

# POLYPHONIC VOICES

Poetic and Musical Dialogues in the European Ars Nova

Edited by

ANNA ALBERNI, ANTONIO CALVIA and MARIA SOFIA LANNUTTI



EDIZIONI DEL GALLUZZO  
PER LA FONDAZIONE EZIO FRANCESCHINI



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Studi e testi

13

Polifonia Italiana Trecentesca (PIT)

*Volumi pubblicati*

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*Polyphonic Voices. Poetic and Musical Dialogues in the European Ars Nova.* Edited by A. Alberni, A. Calvia and M. S. Lannutti, 2021.

Dipartimento di Musicologia e Beni Culturali dell'Università di Pavia  
Fondazione "Walter Stauffer" · Fondazione "Ezio Franceschini"

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FIRENZE  
EDIZIONI DEL GALLUZZO  
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2021

This volume is part of two projects that have received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's «Horizon 2020» research and innovation programme (Grant Agreements No. 786379 and No. 772762)



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ISBN 978-88-9290-147-6; e-ISBN (PDF) 978-88-9290-176-6; DOI 10.36167/TM22PDF  
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## Preface\*

1. The title of the present volume, *Polyphonic Voices*, alludes to the synergistic and interdisciplinary nature of the studies that it contains: it evokes the voices of polyphonic chant, which in the so-called Ars Nova reached unprecedented levels of complexity and sophistication, as well as Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of polyphony, inspired by music theory and conceived as a structural element of the novel. According to Bakhtin, the polyphony of a literary text, also defined as "pluridiscursivity", indicates a multi-voiced dialogue between characters, episodes or languages. Such polyphony, given by the continuous interaction of any discourse with other pre-existing ones (not necessarily attested in written form), generates the simultaneous presence of different and sometimes conflicting points of view, but it does not necessarily imply the evocation of other literary texts.<sup>1</sup>

This distinction between "polyphony of discourses" and "polyphony of texts" in literary works was the starting point for the theoretical arguments of Cesare Segre who, reflecting on the meaning of the term "intertextuality" coined by Julia Kristeva, operated a fundamental disambiguation. According to Segre, proper intertextuality consists of a direct and intentional relationship between a literary text and other literary texts in terms of ideas, language or style. Phenomena of shared literary codes (whether thematic, linguistic or formal) have a different function and different values compared to proper intertextuality. For these phenomena – close to the category of Bakhtin's "pluridiscursivity" – Segre proposed the notion of "interdiscursivity".<sup>2</sup>

\* The preface is the result of collaboration between the three editors; specifically §1 is contributed by Maria Sofia Lannutti, §2 by Antonio Calvia, §3 by Anna Alberni, §4 by the three editors.

1. See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, ed. and transl. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), where the term "polyphony" is used; and Id., "Discourse in the Novel", in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, transl. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 259-422, at 400.

2. Cesare Segre, "Intertestuale – interdiscorsivo. Appunti per una fenomenologia delle fonti", in *La parola ritrovata. Fonti e analisi*, ed. Costanzo Di Girolamo and Ivano Paccagnella (Palermo: Sellerio, 1982), 15-28, then with the title "Intertestualità e interdiscorsività nel romanzo e nella poe-

This specific concept of intertextuality thus defined characterised the language of medieval Romance poetry since the oldest troubadours, who grafted subtle references onto a thick web of biblical and patristic quotations. On the whole, the entire repertoire of Romance lyric poetry produced in France, in the Iberian Peninsula and in Italy is characterised by broad cultural horizons and permeable geo-linguistic boundaries. This genre is by nature open to various instances of intercultural dialogue, by virtue of which all these poetic languages can be regarded as essentially European.

In the poetry of the *Ars Nova* repertoire, intertextuality may even translate into the quotation of ample textual segments – as in the prominent case of several ballades set to music by Filippotto da Caserta, in which entire verses are drawn from the lyrics of Machaut, or in the lesser-known case of the madrigal *Roct'è la vela, l'arbor'e-ll'antenna*, set to music by Nicolò del Preposto, whose refrain features a verse from the *sestina* 80 of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (“Ma-ss'i' mai esco de' dubbiosi scogli”; “s'io esca vivo de' dubbiosi scogli”).<sup>3</sup>

Over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, vernacular literatures gained increasing relevance and prestige. Several vernacular works with a strong literary and ideological impact became part of a shared heritage and inspired the language of lyric poetry with their ideas, images, stylistic devices, lexicon and metrical structures. Texts such as the *Roman de la rose*, Dante's *Commedia* or the lyrics of Petrarch and Machaut were often quoted selectively, and almost ever-present as underlying influences. Although a single *iunctura*, an image, a series of rhymes or a formal structure may recall a familiar atmosphere, they do not necessarily establish a direct relationship between one text and another, nor can they be considered as an integral part of a collective poetic code; they should rather be regarded as peculiar features of a sub-code generated by the shared interiorisation of a certain text or group of texts. Allusive overtones may even be identified in texts devoid of authorship, as in the case of the *refrains récurrents*,<sup>4</sup> which are typical of the French repertoire. Such texts should be considered part of this common patrimony as much as the works of renowned authors, as duly pointed out by Yolanda Plumley in her studies on the works of Jehannot de Lescurel.<sup>5</sup>

sia”, in Id., *Testo e romanzo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1984), 103-18 and in Id., *Opera critica* (Milan: Mondadori, 2014), 573-91.

3. A preeminent reference work concerning the intertextuality of the poems set to music in the Middle Ages is Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song. Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). On Nicolò del Preposto's madrigal, see Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera Completa. Edizione critica commentata dei testi intonati e delle musiche*, ed. Antonio Calvia (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017), 47.

4. Pierre Bec, *La lyrique française au Moyen Age (XIIe-XIIIe siècles). Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux*, Vol. 1: *Études*; Vol. 2: *Textes* (Paris: Picard, 1977-1978), Vol. 1, 4.

5. Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 57-88.

These kinds of sub-codes are connected to forms of interdiscursivity which could be defined as “specific”, in the sense that they are made less generic by the presence of a filter, that is, a specific work or a specific set of works. Specific interdiscursivity is of primary importance for modern interpreters, as in some cases it has the effect of re-semanticising the code: in such instances, its disclosure enables the reader to fully understand the literal meaning of the text, as well as its symbolic and ideological implications. In the case of a ballade or a madrigal characterised by forms of sheer and simple interdiscursivity (like, for instance, the texts of the *Ars Nova* repertoire that employ the language of love poetry), the identification of relations of specific interdiscursivity may lead to the discovery of particular meanings or peculiar functions.

A series of allusions to the same work in a number of poetic texts may influence the order of such compositions within *Ars Nova* anthologies:<sup>6</sup> different compositions sharing the same intertext were often grouped together in the same manuscript. This could be considered a form of secondary intertextuality, generated during the course of manuscript transmission,<sup>7</sup> which has a double effect: on the one hand it underlines the relationship between different texts, on the other it emphasises the relevance of the literary work alluded to by the poetic texts, as well as the cultural and literary tradition that such a work represents.

Specific interdiscursivity applies to literary texts – in this particular case, mainly poetic texts – and it should therefore be distinguished from the relationship between a literary text and the peculiar language of a non-literary genre, which in turn has been defined as “areal intertextuality” (Italian “*intertestualità areale*”).<sup>8</sup> Taking into account the disambiguation applied by Segre, we might consider this relationship as yet another form of interdiscursivity, which, for example, manifests itself in the repertoire of lyric poetry through the use of words drawn from the language of philosophy, theology and heraldry.

Consequently, intertextuality and different forms of interdiscursivity coexist both within the fabric of *Ars Nova* poetry, and, at a secondary level, in the editorial scopes of the anthologies that preserve it. The result of this is a stratification of meanings (pertaining to love, ethics and politics) the understanding of which is fundamental to the reconstruction of the historico-cultural

6. See Antonio Calvia's essay in the present volume.

7. Maria Sofia Lannutti, “Intertestualità, imitazione metrica e melodia nella lirica romanza delle Origini”, *Medioevo romanzo* 32 (2008): 3-28, repr. in Maria Caraci Vela, *La filologia musicale. Istituzioni, storia, strumenti critici*, Vol. 3: *Antologia di contributi filologici* (Lucca: LIM, 2013), 175-200. The formulation of the concept of “secondary intertextuality” can be found at 192.

8. Claudio Giunta, “Generi non letterari e poesia delle Origini”, in *Codici. Saggi sulla poesia del Medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005), 299-315, at 308-9.

and literary background of each composition. Moreover, it should be stressed that the identification of relations of intertextuality and interdiscursivity can sometimes be crucial for the correct application of textual criticism, providing the necessary evidence for the selection of a variant reading or for a conjectural emendation. On the other hand, the absence of innovations that might compromise the meaning or the metric structure of a given text is the necessary premise that enables the correct identification and a reliable evaluation of its relations with other texts.

The poetic texts belonging to both *Artes Novae* – the Italian and the French – feature two distinct systems of allusive stratification based on their respective literary traditions. The specificity of the allusive language, however, did not prevent the authors of some of the texts set to music by Italian polyphonists from writing in French. This general trilingualism, generated by the compresence of Latin, Italian and French, is also attested to in many of the surviving manuscript anthologies, most of which are of Italian origin or were arranged and transcribed by Italian copyists. The trilingual nature of *Ars Nova* poetry also corresponded to the three languages of the Church, during the Avignon Papacy and, later, the great western Schism; for this reason, language became an integral part of these compositions' allusive games, contributing to the image of a musical and poetic repertoire of European breadth.

2. In the *Ars Nova* repertoire, the text – consisting of two different levels and two different languages (verbal and musical) – belongs to the category of “complex text”.<sup>9</sup> Such textual complexity, in the above-mentioned strict acceptance of the term, implies that the occurrences of intertextuality can also be complex and layered, sometimes inextricably, between the two levels of poetry and music.

The notion of intertextuality was first explored in musicological study between the end of the eighties and the early nineties. The earliest formulations of this concept sought to address two particular necessities: the need to avoid strong connotations, inherent in terms such as “imitation”, “parody” or “quotation”; and the need to find a neutral word that could be used as a start-

9. Maria Caraci Vela, *La filologia musicale. Istituzioni, storia, strumenti critici*, Vol. 2: *Approfondimenti* (Lucca; LIM, 2009), 69: “È un testo complesso anche quello di un mottetto medievale: dove operano in reciproca e stretta relazione il testo verbale e quello musicale, entrambi spesso impegnati in strategie intertestuali combinatorie. Il duplice livello di testualità si risolveva, per i suoi destinatari, in una percezione unitaria e globale, e non in un agglomerato di elementi decostruibili”. (“A medieval motet is also a complex text, in which music and lyrics operate in strict correlation, and are often involved in combinatorial intertextual strategies. This dual layer of textuality was perceived by its recipients as unitary and comprehensive, and not as a conglomeration of decomposable elements”).

ing point for further differentiations, allowing scholars to sort phenomena of a different nature into different sub-categories. After more than a decade, in a paper admittedly restricted to “English-language studies of early music”, John Milsom observed how the notion of intertextuality was spreading rapidly in application to music. At the same time, he rightly pointed out that in the field of musicological study the word “intertextuality” was often used as an “overarching term”, lacking a univocal definition shared by the academic community.<sup>10</sup>

Milsom identified the earliest occurrences of this neologism in the field of musicology,<sup>11</sup> and observed that its adoption was motivated by the need to find an alternative to words considered particularly problematic in studies on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century polyphony. According to Milsom, the definition of “musical” intertextuality corresponds to a rich and multifaceted series of concepts and terms indicating intentional relations between musical works that exclude, however, phenomena which might be labelled as “non-directional, unintentional and (to the listener) essentially meaningless” interconnections.<sup>12</sup> This led to the need for a reconsideration of the concept of musical intertextuality, and for the possible definition of a type of intertextuality different from its then current usage in musicological scholarship – a definition that from our perspective roughly corresponds to the notion of “interdiscursivity” outlined by Segre.

It should be noted that in 1994, David Crook had already pointed out the limited practicality of a broad concept of intertextuality. According to Crook, this type of intertextuality works in parallel in music and literature: within the boundaries of a given tradition, all the English literary works feature at least a shared basis of lexicon and syntax; likewise, all the musical works of a certain repertoire share a common vocabulary and a common set of rules.<sup>13</sup>

10. Cf. John Milsom, “‘Imitatio’, ‘Intertextuality’, and Early Music”, in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge, UK - Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2005), 141–51, at 143.

11. Milsom indicates three key essays: Rob C. Wegman, “Another ‘Imitation’ of Busnoys’s *Missa L’Homme Armé* – and Some Observations on *Imitatio* in Renaissance Music”, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114/2 (1989): 189–202; J. Michael Allsen, “Intertextuality and Compositional Process in Two Cantilena Motets by Hugo de Lantins”, *The Journal of Musicology* 11/2 (1993): 174–202; David Crook, *Orlando Di Lasso’s Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). According to Crook, the word “intertextuality” responds to the “need for a purely descriptive term devoid of previous meaning in music-historical writings” (*ibid.*, 155).

12. Milsom provides two suggestive lists of opposite keywords, representing the two polar tendencies of the term’s potential meaning; see Milsom, “‘Imitatio’, ‘Intertextuality’, and Early Music”, 144.

