *Mostra me y ochi quay tengo nel core*. The organization of the texts copied in the double-column section extending from fol. 9r to 13v offers further evidence of recourse to a written exemplar. The first group in this section is a series of hendecasyllabic sestets with simple rhyme scheme that are arranged in alphabetical order, each poem opening with a different letter. In the end, the complete alphabet unfolds through these amorous texts that detail the development of the poet's love for his lady, Katerina. Another alphabetically-ordered section of similar strambotti and strambotto-like lyrics follows, this time with several representatives for each letter. Appreciation of such organizational games depends on visual contemplation of physical folios, for this careful ordering would likely go unnoticed, or at the very least would be severely de-emphasized, in an oral performance. Moreover, though it appears to be a rather haphazard collection, Magliabechiano 1078 does not abound with the kinds of corrections and hesitations one might expect to see in work transcribed from memory. That most of the poems are clean, copied to the scribe's satisfaction the first time, argues for the use of written exemplars.

This idiosyncratic manuscript, then, straddles the line between written and oral transmission while simultaneously blurring the boundary between high and low style along with the relationship between these two dichotomies. To adopt the idea of a continuum put forward by literary scholars like Nancy Bradbury, we might envision Magliabechiano 1078 as existing in a fluid two-dimensional space that encompasses two co-existing spectra, one stretching between the opposing poles of oral and written and the other between high and low (or *colto* and *popolare*). Once the act of copying was complete, the scribe's interaction with the poems he collected seems to have been more through performance than silent reading, whether

the book served as a memory aid or a physical prompt for recitation. The poems themselves, though, have material origins, copied from other written sources, at least some of which must have prioritized transparent *mise en page*. This manuscript does not, therefore, offer us a rare glimpse of an oral tradition otherwise absent from the written record, as has previously been suggested. On the contrary, as I proposed at the beginning of this chapter, it is, in a sense, an oral account of a complex and multifaceted written tradition in which poems employing low linguistic registers stand alongside an ample assortment of *poesia aulica* born in a visual, literate poetic world.

If we view Magliabechiano 1078 in this light, our interpretation of its song texts must change. Their presence here can no longer be understood as evidence that they were associated with the oral tradition or with *poesia popolare* and *poesia popolareggiante* as opposed to the world of high art literature. Instead, this collection emerges as a tangible bridge uniting two previously opposing camps: what modern literary scholars typically identify as the purely literary and literate camp of *poesia aulica* and the performative, sound-driven camp of so-called *poesia per musica*. By taking a non-visual approach to poems whose identity is inextricably bound to written tradition—composed on paper, transmitted through writing, and primarily intended to be contemplated through reading—this manuscript highlights a kind of multiplicity in terms of style and reception that is often hidden, if not entirely invisible, in the formal anthologies—notated and unnotated—on which our scholarly discourse usually centers.

I therefore suggest that we allow Magliabechiano 1078 to assume a new role in our picture of Trecento musical life, shifting from a manuscript that affirms the non-literary nature of song texts to one that reflects a fluid cultural world in which poetry and music were fundamentally intertwined, both as art forms to be performed and as art forms to be read. Pushing written poetry into the realm of oral performance, this manuscript brings *poesia* and *musica* closer together conceptually, imbuing poetry of all genres, from ballate to sonnets, with orality, and even with musicality in some sense. At the same time, it makes song “literary.” Divorcing texts from their musical settings, placing them on the page as poetry and with poetry, Magliabechiano 1078 illustrates how song texts—poems that today we too often interpret as primarily, if not exclusively, musical—could participate in one medieval scribe’s personal literary world.

<sup>1</sup> The role of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* in medieval book culture was first outlined in Malcolm Parkes' seminal article, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

<sup>2</sup> For facsimiles of Redi 9 and Banco Rari 217, see Lino Leonardi, ed., *I canzonieri della lirica italiana delle origini*, vols. 2 and 3 (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001). Several of the Machaut manuscripts (for example MS E, BnF fonds fr. 9221, and MS F, BnF fonds fr. 22545) and several of the extant troubadour and trouvère chansonniers (for example the Chansonnier Cangé, BnF fonds fr. 846) can be viewed through Gallica (<http://gallica.bnf.fr> [accessed May 9, 2014]), the digital collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

<sup>3</sup> For a more in-depth discussion of the Trecento notated sources and a comparison between their material form and that of the literary sources, see Chapter 6.

<sup>4</sup> Much more so than Tuscany, its neighboring region to the south, Emilia Romagna was politically fractured during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, its key cities under the control of several different ruling families: the Este family in Modena and Ferrara, the Visconti family in Parma and Piacenza, and the Malatesta family in Rimini, to name the most prominent. While Florence remained a republic until the rise of the Medici in the mid-fifteenth century, courtly culture and dynastic politics dominated the cities of Emilia Romagna as early as the thirteenth century. Magliabechiano 1078 was copied in the territory of Reggio Emilia (which lies between Modena and Parma), ruled by various members of the Este family during the fourteenth and fifteenth century. See Sonia Maura Barillari, "La 'coppia d'Arimino' fra il *Triumphus cupidinis* e il Purgatorio di san Patrizio. (Una ballata per Viola Novella dal codice Magliabechiano VII, 1078)," in *Dai pochi ai molti. Studi in onore di Roberto Antonelli*, ed. P. Canettieri and A. Punzi (Rome: Viella, 2012).

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, the studies by Elizabeth Aubrey, Richard Trachsler, and Leonard Johnson discussed in Chapter 1.

<sup>6</sup> As performers typically recited poetry from memory, whether improvising or performing pre-existing works, the former hypothesis is more likely than the latter. For more on the practice of poetic recitation in late medieval Italy, including the recitation of poetry firmly connected by modern scholarship to the written tradition, see Timothy McGee, *Ceremonial Musicians of Late Medieval Florence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), ch. 3; Elena Abramov-van Rijk, *Parlar Cantando: The Practice of Reciting Verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2009); James Haar, "Improvisatori and Their Relationship to Sixteenth-Century Music," in *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); and Blake McDowell Wilson, *Dominion of the Ear: Memory, Performance, and Oral Poetry in Early Renaissance Italy* (forthcoming), ch. 2. I thank Professor Wilson for sharing a draft of this work in progress.

<sup>7</sup> In particular, Gallo, D'Agostino, Ziino, and Corsi have all noted the presence of song texts in Magliabechiano 1078. See F. Alberto Gallo, "The Musical and Literary Tradition of Fourteenth Century Poetry Set to Music," in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984); Gianluca D'Agostino, "La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento: una revisione per i dati e problemi. (L'area toscana)," in *Col dolce suon che da te piove: studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo in memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999); Agostino Ziino, "Rime per musica e danza," in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 2, *Il Trecento* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1995); and Guiseppe Corsi, *Poesie musicali del Trecento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970).

<sup>8</sup> Tommaso Casini, “Da un repertorio giullaresco,” in *Studi di poesia* (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1913), 120 (originally published in 1889 in the *Propugnatore*, vol. II, parts I and II).

<sup>9</sup> Again, see especially D’Agostino, “Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali.” Also see D’Agostino “On the Ballata Form(s) of Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Case of Historical Misunderstanding,” in “*Et facciam dolci canti*”: *Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleanno*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Teresa M. Gialdroni, and Annuziato Pugliese (Lucca: LIM, 2004). In addition, Magliabechiano 1078 is recognized as a source of “popular” literature by Emilio Pasquini. See Pasquini “Letteratura popolare e popolareggiante,” in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 2, *Il Trecento*, (Rome: Salerno, 1995), 926. Neither D’Agostino nor Pasquini, however, discuss Magliabechiano 1078 in detail. The most extensive study of the manuscript since Casini’s work is an article by Sonia Maura Barillari centered on one of its anonymous ballate, *Città d’Arimin[i] bella*, which includes a codicological description and an inventory of incipits (though not a list authors or concordances). See Barillari, “La ‘coppia d’Arimino.’”

<sup>10</sup> In her recent work on Magliabechiano 1078, Sonia Maura Barillari makes similar observations about the manuscript’s contents and also expresses similar misgivings about straightforward classification of its repertoire as both “popular” and “oral.” I thank Professor Barillari for sharing her work with me prior to publication. Barillari, “La ‘coppia d’Arimino.’”

<sup>11</sup> See Pasquini’s description of Magliabechiano 1078 and popular literature in the Veneto, Pasquini, “Letteratura popolare,” 929. Also see Furio Brugnolo, “La poesia del Trecento,” in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 10, *La tradizione dei testi* (Rome: Salerno, 2001), 224–6.

<sup>12</sup> Tight binding and numerous repairs make Magliabechiano 1078’s current gathering structure difficult to discern. Nevertheless, Sonia Maura Barillari offers one possible collation model in her recent study of the manuscript. See Barillari, “La ‘coppia d’Arimino.’”

<sup>13</sup> Barillari suggests that the first gathering runs from fol. 1 to fol. 14. It is also possible, however, that the gathering encompasses fol. 15 as well, and that these 15 folios were linked together as a unit from the start, perhaps even beginning life as an independent booklet. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that fol. 15v was originally blank (its text was added later than the rest of the poems in the first gathering). Moreover, judging from the discoloration of fol. 1r and fol. 15v, these 15 folios may have remained unbound for some period of time. I thank Professor Stefano Zamponi for his generous help in interpreting Magliabechiano 1078’s complicated codicological situation and most especially for his observations regarding the possible temporary independence of the first 15 folios.

<sup>14</sup> For more specific information on the foliation and its few irregularities, see the codicological description in Appendix 2.

<sup>15</sup> The main scribe’s hand shows influence of both *mercantesca* and *cancellaresca* scripts. Long, pointed descenders and angular flags added frequently at the top of ascenders are typical of *cancellaresca* while the consistent use of a ligature between the letters *c* and *h* with a rounded eyelet is characteristic of *mercantesca*. The hand’s high degree of simplification can be seen particularly clearly in letters such as *a* and *g*.

<sup>16</sup> To cite a musically relevant example, the words *monico* (monk) and *monastero* (monastery) have been crossed out each time they appear in the ballata *Monico son tutto gioioso senza nulla fede* on folio 27v. The texts of *Kyrie kyrie pregne per le monache* on fol. 3v, *De ben feci la gra(n) pacia* on fol. 6v, *Laxa mi como faraço* on fols. 18v–19r, *E do laxa mi topina sagurata* on fol. 19r, *Dime bruneta dal polito viso* on fol. 31v, and *Sapete ‘l ben fida mia* on fol. 32r have been similarly mutilated.

<sup>17</sup> Wayne Storey remarks on the editorial aspects of reading, particularly in regards to thirteenth-century readers who were often faced with texts that were visually ambiguous in a variety of ways. See

H. Wayne Storey, *Transcription and Visual Poetics in the Early Italian Lyric* (New York: Garland, 1993), 75–6.

<sup>18</sup> On the importance of metric genre in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian lyric, see Storey, *Transcription*, 97–8. The centrality of genre is, of course, also illustrated by early treatises on the art of vernacular poetry from Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* to Antonio da Tempo's *Summa artis rithmicitis vulgaris dictaminis*, as is the emphasis on prosody and rhyme.

<sup>19</sup> Storey has published extensively on visual poetics and material aspects of early Italian poetry. In addition to his monograph, *Transcription and Visual Poetics in Early Italian Lyric*, see H. Wayne Storey, "Cultural Crisis and Material Innovation: The Italian Manuscript in the XIVth Century," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire. Belgische tijdschrift voor philologie en geschiedenis* 83 (2005); "Canzoniere e Petrarchismo: un paradigma di orientamento formale e materiale," in *Petrarchismo: un modello di poesia per l'Europa*, ed. Loredana Chines (Rome: Bulzoni, 2006); "The Early Editorial Forms of Dante's Lyrics," in *Dante for the New Millennium*, ed. Teodolinda Barolini and H. Wayne Storey (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003); "Sulle orme di Guittone: i programmi grafico-visivi del codice BNCF Banco Rari 217," in *Studi vari di lingua e letteratura italiana: in onore di Giuseppe Velli* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Universitario, 2000); and "Di libello in libro: problemi materiali nella poetica di Monte Andrea e Dante," in *Da Guido Guinizelli a Dante: nuove prospettive sulla lirica del Duecento*, ed. Furio Brugnolo and Gianfelice Peron (Padova: Poligrafo, 2004).

<sup>20</sup> Storey, *Transcription*, xxi.

<sup>21</sup> Storey, *Transcription*, xxiv.

<sup>22</sup> Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>23</sup> O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, 5.

<sup>24</sup> O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, 5–6.

<sup>25</sup> I refer here to the three major *canzonieri* that transmit early Italian lyric poetry: Vaticano 3793, Banco Rari 217, and Redi 9.

<sup>26</sup> This last situation can be found in Madrid, Biblioteca del Monasterio, Escorial e. III. 23. See Storey, *Transcription*, 173. The second, with the first verse of each tercet copied on its own, characterizes the presentation of sonnets in Banco Rari 217. See Teresa De Robertis' description of the poetic formatting in the Palatino *canzoniere*: "Descrizione e storia del canzoniere Palatino," in *I canzonieri della lirica italiana delle origini*, ed. Lino Leonardi (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001), 324–6. Finally, the first is exemplified by the Vatican *canzoniere*, Vaticano 3793.

<sup>27</sup> Storey, *Transcription*, 97–8.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, the formatting of the canzoni in Banco Rari 217 and Vaticano 3793.

<sup>29</sup> See especially chapters 5 and 6 in Storey, *Transcription*. Also see Storey "Petrarchismo."

<sup>30</sup> Manuscripts from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century that fit this description include Sacchetti's autograph (Ashburnham 574, dating from the late Trecento); Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.IV.114 (a fifteenth-century collection of "ancient rhymes"); Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 624 (a late fourteenth-century collection including poems by Alesso di Guido Donati, Dante, and Sennuccio del Bene); and the penultimate fascicle of Magliabechiano 1040 (a fourteenth-century collection of canzoni by Dante and others). For more information on this particular section of Magliabechiano 1040, see Domenico De Robertis, "Un codice di rime dantesche ora ricostruito (Strozzi 620)," *Studi Danteschi* 36 (1959).

<sup>31</sup> Storey, *Transcription*, 113.

<sup>32</sup> Storey, *Transcription*, 114–15.



<sup>33</sup> As mentioned above, Casini suggests that Magliabechiano 1078 belonged to a minstrel (*giullare*). See Casini, “Repertorio giullaresco,” 119. Also see D’Agostino, “Tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali,” 424–5 and “Ballata forms,” 302–3.

<sup>34</sup> The two-voiced setting of *Monico son*, which appears in Seville 25 has been discussed by Michael Cuthbert. See Michael Scott Cuthbert, “Palimpsests, Sketches, and Extracts: The Organization and Compositions of Seville 5-2-25,” in *L’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento 7*, ed. Francesco Zimei, (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2009).

<sup>35</sup> D’Agostino in particular has written at length on high and low style in the ballata repertoire, identifying two separate lines of development that he argues extend through the entire history of the ballata. The first is a high-level typology consisting of refined poetry that deals with themes of courtly love, has one or a few stanzas of seven- and 11-syllable verses, and does not repeat the *ripresa* between stanzas. The second is a low-level typology consisting of multi-stanzaic poems that are “more popular,” “often rustic,” and written in a “more prosaic language” (to use D’Agostino’s terms). These low-level ballate consist of all seven-syllable, all eight-syllable, or occasionally all 11-syllable verses and have the *ripresa* repeated after each stanza. Although *ars nova* composers generally set poems that fall cleanly into the first category, D’Agostino notes that the second category, rather than the first, was traditionally associated with music and dance: some include internal references to singing and dancing, and rubrics often label them *canzone da ballo* or *cantilena* (song for dancing, or little song). See D’Agostino, “Ballata forms.”

<sup>36</sup> Casini singles out both poems as being particularly “literary” in their meter and prosody, tone, and language. Casini, “Repertorio giullaresco,” 173 and 186.

<sup>37</sup> The metric form of this poem is not particularly clear from its *mise en page*. However, in spite of some irregularities Casini classifies it as a ballata. Casini, “Repertorio giullaresco,” 217.

<sup>38</sup> Again, for more on the oral performance of poetry in late medieval Italy, see McGee, *Ceremonial Musicians*; Abramov-van Rijk, *Parlar Cantando*; Haar, “*Improvisatori*,” and Wilson, *Dominion of the Ear*.

<sup>39</sup> The extent to which da Tempo’s lyrics circulated independently of his treatise is unclear, as all of the scholarship pertaining to the author focuses exclusively on the *Summa*. For a discussion of the manuscripts in which the treatise is found, see Antonio da Tempo, *Summa artis rithmici vulgaris dictaminis (1332)*, ed. Richard Andrews (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1977).

<sup>40</sup> The one exception to this is *Monico son* (fol. 27v), introduced above. In addition, one other poem, *De sospirar sovente*, is actually a pluristrophic ballata, though it is transmitted here (as in all its musical sources) with only its *ripresa* and first stanza.

<sup>41</sup> For more on siciliane, including the history of the genre and its associations with oral tradition, see F. Alberto Gallo, “Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all’inizio del II Quattrocento: Due ‘siciliane’ del Trecento,” *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1964–77); Nino Pirrotta, “Tradizione orale e tradizione scritta della musica,” in *L’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento 3* (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull’Ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1970); “New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition,” in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); and “Musica polifonica per un testo attribuito a Federico II,” in *L’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento 2* (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull’Ars Nova del Trecento, 1968).

<sup>42</sup> See Pasquini, “Letteratura popolare,” 926–7. For a modern edition of *Sia maladetta*, see Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 220–21.

<sup>43</sup> Poems detailing the inappropriate behavior of monks and nuns (often told from the monk’s point of view, lamenting the hardships of monastic life—i.e. the lack of women) are found in relative abundance in Magliabechiano 1078. Examples include *Kyrie kyrie pregne per le monache* on fol. 3v, *Amo(r) a ti*

*me i(n)clino e dico* on fol. 5r, *Adoro te ançoleta lucida* on fol. 5v, *De be feci la gra(n) pacia* on fol. 6v, and *Laxa mi como faraço* on fol. 18v, in addition to *Monico son*. The theme of the *malmaritata* is represented by several poems including *Ch'io me so' mal maritata* on fol. 34r and *Dona ch(e) sia do(n)zella* on fol. 40r. See Casini, "Repertorio giullaresco," 187–94. Finally, various criticisms of women include *Done siatene pregate* on fol. 8r and the several invectives against the *vecchia* protecting the chastity of the young girl, such as *La vecchia d'amor m'a biasemata* on fol. 25v and *Laida vecchia stomegosa* on fol. 37r.

<sup>44</sup> See for example, Lori Ann Garner, "Medieval Voices," *Oral Tradition* 18 /2 (2003); Nancy M. Bradbury, *Writing Aloud: Storytelling in Late Medieval England* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); and O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*. Also see Ruth Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality: Studies in the Technology of Communication* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), esp. chapter 8.

<sup>45</sup> Alaric Hall, "The Orality of a Silent Age: The Place of Orality in Medieval Studies," in *Methods and the Medievalist: Current Approaches in Medieval Studies*, ed. Jesse Keskiäho, Marko Lamberg, Elina Räsänen, and Olga Timofeeva with Leila Virtanen (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008).

<sup>46</sup> D. H. Green, "Orality and Reading: The State of Research in Medieval Studies," *Speculum* 65 /2 (1990): 271.

<sup>47</sup> The possibility that some of Magliabechiano 1078's texts were copied by memory has been most directly commented upon by Giuseppe Corsi and by Casini. See Giuseppe Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 156 and Casini, "Repertorio giullaresco," 165, 206, and 223.

## Ovid's *Heroides*, Florentine *Volgarizzamenti*, and Unnotated Song in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61 and Magliabechiano VII 1040

If Magliabechiano 1078, with its exceptional visual ambiguity, reveals its mysteries slowly, our next object of study does just the opposite. The collection of lyric poetry copied at the end of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61 flaunts its individuality through its arresting appearance.<sup>1</sup> It is fitting, then, that we begin not with music or with poetry but rather with an image. [Figure 5.1](#) shows fol. 100r of Florence 61. Here, we find two ballate set elsewhere to music by Nicolò del Preposto, *Non più dirò giamai così farò* and *Ciascun faccia per se*, presented with a conspicuously unorthodox *mise en page*. Replacing the precision and symmetry so characteristic of late medieval manuscripts are disproportionate columns delineated by thick, awkward lines.

Even more bizarre than the lopsided layout is what fills the surplus space at the bottom of the right-hand column. Several knights in armor and one man in quotidian medieval clothing stand sketched against the background of a large dome-like pavilion. Shields and flags with various family stems decorate the scene, and on the top of the pavilion a trumpeter peeks out, instrument to mouth, calling the knights to battle. The men, far from nondescript, appear with labels relating their names or titles, while their shields display the heraldry of specific families. The simple heraldic devices are too vague to identify without the assistance of color. However, the most prominent shield—that with an eagle, repeated several times on surrounding

pages as well—is specific enough even in this ink sketch to be identified as the stem of the Bonaguisi family.<sup>2</sup>



Figure 5.1 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61, fol. 100r. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence. Further reproduction by any means prohibited. Photo by Mario Setter.

The Bonaguisi’s heraldry on the last few folios of Florence 61 is no coincidence. Rather, it strongly suggests that the entire book, in spite of being a composite manuscript, belonged to and was most likely copied by a certain Amelio Bonaguisi, the self-named scribe of its first section. Across the opening, on the top of folio 99v, a second scene (pictured in [Figure 5.2](#)) confirms Amelio’s connection with this final section. Above a group of

knights in armor riding into battle brandishing their lances and sporting the Bonaguisi stem on their shields a small inscription reads, “*Amelio fugire dinanzi ard[ ... ] e lasciato padiglione.*”<sup>3</sup>

The drawings in Florence 61, then, seem to represent more than generic medieval scenes. They are windows into the specific exploits (real or imagined, we cannot know) of the manuscript’s owner, reader, and scribe. Useful not only because they shed light on the group of ballate copied on the final folios of Florence 61, these drawings help us to reconstruct the cultural context surrounding an unusual collection of poetry found at the end of another manuscript also housed in Florence’s Biblioteca Nazionale: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1040. The last fascicle of this composite manuscript, described and inventoried by Domenico De Robertis,<sup>4</sup> is well known to musicologists for its short section of siciliane. It also collects Italian ballate, sonnets, and strambotti (including a few poems by noteworthy poets such as Dante and Cavalcanti) as well as a selection of short, playful French lyrics in various refrain forms.<sup>5</sup> Copied with the same idiosyncratic *mise en page*, the last fascicle of Magliabechiano 1040 and last fascicle of Florence 61 were originally part of a single manuscript that contained a distinctive collection of lyric poetry along with an Italian translation of Ovid’s *Heroides*.

On the surface, this poetic collection seems to have much in common with Magliabechiano 1078, discussed in [Chapter 4](#). Its visual appearance, unconventionally sloppy, distances it from an elite cultural sphere. Moreover, aside from a few poems by famous authors, it too primarily features anonymous, pluristrophic ballate and other lyrics that are more low than high in their linguistic register and style. Because of these characteristics, the final section of Magliabechiano 1040, like Magliabechiano 1078, has been singled out on more than one occasion as being *popolare* (“popular”) in nature. Yet in spite of their similarities, these manuscripts are two very different cultural objects. Together they hint at the wide variety of environments in which Trecento song circulated as music and as poetry. Though seemingly haphazard and informal, the collection of poems in Florence 61 and Magliabechiano 1040 lacks the traces of oral performance found in Magliabechiano 1078. Individual poems stand apart from each other, placed in boxes ruled on all sides by thick bounding lines. Moreover, the internal poetic structure is highlighted through the use of verse (rather than prose) format, *virgule* (slashes) to emphasize the end of each verse, and

enlarged initials (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). Thus while the collection's ruling and decoration are eccentric, the formatting of the texts themselves exhibits the kind of transparency we expect of the written poetic tradition. At the same time, in terms of its material form and the socio-cultural milieu to which it is bound, Amelio's manuscript bears little resemblance to the musical sources with which it shares concordances. Through analysis of its contents and investigation into the identity of its scribe and owner, I argue that Florence 61 and the final fascicle of Magliabechiano 1040 originate in middle-class, mercantile Florence at the turn of the fifteenth century.



Figure 5.2 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61, fol. 99v. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence. Further reproduction by any means prohibited. Photo by Mario Setter.

## A *Zibaldone* Reconstructed

Both Florence 61 and Magliabechiano 1040 are codicologically and paleographically complex.<sup>6</sup> We must therefore begin by sorting out their physical structure. In what follows, I am primarily concerned with reuniting the two extant fragments of Amelio's *zibaldone* (or personal miscellany), for the relationship between them has hitherto escaped scholarly notice. In its current form, Florence 61 consists of three distinct units. The first and third were originally part of two separate and larger books, their initial forms revealed by the older foliations that appear in each section.<sup>7</sup> When exactly the three fragments came to be joined together, it is impossible to say. However, we do know that they were already united by 1755 when the manuscript passed from the hands of the Biblioteca Gaddiana to the Biblioteca Magliabechiana, for the inventory now bound into the front of Florence 61, and signed by Casparis Gaddi (the book's owner) in 1755 at the time of the sale, lists its current contents.

The original relationship between Florence 61's units is difficult to untangle. Each characterized by its own codicological and paleographic features, the fragments clearly stem from three separate books. Yet, the striking overall similarity between them suggests all three units were primarily copied by a single scribe (Amelio), who operated in close collaboration with a second copyist in the prose section of the final unit.<sup>8</sup> The letter forms and overall appearance of the script in Florence 61's three units is remarkably similar,<sup>9</sup> and the slight differences in script and punctuation preferences observable within the main hand from one unit to another can be explained by each being copied at a different point in the scribe's life.<sup>10</sup> Given the flexibility in the *ductus* and style of the script found in the relevant section of Magliabechiano 1040, a certain amount of variation in paleographic features is not surprising. By far the most compelling link between Florence 61's composite parts, however, is the pictorial evidence discussed above. The illustration of Amelio on Florence 61's fol. 99v and the frequently appearing heraldic device of the Bonaguasi family—all copied at the same time and with the same ink as the poetic texts adjacent to them—strongly suggest that the scribe of the first unit, self-identified on fol. 40v as Amelio Bonaguasi son of Giachino and *podestà* of Cerreto Guidi, copied the third unit as well.

Magliabechiano 1040, also a composite manuscript, consists of 10 fragments from various different sources. In contrast with Florence 61, its units are distinct in their provenance, each the product of a different scribe and dating from a different era, ranging from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, and only the final unit bears any connection to Amelio. The manuscript's modest modern cardboard binding offers no obvious clues as to when precisely the miscellany was first gathered together into its current form, but various shelf marks scattered throughout indicate that several units had independent lives as fragments before being bound together as they are today.<sup>11</sup> Because Magliabechiano 1040 has already been described, inventoried, and discussed in detail by Domenico De Robertis, I shall proceed immediately to considering the relationship between its final section and Florence 61.<sup>12</sup>

The tenth and final codex in Magliabechiano 1040 (fols. 48–57) is a single quintern of normal construction. Its paper folios, trimmed heavily, have suffered varying amounts of damage over the years, some fairly substantial. Given the particularly harsh wear and discoloration on fol. 48r, the gathering was likely kept unbound and uncovered for some period of time. Yet, traces of an old numbering in the top right-hand corner of each recto confirm that this fascicle was originally part of a much larger manuscript. Not always legible due to the severe trimming, the original foliation, with each number enclosed in a three-sided box, appears to number the whole gathering starting from 155 on modern fol. 48r.

The most striking feature of this section—its casual division into columns with sloppy freehand lines—encourages comparison with the end of Florence 61, uncannily similar in its layout. Examined side-by-side, the last section of Magliabechiano 1040 (see [Figure 5.3](#)) and the poetic collection at the end of Florence 61 (see [Figures 5.1](#) and [5.2](#)) are not only identical in their *mise en page*, they are also linked through the old foliation, which is continuous between the two sections. As shown in [Figure 5.4](#), the final folio in Florence 61 is labeled “154” by the same hand and with the same format as the old foliation in the final section of Magliabechiano 1040. There, on modern fol. 48r we find traces of the number 155 and can see quite clearly the number 156 on modern fol. 49r. Visible in several other places as well, this older foliation also reveals that some pages in Magliabechiano 1040 have been bound out of order.<sup>13</sup>



Mention must also be made of the similarity of hands in the two fragments. The visual appearance of the poems at the end of Florence 61 is relatively consistent. Copied almost entirely in a single scribal layer, these poems form a comparatively unified collection to which only a few later additions were made. The continuation in Magliabechiano 1040, however, is much more inconsistent in its outward appearance—pen, ink, and even *ductus*, size, and style of the script changing from poem to poem. While the Italian lyrics appear in a (usually) clear *mercantesca* that strongly resembles the hand in Florence 61, the script used for French lyrics has a conspicuous *bastarde* influence (a script typically associated with the French vernacular). Despite the fickle nature of the script throughout Magliabechiano 1040's last unit, De Robertis suggests that a single scribe is responsible for the majority of the poems. He attributes only one, *Si jay rien fait qui soyt vous desplasa(n)se* on fol. 53v, securely to a second hand. Regarding several others, for example the texts on fol. 54v, De Robertis expresses doubts, questioning whether the presence of a second scribe or simply a change in the size of the script best account for this folio's disparate appearance.<sup>14</sup> His hesitance speaks to the fragment's complexity. The constant changes in pen and ink combined with the frequently shifting appearance of the script make it difficult to formulate decisive conclusions. Nevertheless, the numerous similarities between poems and the consistent *mise en page* suggest that the entire poetic collection, including the words and phrases in gothic script, is most likely the work of a single copyist who is extremely flexible in his *ductus*, perhaps modifying the style of his script to mirror the style of the exemplar from which he copied.

Combining the last fascicle of Magliabechiano 1040 and the final unit of Florence 61, we have the last third of a relatively large paper codex copied by Amelio Bonaguasi for personal use. If the Magliabechiano fragment was indeed the final fascicle, Amelio's *zibaldone* had 165 folios, the last 49 of which remain today. Heterogeneous in its contents, the manuscript's extant portion features a translation of Ovid's *Heroides* into the Tuscan vernacular (found at the beginning of Florence 61's final unit on fols. 62r–96v), created, its introduction tells us, to teach young men and women the art of love. It is fitting, then, that Amelio appends to it a collection of vernacular poetry prominently featuring amorous themes. I have chosen the word “appends” intentionally because codicological signs show that the hodgepodge poetic

anthology was compiled gradually on blank folios left over at the end of an otherwise orderly codex.

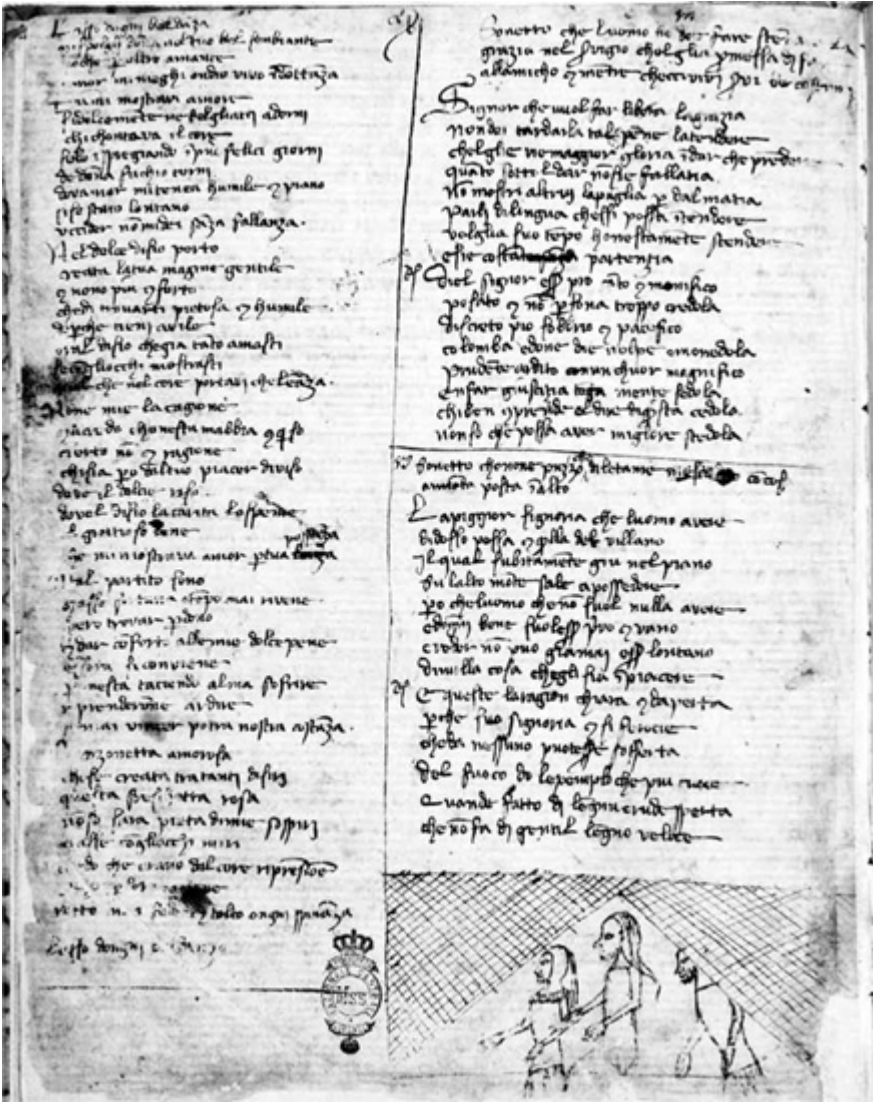
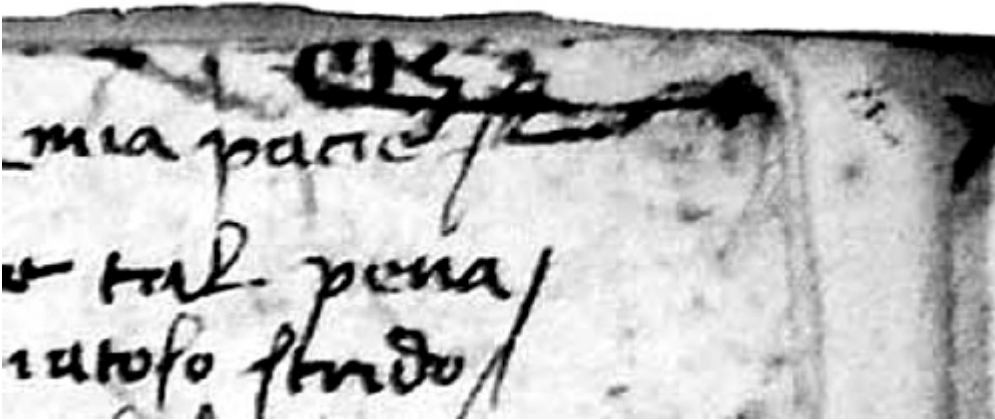


Figure 5.3 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1040, fol. 57v. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence. Further reproduction by any means prohibited. Photo by Mario Setter.



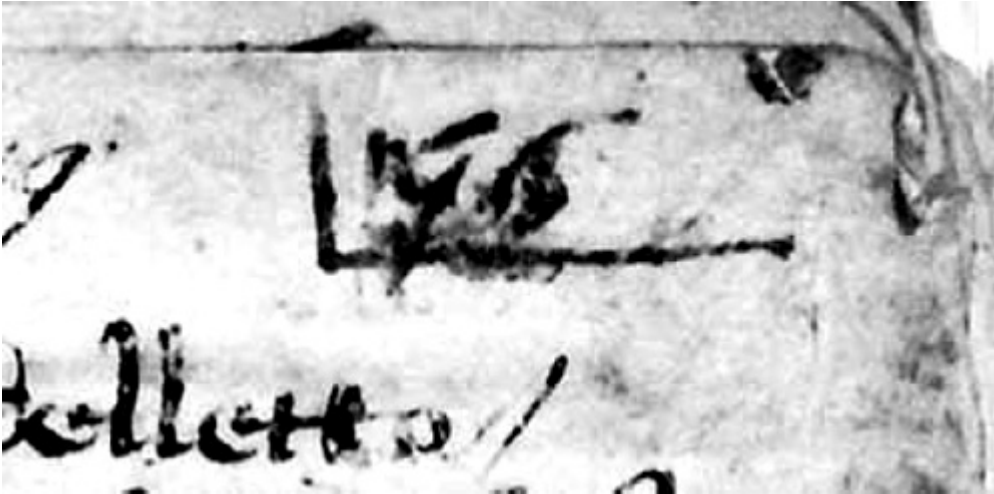
a) Florence 61, fol. 99r (old fol. 153)



b) Florence 61, fol. 100r (old fol. 154)



c) Magliabechiano 1040, fol. 48r (old fol. 155)



d) Magliabechiano 1040, fol. 49r (old fol. 156)

Figure 5.4 Details. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence. Further reproduction by any means prohibited. Photos by Mario Setter.

The section containing Ovid's *Heroides* is comparatively consistent in appearance. Copied in a tidy *mercantesca* script with simple enlarged initials marking the start of each section, it has rubrics announcing the subject of each letter, all written in the same ink and at the same time as the main text. Heavy trimming, especially on the outer edge, along with the poor condition of the paper makes it impossible to tell if the section was ruled at all, and if so how. The only mild oddity in the construction still visible in the manuscript's current form is the mixing of two paper types each linked to a distinct page layout. At some point early in the manuscript's life, the text of Ovid's *Heroides* seems to have incurred damage and was repaired by the original scribe himself, who replaced fols. 76, 78–82, and 85. Later repairs involving the further replacement and recopying of folios (fols. 63–64 and 69–73) suggest that this section continued to be of interest to readers into the seventeenth century. It is unfortunately impossible to know what the first 116 folios of the manuscript may have contained. We can only hypothesize that they were filled with other translations of popular classical texts (*volgarizzamenti*) like the *Heroides* or with other prose works in the vernacular, in line with those commonly collected by Florentine merchants, much like the current first half of Florence 61, which features Marco Polo's *Milione* in its first unit and various texts related to classical philosophy in its second.<sup>15</sup> With this *zibaldone* partially reconstructed, we are now in a

position to consider its contents more closely and to situate Amelio's literary tastes in the broader context of private reading in late fourteenth-century Florence.

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

Amelio's *zibaldone* presents an eclectic assortment of poetry.<sup>16</sup> Juxtaposing poems in a high style with playful lyrics in a low style and mixing various metric genres, themes, and even languages, this collection defies simple categorization. Although its informal physical form and its inclusion of lyrics that invoke a low, humorous style have led scholars to classify the *zibaldone* as "popular," the standard dichotomy between *popolare* (popular) and *colto* (refined) is in fact not particularly helpful in understanding Amelio's literary tastes. A closer look shows the collection's song texts are placed in a flexible and multifaceted lyric environment where distinctions between "high" and "low" and between "musical" and "literary" are smoothed over. Juxtaposing texts and images with strong and often divergent cultural associations, Amelio uses his *zibaldone* to navigate the complex and swiftly changing social matrix driving civic life in late fourteenth-century Florence.

The prose text filling the earlier pages of his *zibaldone*—the vernacularization of Ovid's *Heroides*—conceptually frames Amelio's heterogeneous lyric collection and provides coherent thematic motivation behind many of his poetic selections. This version, translated not by Alberto della Piagentina (to whom Amelio attributes it) but instead by the Florentine notary Filippo Ceffi, dates to c. 1325.<sup>17</sup> The cultural status of Roman classics transmitted in the Tuscan vernacular has been well studied, and the place of Ceffi's translation within this tradition tells us much about Amelio's socio-cultural background. Ovid was extremely popular in Florence during the late Middle Ages, and his *Heroides* circulated widely in both the original Latin and in the *volgare*. The 57 different fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts transmitting Ceffi's text along with the four printed editions published at the end of the Quattrocento testify to the *volgarizzamento*'s fame.<sup>18</sup> Thus, with the possible exception of the few sonnets by Dante and

Cavalcanti, Ovid's *Heroides* is by far the most well-known work in Amelio's *zibaldone*.

Ceffi was active during a period in Florentine history when *volgarizzamenti* were granted a position of high prestige. Early copies of these texts often appear in luxurious manuscripts, and translators frequently dedicated their work to wealthy and powerful patrons.<sup>19</sup> In northern Italian cities like Padua, where ties to French courtly culture were strong, classical literature remained the domain of elite intellectuals, while French chivalric romances circulated more widely. Conversely, in more southerly Florence, a republic during the late Middle Ages (until Cosimo de' Medici's rise to power in 1434), citizens of both the upper and middle classes cultivated an interest in ancient Roman literature and history starting in the second half of the thirteenth century. In the Tuscan city's urban, communal, secular society, traditional medieval values lost their relevance and the morals and oratorical skills classical literature taught gained traction in their place.<sup>20</sup> But despite the popularity of classical literature, fourteenth-century Florentines (including the city's social and economic elite) were largely disinterested in studying the Latin language. Thanks to the city's commerce-driven economy, many citizens learned to read and write. Business, however, was mostly conducted in the vernacular from the early fourteenth century on, and as a result Latin became superfluous for merchants and artisans.<sup>21</sup> Most Florentines, therefore, depended on *volgarizzamenti* prepared by lay intellectuals—men who attended Latin grammar school and possibly university as well—to make famous classical authors such as Cicero, Virgil, Livy, and Ovid accessible to them.<sup>22</sup> Almost entirely localized to Florence and its immediate environs, the trend of translating the great classics into the vernacular can therefore be directly linked to the city's economic boom in the late Duecento and early Trecento.

