

Predella journal of visual arts, n°39-40, 2016 - www.predella.it - Monografia / *Monograph* ■

www.predella.it / www.predella.cfs.unipi

Direzione scientifica e proprietà / *Scholarly Editors-in-Chief and owners:*

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Predella pubblica ogni anno due numeri online e due numeri monografici a stampa / *S*

Predella publishes two online issues and two monographic print issues each year

Tutti gli articoli sono sottoposti alla peer-review anonima / All articles are subject to anonymous peer-review

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Impaginazione / *Layout:* Nikhil Das, Giulia Del Francia, Vittorio Proietti

Predella journal of visual arts - ISSN 1827-8655

The early-Quattrocento madrigal “Godi, Firenze” by the composer Abbot Paolo da Firenze celebrates the 1406 Florentine conquest of Pisa. The event was a military victory, surely, but the text of the madrigal paraphrases Dante’s Inferno (“Take joy, oh Florence, for you are so great / your wings beat over land and sea, / your fame resounds through Hell!”), which suggests that the poet and composer intended to convey metaphorically that Florentine superiority over Pisa was not only military in nature, but also cultural and literary: a quotation from Florence’s great national poet is a celebration of Florentine literary preeminence. The madrigal is further contextualized: Paolo’s biography is recapitulated; his status as a composer-ecclesiastic explained; Florentine poetic practice is described; and Paolo’s other political madrigals are elucidated. There is a complete list of Paolo’s extant compositions; a transcription into modern notation of a portion of “Godi, Firenze”; and a contemporary image of Abbot Paolo.

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1. *Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: a biography*

The 1406 Florentine conquest of Pisa was celebrated in song by the preeminent late-Trecento/early-Quattrocento musician and composer Paolo da Firenze (ca. 1355–†1436), who among Italian fourteenth-century composers is second only

to his older contemporary Francesco Landino¹ in the number of extant compositions.

Who was Paolo da Firenze? And what is the significance of his celebratory madrigal *Godi, Firenze*?

The earliest serious, sustained musicological scholarship on the composer was done by distinguished Italian music historian Nino Pirrotta, who once characterized Paolo's biography as «problematic»². Archival discoveries subsequent to Pirrotta's pioneering findings have rendered that biography considerably less problematic.

Paolo was born about 1355³. That he is designated «tenorista» in the most important contemporary source of his music⁴ suggests that at one time in his life he was a practicing musician⁵, and specifically that in the multi-voiced, «polyphonic» compositions characteristic of the written musical repertory of the Trecento⁶, he performed the tenor line, which in the vast majority of extant compositions by Trecento composers was the bottom-most, foundational voice⁷. Such activity as a musician perhaps predated Paolo's appointment as abbot of a monastic institution in 1401⁸.

In the principal extant period source of Trecento music, where the parchment folios lined and illuminated in preparation for notating Paolo's compositions remain mysteriously empty⁹, he is depicted – in an illuminated miniature – in the distinctive black cassock of the Benedictine Order, his head tonsured; the miniature serves as vital stimulus to the historical imagination in one's efforts to conjure an historical figure who was born almost 700 years ago¹⁰ (See Fig. 1). Assuming the correctness of a conjectural birth-date of around 1355, one may hypothesize that Paolo took ecclesiastical orders around 1380¹¹.

On 8 March 1401, in a papal bull issued by Boniface IX, Paolo was appointed abbot of the monastery of San Martino al Pino, which lay in the Val di Chiana southwest of Arezzo¹². Paolo retained the position into the 1430s, and any number of surviving archival references document his administrative responsibilities and activities and his enviable status within the larger ecclesiastical hierarchy: in one of the documents, he is designated «commissario apostolico deputato del pontefice Martino V»¹³.

Paolo's status as an ecclesiastic in the Benedictine Order with important administrative rôles explains his presence at the Council of Pisa in the early Quattrocento, which authorized the deposition of the two schismatic anti-popes Benedict XIII

and Gregory XII and the election in their stead of Alexander V¹⁴. All of the extant lists of attendees at the Council document the presence of the abbot of San Martino al Pino, and three of them explicitly identify him as Paolo¹⁵; one of the lists is so detailed as to document Paolo's arrival on 28 March 1409, only three days after the Council opened¹⁶.

An eighteenth-century roster of the abbots of San Martino lists «Paulus Abbas» and after his name adds the phrase «subscripsit concilio Pisano», which suggests that Paolo was a signatory to the Council's decisions, among them the depositions of Benedict and Gregory¹⁷; this is important to an interpretation of another of Paolo's «political» compositions, *Girand'un bel falcon*, which appears to echo the anti-Gregory sentiments of the Florentines¹⁸.

At some moment before 1417 – one does not know with certainty precisely when, although the Florentine “political madrigals” *Girand'un bel falcon* and *Godi, Firenze* suggest that it might have been as early as 1406 or 1409 – Paolo, in addition to the abbacy of San Martino, assumed the rectorate «of the Church of Santa Maria Annunziata, commonly called Orbatello, in Florence»¹⁹. Built on Alberti-family property in the parish served by the Church of San Michele Visdomini (northeast of the Cathedral of Florence and northwest of the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova), Orbatello was a hospice for impoverished, unmarried women and their children; the physical plant included the Church of Santa Maria Annunziata, an enclosed cloister, and the rectory. After Antonio degli Alberti was exiled for his rôle in a conspiracy against the Albizzi, administrative responsibility for Orbatello passed to the captains of the Parte Guelfa. A series of archival references from 1420, 1421, and 1425 documents Paolo's various professional obligations and activities during his early years as rector of Orbatello²⁰.

It was during Paolo's time as abbot of San Martino and rector of Orbatello that one of the most important documents attesting his life and career was created: manuscript Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 1171, an antiphonal (liturgical book) with an inscription on fol. 1^r that reads as follows:

Here begins the antiphonal... of the church of Santa Maria Annunziata Virgine of Florence, [...] commonly called Orbatello. This said antiphonal was compiled and arranged [...] by Reverend Father Don Paolo, abbot of San Martino al Pino, of the Benedictine Order, [and] at this time Rector of the said church of Santa Maria, in the year of our Lord 1417²¹.