13. Even though Crook uses the concept of intertextuality in the specific sense – that is to indicate an intentional, directional, recognisable and meaningful quotation – his paper generated con-

After more than forty years since the first attestations of this term in musicological study, it would be impossible to provide a comprehensive overview of all the scholarship that has adopted “intertextuality” as a starting point for new research or proposed alternative definitions in response to it. As far as the Trecento repertoire is concerned, some significant studies were published between the end of the twentieth century and the early 2000s.<sup>14</sup> For example, Kevin Brownlee made several methodological remarks on the distinction between two main categories of intertextuality: on one side, intentional connections; on the opposite side, connections generated by the presence of *topoi* and through relationships with the formal genre.<sup>15</sup>

In the early fifties, Giorgio Pasquali, to whom we owe the theorisation of the concept of “arte allusiva” (“the art of allusion”), employed a distinction between “reminiscence” (potentially unconscious), “imitation” (also intentionally concealed) and “allusion”. Pasquali’s observations showed how the concept of “allusive art” might be conveniently applied beyond the scope of learned poetry to all the other arts, including music.<sup>16</sup> In an important chapter in the second volume of her handbook of musical philology published in 2009, entitled *Intertestualità e arte allusiva* (intertextuality and the art of allusion), Maria Caraci Vela examined from a methodological perspective the current application of the notion of intertextuality in the field of musicology; as suggested by the title, she compared this concept to the “arte allusiva” of the Italian tradition, with a special focus on its philological implications.<sup>17</sup>

trasting reactions concerning the possible implications of the adoption of such a wide-ranging term; see Crook, *Orlando Di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats*, 156; Milsom, “‘Imitatio’, ‘Intertextuality’, and Early Music”, 144 and the accompanying footnotes.

14. See in particular the studies by Margaret Bent, Jacques Boogaart, Kevin Brownlee, Maria Caraci Vela, Dolores Pesce, and Yolanda Plumley; a selected bibliography can be found in Caraci Vela, *La filologia musicale*, Vol. 2: *Approfondimenti*, 145n114. The terms “borrowing” and “citational practices” are respectively adopted in two miscellanies: *Early Musical Borrowing: Criticism and Analysis of Early Music*, ed. Honey Meconi (New York: Routledge, 2004), a collection of essays on the music (mostly the polyphonic Mass) of the Quattro- and the Cinquecento, considered “the heyday of borrowing” (see Honey Meconi, “Introduction: Borrowing and Early Music”, in *Early Musical Borrowing*, 1-4, at 1); *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano Di Bacco and Stefano Jossa (Exeter: University of Exeter Press), Vol. 1: *Text, Music and Image from Machaut to Ariosto* (2011); Vol. 2: *Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Medieval Culture* (2013). See also Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, which functions along the same methodological line as that proposed in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory*.

15. Kevin Brownlee, “Literary Intertextualities in 14th-Century French Song”, in *Musik als Text: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Freiburg im Breisgau 1993*, ed. Tobias Plebuch and Hermann Danuser (Kassel-New York: Bärenreiter, 1998), 295-9, at 295.

16. See Giorgio Pasquali, “Arte allusiva”, in *Stravaganze quarte e supreme*, 1951 (ed. 1968, quoted), 275-82, at 275-6. On the same topic, see also Gianfranco Contini, “Arte allusiva”, in *Breviario di eadotica*, 1985, 51-4; recently reprinted in Id., *Filologia*, ed. Lino Leonardi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2019), 59-62.

17. Maria Caraci Vela, “Intertestualità e arte allusiva”, in *La filologia musicale*, Vol. 2: *Approfondimenti*, 117-73. See also her chapter in this volume.

According to Caraci Vela, the categories that are most useful for musical scholarship are those described by Genette in 1982 in relation to the broader notion of “transtextuality”: proper intertextuality (quotation, plagiarism and allusion); paratextuality (the relation between the body of a text and its paratext); metatextuality (critical commentary); hypertextuality (derivation of a text, the “hypertext”, from another, the “hypotext”); and architextuality (the relation between a text and its genre).<sup>18</sup> Aside from listing a series of useful examples concerning the possible application of Genette’s categories in musicological study,<sup>19</sup> Caraci Vela proposed an essential differentiation between “physiological intertextuality” (enforced by necessary factors) and “allusive intertextuality”. The latter features two different levels of decodification, not equally accessible to all types of recipient: recognition of the cited work (accessible to a wider range of recipients); understanding of the message alluded to, indicating the disclosure of the allusive function, which at the highest level results in the ideal recipient’s complete apprehension of the message.<sup>20</sup> For a reader imbued with the same culture as the author, it was very easy to recognise these two kinds of intertextuality – or rather, such a reader was not even supposed to take “physiological” interconnections into account; conversely, trying to make hermeneutical efforts centuries after a work’s creation is an inevitably difficult task. For this reason, being able to discern interdiscursivity from intentional intertextuality is a crucial aspect of modern research. It reduces the risk of attributing an excess of meaning to elements that have no allusive value whatsoever (aiming to come as close as possible to that ideal recipient), and enables a better understanding of languages and compositional techniques whose commonality transcended geo-cultural boundaries.

3. The study of the various forms of intertextuality, conceived as a key to understanding musical and poetic texts of the Middle Ages, represents one of the methodological strengths of the research projects ArsNova and MiMus: these two projects focus on contrasting repertoires and cultural environments, and their lines of research are independent; nonetheless, they find common

18. Cf. Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982); Italian transl. *Palinsesti* (Turin: Einaudi, 1997; quoted), 3-10.

19. It is worth mentioning, at least, the examples pertaining to the late Middle Ages, such as the numerous cases of hypertextuality (composition on a tenor, *enture*, combinative *chanson*) and architextuality, intended as an “allusion to the formal generic status” (for “generic status”, Italian “*statuto di genere*”, see also Caraci Vela’s chapter in this volume; concerning the latter, see the discussion on Landini’s madrigal *Sì dolce non sonò* and its relationship to the motet genre); see Caraci Vela, *La filologia musicale*, Vol. 2: *Approfondimenti*, 138.

20. *Ibid.*, 140.

ground in the central role of textual analysis, and share the same attention to the philological implications of any interpretative approach.

The aim of the project ArsNova is to valorise and interpret from a cross-disciplinary perspective the entire corpus of poetic texts set to music by Ars Nova polyphonists.<sup>21</sup> These texts, often characterised by *brevitas* and *obscuritas*, are examples of a complex and refined allusive art – a code that modern readers often struggle to fully decipher, and which may easily give rise to misunderstandings. In addition to this, they are also part of a system of specific repertoires, which might be roughly circumscribed to distinct timeframes, environments of production or compositional techniques, but that are also connected by the common denominator of fourteenth-century *musica mensuralis*. In light of this, the identification of the various forms of verbal and musical intertextuality becomes necessary; on the one hand, in order to understand the literal and symbolic meaning of Ars Nova compositions; on the other, in order to shed light on the network of interior and exterior relations between texts more or less distant in time and space. In order to facilitate the identification of intertextual relationships, the project ArsNova has also designed a database, which is currently being implemented. The database features a catalogue of works and the manuscripts in which they are preserved, as well as an archive of new editions of poetic and musical texts, and a repertory of metrical and musical structures. The editions of the poetic texts can be queried by forms and by lemmas, while the repertory of metrical and musical structures contains useful information for identifying relations of architectuality, conceived as a form of intertextuality concerning the formal architecture of poetry and music.<sup>22</sup>

Project MiMus, focused on producing a modern edition of a large corpus of documents pertaining to the musical life at the court of the Crown of Aragon between the mid-thirteenth and the mid-fourteenth century, combines the study of intertextuality with historical analysis.<sup>23</sup> The core of the project is the MiMus database (MiMus DB), conceived as an instrument capable of providing access to the information contained within the corpus, including more than 6000 documents relating to music and musicians from the Archive of Royal Aragon (ACA, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona), 60% of which

21. ArsNova is the siglum of the project *European Ars Nova. Multilingual Poetry and Polyphonic Song in the Late Middle Ages*, funded by the European Research Council (ERC-AdG-2017), and based at the University of Florence. See [www.europeanarsnova.eu](http://www.europeanarsnova.eu) (last accessed February 17, 2021).

22. Gérard Genette, *Introduction à l'architexte* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1979); Id., *Palimpsestes*.

23. MiMus is the acronym of the research project *Ioculator seu Mimus. Performing Music and Poetry in Medieval Iberia*, funded by the European Research Council (ERC-CoG-2017), and based at the Universitat de Barcelona. See <http://mimus.ub.edu> (last accessed January 29, 2021).

are still unpublished. Thanks to its features and its size, this resource will help scholars to resolve some of the vexed questions concerning the function of music and poetry in the cultural system of medieval European courts on the Iberian Peninsula. One of the primary purposes of project MiMus and of the MiMus DB is to allow the academic community to access a body of historical evidence which may corroborate the data emerging from the complex network of intertextual borrowings and allusions that characterises Catalan medieval poetry. Through the consultation of archival documents gathered in the MiMus DB, it is possible to obtain an overview of the context of the production and reception of lyrical texts, which in the case of medieval Catalan poetry are almost always preserved without music. These documents reveal the presence at the Catalan-Aragonese court of a significant number of minstrels and musicians, partially filling the *lacuna* caused by the rarity of surviving notated manuscripts; an issue that has proved one of the most puzzling in the historiography of medieval Catalan poetry.<sup>24</sup>

In this respect, documents attesting how minstrels and musicians travelled between various courts are of great relevance; at the same time, some professional musicians were steadily employed by the ruling class, as shown by the payment orders of the royal chancery of Barcelona. As they travelled from one place to the next, these musicians would bring along their own instruments and repertoires, their own techniques and styles of interpretation; once they arrived at a new court, they would come into contact with the local repertoire, and with the peculiar instruments, techniques and musical tastes of that specific environment. Their presence might well instigate the diffusion of melodies and poetic texts, but also an assimilation of the techniques and repertoires in vogue at the court where they were being hosted. In a letter to his brother written in 1378, Prince John (the future King John I of Aragon) complains about the fact that his own minstrels are away from court, and that he has, therefore, to be content with the temporary service of his wife's musicians who are wholly untrained in the so-called *mester novell*. In the letter, John asks his brother if he could send over the French minstrel Jacomí, who had served him previously, so that he may teach “tres o quatre coses novelles als dits ministrers de la duquessa” (“three or four new things to the aforesaid

24. Aside from the fundamental studies by M. Gómez Muntané, not much research has been conducted on the presence and the diffusion of musical repertoires in the Crown of Aragon territories. Recently, David Catalunya has undertaken a survey of the fragments of fourteenth-century polyphonic manuscripts preserved in Catalan collections: see David Catalunya, “Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century in Aragon: Reassessing a Panorama of Fragmentary Sources”, in *Disiecta Membra Musicae: Studies in Musical Fragmentology*, ed. Giovanni Varelli, Studies in Manuscript Cultures 21 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 117-63.

minstrels of the duchess”).<sup>25</sup> This document seems to attest to the rapid diffusion of Ars Nova polyphony in the Iberian Peninsula, and especially in the Catalan-speaking territories, during a period in which the Aragonese court entertained close cultural and artistic relations with the papal court of Avignon, and allows scholars to assess the role of French minstrels in the process of composition as well as international transmission of that repertoire.

The names of the artists and their patrons, the dates, the places, the periods of service, as well as the musicians' travels or their exchanges between different courts, are all essential in order to draw a picture of the system of personal and professional relations that influenced the production of the texts and their formal aspects. For instance, the presence of French musicians and minstrels from the Angevin courts, documented between the end of the thirteenth century and the years following the death of Peter the Ceremonious (1387), made the court of the kings of Aragon the ideal context for the elaboration of the strophic forms *à refrain* employed by fourteenth-century Catalan poets. Around that time, the genre of the *dansa* gained prestige in the Catalan milieu, as demonstrated by descriptors such as *trobador de danses* found in the accounts of Peter the Ceremonious and his third wife, Eleanor of Sicily. As we know, the genre of the *dansa* became especially relevant to the later Catalan poets, at least until Alfonso the Magnanimous' generation.

The works of fifteenth-century Catalan authors, influenced by the French *formes fixes* of the fourteenth century, contain allusions to older texts preserved along with their musical notation. Consequently, it might be inferred that the verbal intertextuality itself acted as a mode of inference to the music that once accompanied the texts. A noteworthy case is that of Jordi de Sant Jordi, arguably the best Catalan poet at the turn of the fourteenth century, who was also a musician according to the Marquis of Santillana. His *Estramps* (*Jus lo*

25. *MiMus DB* (ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1745, f. 134r). The document was previously mentioned by Higiní Anglès, “El músic Jacomí al servei de Joan I i Martí I durant els anys 1372-1404”, in *Homenatge a Antonio Rubió i Lluch* (Barcelona: [s.n.], 1936), 613-25, and published for the first time by Maria del Carmen Gómez Muntané, *La música en la casa real catalano-aragonesa durante los años 1336-1432* (Barcelona: Bosch, 1979), doc. 44. In recent times, Yolanda Plumley examined this document once again, together with other published and unpublished sources, and questioned whether the *mester novell* of which the Prince speaks might refer to the complex style of the *Ars Subtilior* that we observe, for example, in *Puisque je sui fumeux*, an extant song by Jaquet de Noyon, who also served the Aragon court (“Traversing Boundaries in Song: Lyric Communities and International Court Networks in the Late 14<sup>th</sup> Century”, Keynote Lecture at the *XVIth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society*, 22-27 July 2019, University of Exeter; and “Composing Ars nova Chansons: Encounters between Poets, Composers and Minstrels”, *Compositeur(s) au Moyen Âge*, Colloque international, 23-24 May 2019, Université de Rouen-Normandie, forthcoming in *Composer(s) in the Middle Ages*, ed. Gaël St-Cricq and Anne-Zoé Rillon [New York and London: Boydell and Brewer, 2022]).