Amelio's copy of the *Heroides*, however, comes out of a rather different cultural and literary context. In the second half of the century, with Petrarch, Coluccio Salutati, and the new humanism centered on careful contemplation of the great classics in their original Latin, vernacular translations lost their earlier prestige.<sup>23</sup> Humanists expressed their scorn for the vernacular language in general and for *volgarizzamenti* in particular, which they saw as merely pale reflections of the original text's meaning.<sup>24</sup> While scholars disagree on when Florence's social and economic elite began to follow the

humanists in reviving classical learning, by the end of the fifteenth century the Latin language re-emerged as a status symbol.<sup>25</sup> With their physical form mirroring their declining cultural status, in the latter part of the fourteenth century *volgarizzamenti* appear more frequently in basic, plain books, like Amelio's *zibaldone*, primarily copied by amateur scribes for their own personal use.<sup>26</sup> Deluxe manuscripts painstakingly created by professional copyists and illuminators were now reserved for un-translated classical texts instead.<sup>27</sup>

Turning from cultural to literary context, the *Heroides* lends thematic coherence to a lyric collection that otherwise seems random and scattered. Ovid's work takes the form of fictional epistolary poems in elegiac couplets written from the point of view of 15 mythological women famously mistreated by their heroic lovers (Penelope, Oenone, Dido, and Medea, to name a few). In the letters, the women berate their absent lovers for their neglect and misdeeds, from abandonment during the pursuit of a heroic quest (Penelope and Dido) to infidelity (Oenone and Medea). Three full exchanges between yet other mythological pairs follow (Paris and Helen, Leander and Hero, and Acontius and Cydippe), where, in contrast with the opening poems, the protagonists ultimately profess their love for each other, despite some initial reticence on the part of Helen and Cydippe.

Instead of emphasizing fidelity, many of the poems with amorous subject matter in Amelio's *zibaldone* explore themes of betrayal and abandonment from both the male and female perspective. Several adopt a moralizing, or ironically moralizing, tone echoing the negative emotions expressed by the women in the *Heroides* and emphasizing the evils of perfidy. In Niccolò Soldanieri's ballata *Ciascun faccia per se* (fol. 100r of Florence 61, set polyphonically by Nicolò del Preposto), the narrator, bitter and jaded, contemplates revenge, pragmatically advocating that every man fend for himself, for no one is trustworthy. While the poem makes no mention of a lady and only passing reference to love, when juxtaposed with the *Heroides*, its generic subject assumes specificity. In Amelio's *zibaldone*, *Ciascun faccia per se* becomes a declaration of an angry lover, who expresses his intentions to retaliate against his perfidious lady by betraying her as she did him: "Dunque disposto son di far per mi / poi che per ben servir [h]o rotto 'l cho' / e per poter tradir chi mi tradì / con l'archo tese in man sempre starò" ("Thus I am inclined to fend for myself since when serving well I broke my

heart. And so that I am able to betray the one who betrayed me, I will remain always with a bow drawn in my hand”) [9–12].

*Si com ai fatto a me*, an anonymous ballata with no musical concordances, is similarly disparaging of infidelity. It too makes no explicit reference to love, but in the context of Amelio’s *zibaldone*, the reader is encouraged to interpret the poem as a direct address from the author to his lover (or, given that the gender of the speaker and the addressee are unspecified, from a female narrator to her male lover). Like the narrator of *Ciascun faccia per se*, the protagonist here spitefully states his (or her) intention to fight betrayal with betrayal: “Si com’ai fatto a me/ non ti crucciarsi ti rompo la fe” (“As you did to me, don’t fret if I betray your trust.”)

Other poems in the collection are more light-hearted, justifying from the male perspective the kind of fickle behavior that Ovid’s women find so objectionable in their lovers and husbands. Amelio also explores the impermanence of youth and beauty. In the ballata giocosa *Che farai giovinetta* (fol. 48v of Magliabechiano 1040), after asking his *donna* if she will ever love him, the poet threatens that her youth will not last forever and neither will his love if her attitude towards him does not improve. Poems such as this, jarring within the context of *fin’ amours* though by no means uncommon in the wider panorama of Trecento lyric, fit comfortably within the frame the *Heroides* creates: they provide warning of and justification for the infidelity—both perceived and actual—described in Ovid’s fictional epistles and criticized by the *zibaldone*’s moralizing sonnets and gnomic sayings.

While many poems in the lyric section of Amelio’s *zibaldone* can be read as responses from the male perspective to the laments of the female lovers related in the *Heroides*, from time to time women are given a voice as well. In *De sospirar sovente*, a *contrasto* set to music by Francesco degli Organi, the lady converses with her lover and asks him to clarify his intentions. Expressing the *donna*’s uncertainty regarding her lover’s fidelity, this ballata is reminiscent of Helen’s reply to Paris in Ovid’s *Heroides*. Similarly concerned with her honor, Helen, disgusted that Paris has requested she commit adultery, refuses to return his affection (at least initially).

In the context of the *Heroides*’ anti-amorous sentiments, those texts presenting a conventional approach to *fin’ amours* take on new significance. Usually representing the norm against which poems like the aforementioned *Che farai giovinetta* are read as ironic re-interpretations, here the depictions



of idealized love found in the sonnets and ballate that fall into the category of *poesia aulica* are portrayed as the exception rather than the norm, acting as corrective counter-examples to the unusually gloomy shadow cast by the *Heroides*. If, as Ceffi's introduction indicates, Ovid's epistles are to teach young men and women about love through negative example, then poems such as Cavalcanti's *Donna mia non vedesti colui* and *Uno amoroso isguardo spiritale* balance the lesson by being positively didactic, showing the young male lover how he should properly treat his lady.

Considering Amelio's *zibaldone* as a whole, we can thus begin to construct a relatively detailed picture of the literary and cultural context that surrounds its collection of song texts. Indeed, the manuscript itself is consistent with the greater context of *volgarizzamenti* copied during the late Trecento. Adorned only by peculiar sketches and copied by a competent but clearly amateur hand, the material features of Amelio's book are in line with the cultural status of its literary contents. Neither the manuscript nor the texts it transmits are particularly prestigious, and yet at the same time, to classify the poetic collection as "popular" in the traditional sense of the word—as signifying an inherent binary of "*popolare*" and "*colto*," or "high" and "low,"—is an over-simplification. Rather, both its form and its contents situate this *zibaldone* firmly within the culture of Florence's *popolo*. Here and in [Chapter 6](#), I use the term *popolo* to associate Amelio's *zibaldone* with a narrowly circumscribed sociopolitical reality—that of the minor guildsmen and non-elite major guildsmen in late medieval Florence, the *popolo*—which I will discuss in more detail in this chapter's final section.<sup>28</sup>

## Copying Song as Literature

With the physical form and conceptual organization of Amelio's *zibaldone* laid out, we are now in a position to consider its 10 song texts, listed along with their concordances in [Table 5.1](#). These poems are in no way differentiated from those which surround them, their musical lives wholly unmarked. Like the majority of the other poems in the collection, all lack both attribution and rubrics presenting generic designations or other relevant background information, with only one exception: *Né te né altra voglio amar giammai*, labeled "*ballata dolorosa piena di martiri*" ("dolorous ballata filled with suffering") on fol. 48r of Magliabechiano 1040. There is therefore

no evidence to suggest that song texts were seen as musical rather than literary in this context.

The disposition of the song texts, too, indicates Amelio treated them as poems fully integrated into his lyric collection rather than as an independent, unique group. None of the song texts in the Magliabechiano fragment are adjacent, and no two are copied in the same layer of scribal activity. The situation is slightly different in the portion of the collection contained in Florence 61. In this much more homogenous section, the two ballate set by Nicolò del Preposto are adjacent while the two set by Francesco degli Organi (*Or è tal l'alma mia* and *Duolsi la vita e l'anima* on fols. 98r and 98v respectively) are separated by only one ballata with no musical concordances. In addition, each pair was copied in a single scribal layer. The two texts set by Francesco are part of the section's primary layer, which includes all but five of the 19 poems in Florence 61. Meanwhile, the two set by Nicolò, along with the one ballata that immediately precedes them, *Non per disio ma per celar l'amore*, were copied in a different sitting using a thinner nib. Although the song texts in Florence 61 are less isolated from each other than those in the Magliabechiano fragment, they do not seem to be linked because of their musicality. On the contrary, Amelio thoroughly weaves them into the manuscript's poetic fabric.

Table 5.1 Song texts in Amelio Bonaguisi's *zibaldone*<sup>29</sup>

| Fol. | Old fol. | Incipit                              | Composer (poet)                                       | Genre     | Musical concordances | Text concordances              |
|------|----------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 98r  | 152r     | Or è tal alma mia                    | Francesco degli Organi                                | Ballata   | Sq, FP, Pit          |                                |
| 98v  | 152v     | Duolsi la vita e l'anima             | Francesco degli Organi                                | Ballata   | Sq                   |                                |
| 100r | 154r     | Non più dirò, omai così farò         | Nicolò del Preposto                                   | Ballata   | Lo                   | Plut. 43, Parm. 1081, Redi 184 |
| 100r | 154r     | Ciascun faccia per se                | Nicolò del Preposto                                   | Ballata   | Sq, Lo, Pit          | Triv. 193                      |
| 48r  | 155r     | Né te né altra voglio amar giammai   | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Ballata   |                      | Ash. 574                       |
| 48v  | 155v     | De sospirar sovente                  | Francesco degli Organi                                | Ballata   | Sq, SI.              | Magl. 1078                     |
| 54v  | 162v     | Donna, l'animo tuo pur fugge amore   | Francesco degli Organi                                | Ballata   | Sq, FP, Padua 1475   |                                |
| 54v  | 162v     | Tu che l'opere altrui vuo' Giudicare | Francesco degli Organi                                | Madrigal  | Sq, FP               |                                |
| 55r  | 158r     | E par che la vita mia                | Anonymous                                             | Siciliana | Padua 553            |                                |
| 55v  | 158v     | La mente mi riprende                 | Francesco degli Organi                                | Ballata   | Sq, FP               |                                |

\* Incipits modernized and standardized. Composer and genre indications not included in manuscript.

Just as it is clear that the song texts in Amelio's *zibaldone* function as literary texts rather than as musical residue, it is equally clear that they were not copied from a musical exemplar. Of the six criteria for musical derivation laid out in [Chapter 1](#), criteria 1, 5, and 6 are not applicable. Criterion 2—high percentage of musical texts in a given codicological section—is only met by the two song texts on fol. 100r of Florence 61. Criterion 3—fragmentary texts copied without the verses that would appear as the *residuum* in a notated manuscript—is not met in any case. In reality, the opposite situation prevails here. All of the ballate with musical concordances have multiple stanzas, more stanzas in fact than they have in their notated sources. Only one song text is fragmentary, the madrigal *Tu che l'opere altrui vuo' giudicare* (set to music elsewhere by Francesco degli Organi). However, it appears in Magliabechiano 1040 with only the first three verses, missing not only the second two tercets, which would most likely appear in the *residuum* in a notated manuscript, but also the *ritornello* text that would be laid out under the music. Finally, Amelio's *zibaldone* also fails to meet criterion 4—irregular readings that correspond to those found in notated sources.

There is no evidence, then, that the song texts in Amelio's *zibaldone* have direct musical origins. In fact, given the predominance of pluristrophic ballate copied here in full form, it is unlikely that they have indirect musical origins either. While it is not uncommon for notated sources to present multiple stanzas of text in *residuum*, musical manuscripts omit one or more about 50 percent of the time.<sup>30</sup> Like the manuscripts discussed in previous chapters, Florence 61 and Magliabechiano 1040 thus offer a glimpse at a vibrant literary tradition for song texts that is far more widespread than previously thought. In these two fragments—poetic rather than musical in their nature and origins—are traces of exemplars, and exemplars of exemplars, in which song texts must also have been transmitted without notation, copied and re-copied to be enjoyed as literature regardless of whether or not the scribes and readers were aware of their polyphonic settings.

## **Song and Ovid's *Heroides***

Intertwined codicologically with the rest of Amelio's *zibaldone*, the song texts are also linked thematically and linguistically with the book's overarching literary context. All nine of the ballate deal with amorous themes but often feature the same twists noted above in the discussion of the *zibaldone*'s poetic rationale. Even more so than the lyric collection as a whole, the musical poems have a strong conceptual link with the translation of Ovid's *Heroides* that precedes them, most relating tales of betrayal and abandonment. In *La mente mi riprende* (fol. 55v in Magliabechiano 1040) for example, the male lover addresses *Amore*, stating his intention to abandon his lady for another who is more beautiful. Successful both in redirecting his affection and in enlisting Love's assistance, in the final stanza the poet even compares himself to Paris, directly referencing one of the many mythological betrayals retold in the *Heroides*: "Come fu da Parissi / Oenone lasciata, / poi che punto sentissi / d'Elena disziata, / così da me è stata / abbandonata quella / per questa, ch'è sì bella" ("Just as Paris left Oenone, when he found Helen to be more desirable, so did I leave this woman for that other, who is so beautiful") [29–35]. In contrast, two other song texts—*Ciascun faccia per se* (fol. 100r in Florence 61, discussed above) and *Né te né altra voglio amar giammai* (fol. 48r in Magliabechiano 1040)—take a more critical stance on infidelity, reflecting themes explored in Ovid's epistles and Amelio's propensity for moralizing poetry.

Three song texts in Amelio's *zibaldone* pick up on one key feature of the *Heroides* that is particularly conspicuous against the background of male-dominated courtly love: the prevalent use of the female voice. In addition to *De sospirar sovente* already mentioned above, two poems with musical concordances are narrated by the lady, rather than the male lover. Reversing the scenario underlying each of Ovid's imagined epistles, the anonymous siciliana *Parche la vita mia* (fol. 54v in Magliabechiano 1040) presents the words of a woman who weeps not because her lover abandons her but because she must soon leave on a long journey and thus abandon him.<sup>31</sup> Also told from the female perspective is *Duolsi l'anima e la vita mia* (fol. 98v in Florence 61).<sup>32</sup> In this ballata, the female protagonist laments that women, unlike men, are not in control of their own actions. Prevented by social convention from expressing her affection and relieving her lover's pain, she instead instructs the ballata to bring him the comfort she herself cannot.

In terms of language and register, the variety found in the poems with musical concordances is also consistent with the *zibaldone*'s contents on the

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

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

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

There is, however, a paradox in the world Amelio constructs, a paradox that raises questions about who this scribe really was and what his social aspirations may have been. The conceptual frame of Ovid's *Heroides* in vernacular translation, as we have seen, anchors this manuscript to middle-class Florentine culture, as does its inelegant physical form. The visual frame created by Amelio's drawings of knights in armor and courtly-looking men and women in castles, though, has opposing connotations. Knighthood and courtly style were obsessions not of the *popolo*—modest merchant and artisan guild members—but of the *grandi* (the elite).<sup>33</sup> Because they lacked legal titles, Florence's powerful families were not technically nobility.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, lineage and chivalric culture were central to their pride and self-image. As Gene Brucker, Carol Lansing, and John Najemy have explained, the *grandi* needed more than wealth to distinguish themselves

from the *popolo*. In Florence's vibrant mercantile community, fortunes could be lost quickly and could be amassed not only by the social elite, but by merchants and bankers of modest social status as well.<sup>35</sup> Knighthood, even if it was ultimately more ceremonial than actual, thus came to play a crucial role in class distinction. For the elite, knighthood served as a valuable symbol because it "carried with it the courtly ethos that linked [them] to the social world of the upper classes in both the Lombard principalities to the north and the Neapolitan kingdom to the south."<sup>36</sup> Heraldry became an important part of the *grandi*'s self-image too, as both an emblem of courtliness and an expression of lineage. In effect, heraldic devices, like surnames, were status symbols in late medieval Florence.<sup>37</sup>

The *popolo* looked with disdain on the elite's love of knighthood and the courtly extravagance that grew up around it during the second half of the thirteenth century. So strongly was knighthood associated with the *grandi* and with the threat their feuding posed that the communal government singled it out as one of the three criteria by which civic officials could determine who was a magnate, and thus excluded by law from governing during periods of guild rule.<sup>38</sup> The ostentatious excess associated with chivalric culture and flaunted by the *grandi* through jousting tournaments, among other means, stood conspicuously at odds with moral values stressed by the *popolo*, from prudence and loyalty to sobriety and moderation. Though young Florentines hoping to climb the social ladder were sometimes encouraged to embrace aristocratic finery, they were simultaneously cautioned against showy displays of wealth.<sup>39</sup> Much about Amelio's *zibaldone*, then, marks it as a product of middle-class, mercantile culture, but his drawings depict an elite world where family lineage, manifested through heraldry, and courtly style are prized.

Who, then, was Amelio Bonaguisi? What was his role in Florentine society at the close of the fourteenth century? And how might the answers to these questions impact the musicological significance of his *zibaldone*? While sometimes bafflingly idiosyncratic, Amelio's manuscript is valuable precisely because it places Trecento song texts in a literary and cultural context that is both unique and narrowly definable. By focusing on Amelio as amanuensis and reader, we can thus construct a concrete socio-cultural background, which along with the Ovidian *cornice* provides a framework for understanding the juxtapositions and mixings of style and register that on their

own leave us struggling to classify this manuscript according to the traditional dichotomies of “*popolare*” and “*colto*,” or “high” and “low.”

The historical record preserves little information regarding Amelio’s life and family beyond what can be gleaned from Florence 61 itself. The Bonaguisi, though an old Florentine merchant family important already in the Duecento, receive little mention in contemporary or secondary sources other than Malispini’s *Storia fiorentina*, compiled in the late thirteenth century. Malispini refers to the Bonaguisi family several times, identifying them as one of Florence’s first noble families, and traces their lineage back to the Roman emperors.<sup>40</sup> The family’s links to ancient Rome are likely more myth than reality, but regardless, Malispini’s account confirms that the drawings in Florence 61 are grounded in Amelio’s family heritage. The Bonaguisi, however, must have fallen into obscurity long before Amelio was born, for the surname is absent from lists of the elite and magnate families that shaped Florence’s socio-economic life during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>41</sup> Given their alliances to the *parte ghibellina*, they may well have lost their power and wealth after the Guelf victory in 1267, if not before.<sup>42</sup>

Although Amelio provides us with some useful starting points for uncovering documentation pertaining to his own life and career—the archives of Orsanmichele and the archives of Cerreto Guidi—attempts to locate him in the historical record have thus far been unsuccessful.<sup>43</sup> Florentine civic records, however, indicate that his son Niccolò was born in 1396.<sup>44</sup> Later to become a silk merchant, Niccolò also appears in the matriculation book of the *Por Santa Maria* (Florence’s silk guild), where he is listed as joining the guild in October of 1430.<sup>45</sup> It would seem that Niccolò did not follow in the footsteps of either his father or grandfather, though, as neither Amelio nor Giachino (Amelio’s father) appear in the matriculation records.<sup>46</sup>

The *zibaldone* itself, then, remains the best source of information regarding Amelio and his civic life. As we learn from the colophon on fol. 40v of Florence 61, he was the *podestà* of Cerreto Guidi, a commune in the Florentine *contado* (or territory), when he copied Marco Polo’s *Il Milione* in 1392; and records pertaining to Florence’s external offices confirm Amelio did indeed hold this position.<sup>47</sup> We also know, from the later *ex libris* added on the same folio, that he identified himself as a member of the *popolo* of Orsanmichele in Florence. Amelio’s status as *podestà* of Cerreto Guidi

confirms that he was a politically active Florentine citizen. The period around the turn of the fifteenth century witnessed a consolidation of power and tightening of the oligarchy both within Florence's city government and within territorial offices. While non-elite major guildsmen assumed a greater role in civic government, the years following the final fall of guild republicanism saw the disenfranchisement of the laboring classes and the minor guilds.<sup>48</sup> To hold office, either in Florence or in the *contado*, one had to meet a series of basic requirements: be a Florentine citizen, be loyal to the Guelf party, pay taxes regularly, be a member of a guild, and be over a legislated minimum age. Men who met these criteria were placed on a list and then examined carefully and voted upon by an assembly. Through this process, those in power were able to shape the ruling class. Only if approved by the assembly would the candidate's name be placed in one of three bags organized according to sociopolitical status—members of the major guilds in one bag, members of minor guilds in another, and magnates in a third. When a territorial position opened up, the next officer was determined by picking a name out of the appropriate bag, the more prestigious offices being awarded to those of higher political and social status.<sup>49</sup>

Holding territorial office was an important part of one's political career within the Florentine Republic.<sup>50</sup> During the earlier Trecento, serving as a territorial officer was seen as a necessary inconvenience, bothersome because it stole one away from moneymaking opportunities within the city. But by the turn of the fifteenth century, these offices had potential to be lucrative themselves and thus became quite desirable, particularly given the economic difficulties faced by Florence's oldest powerful families during and after the Ciompi rebellion.<sup>51</sup> Based on the salary and personnel allotted to its *podestà*, Cerreto Guidi was not a particularly important community compared to others in Florence's territory, and therefore not a prestigious assignment.<sup>52</sup> Still, Amelio's status as *podestà* in 1392 implies not merely that he was a Guelf supporter, in spite of his family's historic loyalties, and a guild member, but also that he had sufficient political connections to have passed the assembly's scrutiny. If, as Laura De Angelis says, the government of the territorial state was a "principal tool of Florence's ruling elite," then Amelio was at the very least in league with the newly forming oligarchy, if not technically a member of it.<sup>53</sup>



Looking beyond the colophon he copied at the end of the *Milione*, the contents of both Florence 61 and Magliabechiano 1040 offer a glimpse into Amelio's cultural world. Based on the texts in all of Florence 61's three units, he was an avid amateur scribe, well-read in vernacular literature. Like many merchants of his time, he had a healthy interest in ancient Greek and Roman texts and culture, evidenced not only by the translation of Ovid's *Heroides* he included in his *zibaldone* but also by the moral teachings and lives of the classical philosophers copied in Florence 61's second fragmentary codex.<sup>54</sup> As we have already seen, the presence of classical works in translation rather than in Latin affirms that Amelio was not among the city's avant-garde intellectuals. Moreover, the moralizing and gnomic texts and the focus on classical philosophy link Amelio to middle-class mercantile culture. These kinds of texts, popular among Florentine merchant readers, espouse the very values that led the *popolo* to scorn the elite's love of chivalric culture and public displays of wealth.<sup>55</sup>

Amelio's *zibaldone* privileges the Tuscan vernacular, but scattered phrases in Latin, doodles that include English words, and the collection of French lyric poetry show he had at least a basic knowledge of Latin and was exposed to other languages as well.<sup>56</sup> Although we can know little for sure about Amelio's career, his book suggests he had some interaction with international cultures and literature, if not through personal travel then through contact with foreigners—either mercenary soldiers or merchants—and foreign books within the confines of Florentine territory. He seems to have the greatest familiarity with French, even if frequent phonetic spelling, Italianisms, and errors expose his improficiency.<sup>57</sup> Practice gothic script on fol. 96v of Florence 61 and elsewhere in the last several pages of the *zibaldone* betrays a limited knowledge of English as well. Amelio's literary tastes and preferences suggest he attended neither grammar school nor university and had no connection to Florence's circle of leading early-Renaissance humanists (unlike the Benci brothers, whose *zibaldone* was discussed in [Chapter 3](#)). Still, like most merchants, he was moderately well educated—very comfortable with reading and writing in the vernacular (as a student who attended elementary and *abaco* school would have been), familiar with classical literature, and capable of acquiring some foreign language skills.<sup>58</sup>

In this *zibaldone*, then, we have two conflicting Amelios. Its physical form and its content link its scribe to the Florentine *popolo*, suggesting he was most likely a modest merchant. Meanwhile, his drawings suggest Amelio desired to construe himself as elite. Courtly culture seems nostalgic for him, fundamental to his family pride and sense of self but no longer part of his own daily life.<sup>59</sup> It is, however, also possible that the sketches do depict something of Amelio's own experiences. Their emphasis on knights and war raises the question of a connection to the *condottieri* residing in and fighting for Florence, a connection that could explain the eclectic internationality that characterizes his *zibaldone*. Indeed, members of aristocratic families who had fallen from power or experienced financial hardship often offered their services to mercenary companies.<sup>60</sup> Fantasy or not, with the sketches featuring knights in armor and finely dressed ladies in castles, Amelio places himself quite literally in the midst of the very chivalric culture portrayed in the more refined poems he collected and read. In a sense, these drawings and the characteristics of the *zibaldone* itself are a physical manifestation of the fluid boundaries between "high" and "low" style observed in the literary contents. Clearly associated with elite culture in some respects but not in others, Amelio's *zibaldone* occupies a middle ground that reflects the highly complex socio-economic relations that shaped late fourteenth-century Florence.

This cultural context is particularly interesting from a musicological perspective, for it is both radically different from that implied by the majority of extant musical sources and much more precisely definable. Scholars have long recognized that the handful of intact notated manuscripts and 50-plus fragments still extant today provide us with an incomplete and deceptively skewed picture of musical life in late medieval Italy.<sup>61</sup> Famously described by Pirrotta as the tip of the musical iceberg, these sources focus almost exclusively on a narrow repertoire of intellectually-minded polyphony. Through careful anthologizing and often-elegant construction, they place song in refined and elevated socio-cultural contexts and seem to isolate the tradition from other "lower" forms of musical entertainment.

The 10 song texts transmitted in Amelio's *zibaldone* have eight concordances in the Squarcialupi Codex, four in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26 (FP), two each in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds it. 568 (Pit), London, British Library, Additional 29987, and the Paduan fragments (one in Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria,

1475 and one in Padua, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Corporazioni soppresse, S. Guistaina, 553), and one in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo, 2211.<sup>62</sup> All of these manuscripts, with the exception of London 29987 (which I shall address in [Chapter 6](#)), have little in common with Amelio's *zibaldone* beyond their shared repertoire. Unlike the majority of Trecento musical manuscripts, Amelio's book is not—nor was it ever planned to be—a well-ordered anthology. It is not the work of a professional scribe, it is not associated with any cultural or political institution, and it does not collect an intellectually and culturally prestigious repertoire for posterity. This is not to say that the socio-cultural contexts surrounding the creation and dissemination of musical manuscripts were uniform or straightforward. In fact, the status of the notated Trecento sources as cultural objects, both complete codices and fragments, is both complicated and under-explored. Worthy of serious consideration, the materiality of these manuscripts and the clues they hold regarding the audience for secular song and the contexts in which this repertoire circulated as sounding, written, and imagined (read, but not performed) music is discussed more fully in the following chapter.

For now, I will limit my discussion to a few general observations. Many of the notated manuscripts, especially those that come down to us as complete codices, encourage the drawing of boundaries and building of strict repertorial taxonomies. At first glance, they tempt us to separate secular from sacred, “art” polyphony from “popular” monophonic song, written from oral traditions, and so on. The musical sources alone portray an intellectual “high” art tradition consisting primarily of secular vocal polyphony consumed by a privileged few and isolated from other forms of music-making and cultural activities. Of particular importance is the luxurious Squarcialupi Codex. As we saw in [Chapter 3](#), it and its conservative repertoire have been linked to the elite intellectual milieu surrounding the Florentine *Studio* at the turn of the fifteenth century. Associated with the cultural world of Coluccio Salutati and Luigi Marsili, portrayed fictionally in Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*, the Squarcialupi Codex participates—if not directly, at least indirectly—in the university's efforts to reclaim Florence's celebrated artistic heritage, which intellectuals believed the mercantile culture that came to dominate the city during the second half of the fourteenth century tarnished.<sup>63</sup>

While the song texts in Florence 61 and Magliabechiano 1040 have more concordances with the Squarcialupi Codex than any other notated source, Amelio's *zibaldone* could hardly create a more different material and cultural environment. By implicating ballate famously set to music by Francesco degli Organi, Nicolò del Preposto, and others in a process of linguistic and cultural "vulgarization" of Ovid's *Heroides*, Amelio wrenches this repertoire away from the world of "high" art and humanist thought—divorcing it from the prestige of un-translated classical literature and recontextualizing it in the midst of the base, practical, mercantile world that Salutati, Gherardi, and other Florentine intellectuals sought to escape. These hints of more varied musical and poetic reception found in literary sources like Amelio's *zibaldone* and Magliabechiano 1078, in large-scale narrative works like Prodenzani's *Liber Saporecti*, and even hidden within the notated manuscripts themselves, prompt us to reconsider the weight we give to the elite, scholarly side of Trecento song. I take up this task in the next chapter as I examine the material panorama created by the literary sources as a group and trace the civic lives of other scribes and book owners like Amelio.

<sup>1</sup> For a modern edition of the poems in Florence 61, see Adolfo Bartoli, ed. *I manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, vol. 2 (Florence: Tipografia e Litografia Carnesecchi, 1880).

<sup>2</sup> Comparison of the stem in Florence 61 with the online database of Florentine family heraldry maintained by Florence's Archivio di Stato (<http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/ceramellipapiani2/> [accessed May 9, 2014]) confirms this observation, noted by Bartoli and by Casparis Gaddi (who owned the manuscript during the eighteenth century). See Bartoli, *I manoscritti italiani*. The Bonaguisi, a Florentine merchant family, are mentioned several times in Ricordano and Giacotto Malispini's late thirteenth-century chronicle, *Storia fiorentina* (ed. Vincenzio Follini [Florence: Gaspero Ricci, 1830]). The family and its connections with this manuscript are discussed in more detail below. Both Gaddi and Bartoli suggest that the presence of the Bonaguisi stem indicates that Amelio was not only the scribe but also the author of at least the first few of the otherwise anonymous poems in Florence 61's final section. While it may be that he composed the ballate, such a hypothesis cannot be proved.

<sup>3</sup> What precisely this inscription means is unclear. The gist seems to be, "Amelio flees in front of Ardin(?) and left the pavilion," though the use of the infinitive "*fugire*" (a word written quite legibly) is perplexing and difficult to account for.

<sup>4</sup> Domenico De Robertis, "Un codice di rime dantesche ora ricostruito (Strozzi 620)," *Studi danteschi* 36 (1959).

<sup>5</sup> None of the French lyrics have musical concordances, though most represent genres that were sometimes sung. These foreign poems are edited and discussed in Rudolf Adelbert Meyer, *Französische Lieder aus der Florentiner Handschrift Strozzi-Magliabecchiana, cl. VII 1040: Versuch einer kritischen Ausgabe*, vol. 8 in *Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (M. Niemeyer, 1907) and Austin Stickney, "Chansons françaises tirées d'un ms. Florence," *Romania* 8 (1879). Though detailed discussion of the French texts is beyond the scope of this study, it is worth noting that many of the non-Italian poems Amelio collects are quite antiquated—examples of "popular" style refrain forms common during the Duecento, before their transformation into *formes fixes* genres and thus into "high art" poetry. Only a few rondels and bergerettes fall into the category of *poesia aulica*.

<sup>6</sup> For descriptions of both manuscripts, see Appendix 2.

<sup>7</sup> The first unit (fols. 1–40) is numbered consecutively throughout starting from 315, and in the third unit (fols. 62–100) traces of an old foliation can be read starting on fol. 65r, which is labeled 121. The first gathering of the second unit (fols. 41–61) also has an older foliation, this time starting from 1 and running only as far as 16 (on fol. 56r).

<sup>8</sup> The scribal situation in Florence 61 is extremely difficult to discern for certain. The possibility always remains open that the two hands in the final unit are one and the same—both the work of a single scribe who varied the style of his script slightly from sitting to sitting.

<sup>9</sup> I thank Professor Stefano Zamponi for offering his thoughts on the similarities and differences between Florence 61's three units and for confirming the likelihood that all are the work of one main scribe (with the exception of the folios attributed to other hands in Appendix 2).

<sup>10</sup> In the second and third units, for example, *virgule* punctuate the prose and mark the ends of poetic verses, and the tironian "et" appears frequently. The first unit, in contrast, eschews both marks.

<sup>11</sup> The ninth and tenth units bear the old shelf mark "767," presumably a number from their days in the Strozzi library. The 1643 inventory of the Strozzi library, now housed in Florence's Archivio di Stato, sheds no further light on the situation, however; the description attached to shelf mark 767 does not correspond to the gatherings labeled with that number in Magliabechiano 1040. De Robertis, "Rime dantesche," 158–9.

<sup>12</sup> See De Robertis, *Dante Alighieri. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1 (Florence: Le lettere, 2002): 243–5. For a more detailed discussion of the manuscript and its contents, see De Robertis, “Rime dantesche.”

<sup>13</sup> Following the older numbers, modern fol. 55 (old number 158) should be placed between modern fols. 50 and 51 (old numbers 157 and 159, respectively). Domenico De Robertis has also noted the presence of an old foliation in the last gathering of Magliabechiano 1040 but does not connect the unit to any other manuscript. See De Robertis, “Rime dantesche,” 173.

<sup>14</sup> De Robertis, “Rime dantesche,” 174.

<sup>15</sup> As I shall discuss in more detail below, Christian Bec’s work on merchant reading in Florence suggests that *volgarizzamenti* like the one Amelio includes in his miscellany were quite popular among the middle class during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as were vernacular works like Dante’s *Divine Comedy* and Boccaccio’s *Decameron*. Christian Bec, *Cultura e società a Firenze nell’età della rinascenza* (Rome: Salerno: 1980), 144–84. On the popularity of vernacular translation in late medieval Florence, also see Ronald G. Witt, “*In the Footsteps of the Ancients*”: *The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Boston: Brill, 2003), ch. 5.

<sup>16</sup> For a complete inventory of the extant portion of Amelio’s *zibaldone*, see Appendix 3.

<sup>17</sup> Massimo Zaggia, ed. *Ovidio Heroides: Volgarizzamento fiorentino trecentesco di Filippo Ceffi*, vol. I, *Introduzione, testo secondo l’autografo e glossario* (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2009), 25.

<sup>18</sup> Zaggia, *Ovidio Heroides*, 101. Christian Bec also notes the popularity of Ovid’s *Heroides* in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Florence. Bec, *Cultura e società*, 149.

<sup>19</sup> Zaggia, *Ovidio Heroides*, 3. Ceffi’s *Heroides* is somewhat of an exception in its dedication, addressed not to a powerful male but instead to a woman—the wife of Simone Peruzzi. Zaggia, *Ovidio Heroides*, 133–7.

<sup>20</sup> Witt, “*In the Footsteps of the Ancients*,” 197–200.

<sup>21</sup> Robert Black, “Education and the Emergence of a Literate Society,” in *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance*, ed. John Najemy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 25–6. For more on vernacular reading and literacy in late medieval Florence, see Chapter 6.

<sup>22</sup> Both Witt and Bec identify classical texts and authors popular among Florence’s middle classes. See Witt, “*In the Footsteps of the Ancients*,” ch. 5 and Bec, *Cultura e società*, 170–77. On the Latin authors taught in Florentine grammar schools to those who did pursue a classical education, see Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), ch. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Alison Cornish offers a detailed account of the shifting attitudes towards *volgarizzamenti* among Florence’s avant-garde intellectuals at the end of the fourteenth century. See Cornish, *Vernacular Translation in Dante’s Italy: Illiterate Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), esp. ch. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Cornish, *Vernacular Translation*, 168. On the status of the vernacular among humanists, also see Simon Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), ch. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Robert Black argues that Florence’s social elite did not show a strong interest in classical learning until the final quarter of the fifteenth century, when grammar schools finally increased noticeably in popularity. Robert Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany: Teachers, Pupils and Schools, c. 1250–1500*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 462–8. Also see Paul F. Gehl, *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), ch. 7.

Jonathan Davies, on the other hand, notes that high status Florentines were involved in the administration of the city's university (the Florentine *Studio*) earlier in the century, and that their cultural interests thus came to be represented in the *Studio*'s activity. From his perspective, then, socially (but not necessarily intellectually) elite citizens began to see classical learning as an important marker of gentility as early as the late 1420s, when the *studia humanistatis* took hold in the university's curriculum. Jonathan Davies, *Florence and its University During the Early Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 110.

<sup>26</sup> Zaggia, *Ovidio Heroides*, 3–4. On the decline of the cultural status of *volgarizzamenti*, also see Carlo Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1967).

<sup>27</sup> For more on the material differences between humanist and vernacular manuscripts in late medieval Florence, see Armando Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, trans. Charles M. Radding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), chs. 7 and 9.

<sup>28</sup> On class distinctions in late medieval Florence, see John Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200–1575* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), esp. chapters 1 and 2. Also see Gene Brucker, *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), ch. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Magliabechiano 1040 also contains one other song text, copied on fol. 3v in its first unit (which has nothing to do with Amelio's *zibaldone*): *Non so qual' i' mi voglia*. Attributed here to Boccaccio, this ballata appears at the end of a short collection of lyrics by Alberto degli Albizzi, added in a separate layer of activity. Dating from the sixteenth century, this gathering is copied in a humanistic cursive.

<sup>30</sup> This statistic is based on a survey of the pluristrophic ballate published in Corsi, *Poesie musicali del Trecento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970).

<sup>31</sup> For an edition of this text, see F. Alberto Gallo, "Ricerche sulla musica a S. Giustina di Padova all'inizio del II Quattrocento: Due 'siciliane' del Trecento," *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1964–77), 45–6.

<sup>32</sup> For an edition of this ballata, see Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 166–7.

<sup>33</sup> I thank Nikki Malain and the Portland Medieval Consortium for their comments on an earlier version of this chapter and in particular for bringing this point to my attention.

<sup>34</sup> Brucker, *Civic Life*, 31 and Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 5–6.

<sup>35</sup> Brucker, *Civic Life*, 30–39; Carol Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 145–8; and Najemy, *A History of Florence*, ch. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 12.

<sup>37</sup> Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates*, 156. On the importance of family names and genealogy in fourteenth and fifteenth-century Florence, also see Anthony Molho, "Names, Memory, and Public Identity in Late Medieval Florence," in *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence*, ed. Giovanni Ciappelli and Patricia Lee Rubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>38</sup> Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates*, 146.

<sup>39</sup> Brucker, *Civic Life*, 36.

<sup>40</sup> Malispini, *Storia fiorentina*, 26–7. On the origins and identity of the Bonaguasi family, also see Roberto Ciabani, *Le famiglie di Firenze*, vol. 1 (Florence: Bonechi, 1992), 127.

<sup>41</sup> The most powerful and politically influential families in Florence during the late Trecento are listed by Andrea Zorzi in his 1989 article on judicial matters in territorial Florence. See Zorzi, "Giusdicenti e operatori di giustizie nello stato territoriale fiorentino del XV secolo," *Ricerche storiche* 19 (1989): 531.

Also see Anthony Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994).

<sup>42</sup> In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Florence (like all of central and northern Italy) was plagued with constant conflict between the Guelfs, who supported the papacy, and the Ghibellines, who supported the Holy Roman Emperor. Power flip-flopped frequently between the two parties during the middle of the thirteenth century, with the Ghibellines exiled from the city in 1258 and the Guelfs exiled in 1248 and 1260. Ultimately, the Guelfs gained the upper hand in 1267 and dominated Florence's political life from that point on. See Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 20–27.

<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, the records of the *podesteria* of Cerreto Guidi housed partially in the archives there and partially in Empoli contain little relevant to the period before the mid-fifteenth century. The archives of Orsanmichele do preserve several account books and other documents from the late Trecento, but I have found no mention of Amelio or the Bonaguisi family in them.

<sup>44</sup> David Herlihy, R. Burr Litchfield, Anthony Molho, and Roberto Barducci, eds., *Florentine Renaissance Resources, Online Tratte of Office Holders, 1282–1532*, machine readable data file, (Florentine Renaissance Resources/STG: Brown University, Providence, RI, 2002).

<sup>45</sup> Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Arte della Seta*, piece 7 (*La matricola dell'Arte Por S. Maria 1328–1433*), folio 144.

<sup>46</sup> It is worth noting that Amelio and his father do not appear in the matriculation records of the *Arte della Lana* either. See Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Arte della Lana*, piece 18.

<sup>47</sup> See Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Tratte*, piece 932, *Uffici Estrinseci*, fol. 105.

<sup>48</sup> On the political situation in Florence and its territory at the end of the fourteenth century, see Najemy, *A History of Florence*, ch. 6; *Corporation and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics, 1280–1400* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); and “Guild Republicanism in Trecento Florence: The Successes and Ultimate Failure of Corporate Politics,” *The American Historical Review* 84/1 (1979). Also see Anthony Molho, “Politics and the Ruling Class in Early Renaissance Florence,” *Nuova rivista storica* 52 (1968); Andrea Zorzi, “Lo stato territoriale fiorentino (secoli XIV–XV): aspetti giurisdizionali,” *Società e storia* 13 (1990), and “Giusdicenti e operatori,” and Laura De Angelis, “Territorial Offices and Office Holders,” in *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power*, ed. William J. Connell and Andrea Zorzi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>49</sup> For more on this procedure and on the social and political identity of territorial officers during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, see De Angelis, “Territorial Offices,” 166–7. Also see Zorzi, “Lo stato territoriale fiorentino” and “Giusdicenti e operatori.”