Even apart from the revealing inscription, the evidential importance of ms. Douai

1171 is considerable. It contains illuminated miniatures of an eagle, the emblem of the Parte Guelfa, which, as we have seen, had assumed administrative responsibility for the hospice of Orbatello.

More importantly, the decoration of the manuscript is characteristic of the output of the scriptorium at the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence, an institution with which Paolo is documented as having had associations²². A manuscript known to have been copied at Santa Maria degli Angeli (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ashburnham 999) is the unique source for Paolo's sacred polyphonic composition on the Latin liturgical text *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino*²³. Paolo's other remaining sacred composition – a three-voiced polyphonic setting of the Latin liturgical text *Benedicamus domino*, transmitted in the most important period source of his music (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. fonds italien 568) – is based upon a preëxistent plainchant melody (the chant is embedded within the polyphonic setting)²⁴, which ms. Douai 1171 preserves.

The decoration of ms. Douai 1171 (Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 1171) has been attributed to the miniaturist Bartolomeo di Fruosino, who (along with Lorenzo Monaco and Matteo Torelli) has been provisionally identified as the illuminator of the Squarcialupi codex (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87), the principal period source of the Trecento musical repertory; and the pronounced similarity of the decorative style of Squarcialupi and Florence 999 (the unique source of Paolo's *Gaudeamus omnes*) has been observed. Although there is no unanimity of opinion among art historians as to the identity of the illuminators of the manuscripts Douai 1171, Florence 999, Squarcialupi, and even Paris 568 (the principal source of Paolo's extant music), there is, according to one of Paolo's foremost biographers, «little doubt as to their... origin in the *scriptorium* of Santa Maria degli Angeli». Paolo's demonstrable proximity to the activity of the *atelier* is of extreme music-historical importance²⁵.

The evidence that associates Paolo with manuscript production makes particularly interesting an inventory of the possessions of the Church of Santa Maria Annunziata at Orbatello; among them were liturgical books:

Inventory of... things... in the Church of Orbatello in Abbot Paolo's hands: ...a new missal; ...a beautiful red book, illuminated and notated, with several masses; an old notated book with several masses, bolted, the boards uncovered; a good psalteryAll these things are in Orbatello in Abbot Paolo's hands²⁶.

As a member of the council of the bishop of Florence, Paolo hosted the council

meeting of 19 January 1428 (common-style), the last at which he was present. Beginning that same year, at 73 years of age, he increasingly sought to relinquish the administrative responsibilities of the post at San Martino to his successor, Don Angelo dei Tartalini, whom Paolo had championed as early as 1419. A document of that year, which named Don Angelo rector of the church of Sant'Andrea del Puteo in the diocese of Arezzo and arranged for the transition in leadership, more fully identifies Paolo as Paolo di Marco, confirms that he was normally resident in Florence as of 1419, and attests his enviable status, given that the document was executed in the presence of a papal scribe.

A series of notarial acts of 1428 and '29 contract for Paolo's retirement at Orbatello. He negotiates, revises, and settles the terms and perquisites of Don Angelo's appointment.

In 1433, at seventy-eight years of age, Paolo declares that he wishes definitively to resign his post at San Martino, and the year hence a papal bull issued by Eugenius IV granted permission to a member of his chancery to accept the abbacy from Paolo and sought confirmation of Don Angelo's ability to serve.

A testament of 21 September 1436 suggests that Paolo probably died during the winter of 1436/37, in rather abject poverty: His «estate», bequeathed to his brothers and other intimates, comprised a bed and bed linens, a clock, and, notably, a music book, liturgical books, texts by Boëthius and Isidore of Seville, and a volume containing *Glorias* and *Credos* (texts of the Ordinary of the Roman Catholic Mass)²⁷.

There is one remaining biographical reference that resists satisfactory interpretation: it may pertain to our Paolo da Firenze, but it also furnishes evidence that suggests that, equally possibly, it may not. The document in question – ms. Vatican Lat. 2664, fols. 252 and following, which, rather than an act true and proper, is the minute or summary first draft of an *Instrumentum procurationis*, which would have been drawn up in Rome «in domo... domini Angeli cardinalis apud sanctum Laurentium in Damaso» (16 July 1404) – makes reference to a «dominus Paulus de Florentine, abbas Pozzoli Aretine diocesis»²⁸. Might our Paolo conceivably have held two abbacies concurrently? One of Paolo's biographers has suggested that the Paolo mentioned in ms. Vat. Lat. 2664 is «far harder to construe»; others have suggested that the matter «invites further investigation»²⁹.

2. Paolo da Firenze as a Composer. Composer-Ecclesiastics of the Trecento and Early Quattrocento

What may at first appear, from a twenty-first-century perspective, as the anomaly of an ecclesiastic who composed musical settings of overtly secular Italian poetry, is, in fact, no anomaly at all when the phenomenon is understood in the context of contemporary practice. As Pirrotta observed, «[w]e...have a fairly good picture of» the social aspects of fourteenth-century Florentine musical culture: «Its composers were almost without exception ecclesiastics, quite often church organists»³⁰.

And, indeed, a great many Trecento composers were ecclesiastics, as we know partly from the principal period source of their music, which depicts a large number of them – within illuminated miniatures – attired in the distinctive habit of their Order. Piero (although not a Florentine) is identified in a period source as Fra' Piero; Gherardellus de Florentia was a Vallombrosan; Laurentius de Florentia was a *canonicus* at the church of San Lorenzo and is identified as a priest in one of the period musical sources («ser lorenço. prete»); Donatus de Florentia was a Benedictine or Camaldolese; Andreas de Florentia was a Servite (this last example is especially important to present purposes, since he, like Paolo, had an extremely important administrative appointment within his Order³¹); Paolo himself, of course, was a Benedictine; Egidio and Guglielmo, although «di Francia» and not «da Firenze», were friars; Bartolino (da Padova) was a Carmelite; Vincenzo (da Rimini) was a Benedictine.

Why would such figures have composed settings of Italian secular verse? Pirrotta continues: They

wrote their secular pieces for their mutual pleasure and that of small circles of learned friends. Their rather secluded activities gained them only local renown, but awareness of their value induced them to collect their works systematically in large, impressive manuscripts, a number of which survived to transmit their names to posterity.

