

Madrigal, Lauda, and Local Style in Trecento Florence

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I

The flowering of vernacular traditions in the arts of fourteenth-century Italy, as well as the phenomenal vitality of Italian music in later centuries, tempts us to scan the trecento for the earliest signs of distinctly Italianate styles of music. But while the cultivation of indigenous poetic genres of madrigal and caccia, accorded polyphonic settings, seems to reflect Dante's exaltation of Italian vernacular poetry, the music itself presents us with a more culturally refracted view. At the chronological extremes of the fourteenth century, musical developments in trecento Italy appear to have been shaped by the more international traditions and tastes associated with courtly and scholastic milieux, which often combined to form a conduit for the influence of French artistic polyphony. During the latter third of the century both forces gained strength in Florentine society, and corresponding shifts among Italian patrons favored the importation of French literary and musical culture.¹ The cultivation of the polyphonic ballata after ca. 1370 by Landini and his contemporaries was coupled with the adoption of three-part texture from French secular music, and the appropriation of certain French notational procedures that facilitated a greater emphasis on syncopation,

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¹ On the shift in patronage and musical style during the late trecento, see Michael P. Long, "Francesco Landini and the Florentine Cultural Elite," *Early Music History* 3 (1983), 83–99, and James Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350–1600* (Berkeley, CA, 1986), 22–36.

imitation, and motivic writing.² These new elements were incompatible with the indigenous style of the two-part madrigal and caccia, and the decline of the latter in favor of a newer form and style more susceptible to interaction with French musical culture was matched by a quickening interest in French forms and styles. Whether through contact with the papal court in Avignon, or at the behest of francophile patrons in Italy, Italian composers like Philipoctus de Caserta and Matteo de Perugia thoroughly embraced the *aere gallico*, while Italian musical style appears to have been subsumed into a more hybrid, international style by northern visitors to Italy like Johannes Ciconia.³ The fate of Italian style polyphony in the fifteenth century is by no means clear at this point, but its complex dialogue with French music during the late trecento and early quattrocento wrought an irrevocable transformation, and its traces are to be variously sought among settings of Latin paraliturgical texts, unwritten, improvisatory practices, and hybrid forms that range in style from northern polyphony to simple, homophonic settings of lauda texts.⁴

The aristocratic, scholastic, and international influences appear also to have attended the rise of trecento polyphony a century earlier. The first generation of trecento composers moved among the northern Italian courts of Milan, Verona, and Padua, where French courtly song was cultivated,⁵ and French and Italian elements mingle even in

² Brooks Toliver, "Improvisation in the Madrigals of the Rossi Codex," *Acta Musicologica* LXIV (1992), 176; Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, 24–27. The concern on the part of Italian theorists and composers with French theory (especially notation) was ongoing throughout the trecento; for an excellent discussion of this complex issue, see M. Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy: Notational Styles, Scholarly Traditions, and Historical Circumstances," (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1981), Chs. II–V, and F. A. Gallo, *La teoria della notazione in Italia dall'fine del xiii all'inizio del xv secolo* (Bologna, 1966), Chs. 12–13. On notation and the role of scribal habits see John Nádas, "The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the Transmission of Trecento Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXIV (1981), 393–427.

³ Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, 31.

⁴ Nino Pirrotta, "The Oral and Written Traditions of Music," in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, MA, 1984), 72–79; Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, Ch. 2. The polyphonic lauda repertory of the early fifteenth century is discussed in Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants: the Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford, 1992), 164–76.

⁵ F. A. Gallo, *Musica nel castello: Trovatori, libri, oratori nelle corti italiane dall'xiii al xv secolo* (Bologna, 1992), esp. Ch. 1 where Gallo shows that during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the Veneto was a center of Provençal poetic and musical activity. See also Long, "Trecento Italy," in *Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. James McKinnon (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1991), 249–52. In this regard see Kurt von Fischer, "Portraits' von Piero, Giovanni da Firenze und Jacopo da Bologna in einer Bologneser-Handschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts?" *Musica Disciplina* XXVII (1973), 61–64, in particular the miniature (reproduced in Long, "Trecento Italy" 250), which depicts the three polyphonic composers along with 'Daniele,' apparently the troubadour singled out for praise in Dante's treatise on vernacular poetry. Long suggests that

the oldest surviving collection of trecento polyphony, the Rossi Codex.⁶ The association of north Italian musicians with music theory was probably fostered in the scholastic environments of the great universities in Padua and Bologna, and theoretical works such as the *Pomerium* of Marchettus de Padua (ca. 1320) and Jacopo da Bologna's *L'arte del biscanto misurato* demonstrate a familiarity with French notational practice.⁷ Instead of the improvisatory elements evident in the works of early Florentine composers (including Giovanni da Cascia), one finds in the more theoretically schooled artistry and contrapuntal craft of indigenous northerners like Piero and Jacopo a compositional aesthetic closer to French polyphony. This is evident, for example, in Piero's fondness for canonic writing, Jacopo's skillful control of polyphonic devices, particularly imitation, through which his tenor parts are rendered more independent and integrated into the polyphonic texture, and the dominant tenor structure that differentiates the madrigals of the Rossi Codex from the later Florentine madrigal.⁸ It

Padua or the Veneto was also the center for interaction between French and Italian *artes poeticae*; "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," 22. Haar opposed the idea that early Trecento polyphony was significantly influenced by the art of the troubadours; *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, 2–3, but later (26) notes the widespread interest in French culture and the "gente costumata, a la francesca/cantar, danzar a la provenzalesca."

⁶ *Ibid.*, 25–26; and N. Pirrotta, ed., *Il Codice Rossi 215: Studio introduttivo ed edizione in facsimile* (Lucca, 1992), 78–113; see in particular the bilingual madrigals (nos. 17 & 27; pp. 83–84, 87), the deliberate adoption of *senaria gallica* (major prolation, identified in the Codex by "sg" or "g") in certain works (109–10), and the allusion to the use of this style in the title of the ballata "Amor mi fa cantar a la francesca" (84–85). The Paduan jurist Antonio da Tempo devoted a chapter of his treatise on vernacular poetry (ca. 1336) to bilingualism, then in fashion among poets and musicians; see F. A. Gallo, "Bilinguismo poetico e bilinguismo musicale nel madrigale trecentesco," in *L'Arts nova italiana del Trecento*, IV (Certoaldo, 1978), 237–43.

⁷ Long, "Trecento Italy," 252; F. Alberto Gallo, "Marchetto da Padova," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), vol. 11, 662–63, and "Marchettus in Padua und die 'franco-venetische' Musik des frühen Trecento," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XXXI (1974), 52–53, where Marchetto's debt to Franconian notation is acknowledged; K. von Fischer, "Jacopo da Bologna," *The New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 9, 449. Although Pirrotta disputes the French connection in Marchetto's writings, he alludes to the cultural influence exercised throughout the Italian peninsula by the French kings in Sicily, and notes that the dedications of Marchetto's *Lucidarium* (ca. 1309–18) and *Pomerium* (ca. 1318–26) link these works, respectively, to Charles II and Robert d'Anjou of Sicily; "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars Nova," *Musica Disciplina* IX (1955), 57–71. Elsewhere Pirrotta reminds us of the distinction made in Marchetto's *Pomerium* between a "modus cantandi gallice" and a "modus cantandi italice," and in the anonymous *Capitulum* (of probable Veneto origin) between "aer gallicum" and "aer italicum"; *Il codice Rossi 215*, 109.

⁸ Tolliver briefly reviews the history of the dominant tenor view of the early madrigal in "Improvisation in the Madrigals of the Rossi Codex," 174.

is useful at this point to recall Pirrotta's observation that fourteenth-century polyphony, both Italian and French, was based upon a "merging of formal elements and expressive ideals deriving from the old feudal tradition of troubadour song with the more technical [French] tradition . . . of polyphonic music."⁹ In short, Trecento polyphony arose and declined within artistic environments that fostered a hybridization between native and foreign musical styles and practices. Mid-century developments in trecento polyphony were hosted, however, by a radically different environment, one less receptive to foreign musical influences, and more favorable to indigenous and local musical styles.

II

Judging from the circumstances under which trecento polyphony arose, mid-century Florence seems an unlikely place to have fostered the next generation of polyphonists. The city lacked dynastic residences or aristocratic establishments for patronage, its fledgling university was small and parochial in comparison to those in Bologna and Padua,¹⁰ and even the great Dominican *studium* at Santa Maria Novella, though receptive to Parisian scholasticism in other respects, showed little interest in cultivating polyphony until over two centuries later.¹¹ The strongly mercantile, democratic, and urban character of Florence provided an environment for the creation and patronage of art fundamentally different from that of northern Italy. Only after about 1370, when a new generation of Florentine composers led by Francesco Landini was supplanting an older one, did changes in Florentine politics and society begin to favor the formation of a more traditional aristocratic patronage structure.¹²

The early Florentine polyphonists lived in a society that was intensely communal, interactive, and pluralistic. The church, the guilds,

⁹ "Ars Nova and Stil Nuovo," in *Music and Culture*, 35–36. Pirrotta's observation appears to be upheld by the recourse of northern, first-generation Italian composers to polytextuality (Jacopo's "Aquil'altera," and the extant motets of Jacopo and Marchetto), three-voice madrigals and motets (Jacopo's "Lo lume vostro" and "Lux purpurata," Marchetto's "Ave regina celorum/Mater innocencie/[Ite missa est]"), hocket, and acrostics and *senhals* (the "Anna" madrigals of Jacopo, Piero, and Giovanni).

¹⁰ Gene Brucker, "Florence and its University, 1348–1434," in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe*, ed. T. Rabb and J. Seigel (Princeton, 1969), 220–36; a city ordinance designed to bolster attendance at its own struggling university forbade Florentine students from attending university in either Bologna or Padua (234).

¹¹ Frank D'Accone, "Repertory and Performance Practice in Santa Maria Novella at the Turn of the 17th Century," in *A Festschrift for Albert Seay*, ed. M. Grace (Colorado Springs, 1982), 71.

¹² Long, "Francesco Landini and the Florentine Cultural Élite," 83–99.

the Guelph party, religious companies, the Merchant Court, ecclesiastical tribunals, courts of feudatories, and the councils of parishes and rural communities, all quasi-public bodies, coexisted in a "loose, complex bundle of immunities, privileges, and liberties."¹³ Perhaps more than at any other time in its history, the society of late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century Florence was shaped by the tastes and attitudes of its merchants and artisans, who through family, business, and public life were strongly rooted in the life of the city. The lack of a strong university of international standing, indeed of any university at all until 1348, was certainly conditioned by the educational needs of most young Florentines, whose training for the entrepreneurial life of the city was obtained through a local network of abacus schools and guilds.¹⁴ Florentine composers, like Lorenzo Masini (the son of a second-hand clothing dealer) and Francesco Landini (the son of a local painter), often rose from the lower stratum of the middle class, and as professionals were associated not with a wealthy patron or great Cathedral, but churches and convents with a strong local orientation. Altogether it was a society that favored traditions more local and indigenous, and one in which the lines between sacred and secular, and between popular and elite were not so clearly drawn. This is perhaps most clearly revealed in the significant overlap between the city's local polyphonists and its lauda-singing confraternities.