<sup>50</sup> De Angelis, “Territorial Offices,” 167–8.

<sup>51</sup> Territorial offices boosted the finances of the Florentines who held them not only through the salaries that accompanied each post but also through the fees and fines officials collected from the town's citizens while in office. De Angelis, “Territorial Offices,” 172–4.

<sup>52</sup> In 1377, the *podestà* received a salary of 300 lire per semester and a staff of one *notaio* and two *famigli* (along with one horse). See Vanna Arrighi, “Saggio introduttivo,” in *L'archivio storico del comune di Cerreto Guidi*, ed. Veronica Vestri (Florence: Olschki, 2004), XIII–XIV. This is in line with the compensation and personnel given to the minor *podesterie* discussed by Laura De Angelis in her study on territorial offices in Tuscany, and quite a bit less than that allotted for more powerful communes. By comparison, in 1424 Pistoia's Captain of Security was granted 3000 lire, 10 administrators, 25 guards and attendants, and six horses. De Angelis, “Territorial Offices,” 171–2.

<sup>53</sup> De Angelis, “Territorial Offices,” 166. Being a member of the elite ruling class did not necessarily go hand in hand with economic success at the end of the fourteenth century. Particularly as some older



families ran into greater financial difficulty, the ruling class was characterized by a surprisingly high degree of economic diversity. See De Angelis, "Territorial Offices," 169.

<sup>54</sup> As noted above, Christian Bec has demonstrated the diffusion of classical texts in vernacular translation among middle-class Florentines. Bec, *Cultura e società*, 148–58. Also see Witt, "In the Footsteps of the Ancients," ch. 5 and Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 46.

<sup>55</sup> For more on vernacular reading in middle-class Florence, see Chapter 6.

<sup>56</sup> Although few merchants learned Latin well, most likely had a very basic familiarity with the language, for elementary reading was taught through Latin not through the vernacular. Black, *Humanism and Education*, ch. 2.

<sup>57</sup> For a detailed discussion of the French texts in Magliabechiano 1040 and their unusual linguistic characteristics, see Meyer, *Französische Lieder*. On the linguistic peculiarities of Amelio's transcription, see especially pp. 12–13.

<sup>58</sup> For more on education in late medieval Florence, see Chapter 6.

<sup>59</sup> Gene Brucker has noted that the marked interest in ancestry and genealogy displayed by the Florentine elite during the fourteenth century was motivated at least in part by nostalgia, especially in the case of families whose power declined since the thirteenth century. Brucker, *Civic Life*, 30–31.

<sup>60</sup> William Caferro, *John Hawkwood: An English Mercenary in Fourteenth-century Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 63. For more information on foreign mercenary soldiers in Italy, also see Michael Edward Mallett, *Mercenaries and Their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy* (London: Bodley Head, 1974).

<sup>61</sup> Nino Pirrotta, for example, devoted much of his work to exploring traces of oral tradition in written sources. See especially Pirrotta, "Tradizione orale e tradizione scritta della musica," in *L'Ars Nova italiana del Trecento* 3 (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1970) and "New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition," in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984). Also see John Nádas, "Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence," in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. Angelo Pompilio et al. (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1990), 128–9. More recently, Michael Cuthbert has argued for the need to reconsider the role of sacred polyphony in Trecento musical life. Through his study of numerous fragmentary sources, he demonstrates the existence of a tradition of sacred polyphony that is much more extensive than previously thought. See Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006) and "Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of Schism," *Musica Disciplina* 54 (2009).

<sup>62</sup> Basic descriptions of these and other key notated sources can be found through Andrew Wathey and Margaret Bent (directors) *Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music* (DIAMM) at <http://www.diamm.ac.uk> (accessed May 9, 2014).

<sup>63</sup> John Nádas, "Song Collections," 129–31. On the Florentine Studio and its connection to the rise of humanism in the city, see Jonathan Davies, *Florence and its University*.

## 6

### Scribes, Owners, and Material Contexts

We turn now from the close study of individual manuscripts to the broader context of copying and reading vernacular poetry and song in late medieval Italy. The preceding chapters have already alluded to a number of ways in which the literary sources differ physically from the notated *canzonieri* transmitting Trecento song. This chapter addresses these differences specifically through a thorough comparison of the two material worlds this repertoire inhabited, taking into account not only the most famous musical manuscripts, but all of the known sources with Italian origins that contain Italian-texted secular song commonly considered to be part of the Italian *ars nova* tradition.<sup>1</sup> Many of the sources surveyed here are absent from textbook narratives of Trecento music-making. Our awareness of some—those that contain sacred as well as secular works—has been raised recently by Michael Cuthbert’s work on fragments and the transmission of sacred polyphony by Italian composers.<sup>2</sup> Others, however, continue to hide in the margins of Trecento scholarship, their existence acknowledged and their contents known but their individual characteristics unexplored. Considering fragments, even scraps of parchment as small as those used to reinforce the binding in Perugia 15755 and the snippets of song copied in non-musical sources like Bologna 23 or Assisi 187 leads to a richer understanding of song’s material transmission than does analysis of the intact, or nearly intact, codices alone.<sup>3</sup> In the chapter’s first section, which compares the material characteristics of the notated sources to those of the literary sources, we shall see that the circulation of song texts with music contrasts starkly with their circulation sans notation. This discrepancy raises important questions

regarding what is at stake in grafting melody and musical notation on to a poem. Does the status of the poem change when it is adorned with music? If so, how? And what might such a change tell us about the function of vernacular song in late medieval Italy? Focusing on the relative formality of the musical sources, both in terms of their physical characteristics and their organization, I argue that with the added decoration of mensural music, vernacular poetry assumes a degree of cultural prestige it is often otherwise denied.

In the remainder of the chapter, I explore the cultural implications behind the material worlds these two groups of sources embody, arguing that they reflect disparate reading practices and consequently point towards different kinds of reception. Complementing the detailed analysis of individual sources presented in the preceding chapters, the broader discussion here further re-conceptualizes the cultural meaning and function of song texts in late medieval Italy (most specifically, in Florence), and, consequently, the relationship between musical and poetic traditions. Because musicologists, and medievalists in general, will be largely familiar with the channels of formalized manuscript production through which medieval song collections were typically created, I focus here on the practices of reading and writing that the literary sources reflect, practices tied to vernacular reading among the merchant and artisan classes in Tuscany. This material world and the readers with whom it is associated tell us a great deal about the cultural significance of unnotated song texts. At the same time, they offer a fruitful context in which to consider the few notated sources—Bologna 23 and London 29987 in particular—that have little in common with aristocratic and ecclesiastic manuscripts. Comparison with the literary manuscripts, I argue, both helps to explain the unusually informal appearance of these manuscripts and has the potential to enrich our understanding of the socio-cultural circles in which they were created and used. Whereas the majority of the notated Trecento sources continue to leave us guessing about the identities of their compilers and early readers, several of the literary sources display firm connections to specific scribes and owners. I conclude by exploring the professional and civic lives of these identifiable readers. Ranging from disenfranchised artisans to wealthy, politically active members of Florence's *Arti Maggiori* (major guilds), they allow us to glimpse not only a more specific audience for Trecento song than do the notated sources alone, but a more socially expansive one as well.

## “*Vestita la canzon*”: *Che pena è quest’ al cor* and the Material Life of Trecento Song

With a noteworthy number of concordances, Francesco degli Organi’s three-voice ballata *Che pena è quest’ al cor* serves as a useful lens through which to view the material differences between notated and unnotated song texts. Appearing in six musical sources and three literary manuscripts, it is second only to Jacopo da Bologna’s *O cieco mondo* in the breadth of its circulation, both as an independent poem and as a polyphonic song. The three poetic sources—Genoa 28; Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale 43; and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup>—paint a picture of the ballata’s literary transmission that is consistent with the material panorama presented throughout this book. None directly reference Francesco’s musical setting, although as we saw in [Chapter 3](#), Genoa 28 attributes the poem’s authorship to the composer himself. Meanwhile, all incorporate *Che pena è quest’ al cor* fully into their own unique and informal literary contexts. While the miscellaneous nature of the Benci brothers’ *zibaldone* and the place of Francesco’s song texts in it have already been discussed, Treviso 43 and Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup> merit brief attention here, for through them we can review the material contexts that typify the literary transmission of song texts in the manuscripts closest chronologically to the notated sources of Trecento polyphony.

Treviso 43 is a composite manuscript containing eight independent and unrelated units dating from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> Its first unit, copied in the fifteenth century on three different paper types, is the only one to contain poems with musical concordances. Consisting of 10 folios divided into two gatherings, this plain, small-format unit (210 × 145 mm) shows no clear sign that it was originally part of a larger manuscript. It collects 30 anonymous lyric poems (seven of which also appear in Magliabechiano 1078) along with some Latin prose, and was copied by four different hands.<sup>5</sup> Treviso 43’s brief collection of light and playful lyrics includes three poems with musical concordances: *Con lagreme bagnandome* (set elsewhere by Johannes Ciconia), *Poi che da te mi convien*, and *Che pena è quest’ al cor* (both set elsewhere by Francesco degli Organi). Copied consecutively on fols. 6v–7r, these song texts were entered at the same time as the poems that surround them and are not singled out in any way for their

musicality. With no visible traces of ruling, the pages of Treviso 43's first unit seem to have been copied free-hand. This, combined with its lack of decoration and rubrics, as well as the rapid *ductus* of its cursive script, suggests the short collection was planned not as a well-organized poetic anthology, but rather as an informal miscellany for private use.

Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup>, a paper manuscript copied during the early fifteenth century, presents its song texts in a similarly informal manner, although its codicological situation and its contents are rather different. Filled primarily with works by Petrarch—his *Trionfi* and several sonnets—the bulk of Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup>, up through fol. 33v, was copied by a single scribe in a careful *mercantesca* bookhand. Fols. 34r–38r, in contrast, are the work of a different but roughly contemporary copyist who writes in a sloppier and more informal *mercantesca*. These final pages contain an assortment of miscellaneous lyric poems copied anonymously and without any identifying rubrics, including two poems of musical interest—*Contemprar le gran cose* and *Che pena è quest' al cor*—that appear on fol. 36v without reference to their polyphonic settings (see [Figure 6.1](#)).

While Treviso 43 is among the most informal of the literary sources, Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup> occupies a middle ground. Not only is the script of its first section carefully executed, these folios also contain simple decoration: one flourished initial in red and blue ink at the start of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, enlarged initials at the start of each subsequent section, red highlighting, and red rubrics. This opening section thus stands one step above manuscripts like Treviso 43 and Amelio's *zibaldone*, a low-grade but most likely professionally or semi-professionally copied book created to be sold to middle-class readers.<sup>6</sup> For whatever reason though, the rubrics and initials planned on fols. 31–33 were never filled in, and the short book passed, incomplete, into the hands of its primary reader, an amateur scribe, who decided to use its remaining folios for the more informal lyric collection in which the two song texts appear.

Genoa 28 places Francesco's ballate in a rather different literary context than either Treviso 43 or Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup>, but its material form is quite comparable. Giovanni and Filippo Benci (its scribes), too, write in cursive scripts and rarely bother with decoration. All three of the literary manuscripts in which *Che pena è quest' al cor* circulated, then, are fairly informal in their appearances and in their approach to collection, closer to

private miscellanies, even in the case of Riccardiana 2786,<sup>11</sup> than to proper anthologies. In this respect they are in line with the vast majority of the multiple-author poetic collections copied in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy still extant today. While the late Duecento saw the compilation of several extensive historicizing anthologies, such as Banco Rari 217, in the second half of the Trecento these kinds of miscellaneous collections became increasingly disorganized. After the copying of Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.305 and before the compilation of the *Raccolta Aragonesa*, lyric collections were most often ordered roughly by thematic area and linguistic register, if at all, with their texts left anonymous.<sup>7</sup> What is more, the material form of most of the literary sources transmitting song texts, and of the majority of the poetic collections from this period in general, connects them with the middle and lower echelons of manuscript production: they are copied on paper in cursive hands of varying quality—from simply sloppy to moderately neat but not especially refined—and they have little or no decoration.

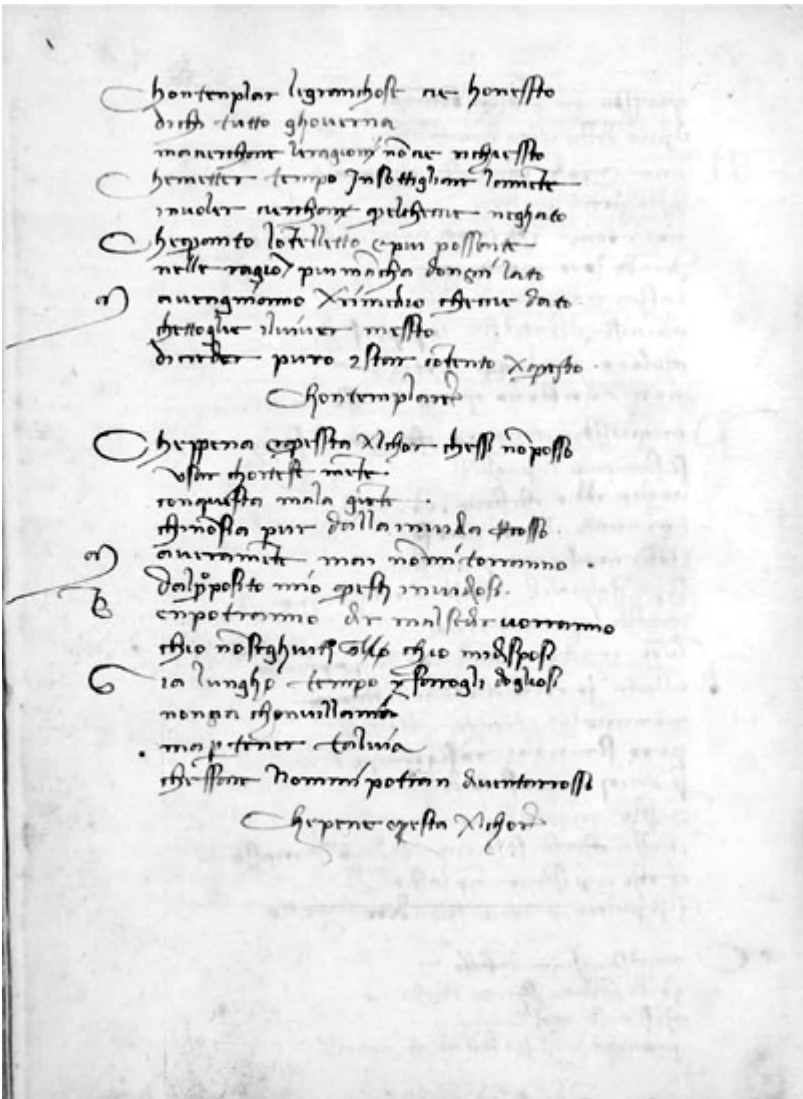


Figure 6.1 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup>, fol. 36v. Reproduced by permission. All rights reserved.

Some of the literary sources, as we have seen, did belong to culturally and socially elite readers such as the Benci family. Many, however, belonged to readers of modest socio-economic status, artisans and merchants literate in the vernacular but not in Latin. Like Amelio Bonaguasi, they were informal consumers of culture who gathered poems they found personally appealing without aiming to historicize, monumentalize, or canonize. In these manuscripts, song texts are therefore not so much implicated in the construction of a glorified cultural heritage or an esteemed literary tradition as they are in each scribe's individual construction of his own self-image through collecting, copying, reading, and re-reading. I shall return later to a

more thorough discussion of the book culture that gave rise to the literary sources. First, however, we must shift our attention to the musical sources in which *Che pena è quest' al cor* circulated.

Very different visually and conceptually, the notated manuscripts and fragments place Francesco's ballata in a much more elevated setting, both in terms of their material form and the care with which they craft associations to an elite cultural milieu. Not surprisingly, the Squarcialupi Codex (Sq) embodies this contrasting approach to collection and to manuscript production most clearly. Found on fol. 130v of Sq, *Che pena è quest' al cor* is not one of the manuscript's most elegantly copied works, its *residuum* made to fit awkwardly into a small square of space at the end of the cantus (see [Figure 6.2](#)). Still, nearly every aspect of this folio exemplifies the disparity between the luxurious nature of Sq and the simplicity of the literary sources. The poem itself is copied in a formal *littera textualis* (gothic bookhand) on high-quality parchment by a highly skilled professional scribe. Enlarged initials in red and blue ink, adorned with an elaborate frame of pen flourishes, catch the eye's attention at the beginning of each voice. Though by no means the most lavish of the decorations in Sq, these initials are far more ornate and of a far higher quality than anything found in even the most elegant of the literary sources. Finally, spread across the top of every opening, the conspicuous composer attributions serve as a constant reminder of Sq's monumental anthologizing project. Unlike the informal collections haphazardly assembled for personal use in which we find so many of the Trecento song texts circulating without notation, Sq presents its repertoire with great care. The selective nature of its contents, its rigorous organization chronologically by author, and its overt visual references to ecclesiastic and courtly book culture leave no doubt that it aims to construct an elite, refined tradition of secular song.<sup>8</sup>





Figure 6.2 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi Codex), fol. 130v.  
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Sq may be by far the most ornate and the most well-organized of the Trecento musical manuscripts, but many of the salient characteristics that set it apart from the literary sources can be found in all of the notated sources that transmit Francesco's ballata. The three other largely complete manuscripts— Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichiano 26 (FP); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds it. 568 (Pit); and Florence, Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo 2211—are also extensive anthologizing collections. Of the three, San Lorenzo 2211 displays the highest grade of construction. Though its current palimpsest state has left many folios

illegible, the original ink still visible (especially under UV light) reveals that both its text and music are elegantly copied.<sup>9</sup> The musical hand, like that in Sq, is characterized by a skilled and precise *ductus*, thin stems, and well-formed note heads, and the text hand, a careful *littera textualis*, is again much more elegant and more formal than any hand found in the literary sources. Traces of yellow ink used for highlighting and attributions in red ink heading many pages provide further visual links with Sq.

While not as elegantly copied as either Sq or San Lorenzo 2211, FP and Pit, too, call upon the conventions of formalized, professional book culture to organize and present the works they collect.<sup>10</sup> Both feature red rubrics and colored initials to help guide the reader through their repertoire and employ *littera textualis* for the poetic text and attributions, although their scribes use somewhat simplified letter forms. Most importantly, both Pit and FP are extensive collections clearly driven by anthologizing tendencies—organized by author, genre, and sometimes chronology. Like Sq and San Lorenzo 2211, they exhibit a desire to collect and order an extensive and culturally significant repertoire.

Francesco's *Che pena è quest' al cor* also appears in two small, incomplete sources: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Incunab. F.5.5 (Florence 5), an incunabulum with flyleaves from a manuscript containing Trecento polyphonic song, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 4917. The source from which the two flyleaves in Florence 5 originate was presumably dismembered sometime in the mid to late fifteenth century. Their foliation (137 and 138), the high quality of their parchment, and the apparent ordering by author (all works in the fragment are attributed to Francesco degli Organi) and then alphabetically by incipit indicate this fragment likely stems from an extensive, well-organized anthology.<sup>11</sup> Mario Fabri and John Nadas have identified the hand as that of the scribe responsible for coping fols. 99v–111r in Pit, a professional copyist who uses a simplified *littera textualis* for the verbal text.<sup>12</sup> Florence 5 is similar to Pit in its decoration and *mise en page* as well, with colored ink used for enlarged initials and for highlighting. Finally, Paris 4917, an incomplete manuscript consisting today of 28 folios, fits comfortably into this same material context.<sup>13</sup> It is made of parchment and neatly copied in a simplified *littera textualis* with enlarged initials in alternating red and blue ink marking the start of each voice part. Moreover,

the indentation of the first staff at the top of each page, which leaves more than enough space for the manuscript's relatively simple colored initials, suggests that more elaborate decorations may have originally been planned.

Just as the literary sources containing *Che pena è quest' al cor* mirror the unnotated transmission of Trecento song as a whole, so too do its musical sources reflect the general material world of notated song. [Table 6.1](#) lists all of the known musical sources with Italian origins that contain Trecento secular polyphony (including fragments and non-musical codices transmitting individual works with notation) and summarizes the salient physical and repertorial characteristics of each. As it illustrates, the vast majority are consistent in terms of their construction, with books created within the elite and formalized sectors of medieval manuscript production. In fact, several of the extant sources—including Sq—were copied in monastic *scriptoria* whose output would surely have consisted largely of formal, high-quality liturgical books. Additionally, only a handful of the sources in [Table 6.1](#) were not originally part of moderate to large, pre-planned, organized collections. Significantly, the situation remains essentially the same if we expand the corpus of sources to include manuscripts of polyphony with Italian origins that preserve sacred works, Latin-texted motets, and French-texted secular song.<sup>14</sup> The only fragments not originally incorporated into larger anthologies of either secular or sacred music are those found in treatises on music theory (Barcelona 883, Siena 30, Siena 36, and Seville 25) or as later additions in text manuscripts with no relation to music (Assisi 187, Padua 656, Rome 129, and Rome 1419), with just two exceptions, the latter of which I will discuss in more detail below:<sup>15</sup> Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, B.3.5 and Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Atti dei notai del distretto di Bologna, Rolando Castellani, filza 23, seconda di coperta (Bologna 23). These two sources, both re-used as binding material for archival documents, do not seem to stem from large song collections and are much more informal in their design and appearance than the majority of the sources in [Table 6.1](#).

Table 6.1 Codicological summary of the notated sources of Trecento song

| Source              | Material                            | Type of Source                                     | Script                                  | Rubrics                       | Enlarged initials                                           | Pen flourish decoration       | Illum.                        | Colored ink                                                                                          | Type of scribe                              |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Assisi 187          | Paper                               | "Fragment" (snippet in non-musical source)         | Cursiva?                                | N/A                           | None                                                        | None                          | None                          | None                                                                                                 | Amateur                                     |
| Berlin 523          | Parchment                           | "Fragment" (polyphony in monophonic source)        | Cursiva                                 | N/A                           | None for the Trecento section                               | None for the Trecento section | None for the Trecento section | None for the Trecento section                                                                        | Maybe amateur (for the Trecento section)    |
| Bologna 23          | Parchment                           | "Fragment" (musical excerpt in notarial record)    | Textualis (simplified)/ cursiva         | N/A                           | None                                                        | None                          | None                          | None                                                                                                 | Notary                                      |
| Bologna 1549        | Parchment                           | "Fragment" (Gradual with added polyphony)          | Cursiva (for the Trecento section)      | None for the Trecento section | None for the Trecento section                               | None for the Trecento section | None for the Trecento section | None for the Trecento section                                                                        | Probably amateur (for the Trecento section) |
| Brescia 5           | Parchment                           | Fragment (LC, palimpsest)                          | Semihybrida                             | None visible                  | A (p)                                                       | None                          | None                          | Red staves                                                                                           | Prof.                                       |
| Boverio             | Paper                               | Fragment (LC)                                      | Semihybrida/ cursiva                    | None visible                  | Yes                                                         | Some simple decoration        | None                          | Red ink initials, red coloration                                                                     | Prof.                                       |
| Cilberti*           | Parchment                           | Fragment (LC, anth.)                               | Textualis (simplified)                  | Yes                           | Yes                                                         | ?                             | None                          | Red staves, yellow highlighting                                                                      | Prof.                                       |
| Egidi*              | Parchment                           | Fragment (LC?)                                     | Textualis (simplified)                  | ?                             | ?                                                           | Some simple decoration        | None                          | Red staves                                                                                           | Prof.                                       |
| Faenza 117          | Parchment                           | Partial palimpsest (LC, intabulation)              | Textualis                               | Yes (some)                    | N/A                                                         | N/A                           | None                          | Red staves, red coloration                                                                           | Prof.                                       |
| FC                  | Parchment                           | Fragment (LC, anth.)                               | Semihybrida                             | Yes                           | A (p)                                                       | None                          | None                          | Red staves                                                                                           | Prof.                                       |
| Florence 5          | Parchment                           | Fragment (LC, anth.)                               | Textualis (simplified)                  | Yes                           | Yes                                                         | None                          | None                          | Red and blue initials, red staves                                                                    | Prof.                                       |
| FP                  | Paper                               | Intact (LC, anth.)                                 | Textualis (simplified)                  | Yes                           | Yes                                                         | None                          | None                          | Red initials, red highlighting                                                                       | Prof.                                       |
| Frosinone 266 & 267 | Parchment                           | Fragment (LC)                                      | Textualis (simplified)                  | None visible                  | Yes                                                         | None                          | None                          | Red initials, red staves                                                                             | Prof.                                       |
| Grot. 219           | Parchment                           | Fragment (LC)                                      | Textualis/ semihybrida (later layer)    | None visible                  | Yes                                                         | Yes (simple)                  | None                          | Red and blue initials                                                                                | Prof.                                       |
| Ivrea 105           | Paper                               | "Fragment" (musical excerpt in non-musical source) | Cursiva (?)                             | N/A                           | None for the Trecento section                               | None for the Trecento section | None for the Trecento section | None for the Trecento section                                                                        | Amateur                                     |
| Lo                  | Parchment                           | Incomplete (LC)                                    | Textualis (simplified)/ semihybrida     | Yes                           | Yes (sometimes only planned)                                | None                          | None                          | Red staves, red initials, traces of yellow highlighting                                              | Amateur (main scribe only)                  |
| Lowinsky            | Parchment (partially on palimpsest) | Fragment (LC?)                                     | Textualis (simplified)                  | None visible                  | A (p), with simple initials included on fol. 1r and fol. 4r | Yes (simple)                  | None                          | Red staves                                                                                           | Prof.                                       |
| Mancini             | Parchment                           | Fragment (LC, anth.)                               | Textualis (med. grade)                  | Yes                           | Yes                                                         | Some very simple decoration   | None                          | Red and blue initials, red highlighting, red coloration                                              | Prof.                                       |
| Manganelli*         | Parchment                           | Fragment                                           | ?                                       | ?                             | ?                                                           | ?                             | ?                             | ?                                                                                                    | ?                                           |
| ModA                | Parchment                           | Intact (LC)                                        | Textualis                               | Yes                           | Yes                                                         | Yes                           | Some illuminated initials     | Red and blue initials, red coloration, red staves, some other colors including gold in illuminations | Prof.                                       |
| PadA                | Parchment                           | Fragment (LC)                                      | Textualis (simplified)/ hybrida formata | None                          | Yes                                                         | None                          | None                          | Red and blue initials and highlighting, red staves                                                   | Prof.                                       |

|                            |                                 |                                                                                                            |                                                              |                 |                         |                                               |                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                   |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| PadB                       | Parchment                       | Fragment (LC)                                                                                              | Textualis/<br>hybrida (later<br>layer)                       | None            | A (p)                   | None                                          | None                                                     | Red staves, red<br>coloration                                                                                                                                                       | Prof.                                             |
| PadC                       | Parchment                       | Fragment (LC)                                                                                              | Textualis<br>(simplified)                                    | None            | Yes                     | Yes (simple)                                  | None                                                     | Red and blue initials,<br>red staves, red<br>coloration                                                                                                                             | Prof.                                             |
| Padua 553                  | Paper                           | Fragment<br>(3 different<br>sources)                                                                       | Textualis<br>(simplified)                                    | None            | None                    | None                                          | None                                                     | None                                                                                                                                                                                | Prof.                                             |
| Padua 656                  | Parchment                       | "Fragment"<br>(snippet of music<br>on page of short<br>texts in non-<br>musical source)                    | Cursiva                                                      | None            | None                    | None                                          | None                                                     | None                                                                                                                                                                                | Amateur                                           |
| Pit                        | Parchment                       | Intact (LC, anth.)                                                                                         | Textualis<br>(simplified;<br>hand of scribe<br>G is hybrida) | Yes             | Yes                     | Yes                                           | 1 full-page<br>illumination                              | Red staves, red<br>coloration, red and<br>blue initials, yellow<br>highlighting                                                                                                     | Prof.                                             |
| Reggio Emilia<br>Mischiati | Parchment                       | Fragment (LC)                                                                                              | Textualis<br>(simplified)                                    | None            | Yes                     | Yes (simple)                                  | None                                                     | Red staves, red and<br>blue initials and pen<br>flourishes                                                                                                                          | Prof.                                             |
| Reina                      | Paper                           | Intact, composite<br>(LC, anth.)                                                                           | Textualis<br>(simplified)                                    | None            | A (p)                   | None                                          | None                                                     | Red staves, red<br>coloration                                                                                                                                                       | Prof.                                             |
| Parma 75                   | Parchment                       | Fragment (LC)                                                                                              | Textualis<br>(simplified)                                    | None            | Yes                     | None                                          | None                                                     | None                                                                                                                                                                                | Prof.                                             |
| Paris 4917                 | Parchment                       | Incomplete (LC?)                                                                                           | Textualis<br>(simplified)                                    | None            | Yes                     | None                                          | None                                                     | Red staves, red<br>coloration, red and<br>blue initials                                                                                                                             | Prof.                                             |
| Perugia 15755              | Parchment                       | Fragment<br>(LC, anth. of<br>three sources)                                                                | Textualis<br>(simplified)                                    | None<br>visible | Yes                     | Yes                                           | None                                                     | Red staves, red and<br>blue initials, red<br>highlighting                                                                                                                           | Prof.                                             |
| Pistoia 5                  | Parchment<br>(on<br>palimpsest) | Fascicle<br>manuscript (?)                                                                                 | Textualis<br>(simplified)                                    | None            | A (p)                   | None                                          | None                                                     | None                                                                                                                                                                                | Prof. (?)                                         |
| Rome 1067                  | Parchment<br>(on<br>palimpsest) | Partial palimpsest<br>"fragment"<br>(independent<br>"fragment" now<br>in unrelated non-<br>musical source) | Hybrida                                                      | None            | None                    | None                                          | None                                                     | None                                                                                                                                                                                | ? (not without<br>skill, but<br>messy)            |
| Rome 1419                  | Paper                           | Fascicle<br>manuscript<br>(bound into<br>unrelated non-<br>musical source)                                 | Cursiva                                                      | None            | Yes                     | Some (simple)                                 | None                                                     | Some red initials                                                                                                                                                                   | Prof.                                             |
| Rossi                      | Parchment                       | Incomplete<br>(LC, anth.)                                                                                  | Textualis                                                    | None            | Yes                     | Yes                                           | None                                                     | Red and blue initials,<br>red staves, red<br>highlighting                                                                                                                           | Prof.                                             |
| SL 2211                    | Parchment                       | Palimpsest<br>(LC, anth.)                                                                                  | Textualis                                                    | Yes             | A (p)                   | None                                          | None                                                     | Red staves, traces of<br>yellow highlighting,<br>red rubrics, red<br>foliation                                                                                                      | Prof.                                             |
| Seville 25*                | Parchment<br>and paper          | Composite theory<br>source                                                                                 | Textualis<br>(simplified,<br>varying<br>quality)             | None            | Yes<br>(fol. 59r)       | Yes (simple<br>decorated<br>initial fol. 59r) | None                                                     | ?                                                                                                                                                                                   | Maybe amateur<br>for fol. 22v,<br>otherwise prof. |
| Siena 30                   | Paper                           | Theory source<br>with intercalated<br>un-texted<br>polyphony                                               | N/A<br>(treatise is in<br>humanistic<br>cursive)             | None            | N/A                     | N/A                                           | None                                                     | None                                                                                                                                                                                | Amateur                                           |
| Siena 207                  | Parchment                       | Fragment<br>(LC, sacred<br>repertoire in main<br>layer, secular<br>repertoire added)                       | Textualis<br>(simplified<br>textualis for<br>secular works)  | None            | Yes (for<br>main layer) | Yes (for main<br>layer)                       | Illuminated<br>initial in<br>main layer                  | Red staves, red<br>coloration (in main<br>layer), red initials<br>(in main layer), and<br>purple, green, blue,<br>and red ink as well<br>as gold leaf in the<br>illuminated initial | Prof.                                             |
| Squarcialupi               | Parchment                       | Intact (LC, anth.)                                                                                         | Textualis                                                    | Yes             | Yes                     | Yes                                           | Illuminated<br>initials with<br>decorative<br>page frame | Red and blue initials,<br>red staves, some<br>yellow highlighting                                                                                                                   | Prof.                                             |
| Stressa 14*                | Parchment                       | Fragment (LC)                                                                                              | Textualis?                                                   | None (?)        | ?                       | ?                                             | None                                                     | Red staves, red<br>coloration                                                                                                                                                       | Prof. (?)                                         |
| Trent 60                   | Parchment<br>(on<br>palimpsest) | Fragment (LC?)                                                                                             | Textualis<br>(simplified)                                    | None            | A (p)                   | None                                          | None                                                     | None                                                                                                                                                                                | Prof.                                             |

† The script classifications in both Table 6.1 and Table 6.2 follow as closely as possible the system laid out by Albert Derolez in *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

\* Indicates manuscripts I have been unable to consult in original or in good reproduction; LC = large collection; Anth. = anthologizing source; A = absent; P = planned; "Fragment" indicates sources that

have been traditionally described as fragments but are not truly fragmentary (in that they were not originally part of a larger *canzoniere*).

Table 6.2 Codicological summary of the literary sources containing Trecento song texts

| Source        | Material  | Type of source                                                                                              | Organization                                                 | Script                                     | Rubrics                                                             | Enlarged initials                  | Pen flourish decoration | Colored ink                                                 | Type of scribe      | Date                       |
|---------------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| Ambrosiana 56 | Parchment | Miscellany, moralizing/devotional poetry                                                                    | Logic not clear                                              | Hybrida formata (2 hands; high grade)      | Yes, fols. 1-32                                                     | Yes, fols. 1-32                    | Yes, fols. 1-32         | Red initials, rubrics, and highlighting (fols. 1-32)        | Prof.               | Early 15th c (1408)        |
| Ash. 569      | Paper     | Composite (joined early) Collection of canzoni by Dante and other <i>rime</i> by Petrarch (+ extra authors) | Author                                                       | Mercantesca                                | Yes (with attribution)                                              | Yes, simple; 2nd unit a (p)        | Some                    | Red rubrics (2nd unit)                                      | Semi-prof.?         | Late 14th/early 15th c     |
| Ash. 574      | Paper     | Autograph (single author collection)                                                                        | Logic not totally clear                                      | Mercantesca                                | Yes (genre, only 1st in red; marginal rubrics re: musical settings) | Yes, simple                        | None                    | 1 red rubric, red and blue paragraph markers in 1st section | Sacchetti (amateur) | Late 14th c                |
| Barb. 3695    | Paper     | Miscellany, moralizing/devotional texts                                                                     | Logic not clear                                              | Cancellaresca†                             | Yes                                                                 | Some                               | None                    | Red rubrics and highlighting                                | Amateur             | Early 15th c               |
| Bologna 14.1A | Parchment | Snippet on register cover                                                                                   | N/A                                                          | Cancellaresca                              | N/A                                                                 | None                               | N/A                     | None                                                        | Notary              | 14th c                     |
| Bologna 22.14 | Paper     | Register, with 1st page filled with poem                                                                    | N/A                                                          | Cancellaresca                              | None                                                                | V.S.                               | N/A                     | None                                                        | Notary              | Early 15th c               |
| Bologna 36    | Parchment | Snippet on register cover                                                                                   | N/A                                                          | Cancellaresca                              | N/A                                                                 | N/A                                | N/A                     | None                                                        | Notary              | 14th c                     |
| Bologna 48    | Paper     | Scrap of paper with random texts tucked into book of "Recordanze"                                           | N/A                                                          | Cancellaresca                              | N/A                                                                 | N/A                                | N/A                     | None                                                        | Notary              | Early 15th c               |
| Bologna 58    | Parchment | Snippet on register cover                                                                                   | N/A                                                          | Cancellaresca                              | N/A                                                                 | N/A                                | N/A                     | None                                                        | Notary              | Early 15th c               |
| Bologna 177.3 | Paper     | Short lyric collection                                                                                      | Partially by author                                          | Cursive                                    | Yes (attribution)                                                   | V.S.                               | None                    | None                                                        | Amateur             | 17th c, copy of earlier ms |
| Bologna 1072  | Paper     | Single gathering, lyric collection                                                                          | Author                                                       | Humanistic cursive (bookhand)              | Yes (genre)                                                         | V.S.                               | None                    | None                                                        | Prof./semi-prof.?   | 15th c                     |
| Chigi 79      | Paper     | Collection of <i>rime antiche</i>                                                                           | Partially by author                                          | Humanistic cursive (bookhand)              | Mostly not original (attribution and genre added later)             | Yes (illuminated initial at start) | Yes                     | Yellow, red and blue initials; illuminated initial          | Prof.               | 15th c, last 1/3rd         |
| Chigi 131     | Paper     | Composite miscellany (joined early), lyric collection                                                       | Partially by author, partially by genre (partially "random") | Humanistic cursive (2 hands)               | Yes (attribution)                                                   | V.S.                               | None                    | None                                                        | Amateur             | 16th and 17th c            |
| Chigi 142     | Paper     | Composite, <i>Raccolta Aragonese</i>                                                                        | Author                                                       | Humanistic cursive (bookhand in 1st codex) | Yes (genre and attribution)                                         | V.S.                               | None                    | None                                                        | ?                   | 16th c                     |

|                                    |           |                                                                                                     |                                                   |                                                         |                          |                                                        |             |                                        |             |                                         |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Chigi 300                          | Paper     | Works of Sacchetti                                                                                  | Mixed genres, like Sacchetti's autograph          | Humanistic cursive                                      | Yes (attribution, genre) | V.S.                                                   | None        | Red underlining for rubrics            | Amateur     | 17th c                                  |
| Chigi 301 (units II, III, and IV)* | Paper     | Composite miscellany, lyric collection                                                              | Author (mostly)                                   | ?                                                       | Yes                      | A (p)                                                  | None        | Red ink for rubrics (units II and III) | ?           | 14th-16th c                             |
| Conv. Sopp. 1746                   | Paper     | Miscellany (poetry and prose, esp. poetry of Francesco D'Altobianco Alberti); composite             | Logic not clear                                   | Mercantesca (textualis, 1st section)                    | Yes                      | V.S.                                                   | None        | Red ink for rubrics through fol. 7v    | Amateur     | 15th c (mid.; 1st section, late 14th c) |
| Genoa 28                           | Paper     | Misc. poetry and prose                                                                              | Logic not clear                                   | Varied, multiple hands: mercantesca, humanistic cursive | Yes                      | Some                                                   | None        | Some red and blue initials             | Amateur     | 1462-85                                 |
| Grey 7 b 5*                        | Paper     | Collection of lyric poetry                                                                          | Theme and genre                                   | Gothic-humanistic bookhand                              | ?                        | ?                                                      | ?           | ?                                      | Prof.?      | 15th c                                  |
| Lucca 107                          | Parchment | Giovanni Sercambi, <i>Cronache</i>                                                                  | N/A                                               | Semihumanistic                                          | Yes                      | Yes                                                    | Yes         | Yes                                    | Prof.       | 1400                                    |
| Lucca 206                          | Parchment | Giovanni Sercambi, <i>Cronache</i> (part 2)                                                         | N/A                                               | Semihumanistic                                          | Yes                      | Yes (simple)                                           | No          | Yes                                    | Prof.       | Early 15th c                            |
| Magl. 640                          | Paper     | Notebook-like (incomplete?)                                                                         | Logic not clear                                   | Humanistic cursive                                      | Yes                      | V.S.                                                   | None        | None                                   | Amateur?    | Early 16th c                            |
| Magl. 1040/ Florence 61            | Paper     | Composite (Misc. prose with bit of misc. poetry)                                                    | Logic not clear                                   | Mercantesca                                             | Some                     | V.S.                                                   | None        | None                                   | Amateur     | Late 14th c                             |
| Magl. 1041                         | Paper     | Lyric miscellany                                                                                    | Sometimes author                                  | Humanistic cursive                                      | Some                     | V.S.                                                   | None        | None                                   | Amateur     | Early 16th c                            |
| Magl. 1078                         | Paper     | Lyric miscellany                                                                                    | Logic not clear                                   | Cursiva                                                 | A few (genre)            | None                                                   | None        | None                                   | Amateur     | 14th c (early?)                         |
| Magl. 1187                         | Paper     | Composite (relevant section is collection of Sacchetti)                                             | Author (this section)                             | Humanistic cursive                                      | None                     | V.S.                                                   | None        | None                                   | Amateur     | 15th/16th c                             |
| Marciana 223                       | Paper     | Miscellany (poetry, etc.)                                                                           | Partially by author                               | Cursiva                                                 | Some                     | V.S.                                                   | None        | None                                   | Amateur     | 15th c (early)                          |
| Marucelliana 155                   | Paper     | <i>Filistrato</i> , followed by miscellaneous lyric poetry                                          | Logic not clear                                   | Mercantesca                                             | Some                     | Yes, some simple (largest absent but planned at start) | Some simple | Some red highlighting and rubrics      | Semi-prof.? | Early 15th c                            |
| Pal. 105                           | Paper     | Collection of prose with some moralizing poetry ( <i>Filistrato</i> , <i>Heroides</i> ); incomplete | Prose followed by short section of poetry (theme) | Mercantesca                                             | None                     | Yes, mostly simple                                     | Yes (some)  | Traces of yellow highlighting?         | Amateur     | 15th c                                  |

|                          |           |                                                                  |                                                                     |                                              |                                            |                                                   |                     |                                                               |                                    |                  |
|--------------------------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Pal. 204                 | Paper     | <i>Racofia Aragonese</i>                                         | Author                                                              | Humanistic cursive (3 hands)                 | Yes (attribution, genre)                   | A (p; those that are there are simple)            | None                | None                                                          | Amateur and prof./ semi-prof.?     | 16th c           |
| Pal. 288                 | Paper     | Lyric miscellany (owned by B. Varchi), incomplete                | Logic not clear                                                     | Humanistic cursive                           | No (but some attrib. added in margin)      | V.S.                                              | None                | None                                                          | Amateur                            | 16th c           |
| Pal. 315                 | Paper     | Dante's DC followed by Misc. poetry                              | N/A                                                                 | Mercantesca (1 main hand, plus others)       | Yes (in DC)                                | Yes                                               | Yes, simple (in DC) | Red rubrics and highlighting (DC)                             | Amateur/ semi-prof.?               | Late 14th c      |
| Paris 554*               | Paper     | <i>Racofia Aragonese</i>                                         | Author                                                              | ?                                            | ?                                          | ?                                                 | ?                   | ?                                                             | ?                                  | 16th c           |
| Parm. 1081               | Paper     | Lyric collection, with Petrarch's RVF as base                    | Genre                                                               | Mercantesca                                  | Some (many not in main layer)              | V.S.                                              | None                | Red initials and highlighting (only fols. 20v-23v)            | Amateur                            | 15th c (early)   |
| Pateta 352               | Paper     | <i>Racofia Aragonese</i>                                         | Author                                                              | Cursive                                      | Yes                                        | None                                              | None                | None                                                          | Amateur?                           | 19th c           |
| Perugia 43               | Paper     | Miscellany (prose and poetry)                                    | Partially by author (but logic mostly unclear)                      | Mercantesca (bookhand)                       | Only a few (genre)                         | V.S.                                              | None                | None                                                          | Amateur                            | 15th c           |
| Plut. 37                 | Paper     | <i>Racofia Aragonese</i>                                         | Author (and sometimes genre)                                        | Humanistic cursive                           | Yes                                        | Yes                                               | None                | Red rubrics, red initials                                     | ?                                  | 15th c (late)?   |
| Plut. 43                 | Paper     | Collection of lyric poetry followed by Petrarch's <i>Trionfi</i> | Partially by author, partially by genre, logic not completely clear | Hybrida (bookhand but highly simplified)     | Yes                                        | A (p)                                             | None                | Some red rubrics                                              | Amateur?                           | 15th c           |
| Redi 184                 | Paper     | Lyric anthology (composite)                                      | Author                                                              | Cursive (2 main hands)                       | Yes (attribution, genre, and subject info) | V.S.                                              | None                | ?                                                             | Amateur                            | 15th and 16th c  |
| Ricc. 1100               | Paper     | Lyric anthology                                                  | Author                                                              | Mercantesca (bookhand)                       | Yes (attribution, genre)                   | A (p)                                             | None                | Red rubrics                                                   | Semi-prof.                         | 15th c (early?)  |
| Ricc. 1118               | Paper     | <i>Racofia Aragonese</i>                                         | Author                                                              | Humanistic cursive (bookhand)                | Yes (attribution, some genre)              | V.S.                                              | None                | None                                                          | Prof.                              | 16th c           |
| Ricc. 1280               | Paper     | Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, <i>Paradiso degli Alberti</i>        | N/A                                                                 | Semibuxualis                                 | N/A                                        | None                                              | None                | None                                                          | ?                                  | 15th c (early)   |
| Ricc. 1764               | Paper     | Miscellany of devotional texts                                   | N/A                                                                 | Hybrida                                      | Yes                                        | Yes                                               | Yes                 | Red and blue decorated initials, red rubrics and highlighting | Semi-prof.?<br>(commissioned book) | 15th c           |
| Ricc. 2871               | Paper     | Chess treatise, plus laude (composite)                           | Laude grouped in section                                            | Mercantesca (humanistic cursive in 1st unit) | Yes                                        | V.S.                                              | None                | Yellow ink in chess board illustrations                       | Amateur                            | 15th c           |
| Ricc. 2786 <sup>11</sup> | Paper     | <i>Trionfi</i> and miscellany of poetry                          | Genre                                                               | Mercantesca (2 hands)                        | Yes                                        | Yes (after <i>Trionfi</i> are absent but planned) | Some                | Red rubrics and highlighting, red and blue initial (f. 1r)    | Semi-prof.?                        | 15th c (early?)  |
| Trev. 43                 | Paper     | Composite (short lyric collection)                               | Logic not clear                                                     | Semihybrida (mult. hands)                    | Some                                       | V.S.                                              | None                | None                                                          | Amateur?                           | 15th c           |
| Triv. 193                | Paper     | Giovanni Sercambi, <i>Nocelle</i>                                | N/A                                                                 | Mercantesca                                  | Some                                       | Yes (simple)                                      | None                | None                                                          | Amateur or semi-prof.?             | 14th c, 2nd half |
| Vat. 3195                | Parchment | Petrarch's RVF                                                   | Narrative (in 2 sections: life of Laura, death of Laura)            | Textualis                                    | N/A                                        | Yes; plus 2 illuminated initials                  | Yes                 | Red and blue initials and paragraph markers                   | Prof.                              | 1366-74          |
| Vat. 3213                | Paper     | <i>Racofia Aragonese</i>                                         | Author                                                              | Humanistic cursive                           | Yes                                        | V.S.                                              | None                | None                                                          | Amateur                            | 16th c           |