The picture one has, therefore, is of coteries of ecclesiastics, many of whom had had the kind of education associated with such professional status, who practiced the composition and performance of polyphonic music for their own delectation, in order to fill the spare moments not otherwise filled with work: after the evening meal, for example, as torches and fires burned low, the temperature dropped, and one was preparing to retire for the evening. One readily envisions Paolo, and performances of his compositions, in such a setting.

3. Italian Literary Tradition, the Poetic Fixed-Forms, and Contemporary Compositional Practice

Paolo was the composer of two extant polyphonic settings of Latin sacred liturgical texts; forty-six in the Italian secular poetic fixed-form of the *ballata*; and thirteen in the poetic fixed-form of the madrigal.

Paolo's notable interest in the madrigal is somewhat unusual for his time: the earliest Trecento composers set almost exclusively either madrigals or *cacce* (another poetic-musical genre of the time); later in the century, settings of madrigals and *cacce* almost disappear, to be replaced by settings of *ballate*. For example, Paolo's great contemporaries Francesco Landino and Andreas de Florentia are principally composers of *ballate*: Although there are a few madrigals in Landino's output, they are greatly outnumbered by *ballate*; and Andreas (like Paolo, a late-fourteenth/early-fifteenth-century figure) composed nothing but *ballate*, to judge from his extant compositions.

Pirrota once suggested that «Paolo might have been a sponsor of a late “revival” of the madrigal». He subsequently revised his view and suggested instead that «[i]t now seems more appropriate to term it a “survival”», expressive of tastes that Paolo shared with «such Paduan or Padua-centered composers as Bartolino [da Padova] and [Johannes] Ciconia». Whether revival or survival, Paolo's interest in the madrigal is somewhat anomalous for his moment in history³².

4. Paolo da Firenze and his «political» compositions

From as early as the time of the earliest Trecento composers, there is considerable evidence of a tradition of deploying musical compositions for political purposes: of allusions (oblique or overt) to contemporary political events in the texts of the compositions, or of texts that pay explicit (though often thinly-veiled) tribute to the aristocratic benefactors who patronized composers and musicians. One of the three earliest Trecento composers known to us, Jacobus de Bononia, has left any number of compositions whose texts are fully understandable only in reference to contemporary political developments or as acts of homage to his patrons (in particular the Visconti of Milan)³³.

Although there are exceptions, to be sure, the usual compositional vehicles for

such political purposes were the Latin motet or the Italian madrigal, rather than the *ballata*. The *ballata* was a lyrical genre whose texts were typically amorous, intimate, and personal in tone and content. Conversely, the madrigal (and the Latin motet) often set texts that were more austere and objective in tone and content.

Conventional, established procedures for reflecting such differences in poetic genre in the musical setting emerge very early in the Trecento tradition: Initially, the *ballata* remains a monophonic genre, where (one imagines) the few remaining melodies (vestiges of a lost repertory that must have been vast) were accompanied in performance at that time by some species of strummed- or plucked-string instrument. Such a compositional treatment is, in its way, appropriate to the intimate, personal character of the *ballata*; only later is polyphonic technique applied to the *ballata*, for complicated reasons³⁴.

Conversely, the more objective, austere tone of madrigal and motet texts makes them not only suitable as vehicles for political purposes but also susceptible immediately to exacting polyphonic treatment in the musical setting. As Pirrotta suggested on many occasions, polyphony as a compositional technique evoked certain kinds of associations among contemporaries, whether composers or members of an audience: He wrote, for example, that «Bartolino [da Padova] evidently shared the conviction (together with Donato [da Cascia] and Nicolò [da Perugia]) that polyphony was an objective language – an enrichment of the sound but not of the lyrical tone»³⁵. Not surprisingly, therefore, two of Paolo's political compositions are madrigals, only one a *ballata*.

As witness to, and even participant in, important contemporary political and ecclesiastical developments, Paolo had ample opportunity to document and reflect upon such developments in his polyphonic compositions, three of which have come down to us: 1) the madrigals *Girand'un bel falcon* (two voices) and 2) *Godi, Firenze* (three voices), and 3) the three-voiced *ballata Sofrir m'estuet et plus non puyt durer*.

Sofrir m'estuet et plus non puyt durer has been plausibly interpreted as a response to Visconti military adventures in Tuscany in the years between 1397 and 1402. The text and a translation follow³⁶:

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

I must suffer and can no longer endure
the great pains of love;
I languish in joy and in great sadness.

*Vidor gli ochi mortal di raçi accesa
fiammegiar una stella al modo un sole;
la vista mia non poté far difesa:
passò el raço [a] core, onde si dole.*

My feeble eyes see a blazing star,
radiant like the sun;
my sight cannot bear it;
the ray penetrates my heart and makes it
grieve.

*Non val sospir, non fe', non dir parole,
en grant doye es mon cuer:
je pourport esperans in douls amour.*

Sighs, faith[,] and words are of no avail;
my heart is in great turmoil.
I declare myself a devotee of sweet love.

I must suffer and can no longer endure
the great pains of love;
I languish in joy and in great sadness.

Line 4 («a blazing star, radiant like the sun») has been interpreted as a reference to a Visconti emblem: a radiant sun against which there is no defense (line 8: «Sighs, faith[,] and words are of no avail»).

Perhaps more revealingly still, the iconic opening phrase of Paolo's ballata – «Sofrir m'estuet» – occurs in the *ritornello* (concluding couplet) of a madrigal (*La fiera testa*) set to music by two of his contemporaries, Bartolino da Padova and Nicolò da Perugia. These compositions, too, have been plausibly interpreted as responses to the Milanese invasion of Tuscany, for very compelling reasons. The contemporary literary figure Giovanni Sercambi includes *La fiera testa* in his *Novelliere* (ca. 1400), but in a version of the text that – although identical to that set by Bartolino and Nicolò in most other respects – expands upon theirs with the addition of a phrase in the *ritornello* that quotes the entirety of Bernabò Visconti's motto: «Sofrir m'estoit in Gotrisach». Moreover, Sercambi renders the text incipit differently: in his version, rather than «una fiera testa», the opening line is rendered «Una fiera biscia che d'uman si ciba [“An imperious serpent that feeds upon a human”]», a poetic gloss upon the period Visconti emblem, which depicts a serpent swallowing a human form³⁷. Paolo's *ballata* would thus be datable around 1400.