In the Florentine repertoires of monophonic lauda and polyphonic madrigal, we seem at first glance to be viewing an expression of the late medieval dichotomy between oral and written traditions, between the minstrel's craft and the more learned *ars mensura*. But in Florence neither the two repertoires nor the environments that fostered them are so easily separated. Most Florentines certainly heard some lauda singing, and the clerics among the Florentine polyphonists could not have avoided contact with the laudesi services. Gherardello, a chaplain at the Cathedral during the 1340s, Lorenzo Masini, a canon at San Lorenzo ca. 1348–72, and, later in the century, friars Guilielmus de Francia at Santo Spirito and Andrea dei Servi at Santissima Annunziata all conducted their clerical duties within sight and sound of active laudesi companies. Nor was it unusual for a cleric, such as Gherardello, to be a member of a lay confraternity, and even to leave a bequest for a commemorative lauda vigil or Mass to be administered by the company, and with growing frequency throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the companies hired clerics

¹³ Marvin Becker, *Florence in Transition*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1967–68), ii, 16.

¹⁴ Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1988), 86.

to sing laude.¹⁵ By the time the earliest known polyphonists entered the scene, at least eleven laudesi companies were thriving in the city's major churches and convents, which in Florence tended to function as centers for all forms of artistic activity.¹⁶ The Florentine polyphonists were even more intimately connected to the companies through the tendency of many leading organist/composers to perform in the laudesi services of the city's largest company, the Company of Orsanmichele, and the minor polyphonists tended to be active members of the larger laudesi companies.

Nor were the companies unfamiliar with polyphonic practices. Two of the major sources for our scant collection of trecento Latin polyphony are Florentine laudarios. Illuminated service books belonging to the smaller companies of Santo Spirito (**Mgl**¹: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Banco Rari 18; early 14th century) and San Gilio (**Mgl**²: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Banco Rari 19; 1374) both contain an appendix of two- and three-part motets (ten pieces in all), intended for performance on major feast days.¹⁷ And it is clear from the company account books that the other Florentine companies, most of them larger, owned similar motet collections, some of them dating back to the early decades of the century.¹⁸ Less clear is whether the laudesi did or could perform these motets at this time. In 1349, the Cathedral Company of San Zanobi recorded a payment to the "biscantatori di San Lorenzo."¹⁹ This term usually designated a

¹⁵ Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 110, 119–39, 163.

¹⁶ The eleven known laudesi companies established in Florence between ca. 1270–1340 were associated with the churches of Santa Maria Novella, Santa Reparata (the Cathedral), San Gilio, San Lorenzo, San Marco, Santissima Annunziata, Santa Croce, Ognissanti, Santo Spirito, and Santa Maria del Carmine. The eleventh company, Orsanmichele, was a lay institution until 1415. On these institutions as sources of patronage for the arts, see M. Long, "Musical Tastes in Fourteenth-Century Italy," 126.

¹⁷ Most of these works have been edited in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Monaco, 1976), vol. 12, by K. von Fischer and F. A. Gallo, 107, 116–22, 125–28. All of the polyphonic works in **Mgl**¹ have been recently edited by B. Wilson in *The Florence Laudario: An Edition of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 18, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, 29 (Madison, WI, 1995), 120–27.

¹⁸ The Company of San Piero Martire, at the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella, recorded expenses in 1320 "per fare iscrivere certi motetti i[n] sul libro" (SMN 292, *Uscita*, 1313–1334, fo. 16r); in 1323 "per fare aseparare moteti per ma[n] dare a la cho[m]pagnia di Sancta Caterina a Pisa . . ."; and 1325 "per fare scrivere lauda e 'l motetto di Sa[n] Tommaso . . ."; Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 38 n. 8, 110 n. 147. On similar motet collections in fourteenth-century laudarios from Pisa (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8521) and Lucca (Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 93), see Agostino Ziino, "Una ignota testimonianza sulla diffusione del mottetto in Italia durante il XIV secolo," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* X (1975), 24–25.

¹⁹ F. D'Accone, "Le compagnie dei Laudesi in Firenze durante l'ars nova," *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento* 3 (Certaldo, 1970), 264.

pair of polyphonic singers, in this case probably boys who were receiving a clerical training, and throughout the fourteenth century the companies recorded payments to pairs of boy singers, or simply to “fanciulli che chantano.”²⁰ But from the fourteenth to the early fifteenth century pairs of musicians were the normal practice, not only for the Latin polyphony at the Cathedral and elsewhere, but in the laudesi company services where the pairs might be either two singers (often brothers or father/son pairs), or a singer and an instrumentalist.²¹ Moreover, this frequent pairing of musicians reflects a performing practice also consonant with the predominantly two-part texture of the trecento madrigal, a repertory that in Florence continued to be copied and, presumably, performed through the early part of the fifteenth century.²² Certainly it is the lingering of this late medieval practice in Florence that led Pirrotta to comment on the “closed and absolutely peculiar character of Florentine polyphony,” and D’Accone to the conclusion that “for a long time Florentine music remained faithful to its own stylistic traditions, admitting but reluctantly the influence of other regions.”²³ Clearly the advent of a newer style in the music of some late trecento composers like Landini did not immediately displace a more local style of composing and performing that had dominated Florentine polyphony earlier in the century.

Only in the very early fifteenth century do company records begin to indicate explicitly that their lauda repertory was being performed polyphonically, either by pairs of lay singers (a laudese and a “tenorista” who “held the tenor”), or by pairs of young *biscantatori* who entered the laudese circuit and freelanced among the companies for several seasons.²⁴ By 1412 the Company of Orsanmichele had begun the practice of retaining a resident singing master, at this time Bertino di Maestro Francesco, along with “due fanciulli biscantatori e laudesi.”²⁵ Here the mingling of polyphonic and laudesi practices is

²⁰ The account books of the Company of San Piero Martire record the oldest such payments, on several occasions in 1312 to “fanciulli che cantano” (SMN 292, fo. 1v), and again in 1330 to “due fanciulli che cantano” (Ibid., fo. 38r).

²¹ F. D’Accone, “Music and Musicians at Santa Maria del Fiore in the early Quattrocento,” *Scritti in onore di Luigi Ronga* (Milan, 1973), 99–126; Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, ch. 3, 147–49.

²² The strongest indication that older trecento polyphony was performed, and not merely preserved, in the early fifteenth century are the passages in Simone Prudenzi’s sonnets from *Il Saporetto* (c. 1415), ed. in S. Debenedetti, *Il “Solazzo”: contributi alla storia della novella, della poesia musicale e del costume del trecento* (Turin, 1922), and discussed by Pirrotta in “Back to Ars Nova Themes,” in *Kurt von Fischer: Essays in Musicology*, ed. T. Evans, trans. C. Skoggard (New York, 1989), 174, n. 38.

²³ N. Pirrotta, “Il Codice di Lucca III,” *Musica Disciplina* V (1951), 120; F. D’Accone, “Music and Musicians at Santa Maria del Fiore,” 115.

²⁴ Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 123, 136.

²⁵ OSM 20, fos. 84v, 158r; OSM 21, fo. 12r [Oct. 1412–Oct. 1413].

explicit, particularly since the two young polyphonists were sons of active laudesi, and the sons and fathers had sung together for the Companies of Orsanmichele and San Piero Martire during 1412–17, both as paired boys and as father/son pairs. However, there are signs that the technique of polyphonic performance may have become a part of the lauda singer's art prior to the fifteenth century. Andrea Stefani was a Florentine copyist, poet, and singer who composed not only polyphonic ballate and madrigals, but indicated in an autograph manuscript of about the year 1400 that he had set five laude to three-part polyphony.²⁶ Unfortunately we have only Andrea's word, and not his music. More compelling is the appearance of lauda collections bearing contrafacta indications that link lauda texts with the secular polyphonic repertory that circulated in late fourteenth-century Florence (see Table 1). The sources and the composers listed in Table 1 are overwhelmingly Florentine. The four sources of lauda texts with contrafacta indications (**C**, **P**, **R**¹, and **R**²) are all Florentine. Among the six central sources of trecento polyphony, the non-Florentine sources of secular polyphony (**PR** and **Man**) play a minor role, while the three great Florentine collections (**Sq**, **FP**, and **Pit**) claim the lion's share as sources of models for lauda texts (see Table 2).

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Of particular interest is the dominant role of the Squarcialupi Codex (**Sq**), which matches every reference in **FP**, **Pit**, and all but one in **Lo**, and is a unique source for a further eight models. This suggests that the compilers of **Sq** may have drawn on sources close to the Florentine lauda tradition, and may help explain how Antonio Squarcialupi, whose documented involvement with the city's two most prominent laudesi companies is discussed below, came into possession of the manuscript during the fifteenth century. The preferred musical models for lauda texts were clearly the secular ballate of Landini and his contemporary Florentines, and most of these are in two parts with text in both voices, indicating not only a strong preference for an indigenous texture and performing practice, but the likelihood that the musical borrowing was polyphonic.²⁷ Certainly it is no coincidence

²⁶ Bernard Toscani, "Contributi alla storia musicale delle laude dei Bianchi," *Studi musicali* IX (1980), 169. The style of Stefani's polyphonic laude, which are not extant, might be deduced from his extant secular works (2 ballate and 1 madrigal, ed. in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 10, 51–55), especially the simpler, note-against-note style of his ballata "I senti matutino."

²⁷ On the lauda contrafacta of the trecento, see von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen musik des Trecento and frühen Quattrocento* (Bern, 1956); *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 12, 188; Corsi, "Madrigali inediti," 329–40; and Elisabeth Diederichs, *Die Anfänge der mehrstimmige Lauda vom Ende des 14. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1986), 48–86.