† *Cancelleresca* is a cursive documentary script used by notaries that was sometimes adopted as a bookhand. It is therefore analogous to *bastarde*, a term most often reserved for northern-European (not Italian) hands. Typically more formal than *mercantesca*, it is characterized by elegant, pointy ascenders and descenders.



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

Table 6.2 takes the matrix used for the musical sources in Table 6.1 and adapts it for application to the literary sources. Comparison of the two tables emphasizes the differences between the notated and unnotated transmission of song texts discussed above in relation to *Che pena è quest' al cor*. The consistent contrast in the support material used (parchment versus paper) as well as in the paleographic traits of the two traditions is striking. Looking at Table 6.2 alone, we might assume that relatively elegant parchment anthologies dominate not because music was never copied in paper miscellanies but because such informal codices were not deemed worthy of collecting. Moreover, to a certain extent, a higher survival rate for parchment sources (fragmentary and intact) is to be expected regardless, partially due to the practice of recycling parchment as binding material in books and as simple covers for archival registers, and partially due to the fact that paper is less resistant to age and heavy use.<sup>16</sup> Yet the pronounced prevalence of paper among the literary sources, not just those dating from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but also those roughly contemporary with the notated sources as well, suggests that the discrepancy in support material between Tables 6.1 and 6.2 may be more indicative of conscious, intentional choice on the part of the scribes and compilers than of the durability and monetary value of the surviving sources.

Lending credence to the idea of a close bond between a book's material form and the perceived status of the repertoire it contains is Marisa Boschi Rotiroti's study of fourteenth-century manuscripts transmitting Dante's *Divine Comedy*, a work that has stood at the pinnacle of the Italian literary tradition since it first entered circulation.<sup>17</sup> Surveying 397 manuscripts, Rotiroti finds the majority are parchment sources with medium or elaborate decorative plans copied in *littera textualis*. The refined material form of the books, she argues, mirrors the prestige of Dante's renowned text. Additionally, Rotiroti notes a high correlation between material and formality of *mise en page* and presentation, with paper relegated to inelegant sources copied in cursive scripts and with little or no decoration. Sandro Bertelli makes similar observations in his study of manuscripts containing early Italian lyric poetry.<sup>18</sup> Like Rotiroti, he finds that the majority of manuscripts are parchment, written in *littera textualis*, and have at least medium-level

decorative plans. Based on these findings, he proposes that both readers and copyists considered *littera textualis* to be the most elevated script and associated it more than any other graphic medium with proper, formalized book production.<sup>19</sup>

The differences between the sources surveyed in [Tables 6.1](#) and [6.2](#), then, are far more than cosmetic. They are the physical manifestation of two unique kinds of reception, two contrasting audiences. Keeping in mind that the literary sources reflect general trends in the written transmission of Italian lyric poetry in the late Trecento and early Quattrocento, these two tables represent not a separation between so-called *poesia per musica* and “pure poetry” but rather, I argue, a separation between vernacular lyric poetry copied with musical notation and vernacular lyric poetry copied without it. Not just an issue of semantics, this concept is central to our understanding of the relationship between poetic and musical traditions in late medieval Italy. To be more precise, the physical evidence implies that song held the power to increase the distinction of vernacular poetry.

Indeed, the idea that music might enhance the value of a poem was not foreign to medieval poets. Although Petrarch and Boccaccio both famously objected to their work falling into the hands of professional performers, other authors were eager to have their lyrics performed as song.<sup>20</sup> Sacchetti, for example, corresponded with composers about their settings of his poetry, and explicitly requested that Francesco degli Organi “adorn” one newly written ballata with musical decoration.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, even Dante, who was very much concerned with the accurate written transmission of his works, expresses pleasure at hearing his lyric poetry sung by Casella as he travels through Purgatory (*Purgatorio* 2.76–114). Literally in manuscripts and metaphorically in verbal descriptions like those by Sacchetti, music and musical notation take on an iconographic function in addition to a practical one. Like gold leaf and elaborate illuminations, or, to reference the metaphor adopted by medieval poets and composers, like fine clothing, music lends a sense of value, import, and beauty to the words it adorns. Its presence or absence thus becomes intertwined with the book’s overall materiality, correlated, like formal *mise en page*, script type, and physical material, with the perceived prestige of its contents. This is not to say, however, that song texts had no value divested of their musical garments. As we have seen throughout this book, they held the interest of many a scribe and many a reader in fully literary settings. Rather, what I suggest here is that the

traditions of secular song and vernacular poetry—for the most part— held distinct cultural associations in late medieval Italy.

## Vernacular Reading in Late Medieval Tuscany

Without notation song texts inhabit a realm largely unfamiliar to those accustomed to studying notated sources and other well-known manuscripts created within French and Italian courtly contexts, from books of hours to chivalric romances: the realm of middle-class vernacular reading. This book culture, which differs significantly from that surrounding the production and circulation of ecclesiastic, academic, and courtly manuscripts, merits further exploration here, not only because it shaped the literary life of Trecento song, but also because it provides a framework within which to interpret the few atypically informal notated sources in which Italian *ars nova* polyphony appears. It bears emphasizing that sources like Bologna 23, Treviso 43, and Magliabechiano 1078, none of which are Tuscan in origin, testify to the fact that vernacular reading and the production of notebook-like collections both large and small flourished throughout north-central Italy. The following discussion, however, focuses primarily on Tuscany and most especially on Florence because data (in the form of tax records, inventories of property, and other civic documents) are more readily available on Tuscan artisans and merchants, their books, and their education than on the reading practices of the middle classes elsewhere in Italy. Although much work remains to be done on the circulation of lyric poetry specifically, we do, therefore, have a relatively detailed picture of vernacular reading and the reception of vernacular literature in general in late medieval Tuscany.<sup>22</sup>

Literacy was widespread in Florence and throughout north-central Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. According to Giovanni Villani's famous report, at the end of the 1330s as many as 11,300 Florentine children — that is, approximately 45 percent of all school age children in the city— received some kind of education.<sup>23</sup> Taking into account the fact that far more boys than girls attended school, Paul Grendler has estimated that Villani's statistics, if accurate, mean 67 to 83 percent of males attended school in fourteenth-century Florence.<sup>24</sup> Many scholars, Grendler included, have doubted these numbers,<sup>25</sup> but Robert Black's research on Florence's 1427 *catasto* confirms that a surprisingly large percentage of the male population

was indeed literate.<sup>26</sup> This census required the head of each household to submit a declaration written in his own hand, which stated the family's assets and liabilities along with the number of persons residing in the household. Significantly, about only 30 percent did not complete the declaration themselves, seeking assistance from notaries, friends, or family members. Black therefore proposes that Florence had a potential male literacy rate of 69.3 percent in 1427.<sup>27</sup> Such widespread literacy, however, was isolated to urban centers. Tax records collected in rural areas reveal that many more households outside of the city had their declarations written by notaries, or others.<sup>28</sup>

Although elementary reading and writing were taught through Latin, only students who went on to secondary grammar schools became truly literate in the language, as early tutelage focused on phonetic reading rather than comprehension.<sup>29</sup> By the early fourteenth century, Florence, unlike elsewhere in Europe, began conducting the majority of its business in the vernacular, making Latin obsolete for average merchants and artisans. Florentines consequently turned their attention not to grammar schools, which taught the Latin language and classical literature, but to *abaco* schools, where more practical skills such as basic arithmetic were acquired through instruction entirely in the vernacular. While classical learning continued to hold its prestige elsewhere in Italy, in Florence it fell by the wayside even as literacy in general increased.<sup>30</sup> Latin did not experience a gradual revival until the fifteenth century, when the social elite, thanks to the rise of humanism, began to identify classical learning as a marker of gentility, a means of setting themselves apart from the middle and lower classes.<sup>31</sup> And not until the very end of the century did grammar schools increase significantly in popularity.<sup>32</sup>

With so many literate Florentines during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it should not be surprising to discover that merchants of all types, notaries, and even members of the minor guilds owned books.<sup>33</sup> But what kinds of books did they own? French vernacular literature circulated not infrequently in deluxe presentation manuscripts that likely served more as status symbols than books for practical reading, but Italian vernacular literature rarely saw such luxury. Even copies of Dante's *Commedia* and the early Italian lyric anthologies, among the most elegant vernacular manuscripts created in Italy, have more modest decorative plans than the truly lavish books produced for aristocratic patrons like Machaut MS E and

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 146 (the famous notated copy of the *Roman de Fauvel*). More importantly, most manuscripts of Italian vernacular literature, as Table 6.2 and Appendix 2 demonstrate, are quite modest indeed: small or medium format paper codices (often made of low quality paper) that are frame ruled, if ruled at all, and have little or no decoration.<sup>34</sup> Script, perhaps more than any other physical feature, sets vernacular reading apart from Latin book culture in late medieval and early Renaissance Italy. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Latin manuscripts continued to be copied in *littera textualis* or, later, in *littera antiqua* (humanistic bookhand).<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, scribes overwhelmingly turned to *mercantesca* (the favored script of merchants and artisans) and other cursive scripts for vernacular texts. Although all readers would have become familiar with *littera textualis* through textbooks, only students who attended grammar school seem to have mastered the art of writing gothic script. Those who attended *abaco* school or ended their education after elementary school learned to write only in informal cursive hands, generally some variation of *mercantesca*.<sup>36</sup> Not books intended for public consumption, even their contents often reflect their private and practical nature. Many qualify as *zibaldoni* (personal miscellanies), filled with a wide variety of prose and poetic texts including devotional works, technical treatises, classical works translated into the vernacular, and contemporary narrative literature. What is more, family histories (*ricordanze* or *ricordi*), records of important family events such as birth, death, and marriage, and household accounts often appear scattered amongst more literary contents.<sup>37</sup>

The transmission of vernacular literature thus largely lay outside the boundaries of any formal book trade. Many manuscripts were copied by amateur scribes and either reserved solely for personal use or loaned informally between private individuals.<sup>38</sup> Yet although very few truly deluxe copies of vernacular texts were produced in late medieval Tuscany, Marco Corsi and Rhiannon Daniels have convincingly argued that not all scribes creating informal books were amateurs (or to use Vittore Branca's term, "copyists for passion").<sup>39</sup> Some worked for money ("*a prezzo*"), producing books on commission and on speculation for merchant and artisan readers who lacked either the means or the time to do the copying themselves. Many of these semi-professional and professional scribes never signed their work, however. As a result, it can be difficult to distinguish between books copied

by amateurs for their own use and books copied within the “*a prezzo*” system.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, through careful paleographic and codicological analysis, Cursi has linked several manuscripts to this kind of book trade and reconstructed the career of one professional scribe, Ghinozzo Allegretti, who lived and worked in Siena around the turn of the fifteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Some of the more consistently constructed manuscripts transmitting Trecento song texts—those such as Ashburnham 569 and Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup> that show signs of being copied in a relatively condensed period of time, contain simple decoration and colored ink, and whose scripts are characterized by a slow and careful *ductus*—are in line with the material panorama Cursi describes and may well be products of the “*a prezzo*” system. In fact, Cursi even attributes one in particular—Riccardiana 1100—to an anonymous Florentine scribe who worked with Ghinozzo.<sup>42</sup>

## **Traces of Informal Musical Transmission: Bologna 23 and London 29987**

It is within this context of vernacular reading that I suggest atypically sloppy musical sources such as Bologna 23 and London 29987 might best be understood. While London 29987 has long been recognized as an unconventional collection, compiled by an amateur scribe whose skill at writing and whose comprehension of more complicated poetic texts leave something to be desired, Bologna 23 has been treated as a fairly standard source—as a fragment of a now lost anthology, rather than a remnant of more casual music copying. It might more accurately be described as a scrap than a fragment though, for it does not bear the signs of a leaf extracted from a once-complete *canzoniere*. Significantly, both sources have much more in common with the literary manuscripts surveyed in [Table 6.2](#) than the musical sources in [Table 6.1](#). Repositioned in this new context, they join the literary sources examined throughout this book in hinting at a wider audience for Trecento song than the more standard notated sources reveal—specifically middle-class merchants, notaries, and artisans who were avid readers and writers of vernacular texts.

### **BOLOGNA 23**

On the inside of the front cover, protecting records copied by the Bolognese notary Rolando Castellani, is one of the more peculiar sources of Trecento song hitherto discovered.<sup>43</sup> Pictured in [Figure 6.3](#), Bologna 23's musically relevant contents consist of six staves partially filled with the tenor line and *residuum* for Francesco degli Organi's ballata *Per seguir la speranza*. This single parchment bifolio, now attached to the front of Castellani's register, spent part of its life before being adopted for its current use folded in half. *Per seguir la speranza* appears on what was originally the right-hand page while the left-hand page and the backside of the parchment were left completely blank. The music itself is carefully copied in a skilled hand, clearly the work of someone well trained in the art of writing musical notation. Yet, the scribe drew the staves (all with five rather than six lines) free-hand in a rather sloppy manner, writing the top three, which contain the music and text, in a brownish ink, and the bottom three, barred together and blank, in red.<sup>44</sup>



Figure 6.3 Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Atti dei notai del distretto di Bologna, Rolando Castellani, filza 23, seconda di coperta. Reproduced by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali—Archivio di Stato di Bologna (authorization n. 1058 granted on 6 June 2013).

The sloppy appearance of the text, both under the music and in the *residuum*, mirrors the staves' extreme informality. Not particularly careful to set the words neatly along a straight baseline, the scribe does, nevertheless,

make an effort to align the text clearly with the melody above it. Moreover, he diligently marks the end of each poetic verse in both the underlaid text and the *residuum* with the kind of slashes or *virgule* (/) typically employed in both notated and unnotated sources for this purpose. His approach to the presentation of the poetic text thus reinforces the initial impression given by the well-formed notation that the scribe was very familiar with the visual appearance of formal musical sources. Although Castellani's dates of activity (1403–57) allow the possibility that he copied Francesco's ballata, the style of script and *ductus* displayed in the underlaid text and *residuum* differ in several respects from that seen in the rest of the register.

Armando Antonelli hypothesizes that the bifolio originally covered a register of smaller dimensions, approximately 210 × 155 mm, and proposes that the scribe wrote on the inside of the back cover while it was wrapped around the older register.<sup>45</sup> Noting the lack of sewing holes along the center fold, Agostino Ziino suggests two additional possible origins: the bifolio may have been destined for a larger codex that was never completed, or it may have been a loose leaf copied for personal use by a singer or music-enthusiast.<sup>46</sup> Ziino favors the former possibility, focusing on the professional quality of the music hand and on the dimensions of the hypothetical manuscript, which would be in line with other smaller-format notated sources from the late Trecento and early Quattrocento (for example, the Rossi codex and the Lucca codex).<sup>47</sup> As he explains, the presence of a tenor line only is not disturbing in this context, given that the cantus and contratenor would normally be copied together on the verso of the previous folio, now lost. Thus, it remains possible that when the source was intact, the whole piece appeared together on a single opening.

In my opinion, however, far more signs suggest the scribe never intended Bologna 23 to be part of a larger project. The precise notation certainly looks to be the work of a trained scribe, but casual free-hand staves like those found here never occur in well-copied, formal song collections. Only Ivrea 105, Padua 656, Assisi 187, and Bologna 1549, all of which are scraps and musical doodles never destined for inclusion in formal song collections, have staves that approach or equal this level of sloppiness. Furthermore, the parchment itself is of a fairly low grade, somewhat thick for use in a manuscript though thinner than the parchment that often covers notarial registers. The entire bifolio was poorly prepared, and several defects mar the parchment's surface. What is now the front of the cover (the hair-side)



has been left quite rough, ill-suited to the copying of either text or music. Given the parchment's low quality and the staves' casual nature, we must also consider Ziino's less favored hypothesis—that the bifolio was essentially a scrap of parchment used by the scribe to quickly copy a tenor part for his own use and later recycled as a register cover. With one adjustment, this explanation is, I believe, the most plausible. Given the layout, with the music confined to the right-hand inner page, it is highly probable that the notation was added while the bifolio was already folded around the now-lost register, as Antonelli proposes.

If we need further evidence that this bifolio was never destined to be incorporated into a full-fledged book, the total absence of any trace of notation or black staves on pages other than the second recto should not be forgotten. The isolation of staves and music to this recto seems odd for a bifolio planned to be part of a proper manuscript, and indeed no other extant bifolio fragments were prepared in this manner. Yet at the same time, the presence of the third brown staff and the placement of the *residuum* on it remains puzzling. With the residual text squished into a square space on the far right and blocked in on the left by two sets of parallel lines resembling a final double bar, it looks as if the scribe planned to copy another voice of this or a different ballata on the first two-thirds of the staff (see [Figure 6.3](#)). Equally puzzling is the lack of a double bar at the end of the second staff, which suggests the scribe believed his work to be incomplete, even though the entire tenor line is copied. Moreover, the lower three staves complicate any theory about how much music may or may not have been planned to join the tenor of *Per seguir la speranza*. As noted above, they are copied in red and, unlike the upper three staves, are barred together. We can thus be almost certain that the two sets of staves were copied at different times, but we cannot know for sure if the red set was added after the ballata itself.<sup>48</sup> Although frustratingly perplexing, these features are nevertheless important clues to Bologna 23's original function. The unmistakable air of extreme informality they lend to an otherwise professional looking script supports the hypothesis that this bifolio transmits notes casually jotted down by a singer for his own use.

## LONDON 29987

In a discussion of amateur scribes and informal music copying, one Trecento song collection in particular is impossible to overlook: the

notoriously quirky London 29987.<sup>49</sup> Although scholars agree its primary scribe cannot have been a professional, we know little about its provenance or about the circumstances surrounding its use. One thing, though, is certain: nearly everything about this manuscript—from its sloppy appearance and the scribe’s obvious discomfort with Latin, to the bizarre corruption of its rhythmic notation—stands out as highly unusual in the broader context of music writing in late medieval Europe.<sup>50</sup> While considering London 29987 in relation to Tuscan vernacular manuscript culture and to the body of literary sources in which Trecento song texts circulated cannot explain all of the book’s oddities, it may, I suggest, help us to understand its genesis and early use.

Despite its ultimate informality, London 29987 seems to have begun life as a fairly typical song collection. Its parchment pages were carefully ruled with red staves suggesting the original compiler—presumably the scribe responsible for the few elegantly copied songs found on London 29987’s opening folios (Marco Gozzi’s scribe B)—planned to create a manuscript neat and uniform in its construction.<sup>51</sup> Scribe B writes steadily and confidently, clearly skilled in both musical notation and gothic script.<sup>52</sup> Almost certainly a professional, he had a hand in making at least one other extant song collection, a fragment of which is now preserved at the library of the Florence Conservatory (Florence 1175).<sup>53</sup> For some reason, though, he never finished his work on London 29987 and the manuscript passed, incomplete, into the hands of an amateur copyist (Gozzi’s scribe A), who set about filling its blank pages with an eclectic selection of music, including not just madrigals, ballate, and cacce, but also simple liturgical chants, instrumental dances, and the enigmatic *L’antefana di Ser Lorenzo*, a monophonic, didactic work attributed (presumably) to Lorenzo Masini.<sup>54</sup>

To understand London 29987’s early use we must therefore come to grips with scribe A’s copying procedure and with what his cultural background may have been. Although the manuscript’s appearance is not as rough in person as it seems in reproduction, scribe A’s hand, for both music and text, is much less steady than scribe B’s.<sup>55</sup> Still, he seems familiar with what a musical manuscript ought to look like and determined to imitate proper conventions to the best of his ability. He leaves space for enlarged initials at the start of each voice throughout, later adding most of the missing letters (without any pen flourishes) in red ink. For the text, he chooses a simplified

*littera textualis* despite his obvious discomfort with the script. Not quite able to maintain a gothic hand consistently, on some folios he morphs into a more cursive, *mercantesca*-like script, a script to which he was presumably more accustomed.<sup>56</sup>

These occasional forays into cursive script and scribe A's limited comprehension of Latin both point towards the world of vernacular reading. His haphazard approach to copying, too, calls to mind books like Amelio's *zibaldone* and Magliabechiano 1078, miscellaneous collections compiled gradually over time by middle-class readers for their own private use. There remains a certain amount of disagreement regarding the extent of London 29987's disorganization. Marco Gozzi has argued that the manuscript was more carefully planned than it seems at first glance, and that it owes its chaotic appearance mostly to scribe A skipping ahead to write on fresh pages while waiting for ink to dry and then going back later to fill in the blank space.<sup>57</sup> I, however, agree with Giuseppe Carsaniga that London 29987 looks more like a collection assembled gradually over time. The frequent variation in ink, sharpness of pen, and size and speed of the script, combined with signs that scribe A worked not with loose leaves but with a pre-bound book, all strongly suggest that this manuscript, like many *zibaldoni* produced by middle-class Tuscan readers, was copied over several discontinuous periods of scribal activity and functioned more as a notebook than a proper anthology.<sup>58</sup>

Two primary hypotheses have been put forward as to what kind of person scribe A may have been. Carsaniga, noting the eclectic nature of London 29987's repertoire and the scribe's difficulty interpreting the poetic texts, suggests he may have been a practicing musician who copied the collection for his own use.<sup>59</sup> Michael Long, in contrast, speculates that the manuscript may have served as a textbook for a child learning Latin, music, and moral rectitude.<sup>60</sup> Based on scribe A's interest in dance and vernacular poetry, Long further speculates that London 29987 may have been copied for use within a *studio* (or school) connected to a women's conventual house.<sup>61</sup> Ultimately, scribe A's background and London 29987's intended use are likely to remain eternally shrouded in mystery, and it is not my intention here to disprove either of these hypotheses. I would suggest, however, that the literary sources examined throughout this book offer one new context in which we might situate this perplexing song collection. When considered alongside

manuscripts like Parmense 1081, Magliabechiano 1078, Amelio Bonaguisi's *zibaldone*, and even Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup>, London 29987's physical form seems less out of the ordinary. While associating this song collection with vernacular reading does not rule out the hypotheses put forward by Carsaniga and Long, it does point more strongly towards a middle-class, adult reader who, while he certainly possessed some musical knowledge, could well have been a merchant or artisan similar to some of the scribes and owners connected to the literary sources, to whom we now direct our attention.

## Scribes and Owners: Defining the Reading Public

Without a doubt, the unnotated sources transmitting Trecento song texts are first and foremost important because of what they reveal about the literary reception of these poems, but this is not their only value to us as musicologists. While notated Trecento *canzonieri* rarely offer specific clues about their provenance, many of the literary sources are signed and dated, sometimes by their scribe and sometimes by an early owner. Table 6.3 lists the literary sources that contain information regarding their provenance and/or the identities of their early readers. Some scribes—namely Gaspar Totti, Bartolomeo di Matteo, and Alegroto di Galoti—unfortunately remain mysterious in terms of their profession and social status, but biographical information is easier to come by for others. Most were merchants and artisans, some quite well-to-do, like Franco Sacchetti and the Bencis, and others, like Amelio Bonaguisi, much more modest in their social and economic standing.

Two manuscripts in particular stand out for their associations not with the upper echelons of Florentine society but instead with the working class. The first, Riccardiana 1100 (mentioned above in the context of Florence's "*a prezzo*" book trade), belonged early in its life to a certain Stefano di Cione, self-identified in an *ex libris* on the manuscript's final flyleaf. Although it is one of the most clearly organized and carefully structured literary sources examined in this study, Riccardiana 1100 seems to have circulated in comparatively low social circles. Stefano di Cione was a *farsettaio* (doublet maker) who had only 124 florins worth of assets, minimal accumulation of wealth compared to others surveyed in the *catasto*.<sup>62</sup>

Table 6.3 Sources with known provenance and/or early ownership

| Manuscript          | Provenance/ownership                                                                                          |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ashburnham 574      | Franco Sacchetti (scribe, Florence, after 1380)                                                               |
| Barberino 3695      | Alegroto di Galoti (scribe, Venice), familial records dating from 1382–1414                                   |
| Chigi 79            | Tommaso Balinotti (scribe, Pistoia)                                                                           |
| Conv. Sopp. 1746    | 1458–59                                                                                                       |
| Florence 61         | Amelio Bonaguasi (scribe, Florence/Cerreto Guidi, 1392)                                                       |
| Genoa 28            | Filippo and Giovanni Benci (scribes and owners, Florence, 1462–85)                                            |
| Lucca 107           | Copied for Giovanni Sercambi in 1400                                                                          |
| Magliabechiano 1041 | Household accounts dating from 1533–41, Florence                                                              |
| Palatino 288        | Benedetto Varchi (owner)                                                                                      |
| Palatino 315        | Bartolomeo di Matteo (scribe, Florence, signed 1383); Piero di Berto di Lorenzo Berti, (owner, mid 15th c)    |
| Parmense 1081       | Gaspar Totti (scribe, Pisa?)                                                                                  |
| Redi 184            | Baroncino di Giovanni Baroncini (scribe, Florence)                                                            |
| Riccardiana 1100    | Anon. scribe associated with Ghinozzo di Tommaso Allegretti; Stefano di Cione (owner, Florence, early 15th c) |
| Vaticano 3195       | Petrarch, (started in 1366)                                                                                   |

As a doublet maker, Stefano was almost certainly excluded from the guild system and thus from Florentine political life. In fact, in the early fifteenth century, *farsettaii* would have garnered particular animosity from the ruling class. They were among the three groups of artisans and workers to force their way into the guild structure for a short time after the Ciompi rebellion in 1378. The Ciompi, unskilled textile workers, were crushed relatively quickly, but their uprising was followed by three years of radical guild rule during which the *popolo minuto* (minor guildsmen) dominated the city's highest offices.<sup>63</sup> In a revolutionary move on September 22, 1378, the government approved the formation of two new minor guilds, the *Arte dei Tintori* (wool dyers) and the *Arte dei Farsettaii*. In addition to doublet makers, the latter guild included shearers, tailors, hatters, and several other groups of artisans.<sup>64</sup>

The wool guild, one of Florence's most elite, was far from pleased to lose control over these artisans and laborers and felt threatened by the power the new guilds afforded their members. In January 1382, the *lanaiuoli*

mounted a counter-revolution, permanently changing Florentine political life by bringing about the end of guild republicanism.<sup>65</sup> With the oligarchy restored, the *Arte dei Tintori* and the *Arte dei Farsettai* were disbanded, and the new government set up measures to ensure the laboring classes would never again acquire political influence. The final years of the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth century were thus characterized by a strong anti-working class, anti-poor sentiment, and the short-lived revolutionary guilds served as a symbol of the danger these groups posed.<sup>66</sup> As a *farsettaio* in early Quattrocento Florence, Stefano di Cione's social status was therefore undoubtedly low. Not even a member of the *popolo*, he was far removed from the elite circles with which the Italian *ars nova* tradition is generally associated.

The second manuscript, Redi 184, is another lengthy lyric collection similar to Riccardiana 1100 in scope, though less formally copied and less rigorously organized. Its links to Florence's artisan class are through one of its principal scribes, Baroncino di Giovanni Baroncini, who was a *spadaio* (sword maker) and *corazzaio* (armor maker) active in the city's political life during the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>67</sup> Of a higher social standing, if not an economic one, than Stefano di Cione, he was elected to the *Buonumini* in 1456, to the *Priori* in 1468, and to the *Gonfalonieri di compagnia* in 1470, 1486, 1490, 1502, and 1507—Florence's highest executive offices. He also served as an elected official several times within the *Arte dei Corazzai e Spedaii* (guild of armor makers and sword makers).<sup>68</sup> Despite being a minor guildsman and an artisan, Baroncino seems to have been part of the city's ruling class, certainly a mark of social distinction in the later fifteenth century, when the Medici controlled the commune's political life. An avid scribe, Baroncino copied at least four other manuscripts still preserved in Florentine libraries: Biblioteca Riccardiana 1330,<sup>69</sup> 1376,<sup>70</sup> and 2580 and Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano XXXV 101.<sup>71</sup> These books, unrelated to Redi 184 in their contents, primarily feature devotional texts in prose written in the vernacular.

Meanwhile, other literary sources belonged to more prominent Florentines. The Benci family, who copied and owned Genoa 28, certainly falls within this category, as does one early owner of Palatino 315, Piero di Berto di Leonardo Berti.<sup>72</sup> Like Baroncino, Piero was active in Florentine politics, elected to the *Gonfalonieri di compagnia* in 1460, to the *Priori* in

1461, and to the *Buonumini* in 1462.<sup>73</sup> Baroncino's name, however, was always drawn from the purse of the artisans, the least prestigious of the three purses from which government officials could be selected. Piero's name, on the other hand, was drawn from the purse dedicated to members of the *Arti Maggiori* (major guilds) for two elections and for two others from the *borsellino*, a select purse containing names of men hand-picked for their true loyalty to the Guelf party and to the oligarchy. Records also show that Piero's name was drawn in the *Arte della Seta*'s elections in 1470, indicating he was either a silk merchant or manufacturer by profession. Even if a member of the *popolo* rather than the *grandi* as was most of the silk guild, Piero's presence in the *borsellino* demonstrates that he must have moved in Florence's highest social and cultural circles and been in favor with the Medici.<sup>74</sup>

Two other manuscripts offer clues about their scribes and owners in the form of family and household records following their lyric collections. Barberino 3695, copied by Alegroto di Galoti, ends with three pages of *ricordi* which list the birth and death dates of his six sons and daughters as well as his own marriage in Venice to a certain Albertina in 1382. While these *ricordi* confirm the manuscript's northern origins and suggest a date of compilation sometime after 1382, they tell us nothing about Alegroto's social and economic background. Conversely, the household accounts found on fols. 90v–91v and 94v–99r of Magliabechiano 1041, an informal poetic miscellany copied during the early sixteenth century, provide us with neither the name of a scribe nor the family to which the manuscript belonged. They do, however, offer valuable clues about the economic status of the manuscript's compilers and readers. Presumably copied by the head of the household, Magliabechiano 1041's accounts show that their scribe was a landowner who had a house in the city of Florence and a villa in the surrounding countryside, likely north of Prato in the Val di Bisenzio.<sup>75</sup> Payments to family members and various other expenses, such as furnishings for certain rooms, reveal that he had a wife (Alexandra), a son (Giovanbattista), and a sister (Caterina), all of whom he supported. Detailing more than just routine household expenses, the accounts also indicate their scribe was active in the Florentine stock market, purchasing *accatti*—high-interest, high-priority loans to the city government—several times during the 1530s and early 1540s. His investment in these loans suggests that he was likely among the upper echelons of Florentine society, economically if not

politically.<sup>76</sup> The accounts themselves contain no information pertaining to their scribe's guild membership or profession. He may, however, have been a merchant who kept his business records elsewhere. Judging from the focus on agricultural expenses, servants, and rental income, though, it is most likely that he was simply a well-to-do land and farm owner.<sup>77</sup>

Who precisely owned and used the extant notated *canzonieri* in which Trecento song circulated is much more difficult to say, for very few can be connected to specific patrons or readers. What information regarding provenance we do have, however, complements what can be gleaned from the material features summarized in [Table 6.2](#). The musical sources that survive today originated through more traditional channels of manuscript production than the literary sources, often copied within ecclesiastical institutions despite the profane nature of their contents. The Squarcialupi codex, for example, has been linked to the *scriptorium* of the Florentine monastery S. Maria degli Angeli, and several of the Paduan fragments were copied at the monastery of S. Giustina in Padua.<sup>78</sup> As I have already suggested, only a very small number of the notated manuscripts that transmit Trecento song, fragments included, can be loosely associated with amateur scribes: Assisi 187, Bologna 1549, Ivrea 105, Padua 656, Rome 1419, London 29987, and Bologna 23 (linked with a notarial context). Of these six, however, the theologically-oriented nature of the non-musical contents of at least two (Assisi 187 and Padua 656) point more towards an ecclesiastic and/or an academic rather than a mercantile reader, as does the prevalence of liturgical music in both Bologna 1549 (a twelfth- or thirteenth-century Gradual with a brief snippet of mensural notation added during the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century) and Rome 1419 (a composite manuscript whose musical gathering primarily features settings of the mass ordinary).<sup>79</sup>

Furthermore, most of the notated sources contain only scattered traces of reading, if any at all. As a result, we cannot know for sure how they or their contents may have been used. The performance of secular song in a variety of lay settings is, however, described in literary works such as Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*, and Simone Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*.<sup>80</sup> It is also depicted visually in manuscript illuminations, for example those in the Squarcialupi codex, and in frescos such as the panels painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico.<sup>81</sup> But in extrapolating details regarding the performance, reception,



and circulation of the Italian *ars nova* repertoire from these kinds of sources, caution is required. Because their citation of music fills various purposes (narrative, allegorical, etc.), their portrayal of song may not accurately reflect performance practices and situations. The literary sources, therefore, add significantly to our view of this repertoire's reception by bearing witness to the wide circulation that Trecento song—broadly speaking—enjoyed, even if they themselves are not necessarily musical. Linking the tradition to modest merchants, notaries, and artisans as well as to literati and wealthy, politically influential citizens during the fourteenth century and beyond, they provide a material and cultural framework within which to understand seemingly anomalous musical sources like Bologna 23 and London 29987, and artisan composers such as Bonaiuto di Corsino and Jacopo Pianaiaio da Firenze.<sup>82</sup> In a sense, therefore, they provide a fully secular counterpart to Florence's *laudesi* companies. Lauda singing spanned across the city's social and economic classes, exposing a large portion of the population as both listeners and active participants to a musical tradition that was closely bound to the world of secular song in terms of its composers, professional performers, and repertoire.<sup>83</sup> The literary sources suggest that a similarly diverse cross-section of the population interacted with Trecento song texts in non-devotional settings, reading them alongside an eclectic array of vernacular poetry and prose, ranging from the most popular texts in late medieval Florence, such as Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Ovid's *Heroides* (in vernacular translation), to others like the French lyrics collected in Amelio Bonaguisi's *zibaldone* that were rather more obscure.

But the literary sources do more than merely join forces with manuscripts like London 29987, with the lauda tradition, and with what we know about the social background of professional musicians. They demonstrate that the extant Trecento song collections, on the whole, offer a limited view of secular music-making in late medieval Italy. At the same time, these sources allow us to connect the Italian *ars nova* tradition and its reception, more precisely than do the notated sources, to the volatile social and political climate that shaped cultural life in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Florence. While previous studies have articulated polyphony's place in northern Italian aristocratic life (especially in the Visconti and Carrarese courts) and in papal circles in south-central Italy, our knowledge of music's social significance in Tuscany primarily concerns devotional and civic practices.<sup>84</sup> Scribes and owners like Giovanni and Filippo Benci, Amelio Bonaguisi,

Stefano di Cione, and Baroncino di Giovanni Baroncini therefore offer a point of departure for a fresh analysis of intersections between musical activity and Florentine sociopolitical history during the Trecento and beyond.