Even more plausibly perhaps, *Girand'un bel falcon* has been interpreted as Florentine disapprobation of the schismatic anti-pope Gregory XII. A text and translation follow³⁸:

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

A fair falcon, gentle and white, flying
through the air, at my call stopped,
and as a human being returned to my fist.

Con meco stette in fin che venne manco

He stayed with me until at last that there
wanted

*la speranza del frutto e con lo 'ngegno
mancò la fede, simulando sdegno.*

the hope of a reward, and realising this
faith failed him, and feigning scorn,

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

He then became a crow, wicked and ferocious,
Croaking *caw-caw* and not speaking the truth.

The opening of the section of the Squarcialupi codex that was prepared to receive Paolo's compositions but never filled (fol. 55^v) depicts a crest at the foot of the folio with a crow and a falcon on either side, and at the head of the folio Paolo's portrait is enclosed within the illuminated initial «G», which suggests that the composition originally destined for this opening was *Girand'un bel falcon*. Paolo's madrigal would thus be datable around 1409³⁹.

5. The Florentine conquest of Pisa celebrated in song

We come now to *Godi, Firenze*⁴⁰, whose interpretation in light of contemporary political developments is incontrovertible. A text and translation follow⁴¹:

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <i>Godi, Firenze, poi che sse' sì grande</i> | A | Florence rejoice, since you are so great |
| <i>Che batti l'ale per terr'e per mare</i> | B | you can beat your wings over land and sea, |
| <i>Faccend'ogni toscani di te tremare.</i> | B | making all Tuscany tremble. |
| <i>Glorioso triunfo di te spande</i> | A | Immortal Fame spreads the news |
| <i>Per tutto l'universo immortal fama,</i> | C | of your glorious triumph, |
| <i>Po' che Pisa tua serva omai si chiama.</i> | C | now that Pisa can be called your servant. |
| <i>Giove superno e'l Batista di gloria</i> | D | Jupiter on high and the herald of glory* |
| <i>Dàno di Pisa'l tuo popol vittoria [victoria].</i> | D | give your people victory over Pisa. |

*i.e., John the Baptist, patron saint of Florence

As one of Paolo's earliest biographers observed, «the first two lines of *Inferno* XXVI... are transferred almost literally, although with reversed meaning, to the beginning of...*Godi, Firenze*»⁴²: «Godi, Fiorenza, poi che se' sì grande /che per mare e per terra batti l'ali, /e per lo 'inferno tuo nome si spande! [“Take joy, oh Florence, for you are so great / your wings beat over land and sea, / your fame resounds through Hell!”]» (*Inf* XXVI, vv. 1-3 ⁴³. In “reversing the meaning”, Paolo's intentions (or the intentions of the unknown colleague who furnished him with his text) are clear. But what were his intentions in quoting Dante in the first instance?

One of Dante's most celebrated modern translators and interpreters has characterized the poet's «apostrophe of Florence» as «ironic», an «irony» that the reversal of meaning in Paolo's emended quotation effaces. In the rich commentary-tradition on Dante, which began almost immediately after the poem was in circulation, there is an interpretation of the canto's opening as the probable echo of a Latin inscription of 1255 on the façade of the Palazzo del Podestà in Florence (now the Bargello), which proclaims that Florence is in possession of the sea, the land, and the entire world. (As to why Dante characterizes his native city as «winged», it may have been suggested to him by the resemblance of the Latin word «*aliger* [“wingèd”]» to his own family name, Alighieri⁴⁴; but Florence is also implicitly represented as an eagle, or some other noble species of bird of prey, which now symbolically enfolds all of Tuscany, and most pointedly Pisa, within its wingèd embrace⁴⁵).

But the madrigal's political purposes might have been achieved without the device of the quotation from Dante. It may therefore have another significance, related to one of the themes of this issue of «Predella». Of course, the Florentine conquest of Pisa was, first and foremost, a political and military development, an expression of the military superiority of the Florentines. But the quotation from Dante metaphorically alters one's understanding of the nature of the victory over the Pisans and extends the range of terms by which one might have justified and rationalized such period Florentine militarism and “imperialism”: Florence is superior not only militarily but also artistically (literarily) and culturally, as the unrivaled status of its national poet implicitly suggests, and its uncontested cultural preëminence serves as partial vindication for its military adventures in Tuscany and for the conquest of Pisa. The gradual though decisive “suppression” of native Pisan artistic traditions, and the substitution of Florentine ones – as documented in the papers contributed to this number of «Predella» and elsewhere⁴⁶ – is yet another expression of the same covert and overt program of military and artistic conquest that is captured metaphorically in Paolo's madrigal.

In musical terms, Paolo's setting is a text-book compositional treatment of the canonical form of the madrigal: two stanzas – each comprising three endecasyllabic (eleven-syllable) lines, rhyming ABB and ACC – are followed by a concluding couplet (*ritornello*), comprising endecasyllabic lines and rhyming DD. Music is provided for only the first of the two three-line stanzas, and when the singers have completed their performance of the first stanza, they return to the very beginning of the musical setting and perform the second stanza to the music provided for the first. The concluding couplet is then set to different music. These procedures, though with exceptions, are canonical and are established from the very earliest years of the Trecento tradition.

There are some distinctions in procedure among the three voices of the madrigal (see Appendix B for the opening, transcribed into modern musical notation): the top-most voice is the most melodically complex and rhythmically active (it makes extensive use of sixteenth-notes and even thirty-second notes); the middle and bottom-most voices are less rhythmically active. But by this moment in the Trecento development, the three voices are typically more fully integrated with one another with respect to such compositional features, as contrasted with earlier phases of the development, where a simpler bottom-most voice (the “tenor”) clearly functions as the foundation for a much more ornate and melodically-rich top-most voice and in some senses is subordinated to it. There is somewhat greater equivalence among the three voices of Paolo's 1406 madrigal than one would have expected 50-75 years earlier.