TABLE 1
Lauda Contrafacta of Trecento Madrigals (M), Ballate (B), and Canzonette (Cz)

Lauda Text	Source ¹	Secular Text ²	Composer	Music ³	Source ⁴
Altro che te non voglio	C, 74r	Né te né altra voglio amar (S)	Landini	Cz, lost	Sq,FP,Pit,PR
Ami ciascun cristian	R ¹ , 60v	Alma, donna, chi t'ama	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Lo
Appress' al volto chiaro	R ¹ , 61r	Appress' un fiume chiaro	Giovanni da Firenze	M, 2 ²	Sq
A te ritorna piangendo	C, 291v	Cosa crudel m'ancide	Andrea da Firenze	B, 2 ²	Sq
Batista da Dio amato	C, 203v	De sospirar sovente	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq
Benedetto colui	[PMFC]	Benche partir da te	Niccolò da Perugia	B, 2 ²	Sq,Pit,Lo
Chi ama, in verità	P, 25r	Io vo' bene a chi vuol bene a me	Gherardello	B, 1 ¹	Sq
Ciascun ch' l' regno di Gesù	R ¹ , 59r	Poi che da te mi convien	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,Lo,PR
Ciascun ch' l' regno di Gesù	R ¹ , 61r	Non creder, donna (S)	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Pit
Ciascun fedel cristian	C, 196v	Per allegrezza del parlar	Landini	B, 2 ² , 2 ¹	Sq,FP,Lo
Come se' da laudar	R ² , 10v	Come tradir pensasti	Jacopo Panielato	B, 2 ²	Lo
Come se' da laudar	C, 208r	Né te né altra voglio amar (S)	Landini	Cz, lost	
Con securtà ritorna	C, 203r	Né te né altra voglio amar (S)	Landini	Cz, lost	
Creata fusti, o Vergine Maria	C, 71r	Questa fanciulla amor	Landini	B, 3 ² , 3 ¹	Sq,FP,Pit
Di virtù gratie e doni	C, 290r-v	Dè, volgi gli occhi	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP
Dolze Signore de'	C, 120r	Dolze fortuna, omai rendimi	Ciconia	B, 2 ² , 2 ¹	PadB,PC
Donna, s' t' son' partito	R ¹ , 59r	Donna, s' t' r'ò fallito	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Pit,Lo,PR,Man
El cor mi si divide	C, 291v	Cosa crudel m'ancide	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq
Laudian Giesù piatoso	C, 71r	Donna, che d'amor senta	Andrea da Firenze	B, 2 ²	Sq,Pit
Merzè ti chiamo con gran piatà	C, 299v	Arai tu mai piatà di me [sic]	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq
Mercè ti chiamo, vergine M.	C, 103r	Merzè ti chiamo, dolce anima	Anon.	B, 2 ¹	BU
Nel mezzo a due ladron	R ¹ , 61v	Nel mezzo già del mar (S)	Niccolò da Perugia	M, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Pit

TABLE I (continued)

Lauda Text	Source ¹	Secular Text ²	Composer	Music ³	Source ⁴
Non chreder, alma	C, 284r	Non chredere, donna	Anon.	B, 2 ²	Man
Nostra avocata se'	C, 32v, 126v	Dedutto se' a quel che mai	Anon.	B, 2 ² , 3 ²	Pz,BU
O falso amore	C, 121v	Va' pure, Amore	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Pit,Man
O Gesù Cristo padre	C, 36v	La bionda trezza	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP
O huom fatto da Dio	C, 107r	O chor del corpo mio	Anon.	B, 2 ²	Man
Or che non piangi	C, 36v	La bionda trezza	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP
O sacra stella, vergin umile	C, 115v	O rosa bella	Ciconia	B, 3 ² , 3 ¹	PC,RU ²
O Signor Iesù	C, 206r	Né te né altra voglio amar (S)	Landini	Cz, lost	
O Vergine Maria	P, 29r	Oretta, anima mia, per costei	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Pit
Per l'allegrezza del nostro Sig.	C, 175r	Per allegrezza del parlar	Landini	B, 2 ² , 2 ¹	Sq,FP,Lo
Per sua benignitate	C, 174r	Non al suo amante	Landini	M, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Pit,PR
Per noi ricompensare	[PMFC]	Non al suo amante	Jacopo da Bologna	M, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Pit,PR
Po' che da morte	R ¹ , 60r	Po' che partir convien	Landini	B, 3 ¹	Sq,FP,Pit
Po' che v' ho posto	R ¹ , 59v	Poi che da te mi convien	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Lo
Pregghiam Giesù con lieta ciera	C, 74v	Echo la primavera [<i>sic</i>]	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq
Pregghian la dolce Vergine	C, 204r	Altri n' arà la pena (S)	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq
Pregghian la dolce Vergine	C, 204r	Non creder, donna (S)	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Pit
Sempre laudata e benedetta	C, 204v	S'i' ti son stato	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Pit,PR,Man
Se tu l'iniquità osservarai	P, 23v	Se per durezza tu morir me fai	Landini	B, 2 ²	PadB
Se vuoi saper	C, 106v	S'avesse forza sdegno	Anon.	B, 2 ²	Man
Signiore mercè ti chieggio	C, 70v	Dio mi guardi di peggio	Bonaiuto Corsini?	B, 2 ²	Sq,Pit
Tutta giotosa Cristo	C, 241v	Tutta soletta si gìa	Niccolò da Perugia	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Pit
Tutta smarrita si va	C, 31r	Tutta soletta si gìa	Guilielmus de Francia	B, 2 ¹	Sq,FP,Pit
Vita, chi t'ama	R ¹ , 28v	Vita non è più miser'	Guilielmus de Francia	B, 2 ¹	Sq,FP,Pit
Volgi li occhi tuoi	C, 204v	Arai tu mai pietà di me [<i>sic</i>]	Landini	B, 2 ²	Sq,FP,Pit,PR

1. Abbreviations for lauda mss.:
- C Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, MS Chigiano L. VII. 266. Contains 700 laude copied down by the Florentine Filippo di Lorenzo Benci during c. 1448–1464, but many of them dating from the time of the Bianchi movement in Florence (1399–1400) in which Filippo's father (a wool merchant) participated.
- P Florence, B.N., Magliabechiano-Strozziano XXXVIII. 130, ed. G. Varanini, *Rime sacre* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1970). A private devotional book that belonged to Neri Pagliaresi (c. 1350–1406), secretary and confidante to St. Catherine of Siena. Among other devotional texts, it contains 15 laude copied down c. 1380–1408 and bearing the rubric "questa si canta come quella che comincia così . . . , or "cantasi questa. . . ."
- R¹ Florence, Ricc. 2871, discussed in G. Corsi, "Madrigali inediti del trecento," *Belfagor* XIV (1959), 329–40.
- R² Florence, Ricc. 2224
- PMFC Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol. XII, p. 188, where "Benedetto colui" and "Per noi ricompensare" are listed among the laude contrafacta. "Benedetto colui" is linked to Niccolò's "Benché partur" again in "Niccolò da Perugia," *The New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 13, 204, but the original sources of these contrafacta links have eluded the author.
2. (S) = poems by Franco Sacchetti
3. The larger number indicates the number of voices in the composition, the superscript number indicates the number of texted voices.
4. The sigla for the main corpus of trecento sources (Sq, FP, Pit, Lo, PR, and Man) are explained in the main list of abbreviations appended to this article; the other sources cited here are:
- BU Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2216
- PadB Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1115
- PC Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.a. frç. 4379
- Pz Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.a. frç. 4917
- RU^a Rome, Apostolica Urb. lat. 1411

TABLE 2

Sources of Models for Laude Contrafacta

Sq	Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi Codex)	34 (8 unica)
FP	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Panciatichiano 26	21
Pit	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ital. 568	18
Lo	London, British Museum, Add. 29987	8 (1 unicum)
PR	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.s. frç. 6771 (Reina Codex)	8
Man	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Cod. Mancini 184	6 (3 unica)

that the late-fourteenth-century appearance of contrafacta links between lauda texts and secular polyphony coincide with the rise of polyphonic ballata settings (the preferred source of contrafacta music), a link facilitated by the requisite compatibility of poetic forms.

III

These contrafacta links now lead us to the question of direct contact between the Florentine laudesi companies and the city's polyphonists. Several composers have been linked to the wealthy Company of San Zanobi at the Cathedral. The Cathedral chaplain Gherardello, a composer of both secular and liturgical polyphony, received payments from the company between 1343 and 1351, probably for clerical duties, and he was recorded on a membership list in 1351, as well.²⁸ During the early 1360s, Gherardello dined with the city's other leading musicians at the Florentine monastery of Santa Trinita, among them several who also had ties to the Cathedral and the Company of San Zanobi. Ser Filippo, a singer who was a guest at Santa Trinita in May, 1362 along with Gherardello and ser Niccolò del Proposto,²⁹ was probably also the ser Filippo recorded in 1336 as

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²⁸ SZ 2176, fasc. 11, *Registro di fratelli*, 1333–1357, unnumbered folios; an entry dated 10 May, 1351 lists “Ser Nicholo vochato S. Gherardello chapelano in Santa Reparata.”

²⁹ The suggestion that Ser Niccolò del Proposto of Perugia is identifiable with a Florentine lauda singer of the 1390s (von Fischer, “Niccolò da Perugia,” *The New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 13, 203) is unlikely for several reasons. The latter, a ser Niccolò d'Andrea Nacci, is mentioned numerous times as a lauda singer in the account books of the Company of San Piero Martire between 1395–1422, without a single reference to the titles “del Proposto” or “da Perugia.” This ser Niccolò was more likely a resident Dominican friar of Santa Maria Novella, for his active involvement in company affairs, including lauda singing and teaching grammar to children in a school maintained by the Company, was typical of this convent's unusually close relationship with its laudesi affiliate. Besides, Santa Maria Novella did not normally attract professional composers during the trecento, who otherwise without exception were associated with the laudesi companies in the more active musical centers at the Cathedral and Orsanmichele. More intriguing is the reference to a “Messer Niccolò Proposto” as a captain of the Company

a company member and Cathedral chaplain.³⁰ Among a number of organists who enjoyed the hospitality of the abbot of Santa Trinita was Niccolò Mazzuoli, also recorded among the “singers and players of laude” (*cantoribus et sonatoribus ad laudes*) at the Company of Orsanmichele in 1370–1376, and 1388, and as a *consigliere* for the Company of San Zanobi in 1397.³¹ A minor polyphonist of the following generation was Bonaiuto di Corsino, a painter of wedding chests, who was an active member and officeholder in the Company during 1375–97.³² And Bonaiuto was not the only guildsman among the Florentine composers, which should caution against too strict an association of Florentine polyphonic practice with a rarified clerical environment. On the contrary, the pluralistic and democratic character of trecento Florentine society was reflected in its polyphony. The music ranged from the polished works of acknowledged professionals like Gherardello to the avocational efforts of amateurs both skilled (Andrea Stefani) and unskilled (Jacopo Pianaiaio).³³ Its practitioners might be clerics bearing the title *magister* (Donato, Lorenzo, Gherardello), even high-ranking clerics like Andrea da Firenze, lay professionals like Landini, well-educated laymen in non-musical professions like Ser Feo,³⁴ or local artisans like Bonaiuto the painter or Jacopo the

of San Zanobi in 1436 (SZ 2186, fasc. 48, fo. 153r), although this is probably too late to be the composer who in 1362 had already acquired the professional title of “ser.”

³⁰ F. D’Accone, “Music and Musicians at the Florentine Monastery of Santa Trinita, 1360–1363,” *Quadrivium* XII (1971), 145–46. The continuing vitality of Santa Trinita as a musical center, as well as the ongoing connection between the city’s various lay and religious musical establishments, is indicated by salaries paid in 1413 by the Company of Orsanmichele to a pair of monks from Santa Trinita, don Antonio Francisci de Ravenna and don Jacobo Pauli de Ravenna, presumably for polyphonic lauda singing; OSM 20, fo. 138v; 21, 8r.