*front port vostra bella semblança*) seemingly allude to Filippotto da Caserta's ballade *En remirant vo douce portraiture*, and to the anonymous strophe *En mon cuer est un blanc cine pourtrait*; this composition, in turn, shares some melodic motifs with several ballades by Guillaume de Machaut (B32, B33 and B36), and is also close to another ballade, Grimace's *Dedens mon cuer est pourtrait une ymage*, whose incipit is very similar to Jordi de Sant Jordi's song.<sup>26</sup>

These traces of the French poetic and musical tradition in Catalan lyric poetry between the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries are mostly due to the transmission of, and familiarity with, the works of Machaut, who was responsible for a fundamental re-interpretation of the themes and motifs of medieval love songs within new formal structures. As noted by Yolanda Plumley, the impact of Machaut's music and poetry – with all the novelties his works convey – can be more easily understood within the context of an “earlier tradition of building refrain songs around existing material”.<sup>27</sup> Even if it is not possible to identify the precise direction of textual borrowings or the degree of intentionality behind textual analogies, we should acknowledge that these texts share much more than a common set of poetic rules: such phenomena should rather be regarded as forms of specific interdiscursivity, according to the definition given above.

The example of Jordi de Sant Jordi's *Estramps* brings to light a series of allusions and implicit musical echoes in texts that are devoid of notation, but dense with evocative power: the melody of the model, inextricably linked to the verse's prosody in the memory of the poets as well as in that of their audience, lives again between the lines of the text without music. Consequently, the network of allusions to French poets in Catalan poetry and the ways in which the French forms *à refrain* were adapted to the Catalan tradition should be set in the context of this complex intertextual (and at the same time architectural, inasmuch as it also concerns formal structures) dialogue between past and present, a dialogue that was more or less intentional and tangible.

26. The relationship between Grimace's ballade and the anonymous song *En mon cuer* was studied by Yolanda Plumley, “An ‘Episode in the South’? Ars subtilior and the Patronage of the French Princes”, *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 131-6, and Ead., *The Art of Grafted Song*, 292-3. In addition, Plumley pointed out that echoes of *En mon cuer*, which was composed by a member of Jean de Berry's entourage in the 1370s are also found in *Passerose de beauté* and *Rose et lis*, songs she linked to the Valois milieu. Plumley's remarks cast doubt on the previously accepted theory that the so-called Ars Subtilior was of southern origin. On the French and musical background of Sant Jordi's *Estramps*, see the coinciding observations by Marta Marfany, “Postil·les musicals franceses als *Estramps* de Jordi de Sant Jordi”, in *Qui fruit ne sap collir. Homenatge a Lola Badia*, ed. Anna Alberni, Lluís Cifuentes, Joan Santanach and Albert Soler (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, Editorial Barcino, 2021), Vol. 1, 413-21.

27. Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 282.

4. The studies gathered in this volume are positioned within the theoretical, methodological and historico-cultural overview outlined so far. These papers reveal the importance of analysing the process of borrowing-allusion-quotation in order to interpret the poetic and musical texts of the *Ars Nova*, and to fully understand their weight and function within the cultural system of late-medieval Europe.

The volume begins with a chapter by Maria Caraci Vela that considers afresh the “musical bilingualism” of Viscontean Pavia in the decades at the turn of the fifteenth century. This bilingualism – stemming from the dynamics between the reception of a still-vital repertoire and the proto-humanistic aspiration to the recovery of a tradition perceived as “classic”, and connoted as “Italic” on a musical level – acquires meaning through the archaising function inherent in the architextual reprise of formal models from the early Trecento.

In the second chapter, written by Anna Alberni, the focus shifts to a corpus of *danses* from Catalonia. These *danses* are characterised by an archaising formal structure, which seemingly recalls the origins of Romance lyric poetry. The corpus attests to the importance of the refrain forms of the French tradition in the earliest Catalan poetic and musical compositions, corroborating the evidence found in the documents of the *Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó*.

In her chapter, Yolanda Plumley illustrates a case of reuse of the French secular lyric repertoire of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in a poetic work composed in the first half of the fifteenth century. Multiple quotations of existing secular lyrics – some of which are also preserved in manuscripts with musical notation, like the well-known rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer s’embat* – were inserted into a lyric cycle entitled *Les xii balades de Pasques*. As Plumley demonstrates, this collection constitutes a sacred re-interpretation of the tradition of French secular song from the early period to the age of Machaut.

The papers of Davide Checchi, Michele Epifani and Antonio Calvia are focused on the works of four key polyphonists of the Italian Trecento’s “Florentine” canon: Jacopo da Bologna, Giovanni da Cascia, Nicolò del Preposto and Francesco degli Organi (Landini). Davide Checchi analyses the relations between the four madrigals of the so-called “grass-snake cycle”, formulating a new hypothesis on their historical contextualisation. Antonio Calvia’s chapter provides an overview on the polyphonic reception of Giovanni Boccaccio’s most “musical” work, the *Filostrato*, a hypotext that clarifies the nature of the musical relationships between two madrigals set to music by Nicolò del Preposto. Starting from a survey of the literary tradition of a group of ballatas dedicated to a woman named Sandra, Michele Epifani retraces a complex network of musical and poetical interconnections inside the works of Landini.

Jason Stoessel's chapter contains many new hypotheses concerning the attribution and the historical dating of several works by Johannes Ciconia. Through the analysis of the interaction between poetry, image and music, the author also outlines the historico-cultural framework of these works, highlighting Ciconia's full integration into emerging Paduan Humanism. One of Ciconia's *virelais* is also one of the texts re-edited and examined by Maria Sofia Lannutti in the final chapter of the volume. Lannutti's study demonstrates how the identification of intertextual relations greatly contributes to the aims of textual criticism and to the interpretation of the literal and symbolic meanings of the *Ars Nova* repertoire, seen as an integral part of the "soft-power" strategies adopted by the European political establishment.

Our thanks go first of all to the authors for making their precious contributions available. This book would not have been possible without the valuable help of Matteo Salaroli and Amy Williamson, whom we thank for proof-reading and scrupulously copy-editing all the essays. We also would like to thank Lorenzo Giustozzi for the careful indexing of the book.

Florence and Barcelona, March 2021

A. Alberni, A. Calvia, M. S. Lannutti



## MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

AmbI20	Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana I.20.inf
Ar1	Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 897
Ash446	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 446
Ash1114	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1114
B22.14	Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile Filippo Formaglini, filza 22.14
BC239	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya ( <i>olim</i> Biblioteca Central de la Diputación Provincial de Barcelona), 239
Berk744	Berkeley, University of California Library, 744
Bern827	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 827 (fragment)
Brun	Brunswick, Bowdoin College Library, M194.W337
BU2216	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216 ( <i>olim</i> S. Salvatore 727)
Ca812	Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale ( <i>olim</i> Bibliothèque Municipale), 812 (719)
Ca1328	Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale ( <i>olim</i> Bibliothèque Municipale), B 1328
Ch	Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564
Chic	Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS 54.1
Chigi 131	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.IV.131
Chigi266	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VII.266
Cil	Perugia, Private Collection of Galliano Ciliberti and Biancamaria Brumana, fragment s.n.
Cyp	Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II.9 ("Cyprus Codex")
E	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1749
Ein	Einsiedeln, Stiftbibliothek, 689
F.5.5	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Incunabolo F.5.5
Fp	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. Panciatichi 26
Gent133	Gent, Rijksarchief, Groenenbriel 133

Gr197	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale, 197
Lo	London, British Library, Add. 29987
Lo15224	London, British Library, Add. 15224
Lw	Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MLo96.P36 (fragment formerly in the library of Edward Lowinsky)
MachC	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1586
MachE	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 9221
MachVg	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ferrel 1
Magl1040	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1040
Magl1071	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1071
Magl1078	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1078
Magl1145	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1145
Magl1282	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VIII.1282
Magl1298	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1298
Man	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065 ("Lucca Codex", "Mancini Codex")
Mar155	Firenze, Biblioteca Marucelliana, C. 155
Mo	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196
ModA	Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.M.5.24
Ox213	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. misc. 213
Ox229 (PadA)	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Patr. lat. 229
Pad541	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 541
Pad656	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 656
PadB (1115)	Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1115
Pal105	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 105
Pal1052	Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 1052
Par1081	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parm. 1081
Paris343	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 343
Paris990	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 990
Paris1035	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 1035
Paris1069	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 1069
Paris1084	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 1084
Paris1543	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1543
Paris2095	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2095
Paris4379	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4379
Paris4641B	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4641B

Paris5243	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 5243
Paris6494	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6494
Paris14968	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 14968
Parma75	Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26 ( <i>olim</i> Armadio B, Busta 75, fasc. 2)
Penn	Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Library. Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 902
Pes	Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, 666
Pist	Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, Bibliotheca musicalis B.3.5
Pit	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568
Plut	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.48
Pz	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4917
Q15	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.15
R	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 (“Codex Reina”)
Redi184	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Rediano 184
Reg1728	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1728
Ric	Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2735
Ricc1098	Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1098
Ricc1764	Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1764
Ricc2909	Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2909 (Q)
Rio	Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional Cofre, 18
Rip129	Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Col·leccions, Còdexs, Ripoll 129
Se	Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, 5.2.25
Sg	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya ( <i>olim</i> Biblioteca Central de la Diputació de Barcelona), 146
Sie	Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, I.VII.15
SL	Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211
SPL	Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Bibliothek und Archiv des Benediktinerstiftes, 135/5
Sq	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 (“Squarcialupi Codex”)
T.III.2	Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2
Trev43	Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 43
Trev1612	Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 1612
Triv1018	Milano, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, 1018
VA	Vercelli, Biblioteca Agnesiana, cod. 11

Val	Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B.83
Vat1411	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1411
Vat1960	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1960
Vat3195	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3195
VeAg	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya ( <i>olim</i> Biblioteca Central de la Diputació de Barcelona), 7, 8
Venice346	Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. IX. 346 (6323)
Venice486	Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. IX. 486 (6767)

# POLYPHONIC VOICES

POETIC AND MUSICAL DIALOGUES IN THE EUROPEAN ARS NOVA



Maria Caraci Vela

## PAVIA VISCONTEA: POWER AND MUSIC<sup>1</sup>

### I. INTRODUCTION

A persistent historiographic view of the transition from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century – deeply influenced by the historical weight that Florentine intellectuals had in the consolidation of their political ideology – has long depicted a Florence-centric image of a culturally innovative and proto-humanistic Italy that promoted ideals of civic humanism and freedom at the highest levels of thought and, in polar opposition to it, another Italy, mainly represented by the Visconti tyranny, that lingered on in the refined taste of the International Gothic and benefitted from an intellectual class that was an integral part of an absolutistic political project. In broad terms, such a description can certainly be justified, but recent research has brought to light more complex and dynamic aspects of the relationship between political ideologies and culture in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy. Furthermore, it has revealed the originality of the Visconti project, which in the course of a few decades managed to overturn the meaning of the word *tyranny*. Indeed, the term was soon redefined as a synonym of the pathological “fragmentation of the political body”<sup>2</sup> (i.e., the numerous communal regimes of their oppo-

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1. The present essay deals (in a necessarily incomplete and provisional way) with a series of subjects that are also being addressed by a large-scale project led by the PIT research group (“Polifonia Italiana del Trecento”) with an overriding interest in methodological problems.

2. “Nell’età del conte di Virtù il motivo anti-tirannico appare ormai legato a doppio filo all’ideologia dello stato regionale: non solo i Visconti sono i nemici dei tiranni (cioè dei governanti cattivi o illegittimi), ma lo sono anche della tirannia, che alcuni cominciano a intendere anche come parcellizzazione del corpo politico, secondo una visione olistica i cui prodromi sono nella dottrina di Egidio Romano e che venne ampiamente ripresa [...] nell’età di Filippo Maria” (In the age of the Conte di Virtù, the anti-tyrannic motto already appears doubly bound to the ideology of the regional state. Not only are the Viscontis the enemies of tyrants (i.e., of evil and illegitimate rulers), but also they fight tyranny in itself. The concept begins to be understood as a fragmentation of the

nents) against which the government of the “fair lord” would have constituted the only valid alternative.<sup>3</sup> The political dialectic between Florence and Milan at the turn of the century is situated within a very pronounced mosaic of dynamic local realities – either communal or feudal – that were conscious of sharing an illustrious historical and cultural legacy, even though their ideological, linguistic and artistic identities were always in conflict with each other. Throughout the fourteenth century, this political fragmentation gave space to unification utopias. The ancient dream of a *Regno d'Italia* had been clearly outlined by Visconti rulers since Luchino's time – which, according to the anonymous author of the Latin text of the three-voice motet *Lux purpurata radiis / Diligite justitiam* (with references to Ovid and Horace),<sup>4</sup> would have marked the beginning of a new Golden Age. The same ambition was then nourished with increasing determination by Bernabò and Gian Galeazzo before the mantle was taken up by King Ladislaus of Naples. Lastly, Filippo Maria Visconti relaunched the project in the period between the annexation of Genua (1421) and the Milanese victory over Zagonara (1424). Whereas, as we know, these utopic ideals were not realised (all hope was lost in 1440 during the Anghiari battle), such attempts elicited major political and cultural consequences that intertwined elaborately with the innovative developments of humanistic thought.<sup>5</sup>

political body according to a holistic view, inspired by the doctrine of Giles of Rome, that will be widely relaunched in Filippo Maria's time). Andrea Gamberini, *Da “orgogliosi tiranni” a “tyrannidis domitores”*. I Visconti e il motivo anti-tirannico come fondamento ideologico dello stato regionale, in *Court and Courty Cultures in Early Modern Italy and Europe. Models and Languages*, ed. Simone Albonico and Serena Romano (Rome: Viella, 2015), 111-127, at 124.