Whether the deity responsible for the Florentine victory over the Pisans were the Roman Jupiter or the Christian Jesus – whose coming was foretold by John the Baptist, patron saint of Florence, the herald of glory – the victory was decidedly a cause for Florentine celebration. «Godi, Firenze!»

Appendix A: *Extant musical compositions of Paolo da Firenze*⁴⁷

source *sigla*:

- Chicago, Lowinsky⁴⁸: Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. Case ML 096. P36
- Florence 999: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Ashburnham 999
- Florence 2211:⁴⁹ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Archivio di San Lorenzo, Ms. 2211
- London 29987:⁵⁰ London, British Library, Ms. Additional 29987
- Lucca 184:⁵¹ Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Ms. 184 / Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale «Augusta», Ms. 3065
- Paris 568:⁵² Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. *fonds italien* 568
- Paris 6771:⁵³ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. *nouv. acq. frç.* 6771
- Perugia, Ciliberti:⁵⁴ fragmentary manuscript in the private collection of Galliano Ciliberti, Perugia

Latin sacred compositions

| TITLE | NUMBER OF VOICES | MANUSCRIPT SOURCE (AND COMPOSER ASCRIPTION) |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Benedicamus Domino</i> | 3 | • Paris 568 (D[on] P[aolo], erased; index: P[aulus] A[bbas]) |
| 2. <i>Gaudeamus omnes in Domino</i> | 2 | • Florence 999 (PAU) |

Ballate

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| 1. <i>Amor, da po' che tu ti maravigli</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (PA) |
| 2. <i>Amor, de' dimmi se sperar merzede</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chicago, Lowinsky (anonymous) (2 voices) Florence 2211 (Abbas Paulus) (2 voices) Paris 568 (Don Paolo) |
| 3. <i>Amor mi stringe assai più che non sole</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Florence 2211 (Abbas Paulus) Paris 568 (PA: implied) |
| 4. <i>Amor, tu solo 'l sai</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chicago, Lowinsky (anonymous) (2 voices) Paris 568 (PA) (2 voices) |
| 5. <i>Astio non morì mai</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Florence 2211 (Abbas Paulus) Paris 568 (anonymous) Perugia, Ciliberti (D.P.) |
| 6. <i>Benchè partito da te 'l corpo sia</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (Don Paolo) |
| 7. <i>Ben posson pianger gli ochi e star dolente</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perugia, Ciliberti (D.P.) |
| 8. <i>Che l'agg' i' fatto a questa donna altera</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (PA) |
| 9. <i>Chi vuol veder l'angelica bellezza</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (PA) |
| 10. <i>Da tanto disonesto et reo fervore</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perugia, Ciliberti (D.P.: implied) |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| 11. <i>De', dolze morte, cavami di pena</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (DP: ascription erased) |
| 12. <i>De', fa per quella speme e fede ch'io</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (DP: ascription erased) Perugia, Ciliberti (D.P.) |
| 13. <i>De', passa temp' amaro</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (DP: ascription erased) Perugia, Ciliberti (D.P.: implied) |
| 14. <i>Doglia continua per la suo partita</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chicago, Lowinsky (anonymous) Paris 568 (Pa.) |
| 15. <i>Dolze mie donna grazios' e pia</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chicago, Lowinsky (anonymous, but context suggests it is by Paolo) |
| 16. <i>Donna, perchè mi veggi altra mirare</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (Don Paolo) |
| 17. <i>Donne et fanciulle, chi ha gentil cuore</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (DP: ascription erased) |
| 18. <i>Fatto m'à sdegno partir vie d'amore</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (DP: ascription erased) Perugia, Ciliberti (D.P.) |
| 19. <i>In quella parte che si lieva 'l giorno</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (Do. Pa.: ascription erased) |
| 20. <i>Lasso, grev'è 'l partir anima mia</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (PA) |
| 21. <i>La vaga luce che fa invidi' al sole</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lucca 184 (2 voices) Paris 568 (PA) |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| 22. <i>Lena, virtù e speranza, ogni cor duro</i> | 3 | • Paris 568 (PA) |
| 23. <i>Ma' ri' aver di me pietà non veggio</i> | 3 | • Paris 568 (PA) |
| 24. <i>Merzè, per Dio, perchè</i> | 2 | • Paris 568 (DP: ascription erased) |
| 25. <i>Mort' è la fe' e lo sperar va giù</i> | 2 | • Paris 568 (Franciscus: ascription erased) • Perugia, Ciliberti (D.P.) |
| 26. <i>Non c'è rimasa fe'</i> | 3 | • Paris 568 (PA) |
| 27. <i>Ome, s'io gli piango</i> | 2 | • Paris 568 (DP: ascription erased) |
| 28. <i>Or sie che può com' a vo' piace sia</i> | 2 | • Florence 2211 (P. Abbas) • Paris 568 (Don Paolo) |
| 29. <i>Perchè vendetta far or non si po'</i> | 2 | • Paris 568 (Don Paolo) |
| 30. <i>Perch' i' non seppi passar caut' al varco</i> | 3 | • Paris 6771 (Dompni pauli) |
| 31. <i>Po' c'anno di mirar gli occhi mie stanchi</i> | 2 | • Florence 2211 (Abbas Paulus) • Paris 568 (Don Paolo) |
| 32. <i>S'Amor in cor gentil à signoria,</i> | 3 | • Chicago, Lowinsky (anonymous) (2 voices) • Paris 568 (PA) |
| 33. <i>Se già seguir altra che te non volli</i> | 3 | • Paris 568 (DP: ascription erased) • Perugia, Ciliberti ([D.] P.) |
| 34. <i>Se le n'arà pietà, Amor, ti prego</i> | 3 | • Paris 568 (DP: ascription erased) |