³¹ D’Accone, “Le compagnie dei laudesi,” 271–72; OSM 209, *Debitori e Creditori*, 1387–1388, fo. 6v [2 Apr. 1388]; SZ 2171C, fasc. 5, *Uscite e Tratte*, 1393–1403, fo. 254r [1 Sept. 1397], where he is listed as “Nicholo di lapo delgliorghani.” Further biographical information on Niccolò, and his relation to his more famous son, the composer Giovanni degli Organi, may be found in F. D’Accone, “Giovanni Mazzuoli: A Late Representative of the Italian Ars Nova,” *L’Ars nova italiana del trecento*, 2 (Certaldo, 1968), 23–38.

³² Giuliano Di Bacco, “Alcune nuove osservazioni sul codice di Londra (British Library, MS Additional 29987),” *Studi musicali* XX (1991), 200–03.

³³ On the latter, see N. Pirrotta, *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1964), iii.

³⁴ Von Fischer speculated that this may be the “Ser Feo Lapi, notaio” (notary) who was a member of the Company of San Zanobi in 1336 (“Quelques remarques,” 250). This same Ser Feo is mentioned in the records of the Company of San Piero Martire in 1316 (as a *consigliere*) and 1318 (SMN 291 fo. 7v; 292, fo. 12v), and it is unlikely that someone old enough in 1316 to be a practicing notary and confraternity office holder would be the composer of the three-part ballata ascribed to a Ser Feo in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, it.568 [Pit], a texture that probably would not have been attempted by an amateur composer before ca. 1370. The piece has been edited by Pirrotta, *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, vol. 5, 40.

slippermaker. Its environment varied from private chamber music for clerics to the public and popular context of the laudesi services, and may have included as well the domestic circles of artisan families. The sources, too, may now be said to reflect this social diversity: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Panciatichiano 26 (FP) excludes the works of minor polyphonists and reflects an *haut-bourgeois* tradition, while London, British Library, MS Additional 29987 (Lo), now believed to be of Florentine provenance,³⁵ includes a more varied repertory of instrumental dances, monophonic liturgical pieces, and the secular polyphony of local artisans, and in its appearance, organization, and contents “reflects the style of the popular artistic circle which it represents.”³⁶

The paths between the city’s polyphonic and laudesi establishments were traversed most often by professional church organists, who tended to be the leading Florentine composers. As a *maestro di musica*, organist at Orsanmichele, and guest at Santa Trinita, Niccolò Mazzuoli degli Organi was probably one of the more prominent Florentine musicians of his generation. Although we have no evidence that Niccolò was a composer, his son Giovanni Mazzuoli (degli Organi) was probably a pupil of Landini, and judging from the twenty-one blank pages allotted to him in the Squarcialupi Codex, a leading polyphonic composer of his generation. Giovanni held the organist positions at Santa Felicità (ca. 1382–90) and the Cathedral (ca. 1390–1426), and succeeded his father as organist and accompanist to the laudesi at Orsanmichele (1378–1416/26?).³⁷ The Orsanmichele and Cathedral organist positions appear to have become linked by this time, for upon Giovanni’s death in 1426, the dual position was held by two successive organist/composers, first by Giovanni’s son Piero, a judge and public notary, as well as an accomplished composer who

³⁵ Di Bacco, “Alcune nuove osservazioni,” 197ff.; Long, “Musical tastes,” 161–75.
³⁶ *Ibid.*, 166. These two sources are contrasted in Ch. 6 of Long’s dissertation.

³⁷ D’Accone, “Giovanni Mazzuoli,” 28–38, where he indicates that Giovanni’s tenure at Orsanmichele was during 1379–1412. Though not formally appointed to the organist position until Jan. 1380, his name first appears among the singers and players of laude on 27 Oct. 1378 (OSM 464, CRIA 9566, *Atti e Partiti*, 1378–1379, fo. 15v). During the interim after his father’s dismissal on 10 July 1376, the position was temporarily filled by Niccolò Lippi, whose election was recorded on 14 July 1376 (OSM 10, *Partiti*, 1376, fo. 15v). Niccolò Lippi was also recorded as a lauda singer for the Company of San Zanobi in 1351, and served Orsanmichele primarily as a singer between 1361–87. Giovanni’s contract as organist was renewed on 11 Jan. 1416 (OSM 23, *Partiti*, 1415–16, fo. 4r), but since there are no extant account books detailing the organist position for the period 1416–18, and none at all survive for 1419–33, it is quite likely that Giovanni served in this position until his death in 1426, when he was succeeded by his son, Piero.

also succeeded Landini as organist at San Lorenzo during 1403–1415.³⁸ Upon Piero's death in 1430, the leading musician of fifteenth-century Florence, Antonio Squarcialupi, occupied the Orsanmichele position on and off between 1431–1453, and the Cathedral organist position from 1432 until his death in 1480.³⁹ Ser Piero and Squarcialupi were also active members of the Company of San Zanobi.⁴⁰ Yet another link between the laudesi companies and the Florentine community of professional organists was provided by Matteo di Pagolo da Prato, the great organbuilder who built and repaired many of the city's instruments during the first half of the fifteenth century. He was commissioned to construct new instruments for the Cathedral in

³⁸ F. D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'Ars Nova italiana: Il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211," *Studi musicali* XIII (1984), 10–18, where Piero's works are discussed for the first time and he is revealed as one of the last Florentine composers of trecento-style polyphony. D'Accone notes that Piero temporarily assumed the Cathedral organist position upon his father's death in 1426, but the tax report filed by Orsanmichele in 1427 indicates that Piero had assumed his father's organist position there as well; Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 81–83.

³⁹ In the scant Company records of this period, Squarcialupi turns up in 1431–33, 1436, and 1450–53; F. D'Accone, "Antonio Squarcialupi alla luce di documenti inediti," *Chigiana* XXIII (1966), 3–24. There is a lacuna in the Orsanmichele account books from 1453 until after Squarcialupi's death, so he may have held that position throughout his life as well, although his tenure apparently was not continuous. In 1433 the position was held temporarily by Ser Francesco di Bartolomeo, who studied with Landini and held the organist position at San Lorenzo from sometime after Piero Mazzuoli's tenure until the presumed year of his death in 1436; *ibid.*, 12. A "Ser Francesco Bartoli, presbitero" occupied the position between 23 April and 31 July 1436, at which time it was resumed by Squarcialupi (OSM 26, *Partiti*, 1436–1437, fos. 5r, 16v); this was probably the same Ser Francesco, the spelling of whose last name may have been confused by the scribe with the singer Francesco Bartoli, who was in the simultaneous employment of the Company (April 1436–Feb. 1437; *Ibid.*, fos. 4v, 36r), and who from 1438–1445 was a member of the newly-founded polyphonic choir at the Cathedral; F. D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XIV (1961), 10–13; Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 85 n.36.

⁴⁰ "Piero di Giovanni degliorhani" was listed as a voting member in 1429, and "Ser Piero di Giovanni Mazuoli" a captain in 1430; SZ 2186, fasc. 48, *Tratte e stanziamenti di Doti*, 1427–1438, fos. 14v, 30v. The death of "Ser Piero di Giovanni degliorhani" was noted in the Company records on 5 Oct. 1432 (*Ibid.*, fo. 74v), but in fact he died on 10 Sept. 1430; D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte," 17. D'Accone (citing Becherini) gave 1437 as the year when Squarcialupi's membership began, but he must have been a member prior to March 1436, when he was recorded as "libera della corezione gli fu fatta per disubdiente," and restored to active membership by a vote of 31 to 5 (SZ 2186, fasc. 48, fo. 147r). Thereafter Squarcialupi was very active in Company affairs for the rest of his life, holding at various times the offices of captain, treasurer, *festaiuolo*, and *provveditore* (SZ 2170, fasc. 5K; 2171A, fasc. 3; 2171C, fasc. 7; 2177, fascs. 16–18; *passim*). He was listed among the Company's voting membership in 1480 (SZ 2176, fasc. 13, *Libro di Ricordi e Partiti*, 1477–1483, fo. 122r), and upon his death that year left 7 gold florins to the Company; D'Accone, "Antonio Squarcialupi," 20. Whether either Ser Piero or Squarcialupi actually played the organ for the Company's services is never specified in the records.

1432, and for Orsanmichele in 1429 and 1436, and was enrolled in membership lists of the Company of San Zanobi in 1446 and 1450.⁴¹

IV

Practically from its founding in 1291, the Company of Orsanmichele occupied a central position in the city's artistic and devotional life.⁴² Orsanmichele stood at the heart of the city, a short distance from the Cathedral, and was one of the wealthiest institutions of trecento Florence. It had already acquired tremendous assets through bequests and candle sales by the time Orcagna was commissioned in the late 1340s to construct the extravagant marble tabernacle that became the focal point of its lauda-singing devotions, and for the next century the merchant guilds, the Company, and the city commissioned leading Florentine artists from Daddi to Donatello to decorate the oratory with sculptures, paintings, frescoes, stained-glass windows, and altars. Here was the city's greatest confluence of mercantile sensibility and lay spirituality, and nowhere in Florence were the religious affiliations and aspirations of the mercantile community more publicly and lavishly displayed. At the heart of the Company's fame and fortune was its miraculous image, the Madonna d'Orsanmichele, whose efficacy was maintained by the Company's musical devotions, and these required a splendor appropriate to their function and setting.

During the trecento Orsanmichele was an entirely lay establishment, free of ecclesiastical strictures, and it is clear from its earliest records around 1361 that it supported a rich musical tradition of instrumentally-accompanied lauda singing. In addition to organists and singers, the Company also retained several players of *vielle*, *rebec*, *lute*, or *harp*, and by 1427 the Company's paid chapel included an organist, twelve singers, and two *vielle* and *lute* players. It was, in fact, the city's largest and most stable professional musical establishment throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴³

⁴¹ D'Accone, "Antonio Squarcialupi," 14–15; OSM 26, *Partiti*, 1436–1437, fo. 6r, 16r, 36r (which records expenses totaling 80 florins for yet another set of new organs in addition to those that he had built for the oratory in 1429); SZ 2177, fasc. 16, *Libro di partiti*, 1440–1447, fo. 76v (fo. 85 indicates that he was receiving a salary, but for what is not specified); fasc. 18, *Libro di Partiti e Memorie*, 1450–1473, fo. 114v. Matteo was frequently referred to as "degli organi," an indication that he was a performer, as well.

⁴² The Company's history and musical activities are discussed in Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 74–88, 192–94.

⁴³ The Orsanmichele musical chapel was incomparable during the trecento, and during the next century, notwithstanding the ambitions of their Medici patrons, the Singers of San Giovanni remained a relatively small ensemble with a rather precarious existence; D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," *passim*.