3. Such a meaning was already perceptible in Petrarch. Cf. Giacomo Ferrà, “Petrarca e la politica signorile”, in *Petrarca politico* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio Evo, 2006), 43-80.

4. Cf. Elena Abramov van Rijk, “Luchino Visconti, Jacopo da Bologna and Petrarch: Courting a Patron”, *Studi musicali*, n.s. 3, 1 (2012): 7-62 and Maria Caraci Vela, “La polifonia profana a Pavia negli anni di Bernabò e Gian Galeazzo: linee di sviluppo di un progetto culturale europeo”, in *Courts and Courty Cultures in Early Modern Italy and Europe* (Rome: Viella, 2015), 241-260, at 242-3.

5. Cf. Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance. Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955; repr. 1966). Baron's ample documentation and acute observations are mostly valid today. There is an immense bibliography on the concept of Humanism and its cultural implications that includes a number of foundational texts; the “classics” of the history of culture. Several recent contributions have made the tradition of international studies accessible to the general public. See in particular Ronald Witt, *The two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); It. ed. *L'eccezione italiana. L'intellettuale laico nel Medioevo e l'origine del Rinascimento (800-1300)* (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017). An intercultural approach to the subject can be found in *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century (Acts of an International Conference Florence, Villa I Tatti, June 9-11, 1999)*, ed. Allen J. Grieco, Michael Rocke and Fiorella Giuffredì Superbi (Florence: Olschki, 2002). On the paths of Humanism in Visconti Lombardy, cfr. Massimo Zaggia, “Itinerari per una storia della cultura in Lombardia dall'età di Coluccio Salutati a quella del

Despite the highly fractioned and unstable context described above, the persistence and continuous updating of the “Gothic” tradition was a constant element in the field of visual arts. Alongside the regional and local peculiarities such inclinations dialogued with a renewed interest (which had never disappeared entirely in medieval Italy) for the great *exempla* of Classical antiquity accessible through the omnipresent testimonies of the past.

This sort of dialectic, which was vital in early-fifteenth-century Florence (“the spearhead of Italian Humanism”) can be easily traced to Viscontean Lombardy as well, through artists such as Giovanni da Milano, Bonino da Campione, Pietro Raverti, Belbello da Pavia, Giovannino de’ Grassi, Anovelo da Imbonate, Jacopino da Tradate, Michelino da Besozzo and Pisanello. This list should also include the illustrious Lombard illuminators, such as the Masters of the *Guiron* and the *Lancelot*, Pietro da Pavia, Giovanni de’ Grassi and his disciples and the Master of the *Vitae Caesarum*. In particular, the latter stands out as a prominent example of how the recovery of ancient culture was reflected in Luchino Visconti’s political propaganda – he conceived of Milan as a *New Rome* – and through the pragmatic and dangerously efficient strategies developed since Gian Galeazzo’s tenure. Through such representations, the illusion of a solid and unitary monarchic power reverberated all around the politically mosaicked peninsula as a safeguard of peace and order.

The relationship between the Italian polyphonic repertory and the historico-cultural dynamics of the time has proven difficult for scholars to understand. Yet, how can we link the evolution of musical forms and compositional techniques to contemporary contexts if cultural complexity and historical stratification are not first fully appreciated? Is it legitimate to consider French and Italian compositions by the same author as expressions of a single environment? And above all, the recurring question: to what extent did Humanism’s innovative impulse influence music? Unlike literature, philosophy, science, law, the visual arts and architecture, music did not have a surviving classical background in which to recognise the reasons for its renewal, and it may seem divested of this fundamental point of reference. In response to these problems, scholars have often resorted to radical scepticism, which has led to identifying secular polyphony with a pragmatic “craft”. This view is evidently not congruent with the cultural reality of the time, where, on the contrary, polyphony was regarded as a refined form of musical art, with high or mid-

Valla”, in *Le strade di Ercole. Itinerari umanistici e altri percorsi* (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2010), 3-124.

dle-high “generic status”<sup>6</sup> that often included political or moral (explicit or allusive) contents. Polyphonic music was primarily produced by highly educated artists for the most distinguished commissioners, among whom were some of the most important and influential figures of the time.

Two distinct trends coexisted in the Italian secular polyphonic repertoire at the turn of the fifteenth century, as demonstrated by both Prosdocimus’ theoretical ideas and the music of Bartolino, Paolo, Zacara, Antonello, Ciconia, Matteo and others. There was, on the one hand, a remarkable openness to the active reception of notational and compositional French models, and on the other, a determination to reassess a musical background that was consciously perceived as alternative, peculiar and “Italic”.<sup>7</sup>

Concerning the second tendency, the production of the Squarcialupi codex (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 [Sq]) attests to the evidently “humanistic” attitude of a peculiar milieu towards its own musical “classics”. The manuscript was produced by a specific political environment, fully oriented towards Italian secular polyphony, and (for this reason) it was different from other, rather “mixed” Florentine collections.<sup>8</sup> In the absence of Greek or Latin ancient models, “musical classics” such as these were considered illustrious exemplars of the recent past.<sup>9</sup> Thus, foreshadowing the

6. The term is a translation of the Italian “statuto di genere”, i.e., the rhetorical level pertinent to a composition on the basis of the connotations of its content, form and style. Of this fundamental concept, of classical origin and well alive in medieval culture, Dante gives his own well-known interpretation in *De vulgari eloquentia*, II, IV.

7. As will be explained below, both repertoires were perceived as illustrious traditions and not as an opposition between “art” and “folksy” music.

8. Sixty years ago, Nino Pirrotta, who had a thorough understanding of early-Quattrocento Florentine culture, outlined the intrinsic relationship between the preparation of Sq and the presence of humanistic circles in the Florentine aristocracy. Cf. Nino Pirrotta, “Marchetto da Padova e l’Ars nova italiana”, in *Musica fra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1984), 63-79, at 77-8 (an updated edition of “Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars Nova”, *Musica Disciplina* 9 (1955): 57-71) and Id., “Novità e tradizione in Italia dal 1300 al 1600”, *ibid.*, 250-69, at 259 (original: Id., “Novelty and Renewal in Italy: 1300-1600”, in *Studien zur Tradition in der Musik. Kurt von Fischer zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Max Lutöfl (Munich: E. Katzbichler, 1973), 49-63). See also Michael P. Long’s important discussion of the contexts surrounding the preparation of Sq, that paved the way for further research: Michael P. Long, “Francesco Landini and the Florentine cultural élite”, *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 83-99. On the outdated hypothesis that Sq was produced for the Leoni family, Cf. Bianca Becherini, “Antonio Squarcialupi e il Codice Mediceo-Palatino 87”, in *L’Ars nova italiana del Trecento I* (Certaldo: Centro di Studi sull’Ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1962), 141-196, at 161-163.

9. The significance of this innovative operation cannot be overstated but the extraordinary impact that Josquin’s model had upon the cultivation of polyphony at the beginning of the 1500s – within circles that were permeated by humanistic thought – may be used as an analogy. Josquin’s highly favourable contemporary reception, celebrated by the theoretician Glareano, contributed to the establishment of his compositional model as an exceptional standard in later generations. This view necessarily relied upon the belief that the masters of the recent past had already reached a com-

strong argumentations of literati such as Leonardo Bruni or Giovanni Gherardi da Prato, these musical trends show that an operation was underway similar to the one whereby the *volgare illustre* by the *tre corone* was gaining a new status, not inferior to that of Latin, and proved suitable for the creation of new “classics”.<sup>10</sup>

In this framework, it is possible to explain why, between the 1390s and the 1420s, madrigals could sometimes be composed using certain stylistic archaisms that were inspired by their “canonised” models.<sup>11</sup> The use of these features, which referred to a particular musical legacy, guaranteed the existence and survival of the genre. The Trecento polyphonic madrigal was continually remodelled during the later stages of its development, and stylistic features of French origin that had been absorbed at an early stage were purposely abandoned in later years. Paolo, for instance, used the *overt/clos* device in some of his madrigals, either aligned with a double ritornello (*Corse per l'onde già di speme piena, Se non ti piacque in ingrati abitare, Tra verdi frondi in isol' in sul fonte, Un pellegrino uccel gentil e bello*), or with both a double ritornello and two stanzas (*Nell'ora che a segar la bionda spiga*). However, in his earlier work *Una fera gentil più ch'altra fera*<sup>12</sup> and in other two-voice madrigals<sup>13</sup> (striking

positional peak. A similar situation occurred later in the field of figurative arts in relation to Vasari's manneristic view. On Josquin's exceptional emblematic status in the sixteenth century see Miranda Stanyon, “Pervasive Imitation in Senfl's *Ave Maria... Virgo Serena*: Borrowing from Josquin in Sixteenth-Century Augsburg”, in *Identity and Locality in Early European Music, 1028-1740*, ed. Jason Stoessel (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 151-71.

10. Dante's conception of *volgare illustre* and its relationship to Latin is discussed in Mirko Tavoni, “Che cosa erano il volgare e il latino per Dante”, in *Dante e la lingua italiana*, *Lecture Classensi* 41, ed. Mirko Tavoni (Ravenna: Longo, 2013), 9-27.

11. Archaisms involve unison and unison-octave final cadences with stepwise motion in all voices, more free interval progressions compared to the ballata of the time and a predilection for 2-voice settings. See Zacara's *Plorans ploravi perché la fortuna*, in which these features are juxtaposed with the subtilior mensural language. (Cf. Maria Caraci Vela, “La tradizione landiniana: aspetti peculiari e problemi di metodo”, in *Col dolce suon che da te piove. Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo*, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani [Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999], 15-35).

12. Cf. John Nádas, “The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript Tradition”, in *In cantu et in sermone. For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, ed. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Olschki-University of Western Australia Press, 1989), 41-64, at 62. I have previously proposed several indicators of chronology in Italian Ars Nova polyphony – see Maria Caraci Vela, “Le intonazioni polifoniche de ‘La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba’: problemi di contestualizzazione e di esegesi”, in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano. Verso una nuova edizione critica dell'‘Ars nova’*, ed. Antonio Calvia and Maria Sofia Lannutti (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), 93-141, at 96-124.

13. These madrigals are of a later date, but they clearly make use of an earlier compositional style.

cases of “archaising architextuality”)<sup>14</sup> such as *Era Venus al termin del suo giorno*, *Era duri scogli sanz’alcun governo*, *Non più infelice a le sue membra nacque* and *Ventilla con tumulto la gran fama*, he proposed “classical” formal models that evoke the Florentine works of Vincenzo, Gherardello and Lorenzo. The chronological distance between those models is perceivable in the counterpoint, which had by then irreversibly evolved towards a new discipline of voice leading. For instance, in *Godi Firenze, po’ che se’ sì grande* Paolo uses the well-established typology of the political madrigal – which had acquired a generic status analogous to that of the motet<sup>15</sup> – and renounces the use of devices that had become quite common (and which he had already adopted), such as *ouvert/clos* endings, which would have been well combined with a high level of formal elaboration. At the same time, his rigorous control of voice leading in direct intervals constitutes an eminently “modern” quality in his writing.

Choices of this kind are typical of the late style of madrigal composition by musicians such as Antonello, Zacara<sup>16</sup> and Ciconia. Furthermore, Antonello also employed archaic models in his composition of two-voice ballatas. The five surviving Italian ballatas by Antonello are all for two vocal voices, and they speak a musical language that is deliberately different from that of his four ballades, two rondeaux and one virelai. In a period when the three-voice French model was generally preferred,<sup>17</sup> it is possible to explain the Italian predilection for two-voice textures as a reflection of the same proto-humanistic desire to cultivate a “classical” Italic musical tradition; an alternative to the French polyphonic language, whose international dissemination rendered it variously interpreted according to local perspectives.

Nino Pirrotta – whose important intuitions about the survival of evidence regarding popular performance practice in secular polyphony from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century are still fundamentally valid – perceived a

14. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela, “Intertestualità e arte allusiva”, in *La filologia musicale. Istituzioni, storia, strumenti critici*, Vol. 2: *Approfondimenti* (Lucca: LIM, 2009), 117-73, at 137-8.

15. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela, “Per una nuova lettura del madrigale *Aquila altera/Creatura gentile/Uccel di Dio* di Jacopo da Bologna”, *Philomusica on-line* 13 (2014), 1-58, at 2-20.

16. Zacara’s only madrigal *Plorans ploravi perché la fortuna* is an extraordinary example. It combines the mensural complexity of the subtilior language with features clearly influenced by archaic models (absence of *ouvert/clos*, unison ritornello cadence by stepwise motion, two vocal voices) and a high generic status (*boquetus*, bilingual text).

17. I have presented elsewhere my hypothesis that certain Italian compositions, which survive in versions for both 2 and 3 voices, may have originated either by adding the contratenor to pre-existing cantus and tenor parts, or by suppressing the contra and rearranging the remaining voices. In the latter case, I see these two-voice reworkings as a response to Italian musical tastes and preferences. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela and Roberto Tagliani, “*Deducto sei*: alcune osservazioni e una nuova proposta di edizione”, in “...*Et faciam dolci canti*”. *Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleanno*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Teresa Maria Gialdrone and Annunziato Pugliese (Lucca: LIM, 2004), 263-94, at 266.

“semipopolare o pseudopopolare” taste in Antonello’s Italian compositions, which he dated later than the French works.<sup>18</sup> Such a perception presumably derived from the evident links between the language of certain polyphonists (Jacopo Pianellaio, Giovanni Mazzuoli and Jacopo da Foligno, among others) and the spirit and style of the *lauda*. In light of more recent scholarship, one may instead assert that musicians such as Antonello properly cultivated a *musical bilingualism* that was constantly updated on the French side and looked, on the Italian side, to the recovery of an “Italic” tradition. The Italian models of the recent past – transcribed and preserved with great reverence in retrospective editorial projects such as the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. Panciatichi 26 (Fp) and Firenze, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211 (SL)<sup>19</sup> around the same time – were consciously reworked in a highly learned and sophisticated way, unlike coeval semi-popular secular or devotional repertoires.

In terms of musical notation, the dialectic between the Italian<sup>20</sup> and French traditions does not result in an indistinct *medium*, especially given that the earliest Italian surviving examples do not adhere to a strictly “pure” Italian style of notation. This dialectic – as reflected in the repertoire of compositions inspired by musical controversies – is consciously experienced by musicians and theorists, who explore its possibilities through various options, differently characterised according to places, times, and the training of musicians and copyists. In my opinion, it is problematic to suggest that the distinctive features of Italian and French notations were gradually lost due to a general blending of international notational styles into which the two different cultural realities dissolved. Such an approach risks over-simplifying the complex phenomena of active reception that we are dealing with here.<sup>21</sup>

The scholar who seeks to determine and clarify the characteristic elements and models of a given cultural milieu – e.g. the art historian who studies fifteenth-century Milanese architecture attempting to recognise the Italian and

18. Cf. Nino Pirrotta, “Due composizioni anglo-italiane del Quattrocento”, in *Musica tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 185-94, at 193 (original: Id., “Two Anglo-Italian Pieces in the Manuscript Porto 714”, in *Speculum Musicae Artis*, ed. Heinz Becker und Reinhard Gerlach [Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1970], 253-61).

19. Cf. John Nádas, “The Transmission of Trecento secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages” (PhD diss., New York University, 1985).

20. Cf. Tiziana Sucato, ed., “Studio introduttivo”, in *Il codice Rossiano 215. Madrigali, ballate, una caccia, un rotondello*, *Diverse voci*, 1 (Pisa: ETS, 2003). See in particular 14-6, 37, 45.

21. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela’s review of Signe Rotter Broman, *Komponieren in Italien um 1400. Studien zu dreistimmig überlieferten Liedsätzen von Andrea und Paolo da Firenze, Bartolino da Padova, Antonio Zacara da Teramo und Johannes Ciconia*, *Musica Mensurabilis*, 6 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2012), *Philomusica on-line* 13, 1 (2014): 113-24, at 119-20.

Transalpine Romanesque and Gothic references that generated it – does not work on a local-centric dimension. Instead, he tries to penetrate in depth the concreteness of peculiarly characterised and dynamic historical realities that he investigates in order to learn as much as possible from the rich and intertwined diversity. Likewise, a musicologist who wishes to conduct a historio-critical analysis of the mobility of the two late-Trecento notational systems must seek to explain and understand their individual, fundamental *rationes* – which are conceptually distinct and have certainly different backgrounds – and the modalities of their interaction in time and space.

The contributions of important Italian centres<sup>22</sup> to *subtilitas* and theoretical reflection on musical notation has often been a topic of scholarly discussion. Italian notation contributed to *subtilior* speculation with an overriding interest for the symbol's power of meaning (rather than for the use of *color* or French mensural signs). Undoubtedly, familiarity with Transalpine notational practice and theoretical thought was essential to such developments, but it should be stressed that this specific interest was already backed by a consistent Florentine tradition,<sup>23</sup> as is demonstrated at an early date by the works of Lorenzo.<sup>24</sup>

Whereas, on the one hand, the reception of French-speaking culture in Italy was multifaceted, continual and widely spread, on the other hand, the reassessment of a “classical” past in order to raise music's cultural prestige became a strongly motivated alternative in the leading intellectual circles of the time. Therefore, Italian art polyphony at the turn of the fifteenth century must not only be explained as an artisanally revered music-making, but also as a living, receptive, dynamic aspect of culture that was profoundly coherent with the impulses, the dialectics of ideas, and the immensely diversified historical reality that surrounded it. In a simplified but useful way, the relationship between the Italian proto-humanistic and the French late-Gothic features of the polyphonic repertory can be compared to contemporary visual arts. As has been

22. Cf. Carla Vivarelli, “‘Di una pretesa scuola napoletana’: Sowing the Seeds of the Ars Nova at the Court of Robert of Anjou”, in *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007): 272-96; Ead., “‘Ars cantus mensurabilis mensurata per modos iuris’. Un trattato napoletano di Ars subtilior?”, in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VII. “Dolci e nuove note”: atti del quinto convegno internazionale in ricordo di Federico Ghisi (1901-1975): Certaldo, 17-18 dicembre 2005*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2009), 103-42.

23. Jason Stoessel has expressed a different opinion. He asserts that Paolo's notational figures were borrowed from French Ars Nova (cf. Id., “Revisiting *Aj mare, amice mi care*: Insights into Late Medieval Music Notation”, in *Early Music* 40 [2012]: 455-68. See also “The Interpretation of Unusual Mensuration's Signs in the Notation of Ars Subtilior”, in *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context. New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex [Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms 564]*, ed. Jolanda Plumley and Anne Stone [Turnhout: Brepols, 2009], 179-202 at 201-2)

24. Cf. Michele Epifani, “In margine alla notazione sperimentale del madrigale *Ita se n'era a star di Lorenzo da Firenze*”, *Philomusica on-line* 13 (2014): 59-88.

argued above, the cultural reality of the time was complex, pluralistic, and in a constant state of flux, and certain phenomena that we tend to define today as opposing choices could in fact coexist and be consciously practised in a variety of ways, even in the same environments and by the same authors.

## 2. THE FUNCTIONS OF INTERTEXTUALITY

The intricate game of allusive intertextuality (verbal, musical, figurative, or combined) is frequently deployed in the complex and unstable cultural scenario described above as a means of political and ideological communication. The study of Intertextuality – a constellation of text-centred phenomena – belongs to the domain of Philology. Recent analysis of the allusive intertextuality in medieval poetic and musical texts has offered new interpretative devices that have been useful for recreating the context of the repertoire and its political connotations. Many of these contributions have paved the way for further research.<sup>25</sup>

G rard Genette proposed a meritorious system of categorisation for different types of intertextuality, which today calls for reconsideration.<sup>26</sup> Alongside Genette’s five categories of intertextuality, all related to consciously enacted forms of intertextuality, it is important to take into account the textual incidences of “interdiscursivity” (as discussed by Cesare Segre) and “physiological intertextuality” (a type of unconscious intertextuality generated by a deeply internalised body of knowledge and visual/aural habits).<sup>27</sup>

Scholarship has not yet produced a consistent methodology or accurate terminology for the analysis of intertextuality in music. Recent medieval

25. For essential bibliographic references, see Caraci Vela, “Intertestualit  e arte allusiva”, 145, nn. 114 and 118. Yolanda Plumley has produced several important contributions to this topic. Cf. in particular Ead., *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Ead., “Crossing Borderlines: Points of Contact between the Late-Fourteenth Century French Lyric and Chanson Repertoires”, in *Acta musicologica* 76 (2004): 3-23, at 15-7; Ead., “An Episode in the South? Ars subtilior and the Patronage of French Princes”, *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 103-68; Ead., “Playing the Citation Game in the Late-Fourteenth Century”, *Early Music History* 31 (2003): 20-39; Ead., “Ciconia’s *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta”, in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 131-68. Cf. also *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano Di Bacco and Stefano Jossa (Exeter: University of Exeter Press), vol. 1: *Text, Music and Image from Machaut to Ariosto* (2011); vol. 2: *Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Medieval Culture* (2013).

26. Cf. G rard Genette, *Palimpsestes. La Litt rature au second degr * (Paris:  ditions du Seuil, 1983); Id., *Fiction et diction* (Paris:  ditions du Seuil, 2004).

27. Cf. Cesare Segre, “Intertestuale-discorsivo. Appunti per una fenomenologia delle fonti”, in *La parola ritrovata: fonti e analisi letterarie*, ed. Franco Brioschi, Costanzo di Girolamo and Ivano Paccagnella (Palermo: Sellerio, 1982), 15-28.

musicology has only focused on the most evident and straightforward of Genette's typologies, i.e. "explicit intertextuality" or "quotation", and "hypertextuality" (the elaboration of a text based upon another text, as recognisable in medieval and Renaissance compositional techniques like *contrafacta*, variation and composition on a pre-existing *cantus firmus* or polyphonic model).<sup>28</sup>

In the musicological vulgate, "quotation" and "borrowing" (terms that are often used ambiguously and improperly) deserve closer examination because they reveal a phenomenology that varies according to its context, purpose and function. Borrowing is considered as such when words or music from another text or melody are incorporated into a piece. For instance, at the end of the second part of Gesualdo's madrigal *Da le odorate spoglie* (*Secondo libro dei Madrigali a cinque voci*, 1594) the composer pays artistic and personal tribute to Wert and Luzzaschi, evoking an unforgettable *reservata* performance.<sup>29</sup> However, quotation procedures worked differently in the previous centuries: for example, in Paolo's *Soffrir m'estuet* – one of his richest works in terms of intertextuality – allusive references (to *Espérance*, Bartolino and Filippotto)<sup>30</sup> are the cornerstone of the composition, sometimes placed in a position of emphasis on the cantus line, and sometimes in the instrumental contra part. The citation of a pre-existing musical melody also carries and elicits the memory of the words that it originally accompanied. Similarly, the quotation of a pre-existing textual passage would prompt the recollection of the previous musical setting.

Intertextuality as a vehicle for "high" political messages in this repertoire is very often explicated through "architextuality", a particular typology that still warrants more careful study. Architextuality takes place when a new composition inherits the function and hierarchical position from the model

28. The phenomenon of "quotation" has been widely studied, and poetical and musical occurrences have been identified in *entées* compositions. Nevertheless, it is often difficult to remember that musical fragments of an evident polygenetic nature should not be regarded as "quotations". Consider, for example, all basic formulas of composition and diminution that were part of the broad horizon of listening of a social circle and a historical period. Hypertextuality in polyphonic repertoires at the turn of the fifteenth century has been significantly less investigated, probably because it gained more prominence later in the century. However, emblematic examples of hypertextual types exist at an earlier stage: see the relationship between the ballades *Phyton, le merveilleux serpent* (Machaut) and *Phiton Phiton, beste très venimeuse* (Franciscus), as well as later mass movements based on secular models by Zacara, Bartolomeo da Bologna and others.

29. Gesualdo's *Da le odorate spoglie* alludes to Luzzaschi's homonymous setting (*Libro terzo dei madrigali a cinque voci*, 1582). The latter, in turn, was written with Wert's famous *Cara la vita mia* in mind (*Libro primo dei madrigali a cinque voci*, 1558). Cf. Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579-1597*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), Vol. I, 126-8.

30. Cf. Caraci Vela, "La polifonia profana a Pavia", 257-9; Ead., "Le intonazioni polifoniche", 136-9.

from which it derives, through the adoption of formal schemes, compositional techniques, voice settings, linguistic conventions and other features that determine its generic status.<sup>31</sup>

The three rhetorical levels that shape the creation and reception of formalised thought in the Late Middle Ages,<sup>32</sup> can be applied to secular polyphony as well. As mentioned above, the madrigal – a genre that embraces all three levels – fulfilled certain functions typical of the motet when carrying elevated messages and references. In such cases, musical architextuality is normally enriched by garish citations of Dante or Petrarch, or quotations and transliterations of classical and biblical sources or other elevated texts. Although musicologists have not yet examined a great number of the extant examples, a considerable portion of Italian Trecento polyphony is built upon Dantesque intertextuality,<sup>33</sup> with later references to Petrarch and Boccaccio. The intertextual, paratextual and architextual use of allusion implies the coexistence of two contrasting compositional impulses: the allusive content is hidden and, at the same time, is expected to be unveiled. In any case, the poetic and musical material that transmits it must be entirely comprehensible to the reader and listener, even when the intertext is lost.<sup>34</sup>

In some cases, an intertextual reference can result in a shift or a reversal of meaning<sup>35</sup> that can intentionally or unconsciously lead to a distortion of the model for the allusion.<sup>36</sup> Most importantly, an intertextual allusion to a spe-

31. See Caraci Vela, “Per una nuova lettura”.

32. *De vulgari eloquentia*, II, iv.