| | | |
|---|------------------------------------|---|
| 35. <i>Se partir mi convien dal tuo bel viso</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (DP: ascription erased) Perugia, Ciliberti (D.P.) |
| 36. <i>Se per virtù, Amor, donna m'accese</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (PA) |
| 37. <i>Sie mille mille volte benedetta</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Florence 2211 (Abbas Paulus) Paris 568 (DP: ascription erased) Perugia, Ciliberti (D.P.: implied) |
| 38. <i>Sofrir m'estuet et plus non puys durer</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (PA) |
| 39. <i>Tra speranza e fortuna i' pur m'aggio</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lucca 184 (2 voices only, but facing page is lost) Paris 568 (Do. Pa.: ascription erased) |
| 40. <i>Uom c'osa di veder tutta belezza</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Florence 2211 (Abbas Paulus) Paris 568 (Don Paolo) |
| 41. <i>Vago e benigno Amor, fammi contento</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paris 568 (PA) |
| 42. [...] <i>dio/Donna da te torra ma' il cor mi[o]</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perugia, Ciliberti (D.P.: implied) |
| 43. [...] <i>il benigna col nobil aspetto</i> | only one incomplete voice survives | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perugia, Ciliberti (D.P.: implied) |
| 44-46. <i>three unidentified pieces</i> | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Florence 2211 |

Madrigals

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. <i>Corse per l'onde già di speme piena</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Florence 2211 (P. Abbas) • Paris 568 (PA) |
| 2. <i>Era Venus al termin del suo giorno</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Florence 2211 (P. Abbas) • Paris 568 (PA) |
| 3. <i>Fra duri scogli sanz' alcun governo</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris 568 (PA) |
| 4. <i>Girand' un bel falcon gentil e bianco*</i> <hr style="width: 30%; margin-left: 0;"/> <i>*According to Günther, et al. (1987), pp. 204-05 n. 3, this may be a Florentine invective against Pope Gregory XII and thus was perhaps composed in February 1409; see the main text, above.</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Florence 2211 (P. Abbas) • Paris 568 (Don Paolo, erased) |
| 5. <i>Godi, Firenze, poi che se' sì grande</i> | 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris 568 (PA) |
| 6. <i>Nell' ora ch'a segar la bionda spiga</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris 568 (PA) |
| 7. <i>Non più 'nfelice alle suo membra nacque</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris 568 (Don Paolo Tenorista Da firenze) |
| 8. <i>Se non ti piacque in ingratt' abitare</i> | 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London 29987 (don paghollo) • Paris 568 (Don Paolo) |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| 9. <i>Tra verdi frond' in' isola 'n sul fonte,</i> | 2 | • Paris 568 (Don Paolo) |
| 10. <i>Una fera gentil più ch'altra fera</i> | 2 | • Paris 568 (D.P.) |
| 11. <i>Una smaniosa e insensata vecchia</i> | 2 | • Florence 2211 (P. Abbas) • Paris 568 (anonymous) |
| 12. <i>Un pellegrin uccel gentil e bello</i> | 2 | • Paris 568 (Don Pa.) |
| 13. <i>Ventilla con tumulto la gran fama</i> | 2 | • Florence 2211 (P. Abbas) • Paris 568 (PA) |

Appendix B: *The opening of Paolo da Firenze's madrigal*
*Godi, Firenze transcribed into modern musical notation*⁵⁵

Go - - - go - di, go - di, go - di,
 Go - - di, go - di, go - di, go - di, or
 3 Go - - - go - di, or go - di, or go - di, or
 go - - di, go - di, Fi-ren-ze, po' che sse' si
 5 go - di, go - di, go - di, or
 di, go - di, Fi - ren - ze, po' che sse' si gran
 gran
 8 go - di, Fi - ren - ze, po' che sse' si
 de
 de
 gran - - - de

- * I am grateful to my fellow musicologist and dear friend, Dott. Francesco Zimei, for having read a preliminary draft of this study. He is not responsible for such errors of fact or judgment as there are.
- 1 Readers of «Predella» will be interested to know that the celebrated Trecento composer was the son of painter Jacopo del Casentino, on whom see Andrew Ladis, *Jacopo del Casentino*, in *Grove Art Online*. Oxford Art Online (Oxford University Press), accessed 26 May 2015, <http://0-www.oxfordartonline.com.libcat.lafayette.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T043132>. For a more recent and complete study, see *Jacopo del Casentino e la pittura a Pratovecchio nel secolo di Giotto*, exhibition catalogue (Pratovecchio, 2014), ed. by D. Parenti and S. Ragazzini, Florence, 2014.
 - 2 N. Pirrotta and E. Li Gotti, *Il codice di Lucca*, in «Musica disciplina», 3-5, 1949-1951, 3 [I: N. Pirrotta, *Descrizione e Inventario*], pp. 119-138; 4 [II: E. Li Gotti, *Testi letterari*, and N. Pirrotta, *Appendice ai testi*], pp. 111-147, and 148-152; and 5 [III: N. Pirrotta, *Il repertorio musicale*], pp. 115-142; N. Pirrotta and E. Li Gotti, *Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino «extra mœnia»*, in *Estudios dedicados a [D. Ramón] Menéndez Pidal*, 7 vols., Madrid, 1950-1962, tirada aparte – tomo 3, 1952, pp. 577-87; N. Pirrotta, *Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell'Arts Nova*, in «Musica Disciplina», 10, 1956, pp. 61-66; and *Paolo Tenorista in a new fragment of the Italian Arts Nova. A Facsimile Edition of an Early Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Now in the Library of Professor Edward E. Lowinsky*, Berkeley, California, ed. by N. Pirrotta, Palm Springs, California, 1961.
 - 3 One can conclude this from a notarial act dated 16 June 1433, in which it is declared that Paolo was then around seventy-eight years old; see U. Günther, J. Nádas, and J. A. Stinson, *Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence, in 1380-1430: An International Style?* («Musica Disciplina», 41, 1987), pp. 203-246, at pp. 224-225 and n. 45.
 - 4 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. *fonds italien* 568.
 - 5 D. Fallows, *Paolo da Firenze*, in *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online (Oxford University Press), accessed 16 April 2015, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libcat.lafayette.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/20842>.
 - 6 As Pirrotta was at pains to observe repeatedly throughout his career, the musical culture of the time embraced not only written practice (some vestiges of which remain in the period manuscripts that have come down to us), but also a vast oral tradition, which is essentially lost to us because it did not require written notation to be created, preserved, disseminated, and performed. On this phenomenon in Pirrotta's vision of the musical past, see A. M. Cummings, *Nino Pirrotta: An Intellectual Biography*, Philadelphia, 2013 («Transactions of the American Philosophical Society CIII/Part 1»), Chapter [“Scena”] 3 and the concluding pages in Chapter [“Scena”] 4.
 - 7 Some extant compositions of the time have a voice that in vocal range lies beneath the tenor voice, but in the Italian *Trecento* repertory, they are very much the exception.
 - 8 Fallows, cit..
 - 9 Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Ms. Mediceo-Palatino 87 (the «Squarcialupi» co-dex).
 - 10 That page (or a portion thereof) is reproduced in various publications: *Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment*, cit., frontispiece; Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, *Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia*, cit., at p. 234; B. Brumana and G. Ciliberti, *Le ballate di Paolo da Firenze nel frammento Cil*, in «Esercizi: Arte, Musica, Spettacolo», 9, 1986, pp. 5-37, at p. 6.
 - 11 Fallows, cit.; Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., p. 233.