Frank D'Accone has already proposed that the *laudesi* companies were "the medium through which the democratization of polyphonic performance occurred in Florence during the *Ars Nova*,"⁴⁴ a development in which Orsanmichele very likely led the way. The succession of organist/composers who accompanied a busy round of lauda singing alone indicate that the Company's oratory was a vital place of contact between the city's polyphonic and lauda traditions. But the Company's organists were not the only point of contact with polyphonic practice. The leading citizens of Florence aspired to hold office in the Company, and during the second half of the fourteenth century one such eminent Florentine was the poet Franco Sacchetti (ca. 1330–1400). Sacchetti exhibited a typically Florentine breadth of activity which embraced politics, mercantilism (banking), letters (both secular and sacred), music, and lay devotion.⁴⁵ His *poesia per musica* was clearly intended for consumption by local composers, and in the autograph manuscript of his 309 *Rime* he carefully noted the names of those composers (including himself) who had provided thirty-three of his poems with musical settings.⁴⁶ At least four of his texts in polyphonic settings by Landini and Niccolò del Proposto served also as poetic models for eight lauda contrafacta (see Table 1),⁴⁷ a process that Sacchetti was well-placed to encourage in the Orsanmichele services. Among the oldest Company account books, dating from the 1360s, the Sacchetti family name already appears frequently among the members and officers, and though Franco first appears in the records as a treasurer in 1380, his association with the Company probably began before this date.⁴⁸ He remained active in Company affairs after this time, and in the late 1390s designed a vast biblical

⁴⁴ "Le compagnie dei laudesi," 280.

⁴⁵ Riccardo Scrivano, 'Franco Sacchetti,' *Grande Dizionario Enciclopedico* (Turin, 1971), XVI, 467–69. On his musical settings, see von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik*, 77–78; and Ettore Li Gotti and N. Pirrotta, *Il Sacchetti e la tecnica musicale del trecento italiano* (Florence, 1935).

⁴⁶ Franca Brambilla Ageno, *Franco Sacchetti: Il libro delle rime* (Florence, 1990). The musical settings of 13 madrigals, 16 ballate, 2 caccie, and 2 canzonette are ascribed to Niccolò del Proposto, Landini, Lorenzo, Ottolinus de Brixia, Donato, Sacchetti, Giovanni di Gherardello, Gherardello, Jacopo (Gherardello's brother), and Guilielmus de Francia. Music survives only for eleven of these, as well as for a twelfth poem (Landini's setting of "Altri n'arà la pena") which Sacchetti did not mention in the *Rime*. For a list of these works, see F. A. Gallo, *Music of the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, Eng. trans., K. Eales (Cambridge, 1985), 65–66. The attributions in anonymous literary manuscripts to Sacchetti of the madrigals "Agnel son bianco" (set by Giovanni) and "Somma felicità" (set by Landini) appear doubtful, since these texts do not appear in Sacchetti's own autograph; F. A. Gallo, "The Musical and Literary Tradition of Fourteenth-Century Poetry Set to Music," in U. Günther and L. Finscher, eds., *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel, 1984), 56, 72.

⁴⁷ Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 163.

⁴⁸ OSM 12, *Partiti*, 1380, fo. 20v.

programme for the interior decoration of the oratory, which included twelve stained-glass windows and the entire vault system.⁴⁹

Sacchetti's long and prolific career embraced two generations of Florentine composers, during which time he was involved not only with the city's polyphonists and laudesi, but with the popular Florentine *cantimbanco* tradition of improvisatory singing.⁵⁰ His early *La battaglia delle belle donne di Firenze con le vecchie* belongs to the genre of *cantare*, narrative poetry intended for performance by local *improvvisatore* like Antonio Pucci. In fact, Pucci figured prominently among Sacchetti's many poetic correspondents,⁵¹ and Pucci's career was equally characteristic of trecento Florence: he was a member of the merchant court, a trumpeter and bell-ringer for the commune in his youth and ambassador in his later years, an improvisatory singer, author of both sensuous love lyrics and devotional poetry (including laude), and a captain of the Company of San Zanobi in the 1370s.⁵²

At least one of Sacchetti's sonnets (no. CCLXX in Ageno's edition) was commissioned by a "maestro Francesco da Colligrano," who recently has been tentatively identified with the composer Rosso de Chollegrana.⁵³ At the heart of Di Bacco's intriguing web of possible identities is "Maestro Francesco di Messer Niccolò da Collegrana," a physician who obtained Florentine citizenship in 1364, and who is probably the same "Maestro Franciescho medico/Maestro Franciescho di Ser Nicholo" who was a frequent officeholder in the Company of San Zanobi during 1377–99. The likelihood of a single identity among the above is supported by the familiar conjunction between a local poet and polyphonist, and a laudesi company.

In 1373, the Orsanmichele debit/credit register recorded that "Iachopo da Bologna came to stay with us on the 1st of February," and

⁴⁹ Battaglia Ricci, Lucia, *Palazzo Vecchio e dintorni: studio su Franco Sacchetti e le fabbriche di Firenze* (Rome, 1990), ch. 1 (on Sacchetti and Orsanmichele); Eve Borsook, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany* (Oxford, 1980; 2nd ed.), 54–55; W. Cohn, "Franco Sacchetti und die Gewölbmalereien von Orsanmichele," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* VIII (1958), 65–77. Sacchetti was also responsible for the design of the *Stabat Mater* for the Passion altar, the theme of an extremely popular poem for which he composed a vernacular setting, 'Stava madre dolorosa, a la croce lagrimosa'; Brambilla Ageno, ed., *Il libro delle rime*, CCXLVII.

⁵⁰ For an excellent discussion of this Italian tradition, see Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, ch. 4.

⁵¹ Brambilla Ageno, ed., *Il libro delle rime*, CCXIVa, CCXXVa, CCXXVIIIa.

⁵² Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 70.

⁵³ Di Bacco, "Alcune nuove osservazioni," 203–06. Rosso's one surviving madrigal, the two-voiced "Tremando più che foglia," is preserved only in Lo, fos. 71v–72. Long speculates that Rosso was a "bourgeois with an amateur interest in composition," and that the inclusion of his work in Lo along with those of Jacopo Pianaiaio and Bonaiuto de Corsino is evidence of the local and popular nature of that collection; "Musical Tastes," 161–75.

immediately began receiving a salary of three lire per month.⁵⁴ After a few recorded payments in the month after he began his tenure, the Company documents are missing until 1376, after which time there is no further mention of this Jacopo. If this is indeed a reference to the composer, then it is the first document to record Jacopo's presence in Florence, and the only indication of his activity in Italy after about 1360. This much evidence does not permit a certain identification with the great composer, but such an identification is extremely plausible for a number of reasons. In the context of the register's otherwise quotidian entries, the wording seems to indicate a person of importance, one who has possibly just come from out of town, and has been hired to perform some unspecified duties for the Company on a regular, salaried basis. Generally the Company paid salaries to three types of individuals: clerics, servants, and musicians, and the lack of a clerical title or affiliation and the deference paid to him would seem to preclude the first two. That Jacopo the polyphonist would be drawn, as a musician, to Orsanmichele should not be surprising, given the Company's prominent role in the musical life of the city. And it would seem more surprising if Jacopo had never come to Florence; the northern courts that had once sustained his career declined during the second half of the century as centers of artistic patronage, and the peripatetic Jacopo would have been drawn to a city that possessed the size and wealth to withstand the mid-century devastations of the Black Death and become the leading musical center of the peninsula. Perhaps he was enroute to a position at the Aragonese court in Spain, where a "Jacobo de Bolunga" was recorded between 1378 and 1386.⁵⁵ Those aspects of repertory and style that link Jacopo to Florence and Florentine musicians are not in themselves proof of his presence in Florence, but his influence upon composers in Florence like Donato, Niccolò del Proposto, and particularly Landini (who was assimilating the older trecento style at this time), his connection to Giovanni, the derivation of "the overall design of his works from Florentine examples,"⁵⁶ and the strong presence of his works in a Florentine manuscript tradition that otherwise showed almost exclusive favor to its resident composers all contribute to the likelihood of a Florentine visit at some point. A tendency to view Jacopo within a Florentine tradition is evident in a passage from Filippo Villani's *Liber de origine civitatis Florentiae et eiusdem famosiss civibus* (1385/97), where in the midst of a

⁵⁴ OSM 208, *Debitori e Creditori*, 1372–1373, fo. 17v [1 Feb.]: "iachopo da bolongia viene a stare cho' noi a di i di febraio per L. iii il mese. . . ."

⁵⁵ K. von Fischer, "Jacopo da Bologna," *The New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 9, 449.

⁵⁶ N. Pirrotta, "Novelty and Renewal in Italy, 1300–1600," in *Music and Culture in Italy*, 162.

eulogy of Florentine musicians Jacopo's expertise received special attention.⁵⁷ Perhaps the most compelling circumstantial evidence for Jacopo's presence in Florence, and at Orsanmichele in particular, is his link to the lauda tradition. His anomalous lauda-ballata, "Nel mio parlar," is preserved only in **FP**, and its exclusion from all but this oldest of Florentine anthologies suggests that its transmission was a more local and specialized affair in comparison to the body of his secular polyphony. The unusual transmission of this work in both a two- and three-part version in the same source may also reflect the experimental nature of polyphonic practice at Orsanmichele at this time. Jacopo was also the only non-Florentine whose music was subjected to the strictly local practice of lauda contrafacta; his music for Petrarch's "Non al suo amante" was adapted to the lauda text "Per sua benignitate" (see Table 1).

The capacity in which Jacopo might have served Orsanmichele is not specified, but it is tempting to speculate that it was connected in some way to the cultivation of polyphonic practice in the oratory. His presence coincides with two (possibly related) events, the rise of the contrafacta process that brought together lauda texts and the polyphonic settings of ballate, and the first recorded associations between Orsanmichele and the city's professional organist/composers. The growing interest in polyphony, more broadly evident in the appearance of amateur composers like Jacopo Pianaia, may have created a market for the pedagogical skills evident in Jacopo's elementary and forthright treatise in the vernacular, *L'Arte del biscanto misurato secondo il maestro Jacopo da Bologna*.⁵⁸ The extant version was apparently copied in Florence during the late fourteenth century,⁵⁹ and notwithstanding its standard contents is of interest as much for what it omits as for what it teaches: the treatise is concerned exclusively with rhythm, that is, teaching one how to read the rhythmic notation of measured music, but unlike most treatises on rudiments it says nothing of pitch. It presumes either that the reader will learn the pitch elements from another source, or that these are already familiar. This kind of treatise would, in fact, complement nicely what the Orsanmichele laudesi knew already from the monophonic notation in their laudarios, and it is clear from laudesi company inventories and statutes that laudarios, both festal (like **Mgl**¹) and ferial, were placed

⁵⁷ Cited in F. A. Gallo, *Music of the Middle Ages*, 128; and Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, 6.

⁵⁸ Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Redi 71, ff. 41v–48v; ed. by Johannes Wolf in *Theodore Kroyer Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Regensburg, 1933), 18–39; trans. in W. Thomas Marrocco, *The Music of Jacopo da Bologna* (Berkeley, 1954), 146–55.