33. Jacopo’s famous madrigal *Aquila altera / Creatura gentile / Uccel di Dio* contains at least thirty intertextual references to Dante’s *Commedia*. Such references, which have not received significant scholarly attention, are densely charged with allusive meanings. Among these are a quotation of the “uccel di Dio”, a clear and direct link to Dante that has been alternatively misinterpreted as a reference to the Holy Spirit’s dove, Isabella of Valois’ emblem of the turtle dove, an image taken from *tacuinum sanitatis*, a hunting symbol, and so on. Cf. Caraci Vela, “Per una nuova lettura”, 24-35.

34. See also Jason Stoessel, “The Interpretation of Unusual Mensuration Signs in the Notation of Ars Subtilior”, in *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context*, 180.

35. A typical case of meaning manipulation as a consequence of quotation is discussed in Jacques Boogaart, “*Folie convient avoir*. Citation and Transformation in Machaut’s Musical Works: Gender Change and Transgression”, in *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano Di Bacco and Stefano Jossa (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2011), 2-40. A departure from the original meaning was often intentional and served a provocative or alienating function. This is not the same as the concept of misreading, which Harold Bloom explains in the context of the history of literature. Cf. Id., *A Map of Misreading* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). See also my brief discussion in Caraci Vela, “Intertestualità e arte allusiva”, 127-8.

36. If this sense of reversal generates in turn a new chain of textual tradition and/or intertextual links, it is defined as an “energetic inversion”. Cf. Monica Centanni, “L’originale assente”, in *L’originale assente. Introduzione allo studio della tradizione classica*, ed. Monica Centanni (Milan: Mondadori, 2006), 3-41, at 38.

cific event or context can be redirected to a new situation in which it will acquire new meaning. Such is the case for the group of compositions that, throughout the fourteenth century, make use of Bernabo Visconti's personal motto *Souffrir m'estuet* in their textual settings, a motto that was subsequently adopted by Gian Galeazzo together with other heraldic *devises* inherited from his father and his uncle. In Bartolino's madrigal *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba*, the motto alludes to Bernabò and to precise historical circumstances, whereas in Niccolò's setting of the same text the words refer to a later event (either during Bernabo's or Gian Galeazzo's rule). The same allusion is found again, with a new meaning, in the *Esperance* cycle. The inclusion in Sq of both settings of *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba* must have been in response to the compiler's desire to preserve an important musical heritage but also to update the "old" anti-Visconti message to one reflective of the current political situation: the new rulers of Milan now represented an even greater danger to the Florentine republic.<sup>37</sup>

Allusive intertextuality is not an exclusive feature of Machaut,<sup>38</sup> of the post-Machaut era, or of the *Ars Subtilior*.<sup>39</sup> It is present in Italian *Ars Nova* compositions, and it assumes various functions and modes during the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. However, in order to identify intertextuality, it is essential to master a rich and complex network of contextual, historical, political, literary and visual references. Such references link to a corpus of ancient, recent and coeval *auctoritates* that were deeply internalised and shared within the social circles that cultivated secular polyphony. Last, Italian and French secular polyphony should also be observed in light of the relationship between Machaut and Petrarch – an important aspect that has been generally neglected by musicologists, with only a few exceptions.<sup>40</sup>

Notation can also work as a vehicle for intertextuality in musical texts; for instance, when it makes use of *color* or other particular groups of signs that are intended to allude to a notational model assumed to be known by the reader. It

37. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche", 138-41.

38. Indeed, the whole history of music could be read through an intertextual lens, as Peter Burkholder argues in his extensive entry in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrel (London-New York: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 4, 5-41. Needless to say, musical intertextuality goes far beyond European art music. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Intertestualità e arte allusiva".

39. Musical intertextuality before and after Machaut is discussed in Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*.

40. Cf. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezani, "Dalla 'pastorella' di Francesco Petrarca al *Cerf blanc* di Guillaume de Machaut. Alcune brevi annotazioni", *Civiltà Bresciana* 19, 3-4 (2010): 7-61. In the most recent literature on Machaut, Petrarch appears cited only *en passant*. Cf. Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), and Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*.

is worth noting that musical notation is materially shaped by the contextual horizons of handwriting and the visual arts.

In illuminated or decorated manuscripts, the iconographic display can play a paratextual role, almost as a gloss or commentary to the textual concepts and symbols that the music transmits, amplifies and fixes in the listener's mind. A well-known example is the dialogue between miniatures, words, music and iconography found on the illuminated pages of *Sq*, which includes composers' portraits with their qualifying attributes at the opening of each section,<sup>41</sup> and page decorations in the side and bottom margins that refer to the poetic contents of the composition. The images accompanying the "complex text"<sup>42</sup> of secular polyphonic works intensify and confirm the allusive functions of verbal/musical intertextuality. Finally, it should be reminded that the symbolic and highly formalised language of heraldry plays a similar role when it alludes to specific ideas, events, relationships and messages.

### 3. CULTURAL CONTEXT

Ever since Galeazzo II conquered Pavia,<sup>43</sup> it (and not Milan) became the most prestigious cultural centre in Lombardy. The city had a rich history. It had been a kingdom capital several times and for the Visconti became a place of excellence<sup>44</sup> in which the princes' intellectual ambitions were shaped, in contrast to their political activities, which were mainly concentrated in Milan.

Gian Galeazzo made his beloved Pavia his permanent residence, and transformed it into the main hub for the cultural,<sup>45</sup> political and diplomatic activities of the Visconti territory – and later of the dukedom, within which it took the form of an autonomous county. The city continued to enjoy a privileged status even after the tragic events of Giovanni Maria's principedom and the turbulent occupation by Facino Cane (1411-1412), who held the city as a

41. These images include details such as the composers' garments (either lay or religious), professional symbols such as music instruments (e.g. Lorenzo's and Landini's organs), their posture and attitude and physical features (see the unflatteringly realistic portrait of Zacara).

42. Cf. Caraci Vela, *La filologia musicale*, Vol. 2, 68-9.

43. In 1365, Galeazzo II made the Pavese castle his residence. From then onwards, his visits to Milan were only motivated by government issues and his relationship with Bernabò. Instead, he frequently visited his other residences (Belgioioso, Melegnano, Abbiategrasso, etc.).

44. From the sixth to the ninth century, Pavia was a Longobard, Carolingian and Ottonian capital.

45. Gian Galeazzo certainly followed the progress of the works at the Milan Duomo for institutional and image reasons, but he was particularly motivated to supervise those of the Certosa of Pavia, the actual family church (Cf. Gigliola Soldi Rondinini, *Saggi di storia e storiografia visconteo-sforzesca* [Bologna: Cappelli, 1984] 56).

personal endowment. Filippo Maria, the last Visconti ruler, who inherited the title of *Conte di Pavia* from his father, spent his lonely youth in Pavia Castle, but after his ascent to power, established his residence in the Milanese fort of Porta Giovia, which was a point of departure for his revengeful attack against Bernabò's heirs, and a strategic point of defence, control and official diplomatic representation.<sup>46</sup> Whereas Bernabò's Milan was in every respect a capital of great international renown and had therefore been continuously enriched with palaces and churches, Galeazzo II's Pavia, famous for its *scriptorium*, library, archive and historic monasteries,<sup>47</sup> soon became home to two cultural realities of great prestige: the university and the castle library.

The foundation of the university, which ran two courses (*Utriusque iuris* and *Artium et Medicinae*), was authorised by Emperor Charles VI in 1361 and approved by Boniface IX in 1387.<sup>48</sup> Gian Galeazzo strongly and constantly supported the institution. In 1392, he confirmed the rule enacted by his father in 1375, according to which no Visconti subjects were allowed to attend universities other than Pavia, which benefitted from papal privileges granted by Boniface IX.<sup>49</sup> In the last years of his government, the duke took important measures and engaged illustrious scholars to teach there.<sup>50</sup>

Lucia Marchi has formulated convincing hypotheses, based on the extant documentation, regarding the university's links to musical culture in Pavia at the turn of the fifteenth century.<sup>51</sup> Although the official quadrivial lectors of Music remain unknown, there is significant evidence of the presence of Johannes de Janua, a lector of Logic and polyphonist (and the composer of two surviving compositions in Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, *α.M.5.24*

46. In his Italian-Latin poem, *De Magno Schismate*, Antonio Baldana recounts that Martin V, while travelling to Rome after his election, was received at Pavia by the "buon Filippo Maria" with "gloriosos cultos", and subsequently taken to the "potissimam / urbem [Milan] per consecrar quella opra pia / di chiesa [the Cathedral's major altar, 1418] che se funda sub auspiciis / huius [Filippo Maria] qui patrem [Gian Galeazzo] sequitur vestigiis". Cf. Renata Pieragostini, "Unexpected Contexts: Views of Music in a Narrative of the Great Schism", *Early Music History* 25 (2006): 169-207, at 206.

47. Among these are S. Pietro in ciel d'oro, San Felice, Santa Maria and Sant'Aureliano and Santa Maria della Pusterla.

48. An updated bibliography on the history of Pavia University exists, and the archival documentation has been published. Cf. Rodolfo Maiocchi, *Codice diplomatico dell'Università di Pavia*, 3 vols. (Pavia: Società pavese di storia patria, 1905-1915), Vol. I (1361-1400) and Vol. II (1401-1440).

49. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, docs. 316 and 317.

50. Cf. Daniel Meredith Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti Duke of Milan (1351-1402). A Study in the Political Career of an Italian Despot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941; repr. 2011), 183-4.

51. Cf. Lucia Marchi, "Music and University Culture in Late Fourteenth-Century Pavia. The manuscript Chicago, Newberry Library, Case ms 54.1", *Acta musicologica* 80 (2008): 143-64.

[ModA]),<sup>52</sup> and of Pietro Filargo, lector of Theology and the future Pope Alexander V.<sup>53</sup> Filargo was a famous diplomat and jurist. He cultivated and promoted humanistic interests within and beyond the context of his typical French late medieval education. He was in contact with Coluccio Salutati, Umberto Decembrio (whose son Pier Candido was Filippo Maria Visconti's biographer) and Leonardo Bruni (who worked as his secretary). Filargo's library can be inductively reconstructed from the surviving items now stored at the Ambrosian Library of Milan. He was a notable Greek scholar and a patron of culture and music, which he also studied as a quadrivial discipline.<sup>54</sup> He was Matteo da Perugia's only known patron and his name can be connected to Hymbertus de Salinis, Zacara (who quoted Filargo in *Dime Fortuna, poi che tu parlasti*) and Ciconia (who alluded to him in *O Petre, Christi discipule*).<sup>55</sup>

As mentioned above, the other cultural pole that Galeazzo II gave to the city was the castle's library, where historically important books belonging to previous Visconti generations had been incorporated, and which over time acquired real bibliographic treasures.<sup>56</sup> At the end of 1388, following the conquest of Padua, a significant part of Francesco il Novello's library – including some of Petrarch's personal books – was brought to Pavia. Chancellor Pasquino Capelli's book collection was added to the library the following year, after his

52. Cf. Marchi, "Music and University Culture", 147-8; Anne Stone, *The Manuscript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M. 5.24: Commentary* (Lucca: LIM, 2005), 78-81.

53. A Franciscan educated at Oxford and Paris, Filargo was appointed bishop of Piacenza (1386), Vicenza (1388) and Novara (1389). He then became Gian Galeazzo's advisor, the godfather to his two sons, and his ambassador at Wenceslaus IV's court in Prague, where he stayed for a long period of time negotiating the Visconti's ducal title. He was then made archbishop of Milan in 1402, and cardinal and papal legate in Lombardy three years later. He took part in the Council of Pisa, where he was elected pope (26 June 1409, crowned 7 July 1410) under the name of Alexander V. During his brief papacy, he was forced to move between Prato, Pistoia and Bologna, where he finally died (3 May 1410), but he was unable to enter Rome due to Ladislaus of Naples' occupation. (Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 83-90 for bibliographic references).

54. He wrote a speculative sequenza on the harmony of the spheres. See Stone, *The Manuscript*, 88-90.

55. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 88. The attribution of *Dime Fortuna, poi che tu parlasti* to Zacara has been convincingly proposed by Agostino Ziino in Id., *Il Codice T.III.2, Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria. Studio introduttivo ed edizione in facsimile/Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition* (Lucca: LIM, 1994) 11-65 and 69-119, at 47-9 and 103-5.