<sup>1</sup> This study includes sources that transmit *ars subtilior* repertoire only if they also contain music by composers firmly linked to what is commonly classified as Trecento polyphony. Because they appear in both “Trecento” sources and sources that focus on the next generation of composers, a few Italian-texted works by Johannes Ciconia and his contemporaries are considered. They remain mostly on the sidelines, however, as works that are transitional not just in terms of their compositional style but also in terms of the poetry they set. In particular, the different poetic preferences and the more flexible approach to text setting that characterize the song of Ciconia’s generation require that this repertoire be treated as distinct for the purposes of the present study.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Michael Scott Cuthbert, “Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond the Codex” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006) and “Tipping the Iceberg: Missing Italian Polyphony from the Age of Schism,” *Musica Disciplina* 54 (2009).

<sup>3</sup> I discuss Bologna 23 in more detail below. The musical fragments in Perugia 15755 are unusually scrappy, including several thin parchment strips with traces of musical notation in addition to one full bifolio. See Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti, eds., *Frammenti musicali del Trecento nell’incunabolo Inv. 15755 N.F. della Biblioteca del Dottorato dell’Università degli Studi di Perugia*, (Florence: Olschki, 2004); also see Oliver Huck’s review of Brumana and Ciliberti’s study in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 15/1 (2006). Assisi 187 is a composite manuscript containing two unrelated Latin codices: the first, a collection of *Quaestiones* and the second, William of Ockham’s *Summa logicae*. On the second unit’s final folio are several vernacular verses and assorted musical scribbles (including the tenor of Francesco degli Organi’s *Donna s’i’ t’ò falito*) copied by a relatively unskilled hand. See Agostino Ziino, “Un antico ‘Kyrie’ a due voci per strumento a tastiera,” *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 15 (1981) and Michael Scott Cuthbert, “Trecento Fragments,” 451–5.

<sup>4</sup> Treviso 43 is briefly described in Emilio Lippi, “Su un autografo di Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti,” *Studi trevisani: bollettino degli istituti di cultura del Comune di Treviso* II /4 (1985): 117–26. The manuscript’s first unit has also been discussed by Vittorio Cian in an article published in 1884 that provides an edition of the brief collection of poems in the unit. Vittorio Cian, “Ballate e strambotti del sec. XV tratti da un codice trevisano,” *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 4 (1884).

<sup>5</sup> Scribes A, B, and C copied the texts in the first gathering (fols. 1–8), while scribe D copied those in the second (fols. 9–12), along with one poem on the bottom of fol. 7v. The first three hands, all casual cursive scripts with strong chancery tendencies, are sufficiently similar that they may possibly represent the work of a single scribe writing at different times (as Emilio Lippi has suggested). The fourth hand, in contrast, is quite different in character: a clear but inelegant and highly simplified hand similar in style to that seen in Magliabechiano 1078.

<sup>6</sup> I discuss the activity of professional and semi-professional vernacular scribes in more detail below.

<sup>7</sup> Furio Brugnolo, “La poesia del Trecento,” in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato, vol. 10, *La tradizione dei testi* (Rome: Salerno, 2001), esp. 225 and 228–9. Although Brugnolo notes that poetic collections from the later fourteenth century are often organized (loosely) by subject matter and linguistic register, the sources examined in the present study do not seem to be ordered in this manner. In fact, the only sources whose organizational scheme is readily apparent are the few that display anthologizing tendencies, ordered by author (for example, Riccardiana 1100) or by genre (for example, Parmense 1081).

<sup>8</sup> John Nádas, “Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence,” in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1987: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. Angelo Pompilio et al. (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1990), 126–35. I address the connection between Sq and Florence’s intellectual elite in more detail in Chapters 3 and 5.

<sup>9</sup> San Lorenzo 2211, one of the few largely-complete anthologies of Trecento song extant today, unfortunately suffered extensive damage during the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, its folios cleaned of their original ink and reused to copy records for the church of San Lorenzo in 1504. Even under UV light *Che pena è quest' al cor* itself remains almost entirely illegible. Nevertheless, because of the general consistency displayed in the folios that are legible, it is reasonable to assume that fol. 41v was originally similar in its visual appearance. For more on San Lorenzo 2211 and its contents, see Frank, D'Accone, "Una fonte dell'*ars nova* italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211," *Studi musicali* 13 (1984) and John Nádas, "Manuscript San Lorenzo 2211: Some Further Observations," in *L'Arts Nova italiana del Trecento* 6, ed. Giulio Cattin and Patrizia Della Vecchia (Certaldo: Edizioni Polis, 1992).

<sup>10</sup> FP is widely available in facsimile: F. Alberto Gallo, ed., *Il codice musicale Panciatichi 26 della Biblioteca nazionale di Firenze: riproduzione in facsimile* (Florence: Olschki, 1981). Pit can be viewed in color through the BnF's website, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/> (accessed May 9, 2014).

<sup>11</sup> See Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 47–8 and Mario Fabbri and John Nádas, "A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concordances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts," *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 73.

<sup>12</sup> Fabbri and Nádas, "Scribal Concordances," 76–7. The same scribe likely also had a hand in copying one other Trecento source, the fragment Brescia 5. This scribal concordance was first noted by Stefano Campagnolo in his paper "Un nuovo frammento di polifonia del Trecento" presented at the conference "Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo" (December 2002). Michael Cuthbert cites the concordance and Campagnolo's work in his dissertation (the paper was omitted from the published conference proceedings). See Cuthbert "Trecento Fragments," 328–9.

<sup>13</sup> Regarding the origins of Paris 4917 (possibly northern Italian rather than Florentine), see CCMS 3, 32 and David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 39.

<sup>14</sup> Michael Cuthbert has observed that the majority of fragmentary sources appear to have once been part of collections similar to the few fully intact manuscripts extant today, such as Pit, Reina, and FP. Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," esp. 42–4 and "Tipping the Iceberg," 56–8.

<sup>15</sup> Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 41. Barcelona 883 and Rome 129 contain only sacred polyphony—a Kyrie setting (Barcelona 883) and a Benedicamus Domino (Vatican 129). As Cuthbert has explained, the term "fragment" is misleading in these cases because the musical excerpts are not fragmentary remains of longer codices but rather scraps and isolated intrusions of mensural notation in non-musical books or collections of monophonic chant, complete in and of themselves, that remain more or less in their original form. Other fragments that may fall into this category include Cividale 79, Rome 1067, and the Manganeli Fragment, as well as Bologna 23. I thank Michael Cuthbert for sharing his thoughts about Cividale 79 and Rome 1067 and his doubts that they were ever part of larger collections.

<sup>16</sup> Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments," 43.

<sup>17</sup> Marisa Boschi Rotiroti, *Codicologia trecentesca della Commedia: Entro e oltre l'antica vulgata* (Rome: Viella, Libreria editrice, 2004). On the reception of Dante's *Divine Comedy* in late medieval and Renaissance Florence, see Simon Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Also see Christian Bec, *Cultura e società a Firenze nell'età della rinascenza* (Rome: Salerno: 1980), 161–9.

<sup>18</sup> Sandro Bertelli, *La Commedia all'antica* (Florence: Mandragora, 2007).

<sup>19</sup> In her work on the transmission of Boccaccio in late medieval and early Renaissance Italy, Rhiannon Daniels, too, notes a clear correspondence between support material and the overall quality of a manuscript: parchment reserved for luxurious codices filled with professionally executed decoration and copied in gothic or semi-gothic bookhands; paper used primarily for informal manuscripts, smaller in

size, more limited in their decoration, and copied in cursive hands. She also argues that a book's material form mirrors the value its scribe and/or owner placed on its contents. Rhiannon Daniels, *Boccaccio and the Book: Production and Reading in Italy 1340–1520* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, 2009).

<sup>20</sup> In a letter to Boccaccio written in 1364, Petrarch speaks disparagingly of professional performers who do not create their own verbal art but instead beg poets, himself included, for verses to recite. Elena Abramov-van Rijk, *Parlar cantando: The Practice of Reciting Verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2009), 90–91.

<sup>21</sup> The epistolary sonnets Sacchetti exchanged with both Francesco degli Organi and Ottolino da Brescia (a composer whose works have unfortunately been lost from the material record) are published in Franco Sacchetti, *Il libro delle rime*, ed. Franca Brambilla Ageno (Florence: Olschki, 1989).

<sup>22</sup> Scholars such as Christian Bec note that vernacular lyric poetry circulated among middle-class readers in miscellanies like those discussed here. See Bec, *Cultura e società*. Studies on the manuscript transmission of vernacular literature tend to focus on large scale works, single-author collections, and on the *Tre Corone*. Thus, the main resource on the circulation of vernacular lyric poetry during the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance remains Furio Brugnolo's introductory study, "La poesia del Trecento." Justin Steinberg's work on the transmission of Dante's canzoni also does much to illuminate the reception of lyric poetry in general among middle-class readers. His discussion of poetic anthologizing in the *Memoriali Bolognese*, official records of Bologna's government, is particularly germane to the discussion of Bologna 23 below, for it reveals that Bolognese notaries had a long-standing and well-informed interest in vernacular poetry. See Justin Steinberg, *Accounting for Dante: Urban Readers and Writers in Late Medieval Italy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

<sup>23</sup> Villani states that 8,000 to 10,000 boys and girls were learning to read; 1,000 to 1,200 boys attended *abaco* schools; and 550 to 600 boys attended grammar school. Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 71 and Robert Black *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany: Teachers, Pupils and Schools, c. 1250–1500*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 1.

<sup>24</sup> Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, 72.

<sup>25</sup> Grendler cites many reasons for doubting the accuracy of Villani's figures. In particular, he is skeptical that Florence ever had a sufficient number of teachers (500–600) to educate such a large number of students, considering that teachers show up only rarely in civic documents. See Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, ch. 3, esp. pp. 73–4.

<sup>26</sup> See Robert Black, "Education and the Emergence of a Literate Society," in *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance*, ed. John Najemy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) and *Education and Society*, ch. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Black, "Literate Society," 18 and Black, *Education and Society*, 35. Additionally, Black's research indicates that even modest merchants and artisans received some kind of education, for many were able to read and write well enough to prepare their own declarations (although artisans did make up the highest percentage of illiterate Florentines). There is ample other evidence, too, that working-class children attended school in late medieval Florence. See Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, esp. ch. 4 and Black, *Education and Society*, 448.

<sup>28</sup> Black, "Literate Society," 19.

<sup>29</sup> Black, "Literate Society," 22 and Black, *Education and Society*, 44–6.

<sup>30</sup> Black, "Literate Society," 24–8. Also see Ronald G. Witt, "In the Footsteps of the Ancients": *The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Boston: Brill, 2003), 195.

<sup>31</sup> Black, “Literate Society,” 29–33. The activity of the Florentine *Studio* (the city’s modest university) during the middle and later fifteenth century bears witness to an increased interest in classical learning among Florence’s most elite citizens. Jonathan Davies, *Florence and Its University During the Early Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), esp. 110–11 and 116.

<sup>32</sup> Black, “Literate Society,” 33. On patterns and trends in education in fifteenth-century Florence, also see Black, *Education and Society*, 446–68. For more on pre-university education in late medieval Florence (Latin education in particular), see Paul F. Gehl, *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993) and Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>33</sup> Information on who owned books in late medieval Florence can be gleaned from the manuscripts themselves, where *ex libris* provide the names of owners. As we shall see below, these names can sometimes be tracked down in Florentine civic records, allowing us to say a great deal about the socio-economic status of the book’s owner. Further information on book ownership among the middle and lower classes comes from inventories of small libraries and from surveys conducted by the Florentine government on the property belonging to orphans when they entered the care of the state. See Christian Bec, *Cultura e società*, 144–84 and “I libri dei fiorentini (1413–1608) (Ipotesi e proposte),” *Lettere Italiane* 31/4 (1979).

<sup>34</sup> Armando Petrucci, “Reading and Writing *Volgare* in Medieval Italy,” in *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, trans. Charles M. Radding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 187 and William Robins, “Vernacular Textualities in Fourteenth-century Florence,” in *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity*, ed. Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003): 115.

<sup>35</sup> Many scholars have commented on the use of cursive scripts for informal vernacular codices in contrast to the use of *littera textualis* for ecclesiastic, academic, and courtly manuscripts and *littera antiqua* for humanist manuscripts. See especially, Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, chs. 7 and 9.

<sup>36</sup> Though not necessarily high-grade codices, elementary school books were copied in gothic *rotunda* (the rounded version of *littera textualis* common in Italy), which was much easier to read than the cursive scripts typically used to copy vernacular manuscripts. Gehl, *A Moral Art*, 37–8.

<sup>37</sup> Robins, “Vernacular Textualities,” 115–16. Two of the books discussed later in this chapter, Magliabechiano 1041 and Barberino 3695, include these kinds of personal records.

<sup>38</sup> Petrucci notes that the informal circulation of books was not only limited to humanist circles but was common among middle-class readers in general. Petrucci, “Reading and Writing,” 224.

<sup>39</sup> Marco Corsi, “Ghinozzo di Tommaso Alleghetti e altri copisti ‘a prezzo’ di testi volgari (XIV–XV Sec.),” *Scrittura e civiltà* 23 (1999) and “Fare scrivere il Boccaccio: codici e copisti ‘a prezzo’ fra Bologna e Firenze all’inizio del sec. XV,” *Studi sul Boccaccio* 30 (2002); and Daniels, *Boccaccio and the Book*. The findings of both Corsi and Daniels contradict assertions by Petrucci and Vittore Branca that almost none of the scribes responsible for copying books in the Italian vernacular in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Florence were professionals. See Petrucci, “Reading and Writing,” 187–8 and 199 and Vittore Branca, “Copisti per passione, tradizione caratterizzante, tradizione di memoria” in *Studi e problemi di critica testuale. Convegno di studi di filologia nel centenario della Commissione per i testi di lingua (7–9 aprile 1960)* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1961).

<sup>40</sup> Corsi, “Farsi scrivere,” 322–3. Further complicating the study of the “*a prezzo*” system is the fact that book production had no specific place in Florence’s guild system and therefore lacked formal organization. Corsi, “Ghinozzo,” 215–16.

<sup>41</sup> Cursi, “Farsi scrivere” and “Ghinozzo.”

<sup>42</sup> Cursi, “Farsi scrivere,” 139–43.

<sup>43</sup> Bologna 23 has been discussed briefly by Armando Antonelli and more extensively by Agostino Ziino. See Antonelli, “Tracce di ballate e madrigali a Bologna tra XIV e XV secolo (con una nota sul meccanismo di copia delle ballate estemporanee),” in *L’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento 7*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2009), 19–44 and Ziino, “Sulla tradizione musicale della ballata ‘Per seguir la speranza che m’ancide’ di Francesco Landini,” in *L’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento 7*, 45–56. Antonelli deserves much credit for discovering this fragment as well as several other traces of Trecento song in Bologna’s Archivio di Stato. These fragments, though small, are particularly important because they offer a glimpse of the informal circulation of Trecento song in notarial circles, a world not previously considered significant in terms of this repertoire. However, Antonelli erroneously describes Bologna 23 as including only the music for the ballata’s *ripresa*, Antonelli, “Tracce,” 25. In fact, it includes the entire tenor voice.

<sup>44</sup> Ziino’s article builds on Antonelli’s introduction to Bologna 23, offering a detailed and insightful description of this highly unusual, and in many respects perplexing, fragment. One small amendment to his description of the fragment’s physical characteristics must be made, however. The third stave is not copied in a different ink from the first two as Ziino suggests. Rather, as indicated above, all three of the top staves are copied in the same brownish ink with the music entered in black ink. See Ziino, “Tradizione musicale,” 48.

<sup>45</sup> Antonelli, “Tracce,” 25, n. 20. Also see Ziino, “Tradizione musicale,” 49.

<sup>46</sup> Ziino, “Tradizione musicale,” 49–50. It is true that the parchment lacks typical sewing holes, but there are three short, thin slits spaced out along the center fold, perhaps once used to attach the cover to the older register.

<sup>47</sup> Ziino, “Tradizione musicale,” 50.

<sup>48</sup> Ziino suggests that they may have been copied later by the scribe of the notarial register now covered by the bifolio, Rolando Castellani, but there is no physical evidence to prove this. See Ziino, “Tradizione musicale,” 48.

<sup>49</sup> London 29987 has been published in black and white facsimile: Gilbert Reaney, ed., *The Manuscript London, British Museum, Additional 29987*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 13 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965).

<sup>50</sup> On the inaccuracies of London 29987’s rhythmic notation and the argument that they are the result of later intervention, see Marco Gozzi, “Alcune postille sul codice Add. 29987 della British Library,” *Studi musicali* 22 (1993): 271–4.

<sup>51</sup> How much of the original manuscript this scribe copied is difficult to say, for the first 97 folios are missing and have been since at least 1643 when London 29987 was first described in the catalog of Carlo Strozzi’s library, now housed in Florence’s State Archives. Giuseppe Carsaniga, “An Additional Look at London Additional 29987,” *Musica Disciplina* 48 (1994): 284. Also see Gozzi, “Codice Add. 29987,” and Giuliano Di Bacco, “Alcune nuove osservazione sul codice di Londra (London, British Library, Additional 29987),” *Studi musicali* 20 (1991).

<sup>52</sup> In what follows, I adopt Gozzi’s scribal attributions. See Gozzi, “Codice Add. 29987,” 251–2.

<sup>53</sup> Gozzi, “Codice Add. 29987,” 251. The concordance with Florence 1175 is not London 29987’s only scribal concordance. John Nádas has attributed the works added on fols. 82v and 85 (added after the main scribe completed his work) to the same professional scribe who copied San Lorenzo 2211. John Nádas, “The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages” (PhD diss., New York University, 1985), 462.

<sup>54</sup> The “antiphon” and its text, initially described by Nino Pirrotta as seemingly being a “guide to solmization and *musica ficta* rules,” have befuddled many a musicologist. Nino Pirrotta, ed., *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam: American Institute of Musicology, 1954), 3:i. It has been discussed most recently by Michael Long, who suggests it may be a simple riddle intended for young singers. Michael Long, “Singing Through the Looking Glass: Child’s Play and Learning in Medieval Italy,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61/2 (2008).

<sup>55</sup> Gozzi, Di Bacco, Carsaniga, and Long all comment on the poor quality of scribe A’s work, his musical notation and interpretation of the poetic texts in particular. See Gozzi, “Codice Add. 29987,” Di Bacco, “Codice di Londra,” Carsaniga, “Additional 29987,” and Long, “Singing Through the Looking Glass.”

<sup>56</sup> Gozzi identifies several folios on which this shift can be seen. Gozzi, “Codice Add. 29987,” 252. Also see Di Bacco, “Codice di Londra,” 192–3.

<sup>57</sup> Gozzi, “Codice Add. 29987,” 255–6.

<sup>58</sup> For more on London 29987’s constantly shifting appearance and the likelihood that the manuscript was already bound when scribe A began working, see Carsaniga, “Additional 29987,” 291–2. Also see Gozzi, “Codice Add. 29987,” 258. Though he argues that the manuscript is more organized than it appears, Gozzi also describes London 29987 as a “*quaderno*” (notebook). Gozzi, “Codice Add. 29987,” 263.

<sup>59</sup> Carsaniga, “Additional 29987,” 297.

<sup>60</sup> Long, “Looking Glass,” esp. pp. 291–7.

<sup>61</sup> Long, “Looking Glass,” 298.

<sup>62</sup> David Herlihy, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, R. Burr Litchfield and Anthony Molho, eds., *Online Catasto of 1427*, Version 1.3, machine-readable data file based on D. Herlihy and C. KlapischZuber, *Census and Property Survey of Florentine Domains in the Province of Tuscany, 1427–1480* (Florentine Renaissance Resources/STG: Brown University, Providence, RI, 2002). Although it is impossible to say for certain, I agree with Marco Cursi’s suggestion that Riccardiana 1100’s owner and the Stefano di Cione surveyed in the 1427 *catasto* are likely one and the same. Cursi, “Farsi scrivere,” 340.

<sup>63</sup> On the Ciompi rebellion, the period of guild rule that followed, and the consolidation of the oligarchy in the years following 1382 (the fall of the last guild regime) see Gene Brucker, *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), chs. 1 and 2, and Anthony Molho, “Politics and the Ruling Class in Early Renaissance Florence,” *Nuova rivista storica* 52 (1968). Also see John Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200–1575* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), ch. 6.

<sup>64</sup> Samuel Kline Cohn, Jr., *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 68.

<sup>65</sup> Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 171–6. Guild republicanism refers to the period during the fourteenth century when Florence’s guilds, and thus the middle classes, dominated the city’s electoral politics. See John Najemy, “Guild Republicanism in Trecento Florence: The Successes and Ultimate Failure of Corporate Politics,” *The American Historical Review* 84/1 (1979).

<sup>66</sup> Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 176–81.

<sup>67</sup> David Herlihy, R. Burr Litchfield, Anthony Molho, and Roberto Barducci, eds., *Florentine Renaissance Resources, Online Tratte of Office Holders, 1282–1532*, machine readable data file (Florentine Renaissance Resources/STG. Providence, RI: Brown University, 2002).

<sup>68</sup> Herlihy, et. al., *Online Tratte of Office Holders*.



<sup>69</sup> Teresa De Robertis and Rosanna Miriello, eds. *I manoscritti datati della Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, vol. 2: *Mss. 1001–1400, Manoscritti datati d'Italia* (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), 34.

<sup>70</sup> De Robertis and Miriello, *Manoscritti datati della Biblioteca Riccardiana*, vol. 2, 39.

<sup>71</sup> See De Robertis, ed. *Dante Alighieri. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1 (Florence: Le lettere, 2002), 177.

<sup>72</sup> The Benci family is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

<sup>73</sup> See Herlihy, et al., *Online Tratte of Office Holders*.

<sup>74</sup> On the relationship between the *Arte della Seta* and the *popolo*, see Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 35. I discuss the distinctions between the *popolo* and the *grandi*, Florence's two main social classes, more extensively in Chapter 5.

<sup>75</sup> Because of inconsistency in the appearance of the script throughout the book, it is unclear which of Magliabechiano 1041's several scribes was responsible for copying the accounts. However, their script very closely resembles that of scribe B, the scribe who copied the majority of the manuscript's song texts. See Lauren McGuire Jennings, "Technologies of Un-Notated Transmission: Trecento Song as Literature in One Early Sixteenth-Century Poetic Anthology," in *Cantus scriptus: Technologies of Medieval Song. Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Lawrence J. Schoenberg Symposium on Manuscript Studies in the Digital Age*, ed. Lynn Ransom and Emma Dillon (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012).

<sup>76</sup> For more information on *accatti* and Florentine public finance in the early sixteenth century, see Melissa Meriam Bullard, *Filippo Strozzi and the Medici: Favor and Finance in Sixteenth-century Florence and Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

<sup>77</sup> I am grateful to Claudia Scala Schlessman at the University of Pennsylvania for her generous help in interpreting these accounts.

<sup>78</sup> See F. Alberto Gallo, ed. *Il codice Squarcialupi: Ms. mediceo palatino 87, Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze* (Florence: Giunti Barbera, 1992); Kurt von Fischer, "Neue Quellen zur Musik des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 36/ 2–3 (1964); and Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments."

<sup>79</sup> It is not entirely clear what the connection may be between the musical scribbles on the flyleaf of Padua 656 and the final folio of Assisi 187 and the manuscripts into which they are bound. The musical "fragments" almost certainly have nothing to do with the original copying of these books. It is, however, possible that they were written by early readers and therefore should not be interpreted entirely independently from their present containers. For more on Assisi 187, Bologna 1549, Padua 656, Ivrea 105, and Rome 1419, see Cuthbert, "Trecento Fragments."

<sup>80</sup> On the role of secular music in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, see Eleonora M. Beck, *Singing in the Garden: Music and Culture in the Tuscan Trecento* (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 1998), ch. 2. On Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*, see John Nádas, "A Cautious Reading of Simone Prodenzani's *Il Saporetto*," *Recercare* 10 (1998).

<sup>81</sup> See Beck, *Singing in the Garden*, chs. 4 and 5.

<sup>82</sup> Several ballate are attributed to Bonaiuto di Corsino in London 29987. A member of the *laudesi* company of San Zanobi and a student of the composer Andrea de Florentia, Bonaiuto was a painter of wedding chests by profession. Kurt von Fischer and Giuliano Di Bacco, "Bonaiuto di Corsino," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libproxy.usc.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/03480> (accessed July 25, 2013). Only one work (a two-voiced ballata) attributed to Jacopo Pianelaio has come down to us today, also through London 29987. A member of the company of San Zanobi as well, Jacopo was a

slipper manufacturer by profession. Gianluca D'Agostino, "Pianellaio de Firençe, Jachopo," in *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libproxy.usc.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/21617> (accessed July 25, 2013).

<sup>83</sup> For more on the tradition of lauda singing in late medieval Florence, see Blake McDowell Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) and "Madrigal, Lauda, and Local Style in Trecento Florence," *The Journal of Musicology* 15/2 (1997).

<sup>84</sup> In addition to Blake Wilson's work on Florentine *laudesi* companies, see Timothy McGee, *Ceremonial Musicians of Late Medieval Florence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009) and Frank D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

## Epilogue

If music itself and musical analysis seem conspicuously absent in the narrative woven throughout the preceding pages, that is a consequence of the source material on which I have chosen to focus. Although the literary sources transmitting Trecento song texts have significant ramifications for our understanding of musical life in late medieval Italy, it should by now be clear that their value to musicology lies as much in their literariness as in their musicality. Highlighting this literariness, which has been largely overlooked by previous scholarship, is therefore a necessary first step in re-conceptualizing the relationship between music and poetry in late medieval Italy. To do so is, furthermore, absolutely essential if we hope to read these sources as they might have been read by their scribes and early owners.

By looking closely at several individual literary sources as material artifacts, and by evaluating the unique roles song texts assume within their pages, I have aimed throughout this book to question the efficacy of the term *poesia per musica*—a term that has long colored our understanding not only of song texts themselves, but also of the bond between musical and poetic traditions in general. We began in [Chapter 1](#) with Franco Sacchetti’s diatribe against poets who seek musical settings for their lyrics, even when they are poorly suited to song. Questioning whether this sonnet truly justifies our retrospective use of the term *poesia per musica*, I argued that Sacchetti’s words are not as clear-cut in this regard as previous scholars have suggested. Following suit, [Chapters 2–5](#) demonstrated that the literary transmission of song texts integrates, rather than segregates, “musical” and “non-musical” poetry. The song texts in the literary sources may be, for us, wholly coupled with their musical settings. For Trecento scribes and readers, however, they were poems in their own right, intended to be read as literature.

The term *poesia per musica*, I suggest, stands at odds with the literary tradition of Trecento song laid out in the preceding chapters, for it implies a musico-textual relationship in which text serves music. From this position, regardless of which was composed first, music reigns over poetry as the ultimate artistic product, with the words acting only as a means to that end. If we push the idea of *poesia per musica* far enough, we might even say that the words are almost expendable. Indeed, James Haar, in reference to the madrigal, has suggested that the words were “simply pretexts for the music, which was not yet subservient to poetry.”<sup>1</sup> The observation that highly melismatic settings prioritize melody over text to the point, in the most extreme cases, of all but erasing the text from our experience of the song is a valid one. But the evidence presented throughout this book asks us to give song texts more serious consideration. In demonstrating how these poems functioned as poetry in non-musical settings, it is thus my hope to instigate renewed discussion of how their poetic identities impacted the musical settings that came to adorn them.

Ultimately, then, *Senza Vestimenta* echoes Nino Pirrotta in suggesting that perhaps the musico-textual relationship in the Trecento repertoire might be better expressed through a reversal of terms, that perhaps we would do better to talk about “*musica per poesia*” rather than about “*poesia per musica*.”<sup>2</sup> By this I do not mean that we should understand music as the handmaiden to poetic expression in terms of meaning or tone. The relationship between text and music here is certainly not analogous to that borne out in the *seconda pratica* madrigal at the end of the sixteenth century. Rather, I intend to recognize in a positive way the intimate connection between musical and poetic form in the Italian *ars nova* repertoire. We might begin to consider, for example, how composers constructed their settings to complement the poem’s literary identity as it would have been understood by Trecento readers.

In [Chapter 1](#), I also suggested that the term *poesia per musica* devalues this poetry. Intentionally or not, it encourages us to treat song texts as artistically inferior to “non-musical” poetry. Perhaps it is partially due to these implications that the binary of “popular” versus “elite” has also been grafted on to this repertoire. Although Trecento song is undoubtedly a high art tradition, the poetic texts are often associated with popular lyric, and thus the perception that they are in some way less artistic, less literary, is reinforced. Steven Botterill, for example, has said that the “generally colloquial language and uncomplicated forms” of song texts “make it clear that they do

not belong to a ‘high’ cultural register or an academic or professional context.”<sup>3</sup> There are distinctions to be made between *poesia aulica* written by famous poets such as Dante and Petrarch and the mostly anonymous madrigals, ballate, and cacce set by Trecento composers. But statements like Botterill’s limit our understanding of these poems by discouraging us from reading them alongside, and in comparison to, high art poetry.

The disparity in physical form between the notated and unnotated sources discussed in [Chapter 6](#) further complicates the picture. To a certain extent, the elegance of the notated sources compared to the simplicity and informality of the unnotated ones calls the traditional taxonomies of *popolare* and *colto*, or popular and cultivated, into play. The idea that musical notation elevates the cultural status of vernacular lyric would seem to bolster the validity of defining this repertoire and its circulation in terms of an opposition between high and low, elite and popular. But at the same time, the literary sources, even more so than the musical ones, reflect a much more complex reality. Genoa 28, discussed in [Chapter 3](#), is a prime example. For all that it may be physically crude, it is also a highly intellectual book, concerned in its own way with preserving Florence’s elite cultural heritage. Therefore, the value of the material evidence discussed throughout this book lies in the paradoxes it presents. When examined further, the unnotated sources and the notated sources alike challenge us to move past disciplinary boundaries, away from comfortable binary oppositions, and to search for new, more variegated ways of understanding the many roles song takes on in the cultural world surrounding its composition and subsequent reception.

Finally, *Senza Vestimenta* asks us to fundamentally reconsider our conception of song and of musicologically relevant sources. In this respect, my discussion here resonates with Blake Wilson, Timothy McGee, and Elena Abramov-van Rijk’s recent work on poetic recitation and on unwritten traditions of song in medieval and Renaissance Italy. Shedding light on the centrality of oral performance to Italian literary culture, and drawing attention to the impact of public recitation on the dissemination and reception of poetry—even works by poets such as Dante and Petrarch, who themselves operated firmly within the bounds of the written tradition—these scholars illustrate that all poetry was far more “musical,” far more performative, than we have been inclined to think. If we are to continue to progress in our quest to recuperate further details about music-making in Italy, and elsewhere in Europe too, during the late Middle Ages, we must therefore think more

creatively, and more openly, about what constitutes song, what constitutes “musical,” and about where musicological evidence might be found.

<sup>1</sup> James Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350–1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 19.

<sup>2</sup> Nino Pirrotta, “I poeti della scuola siciliana e la musica,” *Yearbook of Italian Studies* 4 (1980): 6. Indeed, Antonio da Tempo’s discussion of the madrigal—the most detailed contemporary description of the genre—supports such a conclusion as well. Da Tempo instructs the reader on proper poetic composition, presumably the first step in the creative process, while expressly leaving aside the issue of musical settings, which he admits would be better addressed by musicians and singers. See Antonio da Tempo, *Summa artis rithmici dictaminis (1332)*, ed. Richard Andrews (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1977).

<sup>3</sup> Steven Botterill, “Minor Writers,” in *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, ed. Peter Brand and Lino Pertile (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 119.

# Appendix 1

## Trecento Song Texts in Literary Sources

| Incipit                                    | Composer                      | Poet                 | Genre    | Text concordances                            | Musical concordances                    |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|----------|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| A poste messe, veltri e gran mastini       | Lorenzo da Firenze            | Niccolò Soldanieri   | Caccia   | Redi 184, Chigi 131                          | Sq, FP                                  |
| Agnel son bianco e vo belando be           | Giovanni da Cascia            | Franco Sacchetti (?) | Madrigal | Parm. 1081                                   | Sq, FP, SL, Pit, Reina                  |
| Altri n'avrà la pena et io il danno        | Francesco degli Organi        | Franco Sacchetti     | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Chigi 300                          | Sq                                      |
| Ama, donna, chi l'ama a pura fede          | Francesco degli Organi        |                      | Ballata  | Magl. 1041                                   | Sq, FP, Pit, Reina                      |
| Amar sì gli alti tuo gentil costumi        | Francesco degli Organi        |                      | Ballata  | Chigi 131                                    | Sq, FP, Pit                             |
| Amor nè tossa non se pò celare             | Antonio Zachara da Teramo     |                      | Ballata  | Amb. 56                                      | Mancini                                 |
| Aquila altera, ferma in su la vetta        | Jacopo da Bologna             |                      | Madrigal | Pal. 315                                     | Sq, FP, SL, Pit, Reina                  |
| Benché lontan me trovi in altra parte      | Antonio Zachara da Teramo     |                      | Ballata  | Amb. 56                                      | Sq, Mod A                               |
| Benché partir da te molto mi doglia        | Nicolò del Preposto           |                      | Ballata  | Magl. 1041                                   | Sq, Lo, Pit                             |
| Ben di fortuna non fa ricc' altrui         | Nicolò del Preposto           | Niccolò Soldanieri   | Ballata  | Redi 184, Ricc. 1100                         | Sq                                      |
| Cavalcando con un giovine accorto          | Piero                         |                      | Madrigal | Per. 43                                      | FP                                      |
| Che pena è questa al cor, che sì non posso | Francesco degli Organi        |                      | Ballata  | Trev. 43, Genoa 28, Ricc. 2786 <sup>11</sup> | Sq, Florence 5, FP, Pit, Paris 4917, SL |
| Chi l ben sofrir non pò                    | Nicolò del Preposto           | Franco Sacchetti     | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Redi 184, Chigi 300                | Sq, Lo                                  |
| Chi più crede far, colui men fa            | Giovanni di Jacopo da Firenze | Franco Sacchetti     | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Chigi 300              |                                         |



|                                        |                        |                    |          |                                                                                                               |                                        |
|----------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Chi vide più bel nero                  | Nicolò del Preposto    | Franco Sacchetti   | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352 |                                        |
| Ciascun faccia per se                  | Nicolò del Preposto    | Niccolò Soldanieri | Ballata  | Triv. 193, Florence 61                                                                                        | Sq, Lo, Pit                            |
| Come da lupo pecorella presa           | Donato da Firenze      | Niccolò Soldanieri | Madrigal | Redi 184, Magl. 1041, Triv. 193                                                                               | Sq                                     |
| Come in sul fonte fu preso Narcisso    | Lorenzo da Firenze     | Giovanni Boccaccio | Madrigal | Magl. 640, Pal. 288                                                                                           | Sq                                     |
| Come la gru quando per l'aere vola     | Nicolò del Preposto    | Franco Sacchetti   | Madrigal | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Paris 554                        | Sq                                     |
| Come selvaggia fera fra le fronde      | Nicolò del Preposto    | Franco Sacchetti   | Madrigal | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Vat. 3213, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Magl. 1187, Paris 554, Patteta 352 | Sq                                     |
| Come tradir pensasti, donna, mai       | Jacopo Pianaiaio       |                    | Ballata  | Marucelliana 155                                                                                              | Lo                                     |
| Con dogliosi martiri                   | Antonello da Caserta   |                    | Ballata  | Magl. 1078                                                                                                    | Mancini                                |
| Con gli occhi assai ne miro            | Francesco degli Organi | Cino Rinuccini     | Ballata  | Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352, Paris 554, Plut. 37                                  | Sq, Florence 5, FP, Pit, Mancini       |
| Con lagreme bagnandome                 | Johannes Ciconia?      |                    | Ballata  | Trev. 43, Ricc. 1764, Paris 1069, Bologna 22.14                                                               | Q15, Mancini, Pad 656, Pit, Paris 4379 |
| Con lagreme sospiro                    | Anon.                  |                    | Ballata  | Magl. 1078                                                                                                    | Reina                                  |
| Contemprar le gran cose c'è onesto     | Francesco degli Organi |                    | Ballata  | Genoa 28, Ricc. 2786 <sup>1)</sup>                                                                            | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit                        |
| Correndo giù del monte a le chiar'onde | Nicolò del Preposto    | Franco Sacchetti   | Madrigal | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352             |                                        |
| Dà, dà, a chi avareggia pur per sé     | Lorenzo da Firenze     | Niccolò Soldanieri | Madrigal | Redi 184, Lucca 107, Lucca 266, Triv. 193                                                                     | Sq                                     |
| De sospirar sovente                    | Francesco degli Organi |                    | Ballata  | Magl. 1040, Magl. 1078                                                                                        | Sq, SL                                 |
| Deh, no' me far languire               | Anon.                  |                    | Ballata  | Bologna 36                                                                                                    | Reina                                  |
| Deh, pon quest'amor giù!               | Francesco degli Organi |                    | Ballata  | Magl. 1041, Chigi 131                                                                                         | Sq, FP                                 |

|                                          |                        |                   |           |                                                                                                   |                                     |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Di bella palla e di valor di petra       | Gherardello da Firenze | Franco Sacchetti  | Madrigal  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352 |                                     |
| Di diavol vecchia femmina ha natura      | Nicolò del Preposto    | Franco Sacchetti  | Ballata   | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                        |                                     |
| Di riva in riva mi guidava amore         | Lorenzo da Firenze     |                   | Madrigal  | Marucelliana 155                                                                                  | Sq, FP                              |
| Di tempo in tempo e di martiro in pena   | Jacopo da Firenze      | Franco Sacchetti  | Ballata   | Ash. 574, Chigi 300                                                                               |                                     |
| Donna, l'altrui mirar, che fate, porge   | Gherardello da Firenze |                   | Ballata   | Marucelliana 155                                                                                  | Sq                                  |
| Donna, che d'amor senta, non si mova     | Francesco degli Organi |                   | Ballata   | Magl. 1040                                                                                        | Sq, Pit, Reina                      |
| Donna, l'animo tuo pur fugge amore       | Francesco degli Organi |                   | Ballata   | Magl. 1040                                                                                        | Sq, FP, Pad A                       |
| Donna, la mente mia è sì 'nvaghita       | Francesco degli Organi |                   | Ballata   | Magl. 1078                                                                                        | FP                                  |
| Donna, se l cor t'ho dato                | Francesco degli Organi |                   | Ballata   | Magl. 1041                                                                                        | Sq, FP                              |
| Donna, servo mi sento                    | Lorenzo da Firenze     | Franco Sacchetti  | Ballata   | Ash. 574, Chigi 300                                                                               |                                     |
| Donne, e' fu credenza d'una donna        | Lorenzo da Firenze     | Nicolò Soldanieri | Ballata   | Redi 184, Ricc. 1100, Chigi 131                                                                   | Sq                                  |
| Duolsi la vita e l'anima                 | Francesco degli Organi |                   | Ballata   | Florence 61                                                                                       | Sq                                  |
| E par che la vita mia                    | Anon.                  |                   | Siciliana | Magl. 1040                                                                                        | Padua 553                           |
| El gran disio e la dolce speranza        | Francesco degli Organi |                   | Ballata   | Chigi 79, Conv. Sopp. 1746                                                                        | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit                     |
| Fenir mia vita                           | Anon.                  |                   | Ballata   | Magl. 1078                                                                                        | Reina, Padua 553                    |
| Fortuna adversa, del mio amor nimica     | Donato da Firenze      | Franco Sacchetti  | Madrigal  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                        |                                     |
| Gentil aspetto in cui la mente mia       | Francesco degli Organi |                   | Ballata   | Magl. 1041, Chigi 131                                                                             | Sq, FP, Pit, Reina, Pist, Brescia 5 |
| Già perch' i penso nella tua partita     | Francesco degli Organi |                   | Ballata   | Magl. 1078                                                                                        | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit, Reina              |
| Gli occhi che 'n prima tanto bel piacere | Francesco degli Organi |                   | Ballata   | Magl. 1040                                                                                        | Sq, FP, SL, Pit                     |