⁵⁹ Armen Carapetyan, "A Fourteenth-Century Florentine Treatise in the Vernacular," *Musica Disciplina* IV (1950), 82–85.

upon lecterns and used by the singers, and there seems no reason to assume that the widespread literacy of Florentines did not extend to the *laudesi* with respect to monophonic musical notation.⁶⁰ Jacopo's vernacular treatise on "the art of measured polyphony" would then make accessible to them exactly what more they needed to know if they were to make the transition from accompanied monophonic (or even improvised polyphonic) performance to a formal polyphonic practice ("L'Arte del biscanto misurato") in conjunction with their organist/composer accompanists.

Orsanmichele records are scant for the last quarter of the fourteenth century, but early fifteenth-century documents indicate that the Company had by this time formalized the position of a singing master with polyphonic qualifications. The 1412 configuration of a salaried teacher (Bertino di Maestro Francesco) and two "fanciulli biscantatori e laudesi," was reported in the 1438 tax report as "one master who is appointed to sing at certain times and to teach two boys" at an annual cost of 24 florins.⁶¹ In 1436 the Company's master was the Franco-Flemish singer/composer Magistro Benocto de Francia, who in 1438 was recruited by the Medici to direct the Cathedral's newly-formed polyphonic chapel until 1448, and thereafter assumed positions in the papal chapel in Rome and Este court in Ferrara.⁶² Jacopo may have been an early occupant of a position that subsequently attracted such qualified candidates, and which clearly was intended to nurture polyphonic practice in the oratory.

V

The significant contact between the spheres of *laudesi* and polyphonist indicated by the scant documents of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries suggests the sharing not only of musicians and musical practices, but aspects of musical style as well. For this inquiry we are fortunate in having a relative wealth of extant repertoire from mid-century Florence, most conspicuous of which are

⁶⁰ Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 63–65.

⁶¹ ASF, Catasto 602 (1438), no. I.

⁶² Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 84–85; see Pamela Starr, "The 'Ferrara Connection': A Case Study of Musical Recruitment in the Renaissance," *Studi musicali* XVIII (1989), 8–12, where Dr. Starr confirms the identity of Magister Benotto (also referred to as Benedetto di Giovanni and 'Benoit') as the papal singer Benedictus Sirede, a cleric from the Province of Sens in Haute-Bourgogne, and suggests that he may have had a hand in the compilation and copying of Modena a.X.1.11 (Mod B), which contains three works attributed to 'Benoit.' On Benotto's activity at the Florentine Cathedral until 1448, see F. D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XIV (1961), 308–14, and on his presence in Ferrara, see Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century* (London and Cambridge, MA, 1984), 54 and 57.

the polyphonic madrigals of the early Florentine composers, and the large collection of laude contained in **Mgl¹**. We may be certain, moreover, that these two repertories were in simultaneous circulation during the period ca. 1340–70, and probably earlier.

One looks in vain for anything like extensive melodic borrowing, at least until the contrafacta repertory at the end of the century. More likely are similarities of a general stylistic sort, and the most obvious of these is the impulse toward florid vocalism. The majority of the forty-five melodies contained in the late-thirteenth-century Cortona manuscript (**Cort**) are in a relatively simple, syllabic style, while the majority of the melodies in **Mgl¹**, on the other hand, are in general more florid, and fully one quarter of them are in the highly melismatic style of Example 1. Most of these occur in the *sanctorale* section of the laudario, tend to be *unica*, and are among the most recent laude in the collection, perhaps even composed or collected especially for it.⁶³ This local and recent development of florid laude honoring saints reflects several interrelated circumstances that converge with particular strength in Florence during the early trecento: the proliferation of saints' day feasts in general,⁶⁴ a dramatic rise in the number of bequests for lauda services on the feasts of these various saints (the oldest extant one is from 1313), the professionalization and elaboration of the laudesi services brought on by the bequests, and the consequent rise of professional musicians, ornate service books, and a technically demanding repertory of para-liturgical songs. In some cases, certain saints for whom a simpler, syllabic lauda already existed were honored with a second, more florid lauda, as in the case of St. Dominic, whose order was particularly strong in Florence. Immediately following the shorter, syllabic "San Domenico beato" in **Mgl¹** is the more expansive "Allegro canto" of Example 1, the text of which is unique to this laudario.⁶⁵ Some of these florid songs were adapted from older melodies through a process of contrafactum and interpolation. Of the two laude in **Mgl¹** dedicated to St. Augustine, the patron saint of Santo Spirito, "Sancto Agostin doctor" is essentially a

⁶³ The latter suggestion has also been made by Vincent Moleta, "The Illuminated *Laudari* **Mgl¹** and **Mgl²**," *Scriptorium* XXXII (1978), 39–41, and Cyrilla Barr, *The Monophonic Lauda and the Lay Confraternities of Tuscany and Umbria in the Late Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1988), 103–06.

⁶⁴ Robert Gaston, "Liturgy and Patronage in San Lorenzo, Florence, 1350–1650," in F. W. Kent and P. Simons, eds., *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 1987), 111–34.

⁶⁵ Fos. 116r–119r; facs. in Fernando Liuzzi, *La lauda e i primordi della melodia italiana* (Rome, 1935), vol. 2, nos. LXXVI–LXXVII; ed. by the author in *The Florence Laudario: An Edition of Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, banco Rari 18*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, 29, with texts ed. and trans. by Nello Barbieri (Madison, WI, 1995), 99–100.

EXAMPLE 1. *Allegro canto, popol cristiano*, Mgl¹, fols. 117^v–119^r.Mgl¹ Fols. 117v–119r

1 **Refrain**
Al - le - gro _____ can - to, po - pol cri - sti - a - no, _____

2 del gran - de _____ san Do - me - ni - co, _____

3 ^{118r}
di tan - ti _____ va - lo - ro - so ca - pi - ta - no.

4 **Strophe**
Ca - pi - ta - no di mol - ti _____ ca - va - lie - ri

5 fu, _____ san - cto pre - ti - o - so,

6 che _____ do - po Cri - sto l'àn - no se - gui - ta - to; ^{118v}

7 e fu _____ de li mi - glior gon - fa - lo - nie - ri,

8 quel _____ fiu - me gra - ti - o - so,

9 che _____ do - po Cri - sto si - a sta - to _____ tro - va - to;

10 per lu - i è _____ su - to sper - to et ri - pro - va - to _____ ^{119r}

11 o - gni per - ver - so _____ he - re - ti - co _____

12 che nel - la _____ fe - de tro - vas - se lon - ta - no. _____

contrafactum of the older and more widely diffused “Ciascun che fede sente” in honor of St. Anthony. The other Augustinian lauda, “Gaudiamo tucti quanti,” appears to have been modeled on “Sancto Agostin doctor,” but departs significantly from its model in several respects, most obviously through the interpolation of melismatic passages.⁶⁶ The text of “Sancto Agostin doctor” is transmitted in two other Florentine laudarios, while “Gaudiamo tucti quanti” is unique to **Mgl**¹, and it is this newer, florid lauda that receives one of the largest miniatures in the entire collection: an enthroned, Pantocrator-like St. Augustine blessing the hermit friars and lay brothers.⁶⁷

The penchant for vocal embellishment in the Florentine laudario is also evident in a comparison of the ten lauda texts with melodies common to both the Florence and Cortona collections. The **Mgl**¹ versions reveal several characteristic traits in comparison with the Cortona versions: the extension of the shorter Cortona melismas, the filling in of thirds, the addition of figures based on lower neighbor notes, and a taste for appoggiaturas both from above and below.⁶⁸

Whether these florid laude were newly created (as appears to be the case with “Allegro canto”), or adapted from pre-existent melodies, this repertory nevertheless bears the marks of a strong oral tradition: widespread and significant variants in both text and melody, including conflicting cadence pitches and transposed or substitute melodic phrases, and melodic economy at all levels, including recurrent intonation and cadential formulas, a repertory of stereotyped ornamental figures, the practice of contrafacta, and the re-use of music for entire lines and refrains, both within and among pieces.⁶⁹ Clearly this tendency to recycle melodic material must have aided memorization of the large repertory that an active Florentine laudese had to command. But it also signals to us that in this laudario we probably have only single versions of pieces which would have varied with each performance according to a singer’s memory, ability, and an obvious delight in improvised florid vocalism.

This same delight in florid singing is one of the most outstanding features in the polyphonic madrigals of the earliest Florentine composers. Prior to Landini, the most prominent composers residing in

⁶⁶ The two Augustinian laude are in **Mgl**¹, fos. 96v–99r; facs. in Liuzzi, *La lauda*, vol. 2, LXIV–LXV. For a complete comparative transcription of this group of laude, see Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 263–67.

⁶⁷ **Mgl**¹, fo. 96v. See Moleta, “The Illuminated *Laudari*,” 40, and Plate 6c. This miniature is also reproduced in color as a frontispiece to Liuzzi, *La lauda*, vol. 1, p. vi.

⁶⁸ See, for example, the two versions of the popular Assumption lauda “Ave, donna santissima” transcribed in Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 262.

⁶⁹ A. Ziino, “Adattamenti musicali e tradizione manoscritta nel repertorio laudistico del duecento,” in *Scritti in onore di Luigi Ronga* (Milan, 1973), 653–69.

Florence were Gherardello da Firenze (ca. 1320/25–1362/3), Lorenzo Masini (d. 1372/3), and Donato da Cascia (fl. 1350s–60s?). The oldest of the Florentines, Giovanni da Cascia (or da Firenze; fl. 1340s–50s) may or may not have resided in Florence at some point, but many of his works can be stylistically linked to his younger Florentine contemporaries. The madrigals of all four display a smooth, continuously unfolding style of florid vocalism that contrasts with the more fragmented and rhythmically varied melodic style of northern composers like Jacopo,⁷⁰ as well as with the generally less melismatic style of northern and later Florentine composers alike. Lorenzo and Donato in particular represent the peak of virtuoso singing in the Italian madrigal, in fact, in all of trecento polyphony.⁷¹ The abundance of melisma in the early Florentine madrigal repertory seems to be in part the result of a text underlay procedure that is first well-established in the works of Giovanni,⁷² but then becomes more or less characteristic of Gherardello, Lorenzo, and Donato as well. That is, a tendency to distill and polarize the musical texture into extremes of syllabic and melismatic writing: long melismas on the first and penultimate syllables of a phrase frame short bursts of declamation that are typically delivered simultaneously by both voices. Though incipient text-bunching may have been inherited from the northern madrigal as part of a broader improvisatory style now linked with the madrigal, the catalyst for further distillation in Florentine madrigal style may have been the encounter with the florid lauda repertory, or perhaps with a broader Florentine tradition of florid singing of which the lauda repertory was a manifestation.

The stereotyped melodic figures of the florid laude recur to a great extent in this florid madrigal repertory. The most typical of these figures from the lauda repertory are shown in Example 2, while Example 3 presents an excerpt from the madrigal literature with numbers indicating those figures common to both repertories. These melodic cells are not unique to these repertories; in fact they are abundant in the keyboard intabulations of the Faenza Codex (Faenza, Bibl. Com. MS 117), which suggests that an instrumental style, perhaps the improvisatory style of the Florentine organists, may have

⁷⁰ Pirrotta, "Novelty and Renewal," 162, where he notes that the "taste of northern polyphonists for figuration and contrast" may be discerned in the anonymous pieces of the Vatican and Ostiglia fragments, as well as in the later madrigals and ballate of Bartolino da Padova. Pirrotta elaborates on this distinction with respect to the styles of Giovanni and Jacopo in "Back to Ars Nova Themes," 166–82.