- 12 «Paulus Abbas monasterij S. Martini ad pluris ordinis S. Benedicti Aretinensis diocesis, promotus a Bonifacio IX 8 Idus Martij anno 1400 [new style 1401] Indict. 13».
- 13 Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., pp. 214-215 and n. 21.
- 14 Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., pp. 213-214 and n. 18.
- 15 «Paulus abbas monasterij Sancti Martini ad Pinum ordinis sancti Benedicti»; «Paulus Abbas S. Martini Apium» [sic]; «Paulus Abbas monasterij S. Martini ad pluris ordinis S. Benedicti Aretinensis diocesis, promotus a Bonifacio IX 8 Idus Martij anno 1400 [new style 1401] Indict. 13». It is the third of these that documents Paolo's appointment as abbot of San Martino in 1401. See Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., pp. 213-214 n. 18.
- 16 Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., ibid.
- 17 Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., ibid.
- 18 Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., pp. 204-205, n. 3. On *Girand'un bel falcon*, see further below.
- 19 «[...] reverendus pater Dominus Paulus abbas Sancti Martini de Pino, ordinis Sancti Benedicti. Eiusdem ecclesie Sancte Marie tune rector existens. Anno domini MCCCCXVII».
- 20 Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., pp. 219-220 and nn. 32-37.
- 21 Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., pp. 209-210 n. 11.
- 22 The foundational study of Paolo's relationship with the atelier at Santa Maria degli Angeli, which fundamentally altered the subsequent direction of scholarship on Paolo, is K. von Fischer, *Paolo da Firenze und der Squarcialupi-Kodex* (I – FL 87), in «Biblioteca del "Quadrivium." Serie Musicologica», 9, Bologna, 1969, pp. 5-19 and the accompanying musical examples and illustrations.
- 23 See my Appendix A for an inventory of Paolo's extant compositions and the *sigla* for the period sources that transmit them.
- 24 A typical compositional practice of the time is for polyphonic sacred compositions to build upon preëxistent "Gregorian" chants: The monophonic (single-lined) "Gregorian" antecedent material is the bottom-most voice – the "foundation" of the composition, in both literal and compositional senses – and the later composer's contribution is to compose one or more additional melodies above the foundation of the Gregorian chant. These additional, newly-composed melodies are subtly crafted so that their pitches harmonize agreeably (according to period conventions as to what constitutes "agreeable harmony") with the pitches of the antecedent Gregorian melody. Thus at any given moment in the resultant composition, the bottom-most pitch is the pitch of the original Gregorian melody, and the pitch or pitches lying above it were newly composed by the composer of the polyphonic elaboration.
- 25 On the important material in the foregoing three paragraphs, see Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., pp. 210-212 and nn. 12-15.
- 26 Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., p. 218.
- 27 For the material in the foregoing four paragraphs, see Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., pp. 220-224 and 226-229 and nn. 38-54.
- 28 Pirrotta and Li Gotti, *Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino «extra mœnia»*, cit., pp. 579-580 and nn. 1-2 on p. 580.
- 29 Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., pp. 208 and n. 6 and 233; Follows.