|                                                 |                           |                             |          |                                                                                                                              |                                            |
|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Gran pianto agli occhi,<br>greve doglia al core | Francesco degli<br>Organi |                             | Ballata  | Magl. 1078                                                                                                                   | Sq, FP, Lo,<br>Pad A, Pit,<br>Reina        |
| Guarda una volta in cià<br>verso 'l tuo servo   | Francesco degli<br>Organi |                             | Ballata  | Magl. 1078                                                                                                                   | Sq, FP, Lo                                 |
| I' fu' già bianc' uccel con<br>piuma d'oro      | Donato da Firenze         | Antonio<br>degli<br>Alberti | Madrigal | Ash. 569, Chigi 79                                                                                                           | Sq, SL, Lo                                 |
| I' fu' già usignolo in<br>tempo verde           | Donato da Firenze         | Niccolò<br>Soldanieri       | Madrigal | Redi 184, Triv. 193                                                                                                          | Sq, SL, Pit                                |
| I' ho perduto l'albero e 'l<br>timone           | Donato da Firenze         | Arrigo<br>Belondi           | Madrigal | Ash. 569                                                                                                                     | Sq, SL                                     |
| I' sento pena, omé, per<br>tali amanti          | Ottolino da Brescia       | Franco<br>Sacchetti         | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Chigi 300                                                                                                          |                                            |
| I' vo' bene a chi vol bene<br>a me              | Gherardello da<br>Firenze | Niccolò<br>Soldanieri       | Ballata  | Redi 184, Triv. 193,<br>Chigi 131, Bologna<br>48                                                                             | Sq                                         |
| In su' be' fiori, in su la<br>verde fronda      | Jacopo da Bologna         |                             | Madrigal | Perugia 43                                                                                                                   | FP                                         |
| Innamorato pruno                                | Franco Sacchetti          | Franco<br>Sacchetti         | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Magl.<br>1041, Phut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Pal.<br>204, Ricc. 1118,<br>Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352 |                                            |
| L'alma leggiadra del tuo<br>viso pio            | Francesco degli<br>Organi |                             | Ballata  | Magl. 1078                                                                                                                   | Sq, FP                                     |
| L'antica fiamma e 'l<br>dolce disio             | Francesco degli<br>Organi |                             | Ballata  | Magl. 1041                                                                                                                   | Sq, FP                                     |
| L'aquila bella, negra<br>pellegrina             | Gherardello da<br>Firenze | Niccolò<br>Soldanieri       | Madrigal | Redi 184, Triv. 193                                                                                                          | Sq                                         |
| L'aspido sordo e 'l tirello<br>scorzone         | Donato da Firenze         | Arrigo<br>Belondi           | Madrigal | Ash. 569                                                                                                                     | Sq, SL, Lo                                 |
| La bella stella, che sua<br>fiamma tene         | Giovanni da<br>Firenze    | Lancillotto<br>Anguissola   | Madrigal | Magl. 1041                                                                                                                   | FC, Sq, FP,<br>SL, Pit, Rossi,<br>RO, Sev  |
| La bionda treccia di fin<br>or colore           | Francesco degli<br>Organi |                             | Ballata  | Magl. 1041                                                                                                                   | Sq, FP, FC                                 |
| La donna mia vuol esser<br>el messere           | Nicolò del Preposto       |                             | Ballata  | Magl. 1078                                                                                                                   | Sq, Lo                                     |
| La douce cere d'un fier<br>animal               | Bartolino da Padova       |                             | Madrigal | Bologna 58 (Ital.<br>text)                                                                                                   | Sq, Pit, SL, Lo,<br>Mancini, Pit,<br>Reina |
| La fiera testa che<br>d'uman si ciba            | Bartolino da Padova       | Francesco<br>Petrarca (?)   | Madrigal | Triv. 193, Parm. 1081                                                                                                        | Sq, SL, Pit                                |

|                                          |                        |                               |          |                                                                                                                          |                            |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba        | Nicolò del Preposto    | Francesco Petrarca (?)        | Caccia   | Triv. 193, Parm. 1081                                                                                                    | Sq                         |
| La mala lingua è d'ogni mal radice       | Francesco degli Organi |                               | Ballata  | Magl. 1041, Magl. 1078                                                                                                   | Sq, Pit                    |
| La mente me riprende                     | Francesco degli Organi |                               | Ballata  | Magl. 1040                                                                                                               | Sq, FP                     |
| La neve e 'l ghiaccio e' venti d'oriente | Guillelmus de Francia  | Franco Sacchetti              | Madrigal | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1041, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Chigi 301 | Lo                         |
| La sacrosanta carità d'amore             | Bartolino da Padova    | Giovanni Dondi dall' Orologio | Ballata  | Marciana 223                                                                                                             | Sq, Mancini, Reina         |
| Lasso, s'io fu' già preso                | Nicolò del Preposto    | Franco Sacchetti              | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352                        |                            |
| Lasso! per mie fortuna ho posto amore    | Francesco degli Organi |                               | Ballata  | Magl. 1078                                                                                                               | Sq, Lo                     |
| Lontan ciascun uccel d'amor si trova     | Jacopo da Firenze      | Franco Sacchetti              | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352                        |                            |
| Lucida pecorella son, scampata           | Donato da Firenze      |                               | Madrigal | Ash. 569                                                                                                                 | Sq, FP, SL, Pit            |
| Ma' non s'andrà per questa donn'altra    | Francesco degli Organi |                               | Ballata  | Chigi 131                                                                                                                | Sq, FP, Mancini, Pit       |
| Mai non serò contento immaginando        | Franco Sacchetti       | Franco Sacchetti              | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352                                               |                            |
| Monico son tutto gioioso                 | Anon.                  |                               | Ballata  | Magl. 1078                                                                                                               | Sev                        |
| Né te né altra volgio amar giammai       | Francesco degli Organi | Franco Sacchetti              | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Magl. 1040, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patetta 352            |                            |
| Nel bel giardino che l'Adice cinge       | Jacopo da Bologna      |                               | Madrigal | Pal. 315                                                                                                                 | FC, Sq, FP, SL, Pit, Reina |
| Nel mezzo già del mar la navicella       | Nicolò del Preposto    | Franco Sacchetti              | Madrigal | Ash. 574, Pal. 315, Chigi 300                                                                                            | Sq, FP, Pit                |
| Nessun ponga speranza                    | Francesco degli Organi |                               | Ballata  | Genoa 28                                                                                                                 | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit, SL        |

|                                          |                           |                                     |          |                                                                                                                           |                                                              |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| Non al su' amante più<br>Diana piacque   | Jacopo da Bologna         | Francesco<br>Petrarca               | Madrigal | Vat. 3195, Ricc. 1100,<br>Parm. 1081, Redi<br>184, Plut. 43, and<br>many others                                           | Sq, FP, Pit,<br>Reina                                        |
| Non avrà mai pietà<br>questa mie donna   | Francesco degli<br>Organi | Bindo<br>D'Alesso<br>Donati         | Ballata  | Magl. 1041, Chigi<br>131                                                                                                  | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit,<br>Reina                                    |
| Non creder, donna, che<br>nessuna sia    | Francesco degli<br>Organi | Franco<br>Sacchetti                 | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37,<br>Magl. 1040, Pal. 204,<br>Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Vat. 3213,<br>Paris 554, Pateita 352 | Sq, FP, Pit                                                  |
| Non dispregiar virtù,<br>ricco villano   | Nicolò del Preposto       | Stefano di<br>Cino                  | Madrigal | Redi 184, Plut. 43,<br>Parm. 1081, Barb.<br>3695                                                                          | Sq, Lo, Pit                                                  |
| Non più dirò, omai così<br>farò          | Nicolò del Preposto       |                                     | Ballata  | Plut. 43, Florence 61,<br>Parm. 1081                                                                                      | Lo                                                           |
| Non senti, donna, più<br>piacer già mai  | Anon.                     |                                     | Ballata  | Conv. Sopp. 1746,<br>Chigi 142                                                                                            | Lo                                                           |
| Non so qual' i' mi voglia                | Lorenzo da Firenze        | Giovanni<br>Boccaccio               | Ballata  | Magl. 1040, Chigi<br>131, Bologna 177.3                                                                                   | Sq                                                           |
| Non vedi tu, Amor, che<br>me tuo servo   | Lorenzo da Firenze        |                                     | Ballata  | Marucelliana 155                                                                                                          | Sq                                                           |
| O cieco mondo, di<br>lusinghe pieno      | Jacopo da Bologna         |                                     | Madrigal | Bologna 1072, Magl.<br>1041, Pal. 105, Pal.<br>315, Chigi 131, Barb.<br>3695                                              | Sq, FP, SL,<br>Pad A, Pad<br>C, Pit, Reina,<br>Perugia 15755 |
| O fanciulla giulia                       | Francesco degli<br>Organi |                                     | Ballata  | Magl. 1041, Chigi<br>131                                                                                                  | Sq, FP, SL, Pit                                              |
| O Giustitia regina, al<br>mondo freno    | Nicolò del Preposto       | Giovanni<br>Boccaccio               | Madrigal | Plut. 43, Parm. 1081                                                                                                      | Sq                                                           |
| Ochi piangeti e tu cor<br>tribulato      | Anon.                     |                                     | Ballata  | Magl. 1078                                                                                                                | Reina                                                        |
| Or è tal alma mia                        | Francesco degli<br>Organi |                                     | Ballata  | Florence 61                                                                                                               | Sq, FP, Pit                                                  |
| Or sie che può, com'a<br>vo' piace sia   | Paolo da Firenze          |                                     | Ballata  | Magl. 1041, Chigi 79                                                                                                      | Pit, SL                                                      |
| Or su, gentil spirti ad<br>amar pronti   | Francesco degli<br>Organi |                                     | Ballata  | Ricc. 1280                                                                                                                | Sq                                                           |
| Omai ciascun se doglia                   | Bartolino da<br>Padova?   | Giovanni<br>Dondi dall'<br>Orologio | Ballata  | Marciana 223                                                                                                              | Reina                                                        |
| Passando con pensier<br>per un boschetto | Nicolò del Preposto       | Franco<br>Sacchetti                 | Caccia   | Ash. 574, Plut. 37,<br>Pal. 204, Marucelliana<br>155, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Pateita 352, Vat.<br>3213, Paris 554       | Sq, Pit                                                      |

|                                          |                               |                                 |          |                                                                                                                         |                                 |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Per prender cacciagion leggiadra e bella | Gherardello da Firenze        |                                 | Madrigal | Marucelliana 155                                                                                                        | Sq, FP                          |
| Per seguir la speranza, che m'ancide     | Francesco degli Organi        |                                 | Ballata  | Magl. 1041, Conv. Sopp. 1746                                                                                            | Sq, FP, Pit, Reina              |
| Per un verde boschetto                   | Bartolino da Padova           |                                 | Ballata  | Ricc. 2871                                                                                                              | Sq, FP, Lo, Mancini, Pit, Reina |
| Perché virtù fa l'uom costante e forte   | Francesco degli Organi        | Franco Sacchetti                | Ballata  | Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Patteta 352                                             | FP                              |
| Piacesse a Dio ch'ì non fossi ma' nata   | Guilielmus de Francia         |                                 | Ballata  | Magl. 1078                                                                                                              | Sq, Pit                         |
| Poi che da te mi convien partir via      | Francesco degli Organi        |                                 | Ballata  | Trev. 43                                                                                                                | Sq, FP, Gro, Lo, Mancini, Reina |
| Posando sopr'un acqua, en sonio vidi     | Jacopo da Bologna             |                                 | Madrigal | Bologna 14.1A                                                                                                           | Sq, FP, Gro, Pit, Reina         |
| Povero pelegrin salito al monte          | Nicolò del Preposto           | Franco Sacchetti                | Madrigal | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Plut. 43, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Parm. 1081, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554 | Sq, Lo                          |
| Se crudeltà d'amor somette fé            | Ottolino da Brescia           | Franco Sacchetti                | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                       |                                 |
| Se ferma stesse giovinezza e tempo       | Jacopo da Firenze             | Franco Sacchetti                | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                       |                                 |
| Se la mia vita con virtù s'ingegna       | Giovanni di Jacopo da Firenze | Franco Sacchetti                | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Chigi 300                                                                                                     |                                 |
| Se pronto non sarà l'uom al ben fare     | Francesco degli Organi        |                                 | Ballata  | Genoa 28                                                                                                                | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit, SL, Mod A      |
| Sento d'amor la fiamma e 'l gran podere  | Lorenzo da Firenze            | Gregghorio Calonista di Firenze | Ballata  | Ricc. 1100                                                                                                              | Sq                              |
| Si dolce non sonò con lira Orfeo         | Francesco degli Organi        |                                 | Madrigal | Marucelliana 155                                                                                                        | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit                 |
| Sia maladetta l'ora e 'l dì ch'io venni  | Francesco degli Organi        |                                 | Ballata  | Magl. 1078                                                                                                              | Sq, FP, Pit, Reina              |

|                                              |                        |                      |          |                                                                                                               |                        |
|----------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Somma felicità, sommo tesoro                 | Francesco degli Organi | Franco Sacchetti (?) | Madrigal | Plut. 43, Parm. 1081                                                                                          | Sq                     |
| Sotto l'imperio del possente prinze          | Jacopo da Bologna      |                      | Madrigal | Pal. 315                                                                                                      | Sq, FP, SL, Pit, Reina |
| Sovra la riva d'un corrente fiume            | Lorenzo da Firenze     | Franco Sacchetti     | Madrigal | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Magl. 1187, Paris 554, Patteta 352 | Sq, FP, Pit            |
| State su, donne! Che debian noi fare?        | Nicolò del Preposto    | Franco Sacchetti     | Caccia   | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1041, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554             | Lo                     |
| Tal mi fa guerra, che mi mostra pace         | Nicolò del Preposto    |                      | Madrigal | Parm. 1081                                                                                                    | Sq                     |
| Temer perché, po' ch'esser pur convene       | Lorenzo da Firenze     | Franco Sacchetti     | Ballata  | Ash. 574, Chigi 300                                                                                           |                        |
| Tosto che l'alba del bel giorno appare       | Gherardello da Firenze |                      | Caccia   | Parm. 1081                                                                                                    | Sq, FP, SL, Lo, Pit    |
| Tu che l'opera altrui vuo' giudicare         | Francesco degli Organi |                      | Madrigal | Magl. 1040                                                                                                    | Sq, FP                 |
| Un bel girfalco scese alle mie grida         | Donato da Firenze      | Niccolò Soldanieri   | Madrigal | Redi 184, Triv. 193                                                                                           | Sq, SL, Pit            |
| Una augelletta, Amor, di penna nera          | Nicolò del Preposto    | Franco Sacchetti     | Madrigal | Ash. 574, Chigi 300                                                                                           |                        |
| Vana speranza, che mia vita festi            | Jacopo da Firenze      | Franco Sacchetti     | Madrigal | Ash. 574, Chigi 300                                                                                           |                        |
| Verso la vaga tramontana è gita              | Ottolino da Brescia    | Franco Sacchetti     | Madrigal | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352             |                        |
| Virtù loco non ci ha, perché gentile         | Nicolò del Preposto    | Niccolò Soldanieri   | Madrigal | Redi 184, Triv. 193                                                                                           | Sq                     |
| Vita non è più misera e più ria              | Francesco degli Organi |                      | Ballata  | Magl. 1041, Magl. 1078, Triv. 193, Grey 7 b 5                                                                 | Sq, FP, Pit, Reina, SL |
| Volgendo i suor' begli occhi invèr le fiamme | Donato da Firenze      | Franco Sacchetti     | Madrigal | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                        |                        |

## Appendix 2

### Descriptions of the Literary Sources

#### Bologna Archive Covers

##### **Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Archivi Privati, Lambertini, busta 48**

14th century. Bologna? Single paper folio, 300 × 210 mm. Among various scribbles and short pieces of texts in Latin is the first verse of Niccolò Soldanieri's ballata *I' vo' bene a chi vol bene a me* (set to music elsewhere by Gherardello da Firenze). The verse is copied in an elegant *cancelleresca* hand.<sup>1</sup> The paper is tucked to the front of a book bound in parchment. No reference to musical setting.

##### **Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Paulus Lentii De Cospis, registro 14.1 A**

14th century (register dated 1355–1356). Bologna. 300 × 220 mm. In the top right-hand corner, on the inside of the front cover of the register is a fragment of the madrigal *Posando sopr'un acqua* (set to music elsewhere by Jacopo da Firenze), likely copied after the parchment was folded into its current form. Written in *cancelleresca*, the madrigal lacks its second tercet, the portion of the text that would appear in *residuum* in a notated manuscript. No reference to musical setting.

**Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Ufficio dei Memoriali, Provvisori, serie pergamenacea, busta 36, registro 5, Liber provixois a latera Ca(n)bij Petri Francisci Ugonis notarii pro secoundis.**



14th century (volume dated 1369). Bologna. On the parchment cover of the register, copied in the middle of a decorative design featuring a *giglio* is the *ripresa* and first verse of the first *pie*de of the anonymous ballata *Deh, no' me fare languire*. The fragment is copied in a chancery script and in different ink than rest of the cover. No reference to musical setting.

**Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Comune-Governo, Consigli e ufficiali del comune, Consiglio dei Quattromila, busta 58, Liber electionum**

Early 15th century (volume dated 1408). Bologna. In the top right corner of the back cover of the register there is a fragment of the madrigal *La douce cere d'un fier animal* (set to music elsewhere by Bartolino da Padova). The verses are written in *cancelleresca*, and those in that are in French in Bartolino's setting translated here into Italian. No reference to musical setting.

**Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Filippo Formaglini, Filza 22.14, Liber contiens in se omnes et singulos contratactus**

Early 15th century (register dated 1412–13). Bologna. Paper register, 150 folios. Old (original?) foliation throughout. Fol. 1 contains the ballata *Con lagreme bagnandome* (set to music elsewhere by Johannes Ciconia) copied in verse in an elegant *cancelleresca* hand. The remainder of the book is a notarial register with no other poetic excerpts. No reference to musical setting.

**Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 177.3**

Paper. Early 17th century (copy of an earlier manuscript owned by Trissino). Italy. I + 24 + I. 160 × 110 mm. Poetic miscellany. No ruling visible.

Gatherings: 1<sup>9</sup>, 2<sup>8</sup>, 3<sup>6</sup>. Modern foliation in pencil, bottom left corner; original foliation (Roman numerals) in pen (same ink as text), top right corner; other old foliation in red Arabic numerals, top center (214–237). Single scribe (moderately sloppy *cursiva*). Contents: collection of canzoni, sonnets, and ballate, all attributed and organized by author. Poets represented: Riccardi di Franceschin degli Albizzi, Matteo Landoccio Albizzi, Boccaccio, Fazio degli Uberti, Federico di M. Geri, Bartholi de Biccis Florentini, Niccolò

Soldanieri, Lancilotto Angossola, Antonio da Ferrara, Conte Riccardo, Petrarch, Ser Amasio di Landoccio, Menchino da Ravena.

Contains one song text, *Non so qual' i' mi voglia* (set to music elsewhere by Lorenzo da Firenze), copied on fols. 9v–10r. Labeled a sonnet, this ballata is placed in the middle of a section of poems by Boccaccio, copied because of its association with the author. No reference to musical setting.

### **Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1072 XI 9**

Paper. 15th century. Italy. IV + 12 + IV. 212 × 155 mm. Fragment of the Codex Amadei. Single gathering. No ruling visible. Blank: fols. 11r–12v. Modern foliation in pencil; old foliation (added by Amadei) in red ink. Single scribe (neat and orderly hybrid bookhand). Contents: collection of moralizing and devotional poems, mostly sonnets with a few ballate, one canzone, and one madrigal. In addition to anonymous poems, the collection includes works by Fazio degli Uberti, Antonio Beccari, Niccolò Tinucci, Paolo dell'Aquila, Butto da Firenze, and Petrarch.

Contains one poem with a corresponding musical setting, *O cieco mondo* (set to music elsewhere by Jacopo da Bologna), on fol. 5r. The madrigal seems to be included in this collection because of its moralizing subject matter. Reading deviates significantly from the text set polyphonically by Jacopo. No reference to musical setting.

### **Cape Town, South African Library, Grey 7 b 5**

Paper. 15th century. Italy (Emilia-Romagna?). 112 folios. 226 × 160 mm. Single scribe (gothic-humanistic hand). Collection of lyric poetry, primarily sonnets and *capitoli ternari*, ordered according to theme and metric form. For a full description and further information on the manuscript's contents, see Nelia Saxby, "Il Codice Grey 7 b 5 della South African Library," *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 17 (1976): 77–85. Manuscript not consulted.

Contains one song text, *Vita non è più misera e più ria* (set to music elsewhere by Francesco degli Organi), on fol. 92. The ballata is copied in a short cycle of ballate at the end of the manuscript.

## **Florence, Archivio di Stato, Atti esecutivi degli ordinamenti di giustizia, anno 1380**

Lost (?). Mentioned as containing a piece of scrap paper with the text of the anonymous madrigal *In un broleto a l'alba del chiar corno* by G. B. Ristori in 1886. The *Atti* are cited again as a text-only source by F. Alberto Gallo. However, the shelfmark above, provided by both scholars, is imprecise, and I have been unable to locate any trace of the madrigal in the 35-plus judicial record books dating from 1380.<sup>2</sup>

## **Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, XL 43**

Paper. 15th century (dated 1466 by secondary scribe on fol. 116v). Florence (?). 119 folios. 232 × 165 mm. Lyric collection followed by Petrarch's *Trionfi*. Frame ruled. Gatherings: All quinterns (final page missing). Catchwords throughout. Old foliation (not original). Single main scribe (*hybrida* bookhand), with additions by other hands. Red ink for rubrics; enlarged initials planned but not executed. Red leather binding typical of the Medici library. Poets represented include Petrarch, Niccolò Soldanieri, Antonio da Tempo, Coluccio Salutati, Antonio Beccari, Franco Sacchetti, Leonardo Giustiniani, and Antonio Pucci, among others. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante Alighieri. Rime*, vol. 1, *I documenti*, pt. 1 (Florence: Le lettere, 2002), p. 99.

Contains six madrigals with musical concordances scattered amongst “non-musical” poems of various genres. Rubrics indicating genre. No reference to musical settings.

| Fol. | Incipit                             | Composer (poet)                                                | Genre    | Musical concordances | Text concordances                                                                                             |
|------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 44r  | Somma felicità sommo tesoro         | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ,<br>dub.) | Madrigal | Sq                   | Parm. 1081                                                                                                    |
| 45v  | Non dispregiar virtù ricco villano  | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Stefano di Cino</i> )              | Madrigal | Sq, Lo, Pit          | Redi 184, Parm. 1081, Barb. 3695                                                                              |
| 46r  | Povero pellegrin salito al monte    | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )             | Madrigal | Sq, Lo               | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213, Parm. 1081, Paris 554 |
| 46r  | O Giustitia regina, al mondo freno  | Nicolò del Preposto                                            | Madrigal | Sq                   | Parm. 1081                                                                                                    |
| 48v  | Non al su' amante più Diana piacque | Jacopo da Bologna<br>( <i>Petrarch</i> )                       | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit, Reina   | Vat. 3195, Ricc. 1100, Parm. 1081, Redi 184, Plut. 43, and many others                                        |
| 49r  | Non piu dirò, omai così farò        | Nicolò del Preposto                                            | Madrigal | Lo                   | Redi 184, Parm. 1081, Florence 61                                                                             |

\* Throughout this appendix, incipits are modernized and standardized. Composer, poet, and genre information not copied directly from manuscripts.

## Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, XC inf. 37

Paper. 15th century (2nd half). Italy. II + II + I<sup>3</sup> + 240 + III + II. 287 × 200 mm. Copy of the *Raccolta Aragonesa*. Ruling not visible. Gatherings: 1–19<sup>12</sup>, 20<sup>11</sup>. Catchwords and signatures for most gatherings. Original foliation in pen, top right corner (1–180, but skips from 149 to 160); modern foliation in pen bottom right corner. Single primary hand (very neat humanistic cursive, identified as that of Antonio Sinibaldi by Teresa De Robertis (see D. De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*), some additions by nearly-contemporary hand. Red ink for rubrics and simple initials, no decoration. Index not original. Modern binding. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 122–5.

Contains 23 song texts (nine with concordances in extant musical manuscripts), all incorporated into single author cycles (Sacchetti and Rinuccini). No reference to musical settings.

| Fol. | Incipit                                        | Composer<br>(poeti)                             | Genre    | Musical<br>concordances | Text concordances                                                                                                       |
|------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 95v  | Se crudeltà d'amor<br>somette fe               | Ottolino<br>da Brescia<br>(Franco Sacchetti)    | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris<br>554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                           |
| 98v  | Di bella palla et di<br>valor di petra         | Gherardello<br>da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris<br>554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                           |
| 100v | Sovra la riva d'un<br>corrente fiume           | Lorenzo<br>da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)     | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit             | Ash. 574, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118,<br>Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat.<br>3213, Magl. 1187, Paris 554,<br>Patteta 352            |
| 101r | Se ferma stesse<br>giovenezza e tempo          | Jacopo da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)         | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris<br>554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                           |
| 102r | Lontan ciascun uccel<br>d'amor si trova        | Jacopo da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)         | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Chigi 142, Chigi<br>300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris<br>554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                           |
| 102v | Verso la vaga<br>tramontana è gita             | Ottolino<br>da Brescia<br>(Franco Sacchetti)    | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris<br>554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                           |
| 104r | Come la gru quando<br>per l'aere vola          | Nicolò<br>del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)    | Ballata  | Sq                      | Ash. 574, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118,<br>Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta<br>352, Paris 554                                      |
| 107r | Correndo giù del<br>monte a le chiar' onde     | Nicolò<br>del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)    | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris<br>554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                           |
| 110v | Dì diavol vecchia<br>femina ha natura          | Nicolò<br>del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)    | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Chigi 300, Pal. 204,<br>Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta<br>352                                                  |
| 111r | Fortuna adversa, del<br>mio amor nimica        | Donato<br>da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)      | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Pal. 204, Vat. 3213                                                                  |
| 111v | Volgendo i suo' begli<br>occhi invèr le flamme | Donato<br>da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)      | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Chigi 300, Pal. 204,<br>Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat.<br>3213, Patteta 352                                      |
| 115r | Passando con pensier<br>per un boschetto       | Nicolò<br>del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)    | Caccia   | Sq, Pit                 | Ash. 574, Pal. 204,<br>Marucelliana 155, Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat.<br>3213, Paris 554                  |
| 119r | La neve e l ghiaccio e'<br>venti d'oriente     | Guiglielmus<br>de Francia<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Madrigal | Lo                      | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Pal. 204,<br>Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213,<br>Paris 554, Chigi 301 |
| 119v | Povero pellegrin salito<br>al monte            | Nicolò<br>del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)    | Madrigal | Sq, Lo                  | Ash. 574, Plut. 43, Pal. 204,<br>Ricc. 1118, Parm. 1081, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352,<br>Vat. 3213, Paris 554  |
| 120r | Mai non serò contento<br>immaginando           | Franco Sacchetti<br>(Franco Sacchetti)          | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Chigi 300, Pal. 204,<br>Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta<br>352                                                  |

|      |                                        |                                              |         |                         |                                                                                                     |
|------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 120v | Né te né altra voglio amar giammai     | Francesco degli Organi<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Ballata |                         | Ash. 574, Magl. 1040, Magl. 1041, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352 |
| 123v | Non creder, donna, che nessuna sia     | Francesco degli Organi<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Ballata | Sq, FP, Pit             | Ash. 574, Magl. 1040, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Patteta 352 |
| 124r | Lasso s'io fu' già preso               | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)    | Ballata |                         | Ash. 574, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352             |
| 124v | Innamorato pruno                       | Franco Sacchetti<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Ballata |                         | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352 |
| 127r | State su, donne! Che debian noi fare?  | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)    | Caccia  | Lo                      | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Patteta 352             |
| 127v | Chi vede più bel nero                  | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)    | Ballata |                         | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352 |
| 129r | Perché virtù fa l'uom costante e forte | Francesco degli Organi<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Ballata | FP                      | Ash. 574, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Patteta 352                         |
| 187v | Con gliocchi assai ne miro             | Francesco degli Organi<br>(Cino Rinuccini)   | Ballata | Sq, Florence 5, FP, Pit | Ash. 574, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Patteta 352                                  |

## Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 569

Paper. Late 14th or early 15th century. Italy (Tuscany?). Composite (two units by the same hand, written at different times and following different models). I + 28 + I. 292 × 215/220 mm. Collection of lyric poetry (featuring canzoni by Dante). Blank: fols. 7v–8v. Modern foliation in pencil. Two units written by the same scribe, at different times (*mercantesca*). Red ink for rubrics (second unit only); enlarged initials planned but not executed (second unit only). Modern binding in cardboard and leather. Contents: several anonymous poems plus lyrics by Dante, Petrarch, Cino da Pistoia (attrib.). Antonio Pucci, Antonio degli Alberti, Niccolò Soldanieri, and Rigo Belondi. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 151–2. Also indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>).<sup>4</sup>

For a list song texts, see [Table 1.3](#) on p. 42. Poems fully integrated into manuscript's literary fabric, appearing in a section of miscellaneous lyric poetry that extends from fol. 27r to the end and contains several sonnets in

addition to poems in “musical” genres. Rubrics specifying genre and poet. No reference to musical settings.

### **Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 574**

Paper. Late 14th century. Florence. VI + 134 + III. 405 × 300 mm. Franco Sacchetti’s autograph collection of his *rime* and prose. Old numbering 1–145 (missing fols. 71–81; blank: fols. 84r–86v). For a codicological description and further information, see Lucia Battaglia Ricci, “Tempi e modi di composizione del *Libro delle rime* di Franco Sacchetti,” in *La critica del testo: Problemi di metodo ed esperienze di lavoro; Atti del Convegno di Lecce 22–26 ottobre 1984* (Rome: Salerno, 1985) and “Comporre il libro, comporre il testo. Nota sull’autografo di Franco Sacchetti,” *Italianistica* 21 /2–3 (1992).

For list of song texts, see [Table 2.1](#) on pp. 59–62. Poems fully integrated into the manuscript’s literary fabric, scattered amongst “non-musical” poems. All appear with marginalia indicating the composer of their musical setting, added by Sacchetti himself in various layers after copying the main text. For detailed discussion, see [Chapter 2](#).

### **Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Palatino 105**

Paper. 15th century (1st half?). III + 129 + III. Frame ruled in graphite (ruling not always visible). Blank: fols. 124–129 (later filled with doodles). Catchwords in simple frame. Modern foliation in pencil, traces of old foliation in pen top right corner (f. 2 = 1, 10 = 9, 15 = 14, 18 = 20, 65 = 63; then 68 = 131, etc., last number visible on fol. 129 = 192). Single hand (*mercantesca*). Simple pen-flourish decoration for initials and frames around catchwords. No colored ink, but traces of yellow highlighting scattered throughout. Modern binding: wooden boards with leather spine. Contents: Boccaccio, *Filostrato* (incomplete) fols. 1–66; Ovid, *Heroides* (in Italian) fols. 67–122; short collection of moralizing poetry fols. 123.

Contains one song text, *O cieco mondo* (set to music elsewhere by Jacopo da Firenze), on fol. 123v, in a short collection of moralizing poetry,

all copied in a single layer of scribal activity. No rubrics. No reference to musical setting.

### **Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Redi 184**

Paper. 15th and 16th century. Florence. III + 205 + 22. 290 × 215, 290 × 205, 287 × 202 mm. Lyric miscellany. Modern foliation typeset. Catchwords (first section). Multiple hands (*cursiva*), working at different times (several distinct sections). Index added by 17th-century hand. No decoration and no colored ink. Poets represented include Antonio Beccari, Antonio Pucci, Braccio Bracci, Dante, Fazio degli Uberti, Petrarch, Franco Sacchetti, Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, and Niccolò Soldanieri, among others. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 176–82. Also see Michele Barbi, *Studi sul canzoniere di Dante* (Florence: Sansoni, 1915) in which links with Magl. 1040 and Chigi 131 are identified. Manuscript consulted in microfilm only. Also indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>).

Song texts appear in the section copied by Redi 184's first principal scribe, Baroncino di Giovanni Baroncini (responsible for fols. 22–47 and 49ra–149rb). All appear in sections dedicated to the lyrics of a single poet, included because of their connection to their author. No references to musical settings.



| Fol. | Incipit                                 | Composer (poet)                                                               | Genre    | Musical concordances  | Text concordances                                      |
|------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 46r  | Non al su' amante più<br>Diana piacque  | Jacopo da Bologna<br>( <i>Petrarch</i> )                                      | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit,<br>Reina | Vat. 3195, Ricc. 1100,<br>Plut. 43, and many<br>others |
| 102v | Non dispregiar virtù<br>ricco villano   | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(here attrib. to <i>Stefano<br/>di Cino Merciano</i> ) | Madrigal | Sq, Lo, Pit           | Plut. 43, Parm. 1081,<br>Barb. 3695                    |
| 110v | L'acquila bella, negra<br>pellegrina    | Gherardello da<br>Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )                    | Madrigal | Sq                    | Triv. 193                                              |
| 110v | Dà, dà, a chi avareggia<br>pur per sé   | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )                           | Madrigal | Sq                    | Lucca 107, Lucca 266,<br>Triv. 193                     |
| 110v | Come da lupo pecorella<br>presa         | Donato da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )                            | Madrigal | Sq                    | Magl. 1041, Triv. 193                                  |
| 111r | I' fu' già usignolo in<br>tempo verde   | Donato da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )                            | Madrigal | Sq, SL, Pit           | Triv. 193                                              |
| 111v | Un bel girfalco scese<br>alle mie grida | Donato da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )                            | Madrigal | Sq, SL, Pit           | Triv. 193                                              |
| 112r | Donne, e' fu credenza<br>d'una donna    | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )                           | Ballata  | Sq                    | Ricc. 1100, Chigi 131                                  |
| 112v | Ben di fortuna non fa<br>ricc' altrui   | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )                          | Ballata  | Sq                    | Ricc. 1100                                             |
| 112v | I' vo' bene a chi vol<br>bene a me      | Gherardello<br>da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )                    | Ballata  | Sq                    | Triv. 193, Chigi 131,<br>Bologna 48                    |
| 113v | A poste messe, veltri e<br>gran mastini | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )                           | Caccia   | Sq, FP                | Chigi 131                                              |
| 133r | Chi 'l ben soffrir non pò               | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )                            | Ballata  | Sq, Lo                | Chigi 300, Ash. 574                                    |

## Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, C. 155

Paper, 15th century (fol. 66r, 1417; fol. 81v, 1439 and 1449). I + 89 + I. 296 × 221 mm. Miscellany. Frame ruled, dry-point in two columns (f. 82v in three columns). Two independent systems of ruling, one through fol. 49 and another from fol. 50 to fol. 89. Blank: fols. 81 bis, 88, 89. Catchwords on fols. 17v and 33v. Old foliation in pen in top right corner, with the exception of fols. 2 (no number) and 21, 81 bis, 88, and 89 (modern foliation in pencil). One primary hand that begins as a simple *cancelleresca*-like script with a fairly non-cursive *ductus* but becomes progressively more cursive and more *mercantesca*-like as the manuscript progresses; additions by other hands on fols. 81v and 84r–87r. Rubrics in red ink on fols. 3–38; red paragraph markers on fols. 1–2; enlarged initials planned but not executed; initials in red and black with simple pen flourish decoration on fols. 3–38 and 39v–57r. Modern binding: cardboard covered with grey paper, leather

spine and corners. Contents: Boccaccio, *Filostrato* (fols. 1–38r); misc. texts in verse and some in prose, mostly anonymous (fols. 39–87).

Contains seven song texts scattered throughout the collection of miscellaneous sonnets, canzoni da ballo, canzoni a rigoletto, madrigals, and ballete that extends from fol. 50r to fol. 81v. The poems are fully integrated into the larger lyric collection. No reference to musical settings.

| Fol. | Incipit                                  | Composer (poet)                                    | Genre    | Musical concordances | Text concordances                                                          |
|------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 53v  | Non vedi tu, Amor, che me tuo servo      | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )  | Ballata  | Sq                   |                                                                            |
| 54r  | Di riva in riva mi guidava amore         | Lorenzo da Firenze                                 | Madrigal | Sq, FP               |                                                                            |
| 54r  | Per prender cacciagion leggiadra e bella | Gherardello da Firenze                             | Madrigal | Sq, FP               |                                                                            |
| 54r  | Si dolce non sonò con lira Orfeo         | Francesco degli Organi                             | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit      |                                                                            |
| 54v  | Donna, l'altrui mirar, che fate, porge   | Gherardello da Firenze                             | Ballata  | Sq, Pit              |                                                                            |
| 56r  | Passando con pensier per un boschetto    | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Caccia   |                      | Ash. 574, Pal. 204, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213 |
| 61v  | Come tradir pensasti, donna, mai         | Jacopo Pianaiaio                                   | Ballata  | Lo                   |                                                                            |

## Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II.II.61

Paper, late 14th century. XV + 100 + I. 288 × 220 mm. Composite manuscript. Miscellany of prose and poetry in Italian vernacular.

### UNIT I. FOLS. 1R–40V

MARCO POLO *Milione* (fols. 1r–40v).

Gatherings: 1<sup>8</sup>, 2–3<sup>16</sup>. No ruling visible. Old foliation (14th century) in pen: 315–354. Single hand (*mercantesca*). Signed and dated on fol. 40v, Amelio di Giachino Bonaguisi, 1392.

### UNIT II. FOLS. 41R–61V

“Insegnamento de’ filosofi” (fols. 41r–54r).

“Vite e sentenze de’ filosofi” (fols. 54v–59v). Incomplete.

Various chronological notes pertaining to the location of Easter, etc. in Ital. and Lat. (fol. 60r–v).

Catalogue of cities before the flood (fol. 61r).

Catalogue of languages after the flood (fol. 61r).

*Epitaphia Ciceronis* (f. 61v).

Gatherings: 1<sup>16</sup>, 2<sup>5</sup>. Frame ruled. Old foliation (14th century) in pen: 1–16 on modern fols. 51–56; main hand is same as that of 1st unit; second contemporary hand on fols. 51v–54r.

*UNIT III. Fols. 62R–100V*

OVID (trans. CEFFI) *Heroides* (fols. 62r–96v). Complete text.

ANON. Misc. poetry (fols. 96v–100r): 18 ballate, 1 sonnet.

Gatherings: 1<sup>11</sup>, 2<sup>8</sup>, 3–4<sup>10</sup>. Ruling not visible fol. 62r–96v (top); fol. 96v (bottom)–fol. 100r ruled in two columns (inconsistent in width). Traces of old foliation (14th century) in pen, top of right: 117–154; second old foliation (14th century) in pen, bottom right: 1–27 on fol. 73–99. Three types of paper, each with different writing space and format: 1) 14th-century paper (*cervo* watermark), fols. 62, 65–68, 73–75, 77, 83–84, 86–100; 2) old modern style paper (late 14th century?, trident watermark), fols. 76, 78–82, 85; 3) modern paper (17th century), fols. 63–64, 69–72. Single hand that is same as first unit, with the exception of the 17th-century repairs; Bonaguisi family stem on fols. 96v, 99v, and 100r.

For a list of song texts, see [Table 5.1](#) on p. 147. Song texts are fully integrated into the collection of miscellaneous lyric poetry copied in the final unit, which was originally part of the same manuscript as the final gathering of Magl. 1040. No reference to musical settings. For a detailed discussion, see [Chapter 5](#).

## **Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi, C.I.1746**

Paper. 14th–15th centuries. II + 335 + II. 295 × 210 mm. Composite manuscript. Miscellany. Frame ruled in graphite (alternating between one and two columns). Traces of old foliation throughout, first visible on fol. 4 (= old fol. 3). Some catchwords. One main scribe for second unit, starting on fol. 37v (*mercantesca*); first unit copied by a different, more professional hand

(*littera textualis*, late 14th century). Red ink for rubrics through fol. 7v only. Modern binding: wooden boards with leather spine. For more information, see Francesco D'Altobianco, *Rime*, ed. Alessio Decaria (Bologna: Commissione per i testi in lingua, 2008), pp. XVI–XIX.

Contains three song texts on fols. 233v–234v. These poems are fully integrated into a section of lyric poetry copied in a single layer of scribal activity that consists primarily of sonnets. Rubrics indicating genre. No reference to musical settings.

| Fol. | Incipit                                 | Composer (poet)           | Genre   | Musical concordances | Text concordances |
|------|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 233v | Non senti, donna, più piacer<br>già mai | Anon.                     | Ballata | Lo                   | Chigi 79          |
| 234r | Per seguir la speranza, che<br>m'ancide | Francesco degli<br>Organi | Ballata | Sq, FP, Pit, Reina   | Magl. 1041        |
| 234v | El gran disio e la dolce<br>speranza    | Francesco degli<br>Organi | Ballata | Sq, FP, Pit, Lo      | Chigi 79          |

## **Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 640**

Paper. 16th century (early). Italy. 218 × 144 mm. 15 folios. Lyric miscellany (fragment?). Gatherings: 1<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>12</sup>. Modern foliation in pencil. Single hand (humanistic cursive). Contents: lyrics by Fazio degli Uberti, Giacomo da Lentino, Guittone d'Arezzo, Boccaccio, Gian Giorgio Trissino, Dante, Iacopo Muci[arelli?], and other anonymous poets. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 237. Also indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>).

Contains one song texts, *Come in sul fonte preso Narcisso* (set to music elsewhere by Lorenzo da Firenze), on fol. 10r. Poem appears amongst lyrics in various genres (canzoni, sonnets, ballate, etc.) with a rubric attributing it to Boccaccio. No reference to musical setting.

## **Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1040**

Paper. 14th–16th centuries. Composite manuscript. 10 independent units containing miscellaneous poetry in Italian and French, Latin verses, and prose. Only first and final unit have song texts. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 243–5.

UNIT I: FOLS. 1–4

ALBERTO DEGLI ALBIZI and BOCCACCIO Sonnets.

Paper. 16th century. 292 × 215 mm. Two columns. Single hand.

UNIT X: FOLS. 48–57

Poetic miscellany.

Paper. Late 14th or early 15th century. 290 × 220 mm. Ruled in one, two, and three columns of inconsistent width. Traces of old foliation visible. Most likely single scribe writing at different times with a highly varied *ductus* and style of script (*mercantesca*). No colored ink, no formal decoration (does contain informal marginal drawings). This unit was originally part of a larger manuscript that also contained the last unit of Florence 61.