⁷¹ Idem., ed., *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, vol. 3, p. ii.

⁷² K. von Fischer, "Giovanni da Cascia," *The New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 7, 400. See also the discussion of Giovanni's works by Haar, *Essay on Italian Poetry and Music*, 6–13, esp. 12, and Pirrotta, "Back to Ars Nova Themes," 174–77.

EXAMPLE 2. Melodic stereotypes in lauda repertory, Mgl¹.

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been a stylistic tributary for both repertories.⁷³ But it is precisely the ubiquity of these figures that renders these two repertories susceptible to mutual influence, and the manner in which these figures are deployed in the Florentine vocal repertories is distinctive. In both the florid lauda and madrigal repertories there is a tendency for these figures to be strung together in long descending patterns, which usually unfold smoothly from top to bottom within clearly defined poles

⁷³ Pirrotta first suggested that the style of the madrigal rose out of two-part organ pieces improvised by keyboard players in "Una arcaica descrizione trecentesca del madrigale," in *Festschrift Heinrich Bessler*, ed. Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Karl-Marx Universität (Leipzig, 1961), 159, a hypothesis that is more fully developed by Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, 17–19. Surely, however, the interaction between vocal and instrumental styles is a complex one, especially given the heterogeneous nature of the Faenza collection. Most of the Faenza pieces are based on vocal models, and Haar's assumption that the collection represents a century-old keyboard style (p. 18) must be set against the extant florid vocal repertories (both madrigal and lauda) which predate the Faenza collection by most of a century, and argue as strongly for the pre-eminence of a florid vocal tradition. This pre-eminence is also suggested by the fact that the two Faenza works apparently not based on vocal models ("Tumpes" and "Bel fiore danza," both polyphonic *istampite*) are decidedly less florid, and the avoidance of the older melismatic madrigals as models for intabulation, presumably because their already florid style rendered them unsuitable for further elaboration. The two dance pieces are newly edited, and discussed in the context of the Faenza collection by John Caldwell, "Two Polyphonic *istampite* from the 14th Century," *Early Music* XVIII (1990), 371–80, and the Faenza Ms. is edited by Dragan Plamenac, *Keyboard Music of the Late Middle Ages in Codex Faenza 117* (Rome, 1972).

EXAMPLE 3. Giovanni da Firenze (fl. 1340–50), *Appress' un fiume chiaro*.

The musical score consists of two systems. Each system has a vocal line and a lute accompaniment line. The vocal line has lyrics: "press' un _____ fiu - me _____ chia -". The lute accompaniment has figured bass notation: "FP", "Ap", "Lo", "Ap", "2 20 7 3", "2 2 5 15 5 3". The score is divided into two systems. The first system has two staves (vocal and lute) and two measures. The second system has two staves and three measures. The lyrics are: "press' un _____ fiu - me _____ chia -". The lute accompaniment has figured bass notation: "FP", "Ap", "Lo", "Ap", "2 20 7 3", "2 2 5 15 5 3".

of an octave or fifth (see Examples 4 and 5). Most of the figures seem designed to assist in this vocal descent. At the end of these long melismatic descents, the melody will often ascend rapidly through short bursts of declamation, as if recharging itself for the next florid descent. This is especially apparent in the madrigal repertory (see Example 5a, mm. 103–04; 5b, mm. 47–50; 5c, mm. 44–45), but the

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EXAMPLE 3. (continued)

8

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12

florid laude show the same tendency to traverse octaves and fifths by an alternation of cascading melismas and syllabic valleys that redirect the melodic flow upwards (see Example 1, lines 2–3, 6–7, 9, 12; and Example 4d, where the melody climbs syllabically up the octave, only to take a melismatic plunge down the full length of the octave on the appropriate word “profonda”).

EXAMPLE 4. Lauda excerpts from Mgl¹.

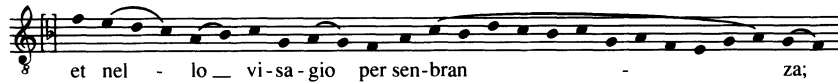
4a. Ciascuna gente canti (St. Phillip)



4b. Nat'è in questo mondo (Nativity of the BVM)



4c. Apostol glorioso, fratel del Salvatore (St. James the Lesser)



4d. Con humiltà di core (Conversion of St. Paul)



Both repertoires also demonstrate sharp formal and tonal clarity. Individual lines of text are set to clearly defined and directed melodic phrases, which often are delineated by clear cadences and sharp contrasts of vocal register. This registral break tends especially to occur at the major formal juncture between refrain and strophe in the lauda (as in Example 1, lines 3–4), and in the madrigal where it might mark the beginning of a new line of text (Example 3, m. 12, Example 6, m. 14), and more often marks the beginning of the ritornello (Example 6, m. 38). Pirrotta has observed that “the shift . . . to the upper 5th [of the 8ve] is part of the higher melodic and tonal range often exhibited by the *piedi* section in the more popular types of ballata (for instance, in the monophonic laude),”⁷⁴ another indication perhaps

⁷⁴ “New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition,” in *Music and Culture*, 61. Haar has also commented on the registral breaks as well as the descending melodic curve in Giovanni’s music in *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, 12.

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EXAMPLE 5a. Giovanni, "O tu, cara scienza" (Lo), mm. 95-113.

95 Ritomello

Pe

Pe

99

166

103

rò re - tor - no a ti mu - si - cha - cha -

rò ri - tor - no a ti mu - si - cha cha -

106

110

ra.

ra.

EXAMPLE 5b. Gherardello, "Allo spirar dell'arie brun" (Sq), mm.
43–51.

43

R. Non —

R. Non —

47

sa - prei quan-to'l ca - ro si-gnor mi - o

sa - prei quan-to'l ca - ro si-gnor mi - o

167

that popular song traditions are at work in the early Florentine madrigal repertory. The tonal clarity of the melodies in both lauda and madrigal repertories is enhanced by the frequent use of leading tones, and by scalar passage-work within a well-defined gamut that often articulates a clear stepwise descent, or emphasizes the triadic elements of that gamut.

In Donato's madrigal, "Come da lupo," it is possible to see how the features described above are arrayed within the context of a complete polyphonic work (see Example 6). The first thirteen measures (up to bracket I) are a setting of the first line of the three-line strophe. The florid upper voice begins on *a* and gradually pries open first the fifth above (mm. 1–8), then the upper register (mm. 9–12), each time concluding with a rapid descent back to *a*. Among other things, this first section provides an effective vocal warm-up. At m. 14 (bracket I) there begins the first of four long melismatic descents within clearly defined octaves, which altogether account for most of the composition. This first descending section corresponds to the second poetic line of the strophe, and is assigned a secondary tonal area, as well—a *g* octave, as opposed to the *a* octaves that frame and dominate the tonal plan of this madrigal. After a sharp registral break, the top voice begins a protracted descent from a high *g* to a cadence on the lower *g* in m. 22—the descent is interrupted by a short fit of declamation

EXAMPLE 5c. Donato, “Come’l potes’ tu far” (FP), mm. 40–47.

40

R. Ma

R. Ma

43

un che mi tro - vò mi ren - dè

un che mi tro - vò mi ren - dè

168

46

vi - ta

vi - ta

(mm. 18–19) which emphasizes an important tonal break in the *g* octave by lingering on and around *d*, and thus recharged the line resumes a smooth descent in m. 20. For a Florentine composer, it is a textbook phrase—melismas on the first and penultimate syllables, framing a brief section in which both voices share in a rapid delivery of the bulk of the text.

The second descent, beginning at m. 30 (bracket II), is a purely melismatic line that signals the end of the entire strophe section, and which re-establishes the primary tonal area of *a*. Between these first two bracketed sections the relatively syllabic section at mm. 27–29, though more loosely structured than the one above it in mm. 18–19, might be viewed as functioning in a similar manner, i.e., to provide moments of rhetorical clarity while effecting a melodic and tonal transition between the peaks and valleys of the melismatic sections.

EXAMPLE 6. Donato, "Come da lupo pecorella presa" (Sq).

Co -
1. Co -

4
me da lu - po
me da lu - po

7
pe - co - rel - la pre
pe - co - rel - la pre

10
sa
sa

14
1.
2. 1

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EXAMPLE 6. (continued)

18

span-de'l bè in vo-ce di do-lo

span-de'l bè in vo-ce di do-lo

20

re,

re,

170

23

Per

3. Per

27

ch'a lo scam-po suo trag-ga'l pa-sto

ch'a lo scam-po suo trag-ga'l pa-sto

30

II.

II.

EXAMPLE 6. (continued)

33 $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$

36

re, E

re, E

Ritornello III.

40

quel che di tal

quel che di tal

43

fat - to più mi scor

fat - to più mi scor

IV.

47

na E

na È

EXAMPLE 6. (continued)

50
 ch'i or a - spet - to ca - so e que' non
 ch'i or a - spet - to ca - so e que' non

53
 tor - na.
 tor - na.

This process of juxtaposing melismatic and syllabic segments is compressed and accelerated in the ritornello. The *a* octave is first quickly spanned in the first four measures, reset syllabically, then traversed several more times in a more extended fashion beginning at m. 46, with nods along the way to the secondary tonal area of *g* in mm. 50 and 54.

It is the formal clarity as much as the floridity that seems to distinguish these works as particularly Florentine. Text bunching, registral breaks, octave descents, and smooth, extended melismas can be found in the madrigals of Piero, Jacopo, and the Rossi Codex, but these features are neither characteristic of this northern repertory, nor are they coordinated and systematically applied with the formal intent that one finds in the early Florentine madrigals.⁷⁵ Even the individual melodic lines of the Florentine composers are often rationalized through the use of sequential patterns (e.g., Example 6, mm. 2–3, 12), a tendency observable in the lauda repertory, as well (Example 7).⁷⁶ The madrigal as a poetic form also gained in formal clarity

⁷⁵ Pirrotta, "Novelty and Renewal," 162–63. More recently, Toliver has described the melismas of madrigals in the Rossi Codex as somewhat "formless"; "Improvisation in the Madrigals of the Rossi Codex," *Acta Musicologica* LXIV (1992), 167.