- 30 N. Pirrotta, *Rhapsodic Elements in North-Italian Polyphony of the 14th Century*, in «Musica disciplina», 37, 1983, pp. 83-99, at p. 83.
- 31 R. Taucci [«Trascrizione del M.o Nino Pirrotta.»], *Fra Andrea dei Servi, organista e compositore del Trecento*, in «Studi storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria», 2/2, 1934-35, pp. 73-108.
- 32 *Paolo Tenorista*, cit., p. 28. See below for an analysis of Paolo's *Godi, Firenze*, a madrigal, in reference to the canonical poetic-musical procedures of the madrigal as a genre.
- 33 For some particulars, see Pirrotta's introduction to his edition of Jacopo's compositions in vol. IV of *The Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, ed. by N. Pirrotta, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1963 («Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae», 8/4), pp. IX ff.
- 34 Discussed by Pirrotta in his contribution to E. Li Gotti and N. Pirrotta, *Il Sacchetti e la tecnica musicale del Trecento italiano*, Florence, 1935.
- 35 N. Pirrotta, *The Music* [«Le musiche»], trans. H. Ward Perkins, in *Il codice Squarcialupi: Ms. Mediceo Palatino 87, Biblioteca laurenziana di Firenze*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo, 2 vols., Florence and Lucca, 1992 («Ars nova»), vol. 1, pp. 195-221, at p. 212.
- 36 The original text is from J. Nádas, *The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript Tradition*, in *In Cantu et in Sermone. For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, ed. F. Della Seta and F. Piperno, Florence, 1989 («Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies. The University of Western Australia», 2), pp. 41-64, at pp. 57-58 and n. 24; the translation is from *The Medieval Romantics. French Songs and Motets, 1340-1440*. Gothic Voices, Christopher Page, director. Hyperion CDA66463, London, © & © 1991, pp. 15-16.
- 37 On the foregoing material, see Nádas, *The Songs of Don Paolo*, cit., pp. 57-58 and nn. 22-24. There are recordings of Paolo's *ballata* on *The Medieval Romantics and Paolo da Firenze* (ca. 1355-1436), *Amor, tu solo'l sai. Ballate e Madrigali*, Club Mediéval. Thomas Baeté. Musica Ficta 8017, n.p. [Brussels], © /©, 2013, track 7.
- 38 The original text is from Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., pp. 204-205 and n. 3; the translation is from *Narcisso Speculando. Madrigaux de Paolo da Firenze*. Mala Punica. Pedro Mermelsdorf. WDR 3 & Fondation France Telecom. Harmonia Mundi France. HMC 901732, Arles, © 2002, p. 25.
- 39 For further, convincing substantiation for interpreting this composition as the expression of Florentine animus toward Gregory, see Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., pp. 204-205 and n. 3. For recordings of *Girand'un bel falcon*, see *Narcisso Speculando and Paolo da Firenze* (ca. 1355-1436), *Amor, tu solo'l sai*, track 4.
- 40 On *Godi, Firenze*, see, above all, U. Günther, *Zur Datierung des Madrigals «Godi, Firenze» und der Handschrift Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568*, in «Archiv für Musikwissenschaft», 24, 1967, pp. 99-119.
- 41 The original Italian text is taken from Günther, *Zur Datierung*, cit.; the translation is from *Narcisso Speculando*, cit., pp. 23, 25. For recordings of *Godi, Firenze*, see *Narcisso Speculando and Sotto l'Imperio del Possente Prince. Homage Music of the 14th and early 15th century*. Ensemble Perlaro. Lorenzo Donadini – direction. Early Music, New Perspectives. Panclassics 10221, n.p. [Vevey], © 2008/© 2010, track 1.
- 42 *Paolo Tenorista*, cit., p. 29.
- 43 Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*, trans. R. and J. Hollander, Intro. & Nn. R. Hollander, New York, 2000, pp. 476-77.
- 44 For the foregoing material in this paragraph, see *Inferno*, trans. Hollander, p. 486.

- 45 For this interpretation, I am indebted to my colleague Diane Cole Ahl.
- 46 For example, see the chapter on Pisa in Diane Cole Ahl, *Fifteenth-Century Painting in Italy*, London and New Haven, Conn, forthcoming.
- 47 Adapted from Fallows, *Paolo da Firenze*, cit. See also B. Brumana and G. Ciliberti, *Nuove fonti per lo studio dell'opera di Paolo da Firenze*, «Rivista italiana di musicologia», 22, 1987, pp. 3-33; Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, cit., at pp. 206-07; and Nádas, *The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista*, cit.
- 48 On the fragmentary manuscript Chicago, Lowinsky, see Pirrotta, *Paolo da Firenze*, cit., and *Paolo Tenorista*, cit. For further detail on Pirrotta's research on the Chicago, Lowinsky fragment, see Cummings, *Nino Pirrotta*, cit., at p. 190 and p. 261 nn. 62-63.
- 49 On the manuscript Florence 2211, see, among other titles, F. A. D'Accone, *Una nuova fonte dell'Ars Nova italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo*, 2211, in «Studi musicali», 13, 1984, pp. 2-31; J. Nádas, *Manuscript San Lorenzo 2211: Some Further Observations*, in *L'Europa e la musica del Trecento: Congresso IV: Certaldo 1984*, Certaldo, 1992 («L'Ars Nova italiana del Trecento», 6), pp. 145-68; and J. Nádas, *Manuscript Florence, San Lorenzo 2211: Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, Lucca («Ars Nova: Collana di riproduzioni fotografiche delle fonti italiane del Tre-Quattrocento»).
- 50 On the manuscript London 29987, see, among other titles, G. Reaney, *The Manuscript London, British Museum Additional 29987* (Lo), in «Musica disciplina», 12, 1958, pp. 67-91; *The Manuscript London, British Museum, Additional 29987: A Facsimile Edition with an Introduction*, n.p. [Rome?], ed. G. Reaney, 1965 («Musicological Studies and Documents», 12); G. di Bacco, *Alcune nuove osservazioni sul codice di Londra*, in «Studi musicali», 20/2, 1991, pp. 181-234; M. Gozzi, *Alcune postille sul codice Add. 29987 della British Library*, in «Studi musicali» 22/2, 1993, pp. 249-277; and G. Carsaniga, *An Additional Look at London Additional 29987*, in «Musica disciplina», 48, 1994, pp. 283-297.
- 51 On the manuscript Lucca 184, see, among other titles, Pirrotta and Li Gotti, *Il Codice di Lucca; and The Lucca Codex. Codice Mancini. Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184 - Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale «Augusta», MS 3065, Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition* by J. Nádas and A. Ziino, Lucca, 1990 («Ars Nova» 2, Ministero dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali – Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici).
- 52 On the manuscript Paris 568, see, among other titles, G. Reaney, *The Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Italien 568* (Pit), «Musica disciplina», 14, 1960, pp. 33-63.
- 53 On the manuscript Paris 6771, see, among other titles, K. von Fischer, *The Manuscript Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. Acq. Frç. 6771* (Codex Reina = PR), in «Musica disciplina», 11, 1957, pp. 38-78; and J. Nádas, *The Reina Codex Revisited, Essays in Paper Analysis*, ed. S. Spector, Washington, D.C./London/Cranbury, N.J., 1986, pp. 69-114.
- 54 On the fragmentary manuscript in Perugia, Ciliberti, see Brumana and Ciliberti, *Le ballate di Paolo da Firenze nel frammento Cil*, cit.,; Brumana and Ciliberti, *Nuove fonti per lo studio dell'opera di Paolo da Firenze*, cit.; and Brumana and Ciliberti, *L'opera di Paolo da Firenze in una nuova fonte di Ars nova Italiana*, in *La musica nel tempo di Dante*, ed. L. Pestalozza, Milan, 1988, pp. 198-205.
- 55 The edition was prepared by Anthony M. Urbano, Lafayette College Class of 2015.



Fig. 1: Illuminated miniature of Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia in the principal source of Florentine Trecento polyphonic music: Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Ms. Mediceo-Palatino 87 (the «Squarcialupi» codex)