For a list of song texts, see [Table 5.1](#) on p. 147. Song texts appear in two separate units: Unit I, *Non so qual i' mi voglia* is the final poem in a short section of sonnets by Alberto degli Albizi and Boccaccio, added later than the other poems at the end of the section on the bottom of fol. 3v; Unit X is a miscellaneous collection of 14th-century French and Italian lyrics with song texts scattered throughout. No reference to musical settings. For detailed discussion, see [Chapter 5](#).

## **Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1041**

Paper. 16th century (1st half). Florence. II + 104 + I. 291 × 212 mm.

Miscellaneous collection of lyric poetry. Gatherings: 1<sup>12</sup>, 2<sup>16</sup>, 3<sup>19</sup>, 4–6<sup>16</sup>, 7<sup>8</sup>.

Old foliation (16th century) 1, 1<sup>[bis]</sup>, 2–90, followed later by 91–99. Blank: fols. 16r, 18r, 32v, 34r–37v, 40–45, 56v, 72v–84r, 92r–94r, [99v–103v].

Written by several contemporary hands (humanistic cursive). Opens with an index copied by one of the scribes active elsewhere in the manuscript. No decoration, no colored ink. Household accounts added on fols. 90r–91v and

94v–99. Binding (17th century): cardboard covered with parchment. Contains poems by Boccaccio, Dante, Petrarch, Cino da Pistoia, Buonacorso da Montemagno il Giovane, Franco Sacchetti, Giovangiorgio Trissino, Guido Cavalcanti, Lancillotto Anguissola, Niccolò Soldanieri, and Veronica Gambera, among others, as well as many anonymous poems. For more information, see Lauren McGuire Jennings, “Technologies of Un-Notated Transmission: Trecento Song as Literature in an Early Sixteenth-Century Poetic Anthology,” in *Cantus scriptus: Technologies of Medieval Song. Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Lawrence J. Schoenberg Symposium on Manuscript Studies in the Digital Age*, ed. Lynn Ransom and Emma Dillon (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012). Also see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 245–6 and Barbi, *Studi*, in which links with Redi 184 and Chigi 131 are identified. Also indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>).

Song texts scattered throughout various different sections, some included because of their author and others not. All are fully integrated into the manuscript’s lyric collection. Two poems attributed to Francesco degli Organi. No specific mention of musical settings.

| Fol. | Incipit                                     | Rubric         | Composer<br>(poet)                                                      | Genre    | Musical<br>concordances | Text concordances                                                                                                               |
|------|---------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3r   | La neve e 'l ghiaccio<br>e' venti d'oriente |                | Guilielmus da<br>Francia<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )                 | Madrigal | Lo                      | Ash. 574, Plut.<br>37, Pal. 204, Ricc.<br>1118, Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Patetta<br>352, Vat. 3213,<br>Paris 554, Chigi<br>301  |
| 3r   | Né te né altra voglio<br>amar giammai       |                | Francesco degli<br>Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )                | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Magl.<br>1040, Plut. 37,<br>Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Pal. 204, Paris<br>554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patetta 352                |
| 3v   | Non creder, donna,<br>che nessuna sia       |                | Francesco degli<br>Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )                | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit             | Ash. 574, Plut. 37,<br>Magl. 1040, Pal.<br>204, Ricc. 1118,<br>Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Vat. 3213,<br>Paris 554, Patetta<br>352 |
| 4v   | Innamorato pruno                            |                | Franco Sacchetti<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )                         | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37,<br>Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Pal. 204, Ricc.<br>1118, Paris 554,<br>Vat. 3213, Patetta<br>352                |
| 5r   | Chi vide più bel nero                       |                | Nicolò del<br>Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )                   | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37,<br>Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Pal. 204, Ricc.<br>1118, Paris 554,<br>Vat. 3213, Patetta<br>352                |
| 7r   | State su, donne! Che<br>debïan noi fare?    |                | Nicolò del<br>Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )                   | Caccia   | Lo                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37,<br>Magl. 1041, Pal.<br>204, Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Vat.<br>3213, Paris 554,<br>Patetta 352                |
| 22v  | Or sie che può, com'<br>avo' piace sia      | sine<br>nomine | Paolo da Firenze                                                        | Ballata  | Pit, SL                 | Chigi 79                                                                                                                        |
| 46r  | Chi più crede far,<br>colui men fa          |                | Giovanni di<br>Gherardello da<br>Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Chigi<br>300                                                                                                          |
| 47r  | Donna, che d'amor<br>senta, non si muova    |                | Francesco degli<br>Organi                                               | Ballata  | Sq, Pit, Reina          |                                                                                                                                 |
| 47r  | L'antica fiamma e 'l<br>dolce disio         |                | Francesco degli<br>Organi                                               | Ballata  | Sq, FP                  |                                                                                                                                 |

|     |                                                |                                              |                                                                                   |          |                                            |                                                                  |
|-----|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 47r | La mala lingua e<br>d'ogni mal radice          |                                              | Francesco degli<br>Organi                                                         | Ballata  | Sq, FP                                     | Magl. 1078                                                       |
| 47v | Vita non è più misera<br>e più ria             |                                              | Francesco degli<br>Organi                                                         | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit,<br>Reina, SL                  | Magl. 1078,<br>Marucelliana 155,<br>Triv. 193                    |
| 47v | La bionda treccia di<br>fin or colore          |                                              | Francesco degli<br>Organi                                                         | Ballata  | Sq, FP                                     |                                                                  |
| 47v | La bella stella, che<br>sua fiamma tene        |                                              | Giovanni da<br>Cascia<br>( <i>Lancillotto<br/>Anguissola</i> )                    | Madrigal | FC, Sq, FP,<br>SL, Pit, Rossi,<br>RO       |                                                                  |
| 48r | Ama, donna, chi<br>t'ama a pura fede           |                                              | Francesco degli<br>Organi                                                         | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit,<br>Reina                      | Triv. 193                                                        |
| 48r | Per seguir la<br>speranza che<br>m'ancide      |                                              | Francesco degli<br>Organi                                                         | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit,<br>Reina                      | Conv. Sopp. 1746                                                 |
| 48v | Donna, se 'l cor t'ho<br>dato                  |                                              | Francesco degli<br>Organi                                                         | Ballata  | Sq, FP                                     |                                                                  |
| 48v | Gli occhi che in<br>prima tanto bel<br>piacere |                                              | Francesco degli<br>Organi                                                         | Ballata  | Sq, FP, SL, Pit                            |                                                                  |
| 49v | Come da lupo<br>pecorella presa                |                                              | Donato da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )                                | Madrigal | Sq                                         | Redi 184, Triv. 193                                              |
| 50v | Donne, e' fu credenza<br>d'una donna           |                                              | Lorenzo da<br>Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )                            | Ballata  | Sq                                         | Redi 184, Ricc.<br>1100, Chigi 131                               |
| 51r | O cieco mondo, di<br>lusinghe pieno            | madrigale<br>di guido<br>cavalcanti          | Jacopo da Bologna<br>(here, falsely<br>attrib. to <i>Giriflo<br/>Cavalcanti</i> ) | Madrigal | Sq, FP, SL,<br>Pad A, Pad C,<br>Pit, Reina | Bologna 1072,<br>Pal. 105, Pal. 315,<br>Chigi 131, Barb.<br>3695 |
| 51v | Deh, pon quest' amor<br>giù!                   | ballata di<br>franc(esco)<br>degli<br>organi | Francesco degli<br>Organi                                                         | Ballata  | Sq, FP                                     | Chigi 131                                                        |
| 51v | Gentil aspetto in cui<br>la mente mia          | ballata del<br>medesimo<br>franc(esco)       | Francesco degli<br>Organi                                                         | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit,<br>Reina, Pist                | Chigi 131                                                        |
| 52r | Non avrà mai pietà<br>questa mie donna         | ballata                                      | Francesco degli<br>Organi<br>( <i>Bindo D'Alesso<br/>Donati</i> )                 | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Lo,<br>Pit, Reina                  | Chigi 131                                                        |
| 52r | Benché 'l partir da te<br>molto mi doglia      | ballata                                      | Nicolò del<br>Preposto                                                            | Ballata  | Sq, Lo, Pit                                |                                                                  |
| 52r | O fanciulla giulia                             |                                              | Francesco degli<br>organi                                                         | Ballata  | Sq, FP, SL, Pit                            | Chigi 131                                                        |

\* Rubrics transcribed semi-diplomatically from manuscript.

## Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1078

Paper. 15th century (1st half). Northern Italy. II + 41 + I (numbered 1–40, number 37 doubled). 233 × 155 mm. Lyric miscellany. Frame ruled with very narrow margins, sometimes in full-page format and sometimes in two columns. Page cut out between fols. 36 and 37. Foliation in pen top right corner (not original). Single primary hand (simple hybrid cursive), plus additions by two later hands: scribe B, poems on fols. 15r and 28v; scribe C,



a list of names of contributors to the restoration fund for a church, Madonna Sancta Maria da Terrabora. Frequent changes in pen and ink. No decoration, no colored ink, rubrics rarely included. Modern binding: cardboard covered with paper. Contents: mostly anonymous poetry.

For a list song texts, see [Table 4.1](#) on p. 112. Poems scattered amongst “non-musical” poems in various genres. No reference to musical settings. For detailed discussion, see [Chapter 4](#).

## **Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII 1187**

Paper. 15th and 16th centuries. Composite manuscript. Nine independent units. I + II + II + 78 + I. 232 × 159 mm (measurement indicates size of binding, paper of each unit varies in size). Miscellaneous collection of lyric poetry. Numerous different hands (mostly humanistic cursive). Modern binding: crate paper. Contains poems by Dante, Petrarch, Guido Cavalcanti, Cino da Pistoia, Lorenzo de’ Medici, and Franco Sacchetti, among others. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 259–60.

Fol. 15, a single, codicologically independent folio, contains three poems by Franco Sacchetti, two of which have musical concordances. Frame ruled, single column. Single hand (humanistic cursive). No decoration, colored ink, or enlarged initials. No references to musical settings.

| Fol. | Incipit                               | Composer (poet)                           | Genre    | Musical concordances | Text concordances                                                                                                     |
|------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 15r  | Come selvaggia fera,<br>fra le fronde | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Madrigal | Sq                   | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Vat. 3213,<br>Ric. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Magl. 1187, Pal. 204,<br>Paris 554, Patteta 352 |
| 15v  | Sovra la riva d’un<br>corrente fiume  | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)  | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit          | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Ric.<br>1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142,<br>Vat. 3213, Magl. 1187, Pal.<br>204, Paris 554, Patteta 352 |

## **Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 204**

Paper. 16th century (after 1514). Italy. III + 312 + III. 281 × 210 mm. Copy of the *Raccolta Aragonese*. No ruling visible. Catchwords throughout. Old foliation on some pages, completed by modern hand. Written by three contemporary scribes: fols. 1r–35r and fols. 114r–end, first scribe; fols. 35r–110v, second scribe; fols. 110v–113r, third scribe. No colored ink; one simple enlarged initial on fol. 1 (larger initial planned but never executed); other enlarged initials planned but never executed, fols. 1–35 and 114r–end. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 304–7.

For a list of song texts, see [Table 2.3](#) on pp. 74–5. Poems incorporated into single author cycles (Sacchetti and Rinuccini). No reference to musical settings. For discussion, see [Chapter 2](#).

### **Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 288**

Paper. 16th century (owned by Benedetto Varchi). Florence (?). I + 30 + I. 295 × 210/215 mm. Lyric miscellany. No ruling visible, one and two columns. Modern foliation throughout, old foliation on some pages. Single hand (humanistic cursive). No colored ink, no decoration. Rubrics and attribution planned but mostly never added. Contents: lyrics by Giovanni Boccaccio, Lodovico Ariosto, Veronica Gambara, Iacopo Sannazaro, Gian Giorgio Trissino, Guido Cavalcanti, Dante, Giuliano di Lorenzo de' Medici, and Baldassar Castiglione among others, along with several anonymous poems. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 307–8.

Contains one song text, *Come nel fonte fu prese Narcisso* (Boccaccio, set to music elsewhere by Lorenzo da Firenze), on fol. 8r. The poem appears devoid of rubric or identification of any sort, mixed in amongst various genres, especially sonnets. No reference to musical setting.

### **Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 315**

Paper. Late 14th and early 15th centuries (main section dated 1381). Florence. II + 100. 287 × 218 mm. Old foliation in pen (original?) on fols. 1–15, continues in modern hand in pencil. Blank: fols. 90v–91, 93–96, 100v.

One primary scribe with additions by other hands on fols. 88v–89r (late 14th or early 15th century) and 89v–90r (15th century). Red ink for rubrics and initials (*Divine Comedy* section only); some simple pen flourishes (*Divine Comedy* section only). Modern binding. Dante's *Divine Comedy* followed by miscellaneous lyric poetry, mostly by Dante. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 308–9.

For a list of poems with musical concordances, see [Table 1.3](#) on p. 42. Song texts appear in section of miscellaneous poetry added in blank pages at the end of the *Divine Comedy*, copied by two different hands. No reference to musical settings. For detailed discussion, see [Chapter 1](#).

## **Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1100**

Paper. 15th century (early). Florence (owned by Stefano di Cione, as per the ex libris on fol. 97). I + I + 97 + I + I. 297 × 220 mm. Lyric anthology. Frame ruled in graphite. Gatherings: 1<sup>11</sup>, 2–5<sup>12</sup>, 6<sup>14</sup>, 7–12<sup>12</sup>. Catchwords in simple frame throughout. Modern foliation typeset. Blank: fols. Iv, 5v–11v, 95–97. Single hand (*mercantesca* bookhand). Red ink for rubrics; no decoration (initials planned but never executed). Original index in alternating red and black/brown ink. Contains lyric poetry by major Trecento poets organized clearly by author. Opens with Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and includes numerous poems by Dante and Boccaccio. Other poets represented include: Fazio degli Uberti, Sennuccio del Bene, Antonio da Ferrara, Guido Cavalcanti, Franco Sacchetti, and Niccolò Soldanieri, among others. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 363–5. Also indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>).

All song texts appear with attribution to a poet and are fully integrated into the section dedicated to their respective authors. No reference to musical settings.

| Fol. | Incipit                                    | Composer (poet)                                                                                | Genre    | Musical concordances | Text concordances                                    |
|------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 22r  | Non al su' amante più<br>Diana piacque     | Jacopo da Bologna<br>( <i>Petrarch</i> )                                                       | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit, Reina   | Vat. 3195, Redi 184,<br>Plut. 43, and many<br>others |
| 57v  | Ben di fortuna non fa ricc'<br>altrui      | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Nicolò Soldanieri</i> )                                            | Ballata  | Sq                   | Redi 184                                             |
| 58v  | Donne, e' fu credenza<br>d'una donna       | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>( <i>Nicolò Soldanieri</i> )                                             | Ballata  | Sq                   | Redi 184, Chigi 131                                  |
| 68v  | Sento d'amor la fiamma e 'l<br>gran podere | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>(attrib. here to <i>messer<br/>Gregghorio colonista di<br/>firenze</i> ) | Ballata  | Sq                   |                                                      |

## Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1118

Paper. 16th century (1st half). Italy. V + III + 167 + V. 218 × 160 mm. Copy of the *Raccolta Aragonesa*. Fully ruled in ink. Modern foliation typeset; older foliation fols. 1–164. Blank: fols. 164v–167v. Vertical catchwords and gathering signatures throughout. Single hand (humanistic cursive, bookhand). No colored ink, no decoration. Block capitals and *littera antiqua* used for rubrics. Modern binding: cardboard covered in marble paper, leather corners and spine, gold edging on paper. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 371–3. Also indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>).

Contains 17 song texts (seven with extant musical settings), incorporated into single author cycles (Sacchetti and Rinuccini). No reference to musical settings.

| Fol. | Incipit                                        | Composer<br>(poet)                              | Genre    | Musical<br>concordances    | Text concordances                                                                                                    |
|------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 99r  | Se crudeltà d'amor<br>somette fè               | Ottolino da Brescia<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Plut. 43, Vat. 3213,<br>Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal.<br>204, Paris 554, Patteta 352                          |
| 99v  | Di bella palla, et di<br>valor di petra        | Gherardello<br>da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Madrigal |                            | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Paris 554,<br>Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                          |
| 103r | Sovra la riva d'un<br>corrente fiume           | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)        | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit                | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Magl.<br>1187, Pal. 204, Paris 554,<br>Patteta 352           |
| 103v | Se ferma stesse<br>giovenezza e tempo          | Jacopo da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)         | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Paris 554,<br>Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                          |
| 104r | Lontan ciascun ucel<br>damor si trova          | Jacopo da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)         | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 142,<br>Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Paris 554,<br>Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                          |
| 105r | Verso la vaga<br>tramontana è gita             | Ottolino da Brescia<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Madrigal |                            | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Paris 554,<br>Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                          |
| 105v | Come selvaggia fera<br>fra le fronde           | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Madrigal | Sq                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Vat. 3213,<br>Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Magl. 1187, Paris 554,<br>Patteta 352           |
| 105v | Come la gru quando<br>per l'aere vola          | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Madrigal | Sq                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204,<br>Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patetta<br>352, Paris 554                                     |
| 106v | Correndo giù del<br>monte a le chiar' onde     | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Madrigal |                            | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Paris 554,<br>Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                          |
| 108r | Volgendo i suo' begli<br>occhi invèr le fiamme | Donato da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)         | Madrigal |                            | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300,<br>Pal. 204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352                                     |
| 109r | La neve e 'l ghiaccio e'<br>venti d'oriente    | Guiglielmus<br>de Francia<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Madrigal | Lo                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl.<br>1041, Pal. 204, Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat.<br>3213, Paris 554           |
| 109v | Povero pellegrin salito<br>al monte            | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Madrigal | Sq, Lo                     | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204,<br>Plut. 43, Parm. 1081, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Patetta 352,<br>Vat. 3213, Paris 554 |
| 110v | Non creder, donna,<br>che nessuna sia          | Francesco<br>degli Organi<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit                | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl.<br>1040, Pal. 204, Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Paris<br>554, Patteta 352           |
| 111r | Lasso, s'io fu' già<br>preso                   | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300,<br>Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Paris 554,<br>Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                          |
| 111v | Innamorato pruno                               | Franco Sacchetti<br>(Franco Sacchetti)          | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Plut.<br>37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal.<br>204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352           |
| 112r | Chi vide più bel nero                          | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Plut.<br>37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal.<br>204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352           |
| 122r | Con gli occhi assai ne<br>miro                 | Francesco<br>degli Organi<br>(Cino Rinuccini)   | Ballata  | Sq, Florence<br>5, FP, Pit | Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Pal.<br>204, Patteta 352, Paris 554,<br>Plut. 37                                               |

## **Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1280**

Paper. 15th century. Italy. 305 × 220 mm. Composite manuscript, 122 folios. Unit I: fols. 1–18, contains the Legend of Saint Domitilla. Unit II: fols. 19–122, contains Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*. Missing 9 folios after fol. 79 and one after fol. 79, 89, and 90; last 9 folios are blank. Indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>).

Contains one song text, the ballata *Orsu gentil spiriti* (set to music elsewhere by Francesco degli Organi), which appears within Gherardi's *Paradiso degli Alberti* where it is performed by Francesco himself.

## **Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 1764**

Paper. 15th century (1st half?). Florence. VI + 94 + IV. 203 × 142 mm. Frame ruled, dry-point and graphite. Gatherings: 1<sup>13</sup>, 2–7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>9</sup>. Foliation typeset top right corner, pagination in pen top right corner (19th century?). Single hand (*hybrida*). Moderately elaborate pen-flourish initial in red and blue ink on fol. 1r, other red initials with more modest pen-flourish decoration throughout; red rubrics and highlighting. Ex libris on fol. 93v: "*Alberto della chonforteva Ischriptto p(er) me lionardo di S(er) bonachorso di Piero Bonachorsi Cittadino fiorentino.*" Modern binding (20th century), light cardboard covered with parchment. Contents: miscellaneous devotional and moralizing texts in verse and in prose. Indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>).

Contains one song text, *Con lagrime bangnandome* (set to music elsewhere by Johannes Ciconia), on fol. 86v, preceded by the rubric "*Ballata fatta p(er) mess(er) Franciesco Singnior di padova.*" This ballata appears in a short section of laude, followed by a lauda, *Colla mente colcor pecchator fiso*, with the *cantasi come* indication "*lauda va come collagrime.*"

## **Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2786<sup>11</sup>**

Paper. 15th century (1st half?). Italy (Tuscany?). I + 39 + I. 266 × 193 mm. Frame ruled, dry-point with some ink. Gatherings: 1<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>8</sup>, 3–4<sup>10</sup>, 5<sup>9</sup>. Catchwords through gathering 4. Blank: fols. 30v, 39 (f. 39 is modern paper). Two hands: scribe A (fols. 1–33v, *mercantesca*), scribe B (fols. 34r–38v, *mercantesca* with strong *cancelleresca* influence). Large red and blue decorated initial on fol. 1r, red highlighting through fol. 30r. Enlarged initials planned but not executed fols. 31r–33v. Contents: Petrarch's *Trionfi* followed by miscellaneous lyric poems by Petrarch and others.

Contains two song texts on fol. 36v: *Contemprar le gran cose* and *Che pena è quest' al cor* (both set to music elsewhere by Francesco degli Organi). The poems appear consecutively in the section of miscellaneous lyric poetry copied by scribe B (whole section represents single layer of scribal activity). No rubrics. No reference to musical settings.

### **Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2871**

Paper. 15th–16th centuries. Italy. Composite manuscript. III + 65 + I. 210 × 151 mm. Miscellany. Gatherings: 1<sup>8</sup>, 2<sup>23</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>6</sup>, 5–7<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>. Blank: fols. 32–33 (modern paper), 58, 64v, 65 (later filled with doodles). Modern binding, wooden boards with leather spine. Unit I, fols. 1–31: 16th century (?); single hand (humanistic cursive); contents: *Ordini intorno a Cambi della Fiera di Piacenza*. Unit II, fols. 34–65: 15th century (early); old foliation (original) top right corner, fols. 6–32 = fols. 38–63 (foliation on first few and last few pages not legible); single hand (*mercantesca*); contents: chess treatise and collection of laude with some *cantasi come* indications.

Contains one song text, *Per un verde boschetto* (set to music elsewhere by Bartolino da Padova), on fol. 61r. Although found in the middle of the section of laude, this poem is not a *cantasi come* lauda but rather the original secular ballata text.

### **Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.IX.28**

Paper. 15th century (1462–1485). Florence, copied by Filippo and Giovanni Benci. IV + 219 + II. 285 × 215 mm. Collection of miscellaneous texts in prose and in verse. Frame ruled in graphite, one and two columns. Blank:

fols. 3, 4, 6, 7v, 8–10, 50v, 61v, 104v, 105r, 130v, 187–193, 210v–219. Some catchwords. Two primary scribes (Giovanni and Filippo Benci) writing in various different styles (humanistic cursive and *mercantesca*), plus assorted other hands. Some red ink for rubrics and initials. Index on fols. 1–2 (prepared by Giovanni Benci). Binding: contemporary with manuscript, wooded boards covered with tooled red leather, two metal clasps. For more information, see Oriana Cartaregia, ed., *I manoscritti "G. Gaslini" della Biblioteca Universitaria di Genova* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1991), pp. 15–29.

For a list of song texts, see [Table 3.1](#) on p. 96. All four poems are attributed in the manuscript to Francesco degli Organi and are copied by Giovanni Benci consecutively in a single scribal layer, which extends from fol. 205v to 208r. In addition to Francesco's ballate, this layer includes a short excerpt by Cicero on the immortality of the soul and an oration to the Virgin Mary. Manuscript also includes Francesco degli Organi's epitaph, copied by Giovanni Benci on fol. 201v. For a detailed discussion, see [Chapter 3](#).

### **Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Ms. 107**

Parchment. 1400. Lucca. III + 361 + I. 277 × 200 mm. Written for Giovanni Sercambi and contains the first part of his *Cronache*. Dry-point ruling. Catchwords in frames throughout. Single scribe (semitextualis). Red and blue ink for rubrics and initials; some pen flourish decoration; historiated initials, foliated borders, and illustrations. For more information, see *Giovanni Sercambi e il suo tempo. Catalogo della mostra: Lucca, 30 novembre 1991* (Lucca: Nuova Grafica Lucchese, 1991), pp. 206–11.

Contains one madrigal by Niccolò Soldanieri with a musical concordance, *Dà, dà, a chi avaregia pur per sé* (set to music elsewhere by Lorenzo da Firenze), copied on fol. 267v. It is incorporated into the *Chronicles*, included because of its moralizing nature. No reference to musical setting.

### **Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Guinigi, 266**



Parchment. 15th century (early). Lucca. I + 160 + I. 326 × 233 mm. Contains the second part of Sercambi's *Cronache* and a few of his *novelle*. Dry-point ruling. Catchwords in red frames throughout. Single scribe (*semitextualis*). Red ink for rubrics and initials; simple enlarged initials; illustrations planned but never executed. For more information, see *Giovanni Sercambi e il suo tempo: catalogo della mostra: Lucca, 30 novembre 1991* (Lucca: Nuova Grafica Lucchese, 1991), 214–16.

Contains one madrigal by Niccolò Soldanieri with a musical concordance, *Dà, dà, a chi avaregia pur per sé*, copied in full on fol. 100v (old fol. 102v). The first three verses of the poem are also copied on fol. 127v (old fol. 129v). As in Lucca 107, Soldanieri's madrigal is incorporated into the *Chronicle*, included because of its moralizing nature. No reference to musical setting.

### **Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 56 Sup.**

Early 15th century (the date 1408 appears in the instructions for calculating Easter on fol. 1r). 208 × 140 mm. Parchment with paper fly leaves. III + 72 + I. Dry-point ruling, clearly visible on fols. 1–32 and less visible afterwards. Gatherings: 1–4<sup>12</sup>, 5<sup>11</sup>, 6<sup>10</sup>, 7<sup>7</sup>. Preparation varies from section to section: single column, except fols. 36v–37r and 42v–43v. Modern foliation in pencil numbering on the first four parchment folios I–IV, and then starting with Arabic numerals (1–72) on the fifth parchment folio. Four folios missing between fols. 70 and 71. Fol. 54r is blank. Several hands of varying qualities, with the bulk of the manuscript copied by two professional scribes using elegant hybrida bookhands: Scribe A, fols. I–IV and 1r–32v (section 1); Scribe B, fols. 33r–53v and 55v–70v (section 2). Rubrics in red ink, enlarged red initials at the start of each text (section 1) embellished with pen flourishes in black ink (fols. 1–26); simple enlarged initials with highlighting (section 2); red highlighting and smaller initials to mark internal poetic structure throughout; pen-flourish frames in red around catchwords (section 1). Binding: not original, parchment cover with disintegrating leather spine wrapped over cardboard. “E 56 Sup.” written in modern ballpoint pen on the cover and “56” written in modern black felt pen on scotch tape on the spine. Contents: Calendar and instructions for calculating Easter (fols. I–IV); lunar table (f. 50r); prayers and religious verse in the Italian *volgare*; 25

anonymous sonnets based on Dante's *Inferno*; collection of canzoni, sonnets, and *volgarizzamenti* of liturgical texts by Antonio Beccari da Ferrara; other anonymous canzoni, sonnets, and a few ballate. Table of contents on fly leaves added in the 19th century.

The two ballate with musical concordances appear in verse format without rubrics, attribution, or genre labels (but set off by enlarged initials) towards the end of the codicological section that extends from fols. 56–70: *Benché lontan me trovi in altra parte* (f. 69r) and *Amor ne tossa non se pò celare* (f. 69v), both set to music elsewhere by Antonio Zacara da Teramo. This section, which represents a single layer of copying, contains a number of amorous canzoni, four ballate (fols. 69–70), and *volgarizzamenti* of the Credo and Lord's Prayer by Antonio del Beccaio. In spite of the lack of red highlighting in *Amor ne tossa* (copied only in black ink), it is clear that these two ballate were copied as a unit: *Amor ne tossa* is followed by an explicit which reads, "Responsio ad bench(e) lontan etc." No reference to musical settings.

### **Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 193**

Paper. 14th century (2nd half). Lucca (?). 286 × 196 mm. VII + 277 + [3] + VIII. Giovanni Sercambi, *Novelle*. Some original foliation visible; modern foliation in pencil throughout. Catchwords in frame. Single hand (*mercantesca*). Simple enlarged initials at the start of sections (some planned but never executed); no decoration, no colored ink. Limp velum binding (not original). For more information, see *Giovanni Sercambi e il suo tempo*.

Contains 11 song texts. Poems are integrated into the narrative, similarly to the way song is incorporated into Boccaccio's *Decameron*. They appear in the *cornice* that surrounds the stories, sung by members of the *brigata*. Poems are thus clearly identified as songs, but no mention of composers is made.

| Orig. fol. | Incipit                                  | Composer (poet)                                         | Genre    | Musical concordances                 | Text concordances               |
|------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 89r        | Come da lupo pecorella presa             | Donato da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )      | Madrigal | Sq                                   | Redi 184, Magl. 1041            |
| 106r       | Virtù loco non ci ha, perché gentile     | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )    | Madrigal | Sq                                   | Redi 184                        |
| 113v       | Un bel girfalco scese alle mie grida     | Donato da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )      | Madrigal | Sq, SL, Pit                          | Redi 184                        |
| 115v       | L'acquila bella negra pellegrina         | Gherardello da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> ) | Madrigal | Sq                                   | Redi 184                        |
| 118r       | I' fu' ggìa usignolo in tempo verde      | Donato da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )      | Madrigal | Sq, SL, Pit                          | Redi 184                        |
| 145v       | Vita non è più misera e più ria          | Francesco degli Organi                                  | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit, Reina, SL               | Magl. 1041, Magl. 1078          |
| 153r       | Dà, dà, a chi avareggia pur per sé       | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )     | Madrigal | Sq                                   | Redi 184                        |
| 195r       | I' vo' ben a chi vol bene a me           | Gherardello da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> ) | Madrigal | Sq                                   | Redi 184, Chigi 131, Bologna 48 |
| 210v-211r  | Ama, donna, chi t'ama sempre a pura fede | Bartolino da Padova                                     | Ballata  | Sq, Reina                            |                                 |
| 220v       | Ciascun faccia per se                    | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )    | Ballata  | Sq, Lo, Pit                          | Florence 61                     |
| 266v       | La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba        | Bartolino da Padova<br>Nicolò del Preposto              | Madrigal | Bartolino: Sq, SL, Pit<br>Nicolò: Sq | Parm. 1081                      |

## Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 554

Paper. 16th century (early). Italy (?). Copy of the *Raccolta Aragonesa*. III + 251 + I. 300 × 204 mm. Two hands (both humanistic). Simple initials and flourished initials in green and red ink (alternating), some initials planned but not executed; red ink for rubrics. For more information, see De Robertis, *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 572–4. Also indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>). Manuscript not consulted.

| Fol.      | Incipit                                        | Composer<br>(poet)                              | Genre    | Musical<br>concordances | Text concordances                                                                                 |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 95v       | Se crudeltà d'amor<br>somette fé               | Ottolino da Brescia<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204,<br>Ric. 1118, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352    |
| 98r       | Di bella palla e di<br>valor di petra          | Gherardello<br>da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204,<br>Ric. 1118, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352    |
| 100v      | Sovra la riva d'un<br>corrente fiume           | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)        | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit             | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Ricc.<br>1118, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Vat. 3213, Magl.<br>1187, Patteta 352 |
| 100v-101r | Se ferma stessi<br>giovenezza e tempo          | Jacopo da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)         | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204,<br>Ric. 1118, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352    |
| 102r      | Lontan ciascun uccel<br>d'amor si trova        | Jacopo da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)         | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>142, Chigi 300, Pal. 204,<br>Ric. 1118, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352    |
| 102v-103r | Verso la vaga<br>tramontana è gita             | Ottolino da Brescia<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204,<br>Ric. 1118, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352    |
| 103v      | Come selvaggia fera<br>fra le fronde           | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Madrigal | Sq                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Vat.<br>3213, Ric. 1118, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Magl.<br>1187, Patteta 352  |
| 104r      | Come la gru quando<br>per l'aere vola          | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Ballata  | Sq                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Ricc.<br>1118, Chigi 300, Chigi<br>142, Patteta 352                           |
| 107v      | Correndo giù del<br>monte a le chiar' onde     | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204,<br>Ric. 1118, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352    |
| 111r-v    | Di diavol vecchia<br>femmina ha natura         | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Pal. 204, Vat. 3213,<br>Patteta 352                             |
| 112r-v    | Volgerdo i suo' begli<br>occhi invèr le fiamme | Donato da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)         | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi<br>300, Pal. 204, Ric. 1118,<br>Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                  |
| 116v-117r | Passando con pensier<br>per un boschetto       | Nicolò del Preposto<br>(Franco Sacchetti)       | Caccia   | Sq, Pit                 | Ash. 574, Plut. 37,<br>Marucelliana 155, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Patteta<br>352, Vat. 3213       |
| 120v      | La neve e 'l ghiaccio e'<br>venti d'oriente    | Guiglielmus<br>de Francia<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Madrigal | Lo                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl.<br>1041, Ric. 1118, Chigi<br>300, Chigi 142, Patteta<br>352, Vat. 3213  |

|           |                                        |                                                       |          |             |                                                                                                       |
|-----------|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 121r      | Povero pellegrin salito al monte       | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Madrigal | Sq, Lo      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Plut. 43, Ricc. 1118, Parmense 1081, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patteta 352, Vat. 3213 |
| 121r-v    | Mai non serò contento immaginando      | Franco Sacchetti<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )       | Ballata  |             | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                                       |
| 122v      | Né te né altra voglio amar giammai     | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Ballata  |             | Ash. 574, Magl. 1040, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352    |
| 125v      | Non creder, donna, che nessuna sia     | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1040, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352              |
| 126r      | Lasso s'io fu' già preso               | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Ballata  |             | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                |
| 126v-127r | Innamorato pruno                       | Franco Sacchetti<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )       | Ballata  |             | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Vat. 3213, Magl. 1041, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352    |
| 129v-130r | State su, donne! Che debian noi fare?  | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Caccia   | Lo          | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1041, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                          |
| 130r      | Chi vide più bel nero                  | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Ballata  |             | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Vat. 3212, Patteta 352    |
| 131v-132r | Perché virtù fa l'uom costante e forte | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Ballata  | FP          | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                                      |

## Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 1081

Paper. 15th century (early). Italy (Tuscany?). 268 × 200 mm. I + III + VI + 120 + XX + III + I. Ruling barely visible: dry-point, frame ruled; single column, verse format. Due to tight re-binding and deterioration of the paper, the gathering structure is difficult to discern. Only one catchword (f. 77v) and no signatures. Modern foliation. The fly leaf and nine additional folios at the beginning of the manuscript are blank, as are the last 11 additional folios and the fly leaf at the end. Fol. 61 missing. Single hand but several layers of scribal activity. Marginalia and corrections added both by main scribe and by later hands. Scribal signature in outer margin next to the majority of poems (Guaspare Totti). No decoration. Rubrics, attributions, and genre specifications (where they exist) are in regular brown or blank ink. Modern binding: leather over cardboard with older leather spine. Spine contains the label “Rime del sec. XIV” embossed in gold. Contents: collection of lyric

poetry, mostly canzoni and sonnets (grouped by genre, with sonnets first, fols. 1–48, and canzoni, starting on fol. 49), also some ballate, madrigals, frottole, and one caccia. Large portion of poems by Petrarch. Indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>).

For a list of song texts, see [Table 2.4](#) on p. 78. Song texts appear in two sections. Seven madrigals, three of which are attributed to Nicolò del Preposto (also known as Niccolò da Perugia), are copied consecutively on fol. 91v–92r in a brief cycle of madrigals. This cycle is a discrete paleographic unit and contains only poems with known musical settings. Two more poems with musical settings appear on fol. 111v, where they are attributed to Nicolò del Preposto. These two are part of a larger paleographic section that includes several canzoni with no concordant musical settings. For a detailed discussion, see [Chapter 2](#).

### **Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, C 43**

Paper. 15th century. Italy. I + 227 + I. 310 × 205 mm. Partially frame ruled in graphite, some trimming. Gatherings: 1<sup>14</sup>, 2<sup>14</sup>, 3<sup>15</sup>, 4<sup>13</sup>, 5–15<sup>14</sup>, 20<sup>17</sup>. Catchwords throughout. Fol. 225 misplaced; fols. 212 and 227 not original. Original foliation in pen on fols. 1–224, modern foliation in pencil from fols. 210–227. Single hand (*mercantesca*). No decoration and no rubrics (except for the occasional genre indication); enlarged initials set into left margin. Partial index listing poems on fols. 51–152 in order of appearance. Modern binding: cardboard covered with paper, parchment spine. Contents: miscellaneous texts (mostly unattributed) in verse, some lyric and some narrative, including Boccaccio's *Filostrato* and a large portion of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. Indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>).

Contains two song texts, *In su' be' fiori in su la verde fronda* (set to music elsewhere by Jacopo da Bologna) and *Cavalcando con un giovine accorto* (set elsewhere to music by Piero) on fol. 46r. Song texts are incorporated into the collection of lyric poetry (primarily sonnets) that surrounds them. No reference to musical settings.

### **Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberino Latino 3695**

Paper. 15th century (early). Venice. II + 90 + I. 290 × 137 mm. Several systems of ruling and margins heavily trimmed throughout. Gatherings: 1<sup>13</sup>, 2<sup>16</sup>, 3<sup>16</sup>, 4<sup>14</sup>, 5<sup>16</sup>, 6<sup>15</sup>. No catchwords or signatures. Blank: fols. 45r and 89r; mostly blank: fols. 47r and 50v; fols. 58 and 59 are different, more modern paper. Old foliation (not original) in pen in top right-hand corner. Single primary hand (cursive script of varying neatness) with a few additions in other hands. Primary scribe self-identified as Alegroto di Galoti on fol. 95v in a section of family records containing information on marriages, births and deaths). Red and purple ink for highlighting and rubrics. Modern binding (1825): cardboard covered in green marbled paper with parchment corners and spine. Contents: moralizing and devotional poetry and prose mostly the vernacular, lunar table (fols. 26–32), family records dating from 1392 to 1413 (fols. 95v–96v).

Contains two song texts, presumably included because of their moralizing subject matter: *Non dispregiar virtù ricco vilano* (set to music elsewhere by Nicolò del Preposto) on fol. 71r and *O cieco mondo* (set to music elsewhere by Jacopo da Bologna) on fol. 81. Both are copied by the primary hand. *Non dispregiar* is the last poem in short layer of scribal activity that starts on fol. 69v and includes a lauda to Mary and an anonymous ballata in addition to Nicolò's madrigal. *O cieco mondo* was copied into blank space remaining at the end of a canzone morale. No references to musical settings.

## **Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.IV.131**

Paper. 16th and 17th centuries. Italy. Composite manuscript. 491 folios. 218 × 155 mm. Lyric miscellany. Modern foliation typeset, older pagination (1–973) on fols. 1–486. Some gathering signatures. Two main hands (both humanistic cursive): fols. 1r–53r, 55–62 1st scribe; fols. 63r–75r, 79–394, 395–484 2nd scribe. No decoration, no colored ink. Opens with index, added later (19th century). Modern binding. Poets represented include Dante, Petrarch, Fazio degli Uberti, Boccaccio, Sennuccio del Bene, Gianozzo Sacchetti, Antonio Pucci, Cino da Pistoia, Guido Cavalcanti, Guido Guinizelli, and Giacomo da Lentino, among many others. For more information, see De Robertis, *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 742–4. Also see Barbi, *Studi*, in which links with Redi 184 and Magl. 1041 are identified.