⁷⁶ Long also has noted this aspect of melodic style in the Florentine madrigals of the 1350s and 60s, which he contrasts with the older, northern madrigal style in which

EXAMPLE 7. "Con humiltà di core."



in the hands of Florentine poets; the "Sacchettian" madrigal, well-established by 1365, "marks the absolute crystallization of the formal structure of two tercets plus ritornello and the standard rhyme scheme of *abb, cdd, ee*."⁷⁷ Even the Florentine visual arts of the period are distinguished by this quality. Giotto and his circle rationalized pictorial space through the use of linear perspective, and Meiss characterized Florentine painting after mid-century as more geometric and structured than contemporary Siense painting.⁷⁸

If the elements described above can be accepted as criteria for a Florentine style, then their clear presence in many, if not all, of the works of Giovanni support several hypotheses. Giovanni may have been "da Firenze" in a musical as well as geographical sense, that is, certain aspects of his musical style, most obviously the placid, melismatic style (see Example 5a), were probably shaped by local Florentine traditions prior to his northern sojourn during the 1340s and 50s. The two madrigals by Giovanni preserved in the Rossi Codex ("Nascoso el viso" and "La bella stella"), probably composed during this period, bear the hallmarks of Giovanni's Florentine style and are stylistically distinct from the other works in the collection.⁷⁹ Giovanni, whose works are among the most widely disseminated of any trecento composer, was very likely a primary shaper and disseminator of the Florentine madrigal style, and may have been responsible both for the Florentine aspects of Jacopo's style as well as for the direction in

"the melismas that framed each line of text were little more than ornamental appendages to the simple two-voice counterpoint that served as the foundation of the work . . ."; "Trecento Italy," 259.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 258, and Pirrotta, *Il Codice Rossi 215*, 98–100. The most detailed study of Sacchetti's madrigals is by Cristina Zampese, "I madrigali di Franco Sacchetti," *Acme* XXXIV (1981), 373–86, where their form and content is compared with north-Italian repertory. Sacchetti's madrigal output belongs primarily to the period of his youth, and tapered off after 1364; R. Scrivano, "Franco Sacchetti," 468.

⁷⁸ Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: the Arts, Religion, and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1951), 57.

⁷⁹ Gallo has demonstrated that "La bella stella" was written in 1354–55, "Antonio da Ferrara, Lancillotto Anguissola, e il madrigale trecentesco," *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* XII (1976), 40–45. The two works are edited by Pirrotta, *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, vol. 1, 18–24. Extended and continuous melismatic lines on initial and penultimate syllables, text bunching, and octave descents are most apparent in the ritornellos of both works.

madrigal composition assumed by subsequent Florentine composers. Filippo Villani alluded to the importance of Giovanni's melodic style when he singled out this aspect of his music for being "wonderfully sweet and most artful" (*mire dulcedinis et artificiosissime*). Villani's brief biography of Giovanni also seems to indicate that Giovanni resided in Florence at some point: Giovanni was only "visiting" the Scala court in Verona when he competed with Jacopo, which implies a subsequent return, and Giovanni's eulogy is among others devoted to resident Florentines (Bartolo, Lorenzo, and Landini) in a book devoted to the history of Florence and "its most famous citizens."⁸⁰ That Villani, writing ca. 1381, would retain a vivid impression of Giovanni and his music, and that Giovanni's madrigal style exercised such a strong influence on his younger Florentine contemporaries, suggests that he well may have returned to Florence by the time a "Ser Giovanni degli Organi" is mentioned about 1360 as a visitor at Santa Trinita.⁸¹ As with Jacopo, the evidence presented here is not conclusive regarding his presence in Florence, but in the absence of evidence to the contrary it surely points to the possibility and likelihood of such a visit.

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There is yet one other resemblance to be noted between these early Florentine madrigals and the lauda repertory—both show signs of improvisatory styles, if not practices. This aspect of the lauda repertory has already been noted, but the markedly different versions of certain madrigals by Giovanni da Firenze indicate that the Florentine madrigal singers at some point may have employed the same improvisatory skills as the laudesi in drawing upon a shared repertory of melodic figures.⁸² The two versions of Giovanni's "Appress' un fiume chiaro" (Example 3), preserved in the Florentine sources **FP** and **Lo**, are structurally identical, and vary chiefly in the free application of those interchangeable melodic cells found also in the lauda repertory (Example 2).⁸³ Giovanni's madrigal, moreover, provided the music

⁸⁰ F. Villani, *Liber de origine civitatis Florentiae et ejusdem famosis civibus*, ed. Galletti (Florence, 1847), 34. The entire passage is translated in Gallo, *Music of the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, 128–29.

⁸¹ F. D'Accone, "Music and Musicians at the Florentine Monastery," 133–34. For a different view on Giovanni's relationship to Florence, see Pirrotta, "Back to Ars Nova Themes," 173–74.

⁸² As Toliver has remarked concerning the Rossi madrigals, the improvisatory characteristics in the early Florentine madrigals may reflect "less a practice than a style leftover from a practice"; "Improvisation in the Madrigals of the Rossi Codex," 175.

⁸³ Ed. by Pirrotta, *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, vol. 1, 8–11. See also the comparative transcriptions in Pirrotta's edition of Giovanni's "Nascoso el viso" (20–24), "O tu, cara scienza" (28–32), "Più non mi curo" (35–38), and "Sedendo all'ombra" (39–42). Pirrotta concludes that "Giovanni seems to have left many aspects of the performance to improvisation"; "Back to Ars Nova Themes," 174.

for a lauda contrafactum “Apress’ al volto chiaro,” a musical borrowing that was probably facilitated by the shared melodic features noted above.⁸⁴

Finally, in the florid passages from the early Florentine madrigal repertory considered above (see Example 5), the accompaniment in these passages in particular certainly contributed to the theory, advanced most forcefully by von Fischer, that trecento polyphony arose “from an originally instrumentally accompanied monody.”⁸⁵ The tenor part in these florid passages tends to move in a slow, stepwise fashion, and exhibits little and sometimes no melodic independence. Parallel perfect intervals abound (Example 5b, mm. 49–50), and the part-writing is often reducible to a series of parallel octaves (Example 5c, mm. 41–43). These passages tend to conclude with the same stereotyped cadential progression: a stepwise ascent from the third or fourth below into a unison with the upper part (Example 5a, mm. 111–13; Example 5b, mm. 50–51). Here the lower voice aspires to little more than beginning on a perfect consonance with the upper part, and arriving at a unison by means of a simple cadential formula—in between is a most *acontrapuntal* jockeying from one point to the other in order to set up for the execution of the familiar cadence. It is an easily improvised polyphony, and such barely-disguised *colla voce* accompaniment indicates how fine the line could be between polyphony and accompanied monophony. The compositional emphasis here seems to be the opposite of that in the Rossi madrigals; rather than the relatively “formless” cantus melisma added to a dominant tenor structure found in the Rossi works, the early Florentine madrigals show a more complex and dominant cantus structure above an accompanimental tenor. This seems to reflect Michaël Long’s hypothesis that “a change in the typical order of composition of the two voice parts in Italian works occurred toward mid-century,”⁸⁶ a change brought about not merely by the greater rhythmic and melodic complexity of the cantus in early Florentine polyphonic madrigals, but by the broadly monophonic nature of the

⁸⁴ Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2871, fo. 61r; Corsi, “Madrigali inediti,” 329.

⁸⁵ K. von Fischer, “On the Technique, Origin, and Evolution of Italian Trecento Music,” *The Musical Quarterly* XLVII (1961), 47.

⁸⁶ “Landini’s Musical Patrimony: A Reassessment of Some Compositional Conventions in Trecento Polyphony,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XL (1987), 45, n. 14: “. . . The tenor lines in the earliest madrigals included in the Rossi Codex resemble independent melodies. . . . Tenor melodies in the works of Florentine composers such as Lorenzo Masini and Donato da Cascia present an entirely different profile . . . suggesting a conception of the tenor less as an independent melody than as a supporting voice.” On the dominant tenor in the Rossi madrigals, see Toliver, “Improvisation in the Madrigals of the Rossi Codex,” *passim*.

early trecento Florentine musical environment that fostered monophonic lauda and ballata settings, and may have governed the course of the Florentine madrigal from its inception.

The early Florentine polyphonists would have been well qualified to influence the transition from monophonic to polyphonic lauda performance that took place in Florence sometime during the second half of the century, and the tenor parts of their madrigals may reflect the kind of accompaniment that was being improvised after mid-century for lauda singing at the two companies which retained instrumentalists as well as contacts with the city's polyphonists—Orsanmichele and San Zanobi. Whether the madrigal originated as a monophonic or polyphonic art form remains an open question,⁸⁷ but the musical environment of mid-century Florence at least fostered an easy confluence between the two. Between ca. 1350 and 1365 the musical setting of the ballata underwent a transformation from the (possibly accompanied) monophony described in Boccaccio's *Decameron* and composed by Gherardello and Lorenzo, to formal polyphony, without losing either its cadence formula or its melodic profiles.⁸⁸

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The musical scene of mid-trecento Florence grants us one more view of this proto-Renaissance city that no longer conformed to late medieval models of society and artistic expression. The familiar models of ecclesiastical and courtly musical establishments cannot adequately account for the full range of Florentine musical activity. The musical character of Florence at this time, like its political character, was hostile to the formation of elite, exclusive traditions, and friendly to the democratic mingling of written and unwritten, polyphonic and monophonic, and sacred and secular traditions. There is perhaps no better image of the city's communal and vernacular spirit than the laudesi Company of Orsanmichele: here the merchant guilds honored their patron saints with frescoes executed by Francesco Landini's father, the liturgies of layman and cleric mingled, and the organist/composers of Florence joined forces with urban minstrels to honor their sacred patrons with indigenous styles of music and poetry. At the heart of Orsanmichele's musical activity was a

⁸⁷ Von Fischer maintains that accompaniments were written down for the madrigal beginning ca. 1330 ("On the Technique," 48), while Haar believes that the madrigal was "polyphonic from the first" (*Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, 16). For a bibliography on the subject, see *Ibid.*, 4 n.7.

⁸⁸ M. Long, "Landini's Musical Patrimony: A Reassessment of Some Compositional Conventions in Trecento Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XL (1987), 33–34, 45.

tradition of accompanied solo singing,⁸⁹ an enduring Florentine tradition that was to find expression two centuries later in the person of another Florentine composer who as an eleven-year-old boy passed through the lauda-singing ranks of Orsanmichele—Jacopo Peri.

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Appendix

Abbreviations of Archival Sources and Library Sigla

ASF	Archivio di Stato, Florence
Cort	Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 91
FP	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Panciatichiano 26
Lo	London, British Museum, MS Add. 29987
Luc ¹	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 93
Man	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Cod. Mancini 184
Mgl ¹	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Banco Rari 18
Mgl ²	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Banco Rari 19
OSM	ASF, Archivio di Capitani di Orsanmichele
Pit	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ital. 568
PR	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.s. frç. 6771 (Reina Codex)
Ricc	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana
Rossi Codex	Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Rossiano 215
SA	ASF, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse nel Bigallo, Archive 1, Compagnia di S. Maria delle Laude detta di S. Agnese
SMN	ASF, Conventi Soppresi dal governo francese, Archive 102, (Compagnia di S. Piero Martire in Santa Maria Novella)
Sq	Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Palatino 87 (Squarcialupi Codex)
SZ	ASF, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da P. Leopoldi, Z. I, San Zanobi di Firenze

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⁸⁹ Wilson, *Music and Merchants*, 151–54.