Contains 11 song texts, two of which are attributed to Francesco degli Organi. The first group of song texts are cacce by Niccolò Soldanieri, copied in a cycle of the poet's works. The second group contains one madrigal copied at the end of a group of sonnets and ballate. The final group appears within another section of miscellaneous lyric poetry that features a number of longer *rime*. No specific mention of musical settings made for any poem, including those attributed to Francesco degli Organi.

| Fol. | Incipit                                                                                                     | Rubric                                                                                             | Composer (poet)                                         | Genre    | Musical concordances                 | Text concordances                                        |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 257v | A poste messe, veltri e gran mastini                                                                        |                                                                                                    | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )     | Caccia   | Sq, FP                               | Redi 184                                                 |
| 385v | O cieco mondo, di lusinghe pieno                                                                            | Madrigale di Guido Cavalcanti                                                                      | Jacopo da Firenze                                       | Madrigal | Sq, FP, SL, Pad A, Pad C, Pit, Reina | Bologna 1072, Pal. 105, Pal. 315, Magl. 1041, Barb. 3695 |
| 387r | Deh, pon quest' amor giù!                                                                                   | Ballata di Franc(esco) degli organi                                                                | Francesco degli organi                                  | Ballata  | Sq, FP                               | Magl. 1041                                               |
| 387v | Gentil aspetto in cui la mente mia                                                                          | Ballata del medes(imo) franc(esco)                                                                 | Francesco degli Organi                                  | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit, Reina, Pist             | Magl. 1041                                               |
| 387v | Non avrà mai pietà questa mie donna                                                                         | Ballata di Bindo d'Alesso donati                                                                   | Francesco degli Organi                                  | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit, Reina               | Magl. 1041                                               |
| 388r | Sempre è coste piu bella e piu altera [Incipit in musical sources: Ma' non s'andrà per questa donna'altera] | Ballata per Mona Sandra moglie del Cavallaro de nostri Signori                                     | Francesco degli Organi                                  | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit, Mancini                 |                                                          |
| 388r | Amar sì gli alti tuo gentil costumi                                                                         | Ballata p(er) mona marselia di Manetto dava(n)zati fecela fare Lionardo Sassetti                   | Francesco degli Organi                                  | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit                          |                                                          |
| 388v | O fanciulla giulia                                                                                          | Ballata facta per Mona Contessa figliuola di boccasenno de bardi e moglie di Cavalcante Cavalcanti | Francesco degli Organi                                  | Ballata  | Sq, FP, SL, Pit                      | Magl. 1041                                               |
| 455v | Donne, e' fu già credenza d'una donna                                                                       |                                                                                                    | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> )     | Ballata  | Sq                                   | Redi 184, Ricc. 1100                                     |
| 456r | I' vo' bene a chi vol bene a me                                                                             |                                                                                                    | Gherardello da Firenze<br>( <i>Niccolò Soldanieri</i> ) | Ballata  | Sq                                   | Redi 184, Triv. 193, Bologna 48                          |

\* Rubrics transcribed semi-diplomatically from manuscript.



## Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.300

Paper. 17th century. Italy. VII + 250 (pages) + VIII. 311 × 222 mm. No ruling visible. Pagination in pen, top right-hand corner, numbering pages from 1 to 244. Gathering structure difficult to discern because of tight binding. Single hand, two columns. Red ink for underlining rubrics. Modern binding: cardboard covered in green leather, typical of Chigiano manuscripts. Contents: Franco Sacchetti, *Libro di rime* along with correspondence poems by other poets.

Poems organized as in Ashburnham 574, not segregated by genre and song texts fully integrated into the overall literary fabric. Unlike Ashburnham 574, there are no references to musical settings or to composers.

| Page | Incipit                                   | Composer               | Genre    | Musical concordances | Text concordances                                                                                  |
|------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------|----------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2    | Se crudeltà d'amor<br>somette fé          | Ottolino da Brescia    | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352             |
| 6    | Donna, servo mi sento                     | Lorenzo da Firenze     | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574                                                                                           |
| 8    | Di bella palla e di valor<br>di petra     | Gherardello da Firenze | Madrigal |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352             |
| 9    | l' sento pena, omé, per<br>tali amanti    | Ottolino da Brescia    | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574                                                                                           |
| 11   | Sovra la riva d'un<br>corrente fiume      | Lorenzo da Firenze     | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit          | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Magl. 1187, Paris 554, Patteta 352 |
| 11   | Se ferma stesse<br>giovenezza e tempo     | Jacopo da Firenze      | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352             |
| 13   | Lontan ciascun uccel<br>d'amor si trova   | Jacopo da Firenze      | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352             |
| 14   | Verso la vaga<br>tramontana è gita        | Nicolò del Preposto    | Madrigal |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352             |
| 14   | Come selvaggia fera fra<br>le fronde      | Nicolò del Preposto    | Madrigal | Sq                   | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Vat. 3213, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 142, Magl. 1187, Paris 554, Patteta 352 |
| 16   | Come la gru quando<br>per l'aere vola     | Nicolò del Preposto    | Madrigal | Sq                   | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 142, Patteta 352, Paris 554                        |
| 20   | Temer perché, po'<br>ch'esser pur convene | Lorenzo da Firenze     | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574                                                                                           |
| 20   | Correndo giù dal monte<br>a le chiar'onde | Nicolò del Preposto    | Madrigal |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352             |
| 26   | Di diavol vecchia<br>femmina ha natura    | Nicolò del Preposto    | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                                    |

|       |                                             |                               |          |             |  |                                                                                                              |
|-------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|-------------|--|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 26    | Fortuna adversa, del mio amor nimica        | Donato da Firenze             | Madrigal |             |  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                                              |
| 27    | Nel mezzo gia del mar la navicella          | Nicolò del Preposto           | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit |  | Ash. 574, Pal. 315                                                                                           |
| 40-41 | Di tempo in tempo e di martiro in pena      | Jacopo da Firenze             | Ballata  |             |  | Ash. 574                                                                                                     |
| 42-43 | Volgendo i suo' begli occhi invèr le fiamme | Donato da Firenze             | Madrigal |             |  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                                  |
| 48    | Vana speranza che mia vita festi            | Jacopo da Firenze             | Madrigal |             |  | Ash. 574                                                                                                     |
| 48    | Passando con pensier per un boschetto       | Nicolò del Preposto           | Caccia   | Sq, Pit     |  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Marucelliana 155, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554                 |
| 54    | Chi più si crede far, colui men fa          | Giovanni di Jacopo da Firenze | Ballata  |             |  | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041                                                                                         |
| 56    | Un augelletta, Amor, di penna nera          | Nicolò del Preposto           | Madrigal |             |  | Ash. 574                                                                                                     |
| 56    | Se la mia vita con virtù s'ingenga          | Giovanni di Jacopo da Firenze | Ballata  |             |  | Ash. 574                                                                                                     |
| 57    | Chi 'l ben sofrir non può                   | Nicolò del Preposto           | Ballata  | Sq, Lo      |  | Ash 574, Redi 184                                                                                            |
| 64    | La neve e 'l ghiaccio e' venti d'oriente    | Guiglielmus de Francia        | Madrigal | Lo          |  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1041, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554           |
| 64    | Povero pellegrin salito al monte            | Nicolò del Preposto           | Madrigal | Sq, Lo      |  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Plut. 43, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Parm. 1081, Chigi 142, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554 |
| 65    | Mai non serò contento immaginando           | Franco Sacchetti              | Ballata  |             |  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                                              |
| 66    | Né te né altra voglio amar giammai          | Francesco degli Organi        | Ballata  |             |  | Ash. 574, Magl. 1040, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352           |
| 72    | Non creder, donna, che nessuna sia          | Francesco degli Organi        | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit |  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1040, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Patteta 352           |
| 73    | Lasso, s'io fu' gia preso                   | Nicolò del Preposto           | Ballata  |             |  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                       |
| 75-76 | Innamorato pruno                            | Franco Sacchetti              | Ballata  |             |  | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352           |
| 79    | State su, donne! Che debian noi fare?       | Nicolò del Preposto           | Caccia   | Lo          |  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1041, Pal. 204, Chigi 142, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Patteta 352                       |
| 79    | Chi vide più bel nero                       | Nicolò del Preposto           | Ballata  |             |  | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352           |
| 95    | Perché virtù fa l'uom costante e forte      | Francesco degli Organi        | Ballata  | FP          |  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Chigi 142, Vat. lat. 3213, Paris 554, Patteta 352                              |
| 155   | Altri n'avra la pena et io il danno         | Francesco degli Organi        | Ballata  | Sq          |  | Ash. 574                                                                                                     |

## Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VIII.301

Paper. Composite manuscript, consisting of eight fragmentary units dating from the 14th to the 16th centuries. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 750–52. Also indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>). Manuscript not consulted.

### *UNIT II (15TH CENTURY, 2ND HALF)*

Simple initials planned but not executed. Red ink for rubrics. Contains poems by Franco Sacchetti, including two indicated as receiving musical treatment in Ashburnham 574 but whose settings are now lost (*Di bella palla e di valor di petra* and *Se crudelta d'amor che mi dono favilla*).

### *UNIT III (16TH CENTURY, END)*

Simple initials planned but not executed. Some red ink for rubrics. Contains poems by various authors, among them Franco Sacchetti. Its selection of poems by Sacchetti is nearly identical to that in unit II and includes the same two song texts.

### *UNIT IV (15TH CENTURY)*

Simple initials planned but not executed. Contains six poems by Franco Sacchetti, including *La neve e 'l ghiaccio e' venti d'oriente*, and one by Ciscranna de' Piccogliuomeni.

## Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.IV.79

Paper. 15th century (last 3rd). Tuscany (scribe identified as Tommaso Baldinotti). IV + 202 + III. 227 × 137 mm. Lyric miscellany. Old foliation (17th century). Vertical catchphrases. Single hand (humanistic cursive, bookhand). Index added later (19th century). Some red ink for rubrics; decorated initial in gold, green, blue, and pink on fol. 1; *bas de page* decoration with frame surrounding heraldic shield on same folio; yellow and red ink used for initials of each line, blue ink used for important initials. Rubrics planned but not originally completed, added informally by later hand. Modern binding. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante*.

*Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 759–60. Also indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>).

Contains three poems with known musical concordances along with several poems labeled “*canzona tonata*.”<sup>5</sup> Both the poems with musical concordances and poems with “musical” rubrics appear in a section of unattributed sonnets and other miscellaneous lyric poems that follows a section dedicated to the *rime* of Francesco d’Altobianco Alberti. The manuscript is consistent in its appearance, suggesting that it was copied in a short period of time from a single exemplar. It is thus unlikely that the texts with musical associations were directly copied from notated sources.

| Fol. | Incipit                                     | Rubric             | Composer                  | Genre    | Musical concordances | Text concordances |
|------|---------------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|----------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 135r | I’ fu’ ggìa bianc’ uccel<br>con piuma d’oro | Madriale<br>tonato | Donato da Firenze         | Madrigal | Sq, SL, Lo           | Ash. 569          |
| 135r | El gran disio e la dolce<br>speranza        | Canz.<br>tonata    | Francesco degli<br>Organi | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Lo, Pit      | Conv. Sopp. 1746  |
| 135v | Or sie che può, com’ a<br>vo’ piace sia     | Canzona<br>tonata  | Paolo da Firenze          | Ballata  | Pit, SL              | Magl. 1041        |

## Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano M.VII.142

Paper. 16th century. Italy. Composite manuscript. VIII + 99 + 333 + I. 298 × 206 mm. Copy of the *Raccolta Aragonese*. Gathering signatures. Modern foliation typeset through fol. 432 (433 in pen); old foliation (16th century) on fols. 1–19, continued on fols. 20–433 by later hand (17th/18th century). Single (different) hand for each unit (humanistic cursive), some marginalia added by later hand in second unit. No colored ink, no decoration. Index. Parchment binding (17th century). For a codicological description and information on contents, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 763–5.

Contains 21 song texts (10 with extant musical concordances), incorporated into single author cycles (Sacchetti and Rinuccini). No reference to the musical settings.

| Fol.        | Incipit                                | Composer (poet)                                       | Genre    | Musical concordances | Text concordances                                                                                   |
|-------------|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 68v; 125v   | Se crudeltà d'amor somette fé          | Ottolina da Brescia<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Pattieta 352             |
| 68v; 126r-v | Di bella palla e di valor di petra     | Gherardello da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Madrigal |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Pattieta 352             |
| 71r-v       | Se ferma stesse giovinezza e tempo     | Jacopo da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )      | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Pattieta 352             |
| 71v; 130r   | Lontan ciascun uccel d'amor si trova   | Jacopo da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )      | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Pattieta 352             |
| 71v         | Sovra la riva d'un corrente fiume      | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )     | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit          | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Ricc. 1118, Vat. 3213, Magl. 1187, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Pattieta 352 |
| 72v; 130r   | Verso la vaga tramontana è gita        | Ottolino da Brescia<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Madrigal |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Pattieta 352             |
| 72v; 130v   | Come selvaggia fera fra le fronde      | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Madrigal | Sq                   | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Vat. 3213, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Ricc. 1118, Magl. 1187, Paris 554, Pattieta 352 |
| 72v         | Come la gru quando per l'aere vola     | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Madrigal | Sq                   | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Ricc. 1118, Pattieta 352, Paris 554                        |
| 73r; 131r   | Correndo giù del monte a le chiar'onde | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Madrigal |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Pattieta 352             |
| 73v; 133v   | Fortuna adversa, del mio amor nimica   | Donato da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )      | Madrigal |                      | Ah. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Vat. 3213, Pattieta 352                                     |
| 75r; 138v   | La neve l'giaccio e venti d'oriente    | Guiglielmus de Francia<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Madrigal | Lo                   | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1041, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Ricc. 1118, Pattieta 352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554 |

|                   |                                        |                                                       |          |                            |                                                                                                             |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 75r; 139r         | Povero pellegrin salito al monte       | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Madrigal | Sq, Lo                     | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Plut. 43, Pal. 204, Parm 1081, Chigi 300, Ricc. 1118, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554 |
| 76r; 143v         | Non creder, donna, che nessuna sia     | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit                | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1040, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Ricc. 1118, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Patteta 352          |
| 76v               | Lasso s'io fu' già preso               | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352                      |
| 76v-77r;<br>144v  | Innamorato pruno                       | Franco Sacchetti<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )       | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352          |
| 77r;<br>147v-148r | Chi vide più bel nero                  | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352          |
| 85r               | Con gli occhi assai ne miro            | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Cino Rinuccini</i> )   | Ballata  | Sq, Florence<br>5, FP, Pit | Ricc. 1118, Vat. 3213, Pal. 204, Patteta 352, Paris 554, Plut. 37                                           |
| 135r              | Passando con pensier per un boschetto  | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Caccia   | Sq, Pit                    | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Marucelliana 155, Chigi 300, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Patteta 352                |
| 140r              | Né te né altra voglia amar giammai     | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Ballata  |                            | Ash. 574, Magl. 1040, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Vat. 3213, Patteta 352          |
| 147r              | State su, donne! Che debian noi fare?  | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Caccia   | Lo                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1041, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Patetta 352, Vat. 3213, Paris 554                      |
| 148v              | Perché virtù fa l'uom costanta e forte | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Ballata  | FP                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Vat. 3213, Paris 554, Patteta 352                                  |

## Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Patetta 352

Paper. 19th century. Italy. II + 269 + I. 235 × 185 mm. Copy of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 554, a copy of the *Raccolta Aragonese*. Manuscript not consulted.

## Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 3195

Parchment. 1366-74. 270 × 202 mm. Partial autograph of Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*. Contains *Non al suo amante più Diana piacque* on

fol. 11v. For a codicological description and analysis see Stefano Zamponi, “Il libro del Canzoniere: modelli, strutture, funzioni,” in *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta. Codice Vat. Lat. 3195. Commentario all’edizione fac-simile*, ed., Gino Belloni, Furio Brugnolo, H. Wayne Storey, and Stefano Zamponi (Rome: Editrice Antenore, 2004), 13–72.

## Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 3213

Paper. 16th century (1st half). Italy. II + 671 + I. 285 × 212 mm. Copy of the *Raccolta Aragonesa*. Original foliation. Gatherings are quinterns of regular construction. Some catchwords. Numerous blank folios (space left empty at the end of many author sections). Single primary hand (humanistic cursive); scribe identified as Antonio Lelli. Index. Modern binding: cardboard covered with parchment, now covered with green crate paper for protection. For more information, see De Robertis, ed., *Dante. Rime*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 676–80. Also indexed by LIO, description available through Mirabile (<http://www.mirabileweb.it>).

Contains 23 song texts (nine with extant musical concordances), incorporated into single author cycles (Sacchetti and Rinuccini). No reference to musical settings.

| Fol.   | Incipit                                 | Composer (poet)                              | Genre    | Musical concordances | Text concordances                                                                                  |
|--------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 310v   | Se crudeltà d’amor<br>somette fé        | Ottolino da Brescia<br>(Franco Sacchetti)    | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Patteta 352             |
| 313v   | Di bella palla e di valor<br>di petra   | Gherardello da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti) | Madrigal |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Patteta 352             |
| 316r   | Sovra la riva d’un<br>corrente fiume    | Lorenzo da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)     | Madrigal | Sq, FP, Pit          | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 142, Magl. 1187, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Patteta 352 |
| 316r–v | Se ferma stesse<br>giovenezza e tempo   | Jacopo da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)      | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Patteta 352             |
| 318r   | Lontan ciascun uccel<br>d’amor si trova | Jacopo da Firenze<br>(Franco Sacchetti)      | Ballata  |                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Patteta 352             |

|           |                                             |                                                       |          |                         |                                                                                                    |
|-----------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 318v      | Verso la vaga tramontana è gita             | Ottolino da Brescia<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Patteta 352             |
| 318v      | Come selvaggia fera fra le fronde           | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Madrigal | Sq                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Ricc. 1118, Magl. 1187, Paris 554, Patteta 352 |
| 323v      | Correndo giù del monte a le chiar'onde      | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Patteta 352             |
| 327r      | Di diavol vecchia femmina ha natura         | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Patteta 352                                    |
| 327r      | Fortuna adversa, del mio ben nimica         | Donato da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )      | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204                                                 |
| 328r      | Volgendo i suo' begli occhi invèr le fiamme | Donato da Firenze<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )      | Madrigal |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Plut. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Patteta 352                       |
| 332r      | Passando con pensier per un boschetto       | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Caccia   | Sq, Pit                 | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Marucelliana 155, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Patteta 352                  |
| 336v      | La neve e l'ghiaccio e' venti d'oriente     | Guiglielmus de Francia<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Madrigal | Lo                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1041, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Ricc. 1118, Patteta 352, Chigi 142            |
| 337r      | Povero pellegrin salito al monte            | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Madrigal | Sq, Lo                  | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Plut. 43, Pal. 204, Parm. 1081, Chigi 300, Ricc. 1118, Patteta 352, Chigi 142  |
| 337r-v    | Mai non serò contento imaginando            | Franco Sacchetti<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )       | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Patteta 352                                    |
| 338r-v    | Né te né altra voglio amar giammai          | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Magl. 1040, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Paris 554, Patteta 352 |
| 341r      | Non creder, donna, che nesuna sia           | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Ballata  | Sq, FP, Pit             | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1040, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Ricc. 1118, Chigi 142, Paris 554, Patteta 352 |
| 342r      | Lasso s'io fu' già preso                    | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Patteta 352             |
| 342v-343r | Innamorato pruno                            | Franco Sacchetti<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )       | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Patteta 352 |
| 345v      | State su, donne! Che debian noi fare?       | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Caccia   | Lo                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Magl. 1041, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Patteta 352, Chigi 142                        |
| 346r-v    | Chi vide più bel nero                       | Nicolò del Preposto<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> )    | Ballata  |                         | Ash. 574, Magl. 1041, Plut. 37, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Ricc. 1118, Paris 554, Patteta 352 |
| 347v      | Perché virtù fa l'uom costante e forte      | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Franco Sacchetti</i> ) | Ballata  | FP                      | Ash. 574, Plut. 37, Pal. 204, Chigi 300, Chigi 142, Paris 554, Patteta 352                         |
| 518r      | Con gli occhi assai ne miro                 | Francesco degli Organi<br>( <i>Cino Rinuccini</i> )   | Ballata  | Sq, Florence 5, FP, Pit | Ricc. 1118, Chigi 142, Pal. 204, Plut. 37, Paris 554, Patteta 352                                  |



## Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale 43<sup>6</sup>

Paper. 15th–17th centuries. Northern Italy. 134 folios. 220 × 150 mm. Composite manuscript (eight independent and unrelated codices). Modern foliation. Binding: First half of 19th century, parchment and crate paper. It is the first unit, fols. 1–12, that contains the poetic collection relevant to the present study. Unit I: 12 folios, 210 × 145 mm with some irregularity in height. Two gatherings (quatern + bifolio). Single column (except fol. 7v where one text is copied in two columns), un-ruled. Transcribed by two (or possibly four hands): Scribe A (moderately elegant chancery script), fols. 1r–8v; Scribe B (simple cursive), fols. 7v and 9r–12v.<sup>7</sup> Contents: 14 strombotti, 12 ballate (eight pluristrophic), one sonnet, three lyric texts with unidentifiable genre (two of which are fragmentary), Latin prose (f. 8). All lyrics are anonymous. five ballate and two strambotti have concordances in Magl. 1078.

Contains three ballate with musical concordances in the first unit. The ballate are copied consecutively in a single layer of scribal activity that extends from fol. 5r to fol. 7v, alongside other ballate that have no known musical concordances. No reference to musical settings.

| Fol. | Incipit                                    | Composer               | Musical concordances                    | Text concordances                     |
|------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 6v   | Con lagrime bagnandome                     | Johannes Ciconia       | Q 15, Mancini, Pit, Pad 656, Paris 4379 | Ricc. 1764, Paris 1069, Bologna 22.14 |
| 6v   | Poi che da te mi convien partir via        | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, FP, Gro, Lo, Reina                  |                                       |
| 7r   | Che pena è questa' al cor che si non posso | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, FP, Pit, Paris 4917, Fa             | Genoa 28, Ricc. 2786 <sup>11</sup>    |

## Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, XIV Lat. 223 (4340)

Paper. 15th century(?). 220 × 295 mm. 78 folios. Frame ruling, dry-point. Format varies depending on contents: double column (read horizontally for sonnets and vertically for other texts) for lyric poetry, single column for prose. Modern foliation and pagination. Single hand, (simple, somewhat sloppy cursiva script). No decoration, no colored ink, sparse rubrics. 19th century binding: half leather. Contents: Poems by Petrarch (sonnets and a few canzoni), Boccaccio, Giovanni Quirini (and correspondents; sonnets, ballate,

canzoni), Giovanni Dondi d'Orologio (and correspondents; sonnets, ballate, madrigals); Boccaccio, *Vita Petrarcae*; Dondi, *Iter Romanum* and *Epistule*.

Contains two song texts copied consecutively. Poems are incorporated into a section of madrigals and ballate by Giovanni Dondi d'Orologio that begins on fol. 34v. No reference to musical settings.

| Fol. | Incipit                                    | Composer               | Musical concordances                    | Text concordances                     |
|------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 6v   | Con lagrime bagnandome                     | Johannes Ciconia       | Q 15, Mancini, Pit, Pad 656, Paris 4379 | Ricc. 1764, Paris 1069, Bologna 22.14 |
| 6v   | Poi che da te mi convien partir via        | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, FP, Gro, Lo, Reina                  |                                       |
| 7r   | Che pena è questa' al cor che si non posso | Francesco degli Organi | Sq, FP, Pit, Paris 4917, Fa             | Genoa 28, Ricc. 2786 <sup>11</sup>    |

\* Rubrics transcribed semi-diplomatically from manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> The script classifications follow as closely as possible the system laid out by Albert Derolez in *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> G. B. Ristori, “Passatempo poetici d’antichi notai,” *Miscellanea fiorentina di erudizione e storia* 1 (1886) and F. Alberto Gallo, “The Musical and Literary Tradition of 14th Century Poetry Set to Music,” in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed., Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 57.

<sup>3</sup> Parchment folio.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.mirabileweb.it> (date accessed May 9, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> See Gianluca D’Agostino, “La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento: una revisione per dati e problemi. (L’area toscana),” in *Col dolce suon che da te piove: studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo in memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa-Barezzani (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), 393–5.

<sup>6</sup> For a more extensive description of this manuscript that provides information on all eight codices, see Emilio Lippi, “Su un autografo di Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti,” *Studi trevisani: bollettino degli istituti di cultura del Comune di Treviso* II /4 (1985): 117–26. Trev. 43 is also described by Vittorio Cian in his article “Ballate e strambotti del sec. XV tratti da un codice trevisiano,” *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 4 (1884). Lippi amends and corrects some of Cian’s description. Nevertheless, the earlier article is still a useful resource, particularly for its edition of the lyrics in the manuscript’s first codex.

<sup>7</sup> Cian identifies four different scribes active within this first codex. I agree with Emilio Lippi’s more recent analysis that the three different chancery hands likely belong to a single scribe writing at three separate moments with different pens. While there are minor variations in appearance between the three hands, the style and *ductus* remains remarkably consistent, as do certain features such as the alternating use of the *d rotunda* borrowed from *littera textualis* and a *mercantesca*-like *d* with vertical ascender and rounded eye and use of both the straight (*cancelleresca*) and circular (*mercantesca*) *s*.

## Appendix 3

### The Complete Extant Contents of Amelio Bonaguasi's *Zibaldone*<sup>1</sup>

| Fol.               | Old fol. | Incipit                                           | Rubric                                                                                                                                                | Poet | Genre   |
|--------------------|----------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|---------|
| Florence<br>61 62r | 117r     | [Heroides, trans. by Ceffi]                       | Comincia il p(er)<br>lagho sopra lepistole<br>dovidio nasone<br>vulga(r)icate i(n)<br>lingua fiore(n)tina<br>dal prudentissimo<br>huomo s(er) alberto | Ovid |         |
| 96v                | 150v     | De p(er) pieta no(n) mess(er)<br>damor dura       |                                                                                                                                                       |      | Ballata |
| 97r                | 151r     | Sio no(n) rimiro do(n)na il tuo<br>bel viso       |                                                                                                                                                       |      | Ballata |
| 97r                | 151r     | Do(n)na cor mi fuggi avanti                       |                                                                                                                                                       |      | Ballata |
| 97v                | 151v     | La vecchia damor ma biasimata                     |                                                                                                                                                       |      | Ballata |
| 97v                | 151v     | Da poi chaltra alegrezza aver<br>damore           |                                                                                                                                                       |      | Ballata |
| 97v                | 151v     | Giovine bella col visaggio chiaro                 |                                                                                                                                                       |      | Sonnet  |
| 98r                | 152r     | O [rett]a lalma mia                               |                                                                                                                                                       |      | Ballata |
| 98r                | 152r     | Nel bel prato donzelle                            |                                                                                                                                                       |      | Ballata |
| 98v                | 152v     | Duolsi la vita e lanima                           |                                                                                                                                                       |      | Ballata |
| 98v                | 152v     | Donna no(n) e virtu ma crudelta                   |                                                                                                                                                       |      | Ballata |
| 98v                | 152v     | De p(re)nder do(n)na amor<br>pieta che ti piaccia |                                                                                                                                                       |      | Ballata |
| 99r                | 153r     | Si com ai fatto a me                              |                                                                                                                                                       |      | Ballata |

|                       |      |                                                                                                            |                                   |                     |               |
|-----------------------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| 99r                   | 153r | De no(n) me li nasco(n)der gli occhi belli                                                                 |                                   |                     | Ballata       |
| 99r                   | 153r | Nasciesti p(er) mia guerra e p(er) mia pacie                                                               |                                   |                     | Ballata       |
| 99r                   | 153r | Fanciulla tu mi guardi                                                                                     |                                   |                     | Ballata       |
| 99v                   | 153v | Otto cattivi si van p(er) la via                                                                           |                                   |                     | Ballata       |
| 100r                  | 154r | No(n) p(er) disio ma per celar lamore                                                                      |                                   |                     | Ballata       |
| 100r                  | 154r | No(n) piu diro giamai chosi faro                                                                           |                                   |                     | Ballata       |
| 100r                  | 154r | Ciascun faccia p(er) se                                                                                    |                                   | Pucci?, Soldanieri? | Ballata       |
| <b>Magl. 1040 48r</b> | 155r | Ne te ne altra voglio amar gia mai                                                                         | Ballata dolorosa piena dj martiri | Franco Sacchetti    | Ballata       |
| 48r                   | 155r | De p(e)rche maj tradito                                                                                    |                                   |                     | Frottola?     |
| 48r                   | 155r | Amor p(er)che mi fai morir amando                                                                          |                                   |                     | Ballata       |
| 48v                   | 155v | Che farai giovinetta                                                                                       |                                   |                     | Ballata       |
| 48v                   | 155v | Di sospirar sovente                                                                                        |                                   |                     | Ballata       |
| 49r                   | 156r | [ ... ] ben chi ti voglia                                                                                  |                                   |                     | Ballata       |
| 49r                   | 156r | Dese pietra nel gli occhi tuoi dimora                                                                      |                                   |                     | Sonnet        |
| 49r                   | 156r | Quando madon(n)a escie(n) laman delletto                                                                   | Sonetto                           | Cecco Angiolieri    | Sonnet        |
| 49r                   | 156r | Dedinebrot ove il gran podere                                                                              |                                   |                     | Sonnet        |
| 49r                   | 156r | Ecclesia facho xxo capo dice gli p(re)se i egli doni / aciecano gli occhi disavj                           |                                   |                     | Gnomic saying |
| 49r                   | 156r | Nulla cosa e piu disave(n)turata di coluj il qual [ ... ] / nulla adversitate adiven(n)e disse met [ ... ] |                                   |                     | Gnomic saying |
| 49r                   | 156r | Tal testimo(n) ciaiuti Se(m)pre mai / il fu ve(n)duto trenta danaj.                                        |                                   |                     | Gnomic saying |
| 49r                   | 156r | S(anctus) agustin(us) Dificilis e(st) se ip(su)m vi(n)cere q(uam) celu(m) (et) t(er)ra(m) creare.          |                                   |                     | Gnomic saying |
| 49r                   | 156r | Se stesso vi(n)cere (et) piu malagievole / che crear cielo (et) terra [ ... ]                              |                                   |                     | Gnomic saying |
| 49v                   | 156v | I son donna diletta                                                                                        |                                   |                     | Ballata       |
| 49v                   | 156v | Dapoi chi fuj lontan di tua bellezza                                                                       |                                   |                     | Ballata       |
| 49v                   | 156v | Je ne vos am ne croy ne dutte fort                                                                         |                                   |                     | Bergerette    |

|     |      |                                              |                      |
|-----|------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 49v | 156v | Donna sanzamor fa fatti con dio              | Ballata              |
| 50r | 157r | Jusque atant que ma pas soyt fineya          | Bergerette           |
| 50r | 157r | Nete dotter mon dous amis                    | Bergerette           |
| 50r | 157r | Si vuos playsoyt q(ue) je fasse enlyesse     | Rondel               |
| 50r | 157r | Se vos saves choma(n)t amour me mayne        | Rondel               |
| 50r | 157r | Bien la pert qui la done                     | Rondel               |
| 50v | 155v | Cho(n) pieta merze adima(n)djo               | Ballata              |
| 50v | 157v | Pulzella gra(n) villania                     | Ballata              |
| 50v | 157v | Dun piacente soridere                        | Canzonetta           |
| 51r | 158r | Piu bella don(n)a no(n) vidj gia maj         | Ballata              |
| 51r | 158r | De quant bone ore fu nes chi samie           | Ballete              |
| 51r | 158r | Ello mio cor sinchina/o bella vo dichando    | Ballata              |
| 51r | 158r | Ello mio chor sinchina/oy merze vadema(n)djo | Ballata              |
| 51r | 158r | Lo giorno chi no(n)vi veggio mamietta        | Ballata              |
| 51v | 158v | Entraj allo giardino dello rose              | Ballata              |
| 51v | 158v | Bergereta ciaschu(n) vos pria                | Chanson              |
| 51v | 158v | Damor non partiraj may                       | Fragment             |
| 51v | 158v | Elasse pour quoy mestre derodes              | Rondel               |
| 51v | 158v | Peront men lroye maa douse dame              | Ballete              |
| 51v | 158v | En paradis va quy abelle amie                | Ballete              |
| 51v | 158v | Varlet qua moy parlor no(n) osas             | Pluristrophic rondel |
| 52r | 159r | Mes solars uses les ay au martier            | Pluristrophic rondel |
| 52r | 159r | En lerbetta verdoyant fet ben gioier         | Pluristrophic rondel |
| 52r | 159r | Giaj lalo lalo laloetta                      | Pluristrophic rondel |
| 52r | 159r | Ansi la doy om memer samietta                | Romanza              |
| 52r | 159r | Ge le doy doy bien porter                    | Pluristrophic rondel |
| 52v | 159v | Gioyna filhetta fay ton amj demoy            | Romanza              |

|     |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                             |                         |
|-----|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 52v | 159v | Giamays no(n) iray alboy laflor<br>culhir                                                                                                                                                                 |                             | Pluristrophic<br>rondel |
| 52v | 159v | Bella tries vostre avoyr<br>bergeyron bergeyron                                                                                                                                                           |                             | Pluristrophic<br>rondel |
| 52v | 159v | Gay le cuer gay egiolet                                                                                                                                                                                   |                             | Romanza                 |
| 52v | 159v | Marcies la rosiosa de gios le<br>paymant orla doubles                                                                                                                                                     |                             | Pluristrophic<br>rondel |
| 52v | 159v | Mirfa loridayna mirflorion                                                                                                                                                                                |                             | Pluristrophic<br>rondel |
| 53r | 160r | Bien lapert qui lapert qui ladone                                                                                                                                                                         |                             | Pluristrophic<br>rondel |
| 53r | 160r | Ay ay lorin lorin ay lorinetta                                                                                                                                                                            |                             | Pluristrophic<br>rondel |
| 53r | 160r | Est il ore du venir est il ore dous<br>amis                                                                                                                                                               |                             | Pluristrophic<br>rondel |
| 53r | 160r | Checchame facci don(n)a i son<br>c(on)tento                                                                                                                                                               |                             | Ballata                 |
| 53r | 160r | Endespit du mal dizans                                                                                                                                                                                    |                             | Chanson                 |
| 53v | 160v | Robin turulura                                                                                                                                                                                            |                             | Pluristrophic<br>rondel |
| 53v | 160v | Elas je more pour amours                                                                                                                                                                                  |                             | Romanza                 |
| 53v | 160v | Il giovane che vuol trovar onore                                                                                                                                                                          | Antonio Pucci               | Sonnet                  |
| 53v | 160v | Si jay rien fait qui soyt vous<br>desplasa(n)se (?)                                                                                                                                                       |                             | Rondel                  |
| 53v | 160v | Mout chonvie(n)t depoyna<br>endurer                                                                                                                                                                       |                             | Rondel                  |
| 54r | 161r | [ ... ] voler chun chaval sia ben<br>p(er)fetto                                                                                                                                                           |                             | Sonetto<br>caudato      |
| 54r | 161r | Adieu amoretes adieu vos<br>coamant                                                                                                                                                                       |                             | Romanza?                |
| 54r | 161r | Adieu fines amoretes vous<br>chamant                                                                                                                                                                      |                             | Romanza?                |
| 54r | 161r | Dapoi chaltra alegreza aver<br>damore                                                                                                                                                                     |                             | Ballata                 |
| 54r | 161r | Do(n)na lanimo tuo pur fugie<br>amore                                                                                                                                                                     |                             | Ballata                 |
| 54v | 161v | Ingratitudo est vriens [sic]<br>desicchans fons / Pietatis et<br>Misericordie / Discretio est<br>mater o(mn)ium virtutum / Et<br>Ingratitudo est radix o(mn)ium<br>malorum [reading by D. De<br>Robertis] | Parole di santo<br>bernardo |                         |
| 54v | 161v | Trop. Male. vie. git. en. envie                                                                                                                                                                           |                             |                         |

|     |      |                                                                                                                  |                                   |                                   |                           |
|-----|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 54v | 161v | Sio piaccio amme ne fo ispiatier<br>altruj                                                                       |                                   |                                   |                           |
| 54v | 161v | Tu che lopere altruj vuoj<br>giudicare                                                                           |                                   |                                   | Madrigal                  |
| 54v | 161v | Amor me tient emoy chonforta                                                                                     |                                   |                                   | Fragment                  |
| 55r | 162r | Gentil madon(n)a sa(n)za<br>alcu(n) tintume                                                                      | Sonetto                           |                                   | Irregular<br>form         |
| 55r | 162r | Parche la vita mia                                                                                               |                                   |                                   | Ballata<br>(siciliana)    |
| 55r | 162r | Son(n)o fu che me rappe [sic]<br>don(n)a mia                                                                     | Ceciliana                         |                                   | Strambotto<br>sicilianano |
| 55r | 162r | Levati dalla mia porta                                                                                           | Ceciliana                         |                                   | Ballata                   |
| 55r | 162r | Anche sono vaghiacca di voj                                                                                      | sonetto                           |                                   | Sonetto<br>caudato        |
| 55v | 162v | Valletto se mamate siate saggio                                                                                  | Napoletana                        |                                   | Ottava<br>siciliana       |
| 55v | 162v | La me(n)te mi riprende                                                                                           |                                   |                                   | Ballata                   |
| 56r | 163r | Dante un sospiro messagier del<br>core                                                                           | Guido cavalcanti a<br>dante       | Guido<br>Cavalcanti               | Sonetto                   |
| 56r | 163r | Un modo cia arengnar fralla<br>gente                                                                             |                                   | Bindo Bonichi                     | Sonetto<br>caudato        |
| 56r | 163r | Ecclesia facho [sic] xxo capo<br>dice chelgli prensenti / egli donj<br>acciechano gliocchi de savi               |                                   |                                   | Gnomic<br>saying          |
| 56r | 163r | Nulla cosa (et) piu disave(n)<br>turata di coluj al q(u)ale / nulla<br>aversitade adiven(n)e dise met<br>[ ... ] |                                   |                                   | Gnomic<br>saying          |
| 56r | 163r | S(anctus) agustin(us). /<br>difficili(us) e(st) se ip(su)m<br>vince(re) q(uam) celu(m) (et)<br>terra(m) create.  |                                   |                                   | Gnomic<br>saying          |
| 56r | 163r | Chi tti ride di bocca (et) no(n) ti<br>fidare / chette traditore                                                 |                                   |                                   | Gnomic<br>saying          |
| 56r | 163r | Chi tingan(n)a duna ispan(n)a<br>no(n)ti fidare alla can(n)a                                                     |                                   |                                   | Gnomic<br>saying          |
| 56r | 163r | Due kavalier cortesi e dun<br>paraggio                                                                           | Messer palamides dj<br>bellendote | Rustico Filippi                   | Sonnet                    |
| 56r | 163r | Poi che vi piace chio deggia<br>co(n)tare                                                                        | Risposta                          | Bondie<br>Dietaiuti da<br>Firenze | Sonnet                    |
| 56v | 163v | Tre giovan son piacenti e(t)<br>saggi                                                                            | Adrian(us)                        |                                   | Sonetto<br>rinterzato     |
| 56v | 163v | P(er)che noi siamo al tuo parer<br>selvaggi                                                                      | Frate anton da pisa               | Anton da Pisa                     |                           |



|     |      |                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                |                  |                 |
|-----|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 56v | 163v | No(n) si spogli dell'aver del mondo                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                |                  | Quatrain        |
| 56v | 163v | Ovel saver el sen(n)o e la gra(n) deza                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                |                  | Sonnet          |
| 56v | 163v | Don(n)a mia no(n) vedesti coluj                                                                          | Guido chavalcanti                                                                                                                                              | Guido Cavalcanti | Sonnet          |
| 57r | 164r | Voi che portate la sembia(n)za humile                                                                    | Sonetto di dante                                                                                                                                               | Dante            | Sonnet          |
| 57r | 164r | Settu coluj chai tratto sove(n)te                                                                        | Risposto delle don(n)e a dante                                                                                                                                 | Dante            | Sonnet          |
| 57r | 164r | Qui bona neligit (et) mala diligit i(n)trat abissu(m). / Nulla pecunia nulla pote(n)tia liberat ip(su)m. |                                                                                                                                                                |                  | Gnomic saying   |
| 57r | 164r | Tutti vitij i(n)vecchiano co(n) uomo / solo la varitia ringiovaniscie                                    |                                                                                                                                                                |                  | Gnomic saying   |
| 57r | 164r | Gli altruj vitij abbiamo agli occhi / E nostri dopo alle spalle                                          |                                                                                                                                                                |                  | Gnomic saying   |
| 57r | 164r | Coluj che no(n) a figliuolj e(t) libera e(t) sana di disave(n)tura                                       |                                                                                                                                                                |                  | Gnomic saying   |
| 57r | 164r | Indi spiro sanzessermi p(er)fertu                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                | Dante            | Terzine         |
| 57r | 164r | Uno amoroso isguardo spiritale                                                                           | Guido chavalcanti                                                                                                                                              | Guido Cavalcanti | Sonnet          |
| 57v | 164v | Lasso dogni balda(n)za                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                |                  | Ballata         |
| 57v | 164v | Signor che vuol far libera lagrazia                                                                      | Sonetto che uomo no(n) dee fare ste(n)tare la / grazia nel per s(er)vigio chelglia p(ro)messa di fare / all'amicho e(t) me(n)tre checcivivi s(er)vi be costumj |                  | Sonetto caudato |
| 57v | 164v | La piggior signora che uomo avere                                                                        | Sonetto chenone puzzo che diletame mesco[ ... ]o co(n) cosa / [ ... ] posta i(n) alto                                                                          |                  | Sonnet          |

<sup>1</sup> Genre classifications for the Italian poems and readings of incipits and rubrics for the fragment in Magl. 1040 are based the inventory provided in Domenico De Robertis, "Un codice di rime dantesche ora ricostruito (Strozzi 620)," *Studi Danteschi* 36 (1959). Genre classifications for the French poems are taken from Rudolf Adelbert Meyer, *Französische Lieder aus der Florentiner Handschrift Strozzi-Magliabecchiana, cl. VII 1040: Versuch einer kritischen Ausgabe*, vol. 8 in *Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (M. Niemeyer, 1907). Incipits and rubrics transcribed semi-diplomatically. Poet and genre not specified in manuscript unless indicated in rubric.

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