56. Cf. Elisabeth Pellégrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan, au XV siècle* (Paris: CNRS, 1955). Concerning the library's history, historical inventories, reconstruction hypotheses, etc. see Edoardo Fumagalli, "Appunti sulla biblioteca dei Visconti e degli Sforza nel castello di Pavia", *Studi petrarcheschi*, n.s. 7 (1990): 93-211; Simonetta Cerrini, "Libri dei Visconti-Sforza. Schede per una nuova edizione degli inventari", *Studi petrarcheschi*, n.s. 8 (1991): 239-81; Maria Grazia Albertini Ottolenghi, "La biblioteca dei Visconti e degli Sforza: gli inventari del 1488 e del 1490", *ibid.*, 1-238; Ead., "Note sulla Biblioteca dei Visconti e degli Sforza nel castello di Pavia", *Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria* 113 (2013): 35-68.

life was brought to a tragic end having fallen out of the duke's favour.<sup>57</sup> Two fifteenth-century library catalogues survive: the first ordered by Filippo Maria (1426) and the last by Louis XII as he intended to transfer the castle's library from Pavia to Blois (1499).<sup>58</sup> Both documents reflect a persistent interest in French culture.<sup>59</sup>

Literary culture in the Visconti's Pavia was essentially trilingual (Latin, Italian and French)<sup>60</sup> and included ample development of vernacular genres. Among the most splendid testimonies to this culture are two manuscripts prepared for Bernabò and illuminated by Lombard artists: the *Lancelot du lac* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 343 [Paris343]) and the *Guiron le courtois* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 5243 [Paris5243]).<sup>61</sup> These two precious items were originally kept at the castle's library in Pavia and not in Milan, where, instead, the prince and his family seem to have preferred a "lower" register of expression in everyday activities – the *Novelle* written by members of Bernabò's circle provide a good example.<sup>62</sup>

Consequently, it is not surprising that Bernabò's illegitimate children were named after fictional characters of the French *romans* and the Breton cycle: Astorre, Isotta, Lancillotto, Galeotto, Ginevra, Palamede (not the Greek hero killed by Ulysses but the Arthurian Knight), Riccarda and Sagramoro. The Visconti's interest in subjects and personages of the epic and narrative French tradition was evident and continuative. Even Filippo Maria had a predilection for this genre, as Decembrio disapprovingly remembers.<sup>63</sup> Such a penchant is widely attested in the visual arts as well. As noted by Strohm,<sup>64</sup> the cycle of frescos in the Torre di Frugarolo composed during Gian Galeazzo's time

57. Cf. Maria Grazia Albertini Ottolenghi, "Codici miniati francesi e di ispirazione francese nella biblioteca dei Visconti e degli Sforza nel castello di Pavia", in *La cultura dell'Italia padana e la presenza francese nei secoli XIII-XV*. Atti del convegno (settembre 1994) (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2001), 282-99, at 293.

58. Two more inventories (respectively dated 1488 and 1490) were recently rediscovered. Cf. Albertini Ottolenghi, "La biblioteca dei Visconti e degli Sforza".

59. Cf. Albertini Ottolenghi, "Codici miniati francesi".

60. See *Valorosa vipera gentile. Poesia e letteratura in volgare attorno ai Visconti fra Trecento e Quattrocento*, ed. Simone Albonico, Marco Limongelli and Barbara Pagliari (Rome: Viella, 2014). This recent work was published in the context of a well-structured project hosted at the Lausanne University and directed by Simone Albonico.

61. Both were taken to France during Louis XII's occupation of Lombardy. On *Guiron le courtois'* renown in Italy see Fabrizio Cigni, "Per la storia del Guiron le Courtois in Italia", in *Critica del testo* 7, 1 (2004) 295-316.

62. Cf. *Novelle inedite intorno a Bernabò Visconti pubblicate da Pietro Ginori da un manoscritto quattrocentesco della sua raccolta* (Florence: Fondazione Ginori Conti, 1940). See also Marco Limongelli, "Poeti e istrioni tra Bernabò e Gian Galeazzo", in *Valorosa vipera gentile*, 85-119.

63. Cf. Albertini Ottolenghi, "Codici miniati francesi", 284.

64. Cf. Reinhard Strohm, "Diplomatic Relationships between Chantilly and Cividale?", in *A late Medieval Songbook and its Context*, 239.

describes the adventures of *Lancelot du Lac* organised in fifteen big scenes with French captions.<sup>65</sup> The prominent place given to Galiot in this cycle suggests an intentional allusion to the duke by his *fedelissimo*, Andreino Trotti (the tower's owner and commissioner of the work).<sup>66</sup> Even though the name *Galiot* is properly translated into Italian as *Galeotto* and not as *Galeazzo*, both names share the same etymological root – *galea* (i.e., “helmet”) – and were broadly used at the time. Moreover, the Tramater dictionary recalls that *Galeotto* was often used as a diminutive form of *Galeazzo*.<sup>67</sup> Strohm's suggestion that the musician's name “Jo. Galiot”, whose only two attributable compositions use Visconti mottos and symbology, may be a Frenchified diminutive of Gian Galeazzo is still enticing.<sup>68</sup> It is in fact possible that, due to his high rank, Gian Galeazzo was not supposed to be identified as a dilettante composer or poet. Galiot's ballade *Le sault perilleux a l'aventure prins*, possibly his most famous composition, is cited in a Hebrew musical treatise copied in Paris in the second half of the fourteenth century which praises Jehan Vailliant's teachings as its fundamental reference. This evidence may be seen as a confirmation, rather than a rebuttal, of Strohm's hypothesis,<sup>69</sup> since Gian Galeazzo's relations with Paris, mediated by his diplomats, remained strong and constant throughout his government.<sup>70</sup>

65. Cf. *Le stanze di Artù: gli affreschi di Frugarolo e l'immaginario cavalleresco nell'autunno del Medioevo*, ed. Enrico Castelnuovo (Milan: Electa, 2009). See in particular Maria Luisa Meneghetti, “Figure dipinte e prose di romanzi. Prime indagini su soggetto e fonti del ciclo arturiano di Frugarolo”, *ibid.*, 75-84.

66. Andreino Trotti received Valentina Visconti with honours in Alessandria in 1389 during her trip to France to rejoin Louis of Valois (Duke of Touraine and later Duke of Orléans), to whom she was married by proxy. Furthermore, Gian Galeazzo was the godfather to one of Trotti's children, named after the duke.

67. Cf. *Vocabolario universale italiano*, 7 vols. (Naples: Tramater, 1829-40), Vol. II, 412, s.v.: “Galeotto”: “N.[ome] pr.[oprio] m.[aschile] dim. [inutivo] di Galeazzo”.

68. Cf. Reinhard Strohm, “Filippotto da Caserta, ovvero i Francesi in Lombardia”, in *In cantu et in sermone. For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, ed. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Olshki, 1989), 65-74, at 70; *Id.*, “Diplomatic Relationships”, 239.

69. Cf. Anne Stone, “The Ars subtilior in Paris”, *Musica e Storia* 10/2 (2002): 373-404, at 385-91 and 399. The use of a *proportio sexquioctava* mensural sign in the ballade *Le sault perilleux* (a symbol known to Prosdocimus and Ciconia) can also be read as further evidence to support – and not to confute – this hypothesis, given that musical relationships existed between Pauda and Pavia during Gian Galeazzo's time. Cf. Anne Stone, “The Ars subtilior in Paris”, 389-90, and John Nadas and Agostino Ziino, eds., *The Lucca Codex. Codice Mancini*. (Lucca: LIM, 1990), 1-49.

70. The Visconti's diplomatic and political connections, which included a carefully designed marriage policy, explain the central position of French culture in Gian Galeazzo's Pavian and Milanese circles. Galeazzo II married Blanca of Savoy. Of Bernabo's children, Valentina married Pierre II of Cyprus (born and raised in a French environment) in 1378; Carlo, the lord of Parma, married Beatrice of Armagnac (the Count's daughter); Lucia was betrothed to Louis II of Anjou (although Bernabo's death interrupted this negotiation). Bernabo's granddaughter Isabeau of Bavaria (daughter of Taddea Visconti and Duke Stephan III of Bavaria-Ingolstadt) married King Charles VI of France in 1385. Gian Galeazzo himself, whose mother was a Savoyard, married Isabella of France (1361), daughter of King

## 4. MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

In a pioneering essay published in the 1950s, Claudio Sartori described Viscontean Pavia as a centre of French-taste musical culture.<sup>71</sup> Sartori was in turn followed by Reinhard Strohm, who made further contributions to Sartori's study.<sup>72</sup> However, due to the scarcity of archival documents, scholars dealing with French art polyphony of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries tend to explain the predominance of French-style compositions by Italian musicians through their supposed visitation to or residence in Paris or Avignon – which, in some instances, is likely to have been the case. Notwithstanding, the reception of French models in fourteenth and fifteenth-century Italy – not only with regard to music – is a widespread phenomenon found in numerous cultural centres, either long-established or politically and artistically emerging. Therefore, it was not necessary to live in Avignon or in Paris in order to be intimately familiar with French language and music, to set French texts to music or to admire and emulate compositions by French authors. These cultural centres were always open to contact with international *stimuli* and Francophone cultural references. The diffusion of stylistic and compositional models over broad geographic areas is not always a result of direct contact between the musicians

John II of France. Her siblings were Charles V (later king of France) and John Duke of Berry (the celebrated patron of the arts). Gian Galeazzo and Isabella's daughter Valentina Visconti married Louis I of Orléans (Charles V's brother) in 1389. Filippo Maria Visconti's second wife was Marie of Savoy.

It is worth recalling some other major events that attest to this political and cultural continuity between the Visconti and French princes or diplomats:

– In 1382, during his stay in Stradella, Louis of Anjou was visited several times by Gian Galeazzo and Valentina. In the same year, the negotiations for Lucia Visconti's betrothal to Louis II took place.

– In 1390, Eustache Deschamps visited the Pavia castle and immortalised his impressions in his ballade 1037.

– In 1393, a French delegation was sent to Pavia in the context of the ambitious (but eventually unsuccessful) *Regno d'Adria* project that Gian Galeazzo had planned for Louis of Orleans, his son-in-law. The project also involved a Visconti mission to Paris.

– In 1394, a new mission to Paris took place to draft another French-Lombard alliance.

For seventeen years, Gian Galeazzo was the most patient, redoubtable, and wary player in the European political draughtboard. He functioned as an implicitly obliged point of reference for the birth and dissolution of small and large-scale alliances, peace treaties, wars and truces between Italian, French and Imperial powers. Italian and European sources of the time confirm that relations with the Anjou and the French royal family constituted a central issue for Gian Galeazzo throughout his rule (Cf. Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangualeazzo Visconti Duke of Milan*).

71. Claudio Sartori, "Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut: i due primi maestri di Cappella del Duomo di Milano", *Acta Musicologica* 28 (1956): 12-27, at 19-20. This essay was a starting point for the recent contribution of Anne Stone, "Lombard Patronage at the End of the Ars Nova: A Preliminary Panorama", in *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories*, ed. Antonio Calvia, Stefano Campagnolo, Andreas Janke, Maria Sofia Lannutti, and John Nádas (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2020), 217-52.

72. Cf. Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta"; Id., "Diplomatic Relationships".

involved: manuscripts travelled as well, often with the singers and composers who were part of the retinue of their patrons and commissioners. The music contained in such sources could be read, copied, spread, studied, imitated and alluded to inside new works in the course of the journey.

Many elements available to us are useful for recreating the musical profile of the Visconti court: direct and indirect documentation, music and music theory sources, indications provided by the poetic texts set to music and intertextual phenomena (whose directionality of influence is often hard to study and to understand).

The few extant documents regarding music and musicians in Pavia between Galeazzo II's enthronement and Filippo Maria's rule have been published in the *Codice diplomatico dell'università di Pavia*, mentioned earlier.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, a register dated 1402, written by the Pavese notary Alberto Griffi, mentions a proxy power on behalf of *Frater Antonello* (*Antoniellus*, according to the Campanian pronunciation of the name).<sup>74</sup> It is generally accepted that *Frater Antoniellus* and *A. Marotus abbas de Caserta* – as noted in the “Mancini Codex” (Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065 [Man]) and in Parma<sup>75</sup> (Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26) – were, in fact, the same person. Navarrese documents attest that Jaquet de Noyon “juglar de la viola et de la rota del conde de Vertus” was in the service of Gian Galeazzo.<sup>75</sup> As Sartori has noted, the *Archivio della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano* contains notes related to Matteo da Perugia's work and career. Such evidence has enabled scholars to formulate reliable hypotheses about Matteo's relationship with cardinal Filargo and his frequent presence in Pavia, which the Milanese canons considered a nuisance.<sup>76</sup>

Further indirect evidence of musical life at the court of Pavia in the last quarter of the fourteenth century can be drawn from Giovanni Gherardi da Prato's *Paradiso degli Alberti*, as Lucia Marchi indicated in a recent publication.<sup>77</sup> Johannes Ciconia was likely in the duchy during the 1390s.<sup>78</sup> His presence is suggested in at least two of his allegorical-political compositions: the madrigal *Una panthera in compagnia di Marte* that celebrates Gian Galeazzo's meeting in Pavia with Lazzaro Guinigi (1399), and the canon *Le*

73. Cf. Maiocchi, *Codice diplomatico*, Vol. I, docc. 49, at 37; 195, at 95; 252, at 117-9; 279, at 136; 293, at 144; 296, at 145-6; 297, at 146-7.

74. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 79.

75. Cf. Maria Carmen Gomez, “La Musique à la Maison Royale de Navarre à la fin du Moyen-Age et le Chantre Johan Robert”, *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987): 109-152, at 114 and 122.

76. Cf. Sartori, “Matteo da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut”, 12-20 and Stone, *The Manuscript*, 66-9.

77. Cf. Marchi, “Music and University Culture”.

78. Cf. Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 41-5.

*ray au soleil* that contains verbal and musical mottos related to Visconti *devises*.<sup>79</sup>

However, the most important observations often come from examining the surviving musical manuscripts and considering their possible geneses and functions.

*Chicago, Newberry Library, Case ms 54.1 (Chic)*

Codex Chic,<sup>80</sup> preserved today at Chicago's Newberry Library, was copied in Pavia in 1391 by G. de Anglia, as can be read on c. 6.<sup>81</sup> This manuscript, famous for its splendid full-page illustration of Senlèches' *La harpe de mélodie*, combines texts from the Italian theoretical tradition (mainly Marchetto) with the works of French theorists (Muris and Vitry), and contains the *Tractatus figurarum* attributed to "Magister Philippoctus Andreae" (who has been reasonably identified as Filippotto da Caserta).<sup>82</sup> Moreover, Chic is one of eight extant witnesses to the *Post octavam quintam*, a *versus* also attributed to Filippotto.<sup>83</sup> Theoretical writings dealing with counterpoint and mensural notation are ascribed to Filippotto in various other sources: the *Tractatus figurarum*, the *Regule contrapuncti* and the *Contrapunctus*.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, a legitimate comparison can be made between Filippotto – the author of a complex speculative theoretical work (*Tractatus figurarum*), a compendium on two-voice counterpoint (present in various sources) and also an elementary didactic *versus* – and Zacara, a master of *subtilitas* who wrote a small treatise in prose teaching the rudiments of music.<sup>85</sup> The relationship between Filippotto and

79. Cf. Caraci Vela, "La polifonia profana a Pavia".

80. Cf. Giuliano Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri. Sulla tradizione di un trattato trecentesco di contrapunto* (Lucca: LIM, 1996), 351-2; Strohm, "Filippotto da Caserta", 65; Marchi, "Music and university culture", 150-7.

81. Giuliano di Bacco (Id., *De Muris e gli altri*, 348), has suggested that Chic's reading G. de Anglia may refer to the famous theoretician Johannes Horby; an attractive yet unascertained hypothesis, for the letter "G." may not be compatible with the Latin name Johannes.

82. Cf. Giuliano Di Bacco, "Original and Borrowed, Authorship and Authority. Remarks on the Circulation of Philippoctus de Caserta's Theoretical Legacy", in *A late Medieval Songbook and its Context*, 363-4.

83. Ff. 6v-7r. The other witnesses (mentioned in Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri*, 344, prior to the discovery of the Vercelli treatise) are: Einsiedeln, Stiftbibliothek, 689 (Ein), f. 45v; Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.48 (Plut), ff. 88v-89r; Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I.20.inf (AmbI20), ff. 36r-36v; Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B.83 (Val), f. 13r; Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional Cofre, 18 (Rio), ff. 619r-619v; Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Bibliothek und Archiv des Benediktinerstiftes, 135/5 (SPL), ff. 23v-24r; VA, ff. 182v-183r.

84. Cf. Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri*, 351-2.

85. Cf. Agostino Ziino, "'Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo': alcune date e molte ipotesi", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 14, 2 (1979): 331-48, at 344-8; Anna Cornagliotti and Maria Caraci Vela, eds., *Un inedito trattato musicale del Medioevo (Vercelli, Biblioteca Agnesiana, cod. 11)* (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), 31.

Pavia is currently subject to considerable debate. In any case, although the composer's actual presence at the Pavese court cannot be proved, his archetypal status among the musicians close to the Visconti *milieu* is clear and difficult to deny, as will be further discussed below.

*Vercelli, Biblioteca Agnesiana, cod. 11 (VA)*

The Biblioteca Agnesiana in Vercelli holds a miscellaneous manuscript compiled between 1447 and 1451<sup>86</sup> containing the *Trattato*, a group of three small, incomplete music treatises. Two of these *trattatelli* are written in Paduan-Veneto vernacular and one in Latin. Copied together by the same hand (at cc. 161v-194), the *Trattato* constitutes a collection of note fragments taken for didactic purposes. The exemplars can be dated to ca. 1390-1420, since, at the end of the first treatise, the author discusses the possibility of singing *falsa musicha* “come se fusse in la mano”, and gives the following example: “Lo exemplo appare in multi canti; mo al presente appare in ‘Deduto sey et cetera’, de Zachara”.<sup>87</sup> These dates are further confirmed by the description in the third treatise of the musical forms still in use at the time of writing.<sup>88</sup> These include the Italian ballata using *overt/clos* endings – which has “le chiuse de rieto”, in contrast to the French ballade, which has them “de anante” – and the “new” madrigal that revives and exhibits traditional features such as the unison final cadence and the change of *divisio* between stanza and “volta” (which means “ritornello”).

VA is also one of eight surviving manuscripts to transmit the *versus Post octavam quintam* ascribed to Filippotto in Chic.<sup>89</sup> A reliable critical edition of the *versus* is still necessary in order to shed new light on the dissemination of Filippotto's theoretical works.<sup>90</sup>

Since two of the *trattatelli* are written in Paduan-Veneto vernacular, it is unlikely that they were produced in Vercelli<sup>91</sup> – where an ancient musical tradition existed, especially in terms of the liturgical monody practised in the

86. Cf. Caraci Vela, *Un inedito trattato*. The preparation date can be inferred from the *Computus*, cf. *ibid.*, 45-8.

87. F. 178v. Cf. *Un inedito trattato*, 76-7.

88. *Ibid.*, 89-90.

89. Also, Giuliano di Bacco accepts that Philipoctus Andreae and Filippotto da Caserta are the same person. *Id.*, “Original and Borrowed”, 362.

90. Philip E. Schreuer's stemma (*Id.*, ed., *The Tractatus figurarum: Treatise on Noteshapes* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989], 43), endorsed by Giuliano di Bacco (*Id.*, “Original and Borrowed”, 343), does not follow the basic principles and operative procedures for the construction of a stemma. The addition of superfluous *interpositi* and subarchetypes is unjustifiable from the point of view of the stemmatic method.

91. Cf. Caraci Vela, *Un inedito trattato*, 43.

cathedral. The manuscript's reference to Zacara (quite hard to pinpoint in early-Quattrocento Vercelli) suggests that he may have had links to the Visconti circle; perhaps he either followed Gregorio XII on the way to Cividale (1409) or hopelessly attempted to find a secure appointment.<sup>92</sup> It is very likely, therefore, that the treatise's antigraphs were brought to Vercelli before 1427,<sup>93</sup> perhaps by a music teacher who used them as notes for the musical education of choirboys. The three incomplete fragments that constitute the *Trattato* must have been kept, together or separate, at the Vercelli episcopal library long before the compilation of VA.

*Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, a.M. 5.24 (ModA)*

The Modena manuscript is the most important musical codex with regard to the Pavian French-oriented musical culture under the Viscontis. It is a source that has attracted a good deal of musicological attention, especially since the 1940s. Jason Stoessel has provided a thorough examination of this source,<sup>94</sup> and Anne Stone produced a facsimile edition that is accompanied by a helpful commentary outlining the current state of research on the Modena manuscript at the time of writing, in 2005. The circumstances surrounding ModA's production is still a matter of conjecture, but two alternative theories are generally accepted: on the one hand, ModA's repertoire may be related to Filargo's/Alexander V's (i.e., to the Visconti court at Pavia, where Filargo held ecclesiastic, diplomatic, political and teaching roles); on the other, it is possible that the manuscript's compilation began during the brief sojourn of Alexander V's court in Bologna (6 January-3 May 1410) and continued during John XXIII's stay in the same city (May 1410-March 1411).

Jason Stoessel has recently argued that the manuscript was prepared for Louis II d'Anjou, and that the central gatherings were illuminated by Giacomo da Padova at San Michele in Bosco (near Bologna) during Pope Giovanni's residence.<sup>95</sup>

92. Cf. Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 46, and Agostino Ziino, "Magister Antonius dictus Zacharia de Teramo: 1950-2000", in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2004), 4-32, at 7-8.

93. Vercelli was under the Visconti's rule from 1335 until 1427, when it came under the rule of the Duchy of Savoy.

94. Cf. Jason Stoessel, "The Captive Scribe: The Context and Culture of Scribal and Notational Process in the Music of the Ars Subtilior", 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of New England, 2002), s, 94-183.

95. Cf. Jason Stoessel, "Arms, A Saint and *Inperial sedendo fra più stelle*: The illuminator of Mod A", *Journal of Musicology* 31 (2014): 1-42, and Id., "The Angevin Struggle for the Kingdom of Naples (c. 1378-1411) and the politics of Repertoire in Mod A: New Hypotheses", *Journal of Music Research Online* 5 (2014): 1-28. The idea that Giacomo da Padova was an illuminator is undoubtedly attrac-

At this point, a methodological problem emerges. Several potential provenance hypotheses have been formulated for ModA, as in the case with other miscellaneous musical manuscripts, because their repertoire can be linked to more than one cultural environment.<sup>96</sup> Allan Atlas already alerted musicologists, more than forty years ago, to the methodological risks involved in making such assumptions.<sup>97</sup> The works preserved within a source may certainly reflect a peculiar aesthetic choice, but they do not necessarily prove a direct relationship between a *scriptorium* and the circumstances for which the compositions were written. The transmission and circulation of well-known pieces could occur in many ways, and their presence in an anthology only attests to the fact that such works were well-known and appreciated. Furthermore, texts could be updated or reworked in order to adopt new allusive functions.<sup>98</sup> Conversely, the presence in a manuscript of *unica* or compositions that appear not to have been well disseminated is significant, because it may indicate that the source was compiled according to a specific local aesthetic or to particular musicians and their works. This becomes more relevant when there is direct or indirect documentary evidence to link a composer to a specific environment.

Another fundamental methodological principle stressed by Atlas is the distinct value of *unica* and plural attestations. Whereas, as stated above, *unica* are

tive, although it lacks supporting evidence. The figurative elements that Stoessel identifies as evidential had a relatively wide circulation. On the contrary, Stoessel's hypothesis that the copying initiative for ModA's central gatherings may have been planned and executed in the first two weeks of September 1410 sounds rather hasty and difficult to sustain. (cf. Id., "The Angevin Struggle", p. 4).

96. For instance, the provenance of Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564 (Ch) has been subject to speculation many times in the last 50 years. Musicologists, based on indications drawn from the repertoire, have alternately suggested that the manuscript was copied either in Avignon, at Gaston de Foix's court, inside the Duke of Berry's circle, in Paris, or in Aragon. For a brief summary of this subject cf. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, eds., *Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564; Introduction* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 24-7 and 112-5. A similar point of view emerges in Elizabeth Randell Upton, "The Creation of the Chantilly Codex (Ms. 564)", *Studi musicali*, n.s. 3/2 (2012): 287-352. The risks and problems in dating and identifying the provenance of a manuscript on the basis of its repertoire are also clear to Stoessel (cf. Id., "Arms, A Saint and Imperial *sedendo*", 3110).

97. Cf. Allan W. Atlas, "The Methodology of Relating Sources", in *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier* (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, C. G. XIII. 27), 2 vols. (Brooklyn: Institute of Medieval Music, 1975-6), Vol. 1, 39-48; Rosa Cafiero's Italian version can be found in Maria Caraci Vela, *La critica del testo musicale* (Lucca: LIM, 1995), 141-53.

98. Allusive references in a musical work can certainly provide useful information about the occasion, motivation, commission, place and moment of its composition, but they do not explain the reasons why such a piece ended up in a given collection. We know, for example, the occasions for which Dufay's motets *Vassilisa ergo gaude*, *Supremum est mortalibus bonum* and *Nuper rosarum flores* were written. Each of them makes sense only in the specific circumstances of its composition; nevertheless, the pieces were later copied in several manuscripts that are in no way linked to the context of each piece's creation. These manuscripts only show that the repertoire was particularly appreciated and/or could be reused on a different occasion.

important indicators *per se*, plural attestations are valuable only when reconstructing links between surviving exemplars – i.e., the existence of shared variants and monogenetic (or significant) errors in the course of the textual transmission – which help us to understand the paths of transmission and the geographical and chronological ways in which a work is copied into a miscellaneous source.<sup>99</sup>

With these two principles in mind, we can make a few useful observations about ModA:

(1) 63 of the 104 compositions copied in ModA are *unica*. It is well known that ModA constitutes an edition of the works of Matteo da Perugia; a musician who may have arrived in Lombardy after the conquest of Perugia (1400), and whose activity in the years of Gian Galeazzo's and Filippo Maria's rules is well documented.<sup>100</sup> In ModA, 31 pieces are attributed to Matteo bearing his name in the rubric, or the indication "*Idem*" written at the top of the cantus voice, after other works ascribed to him;<sup>101</sup> however, it cannot be excluded that other pieces, anonymously transmitted, may be ascribed to him too. Matteo's secular works are almost all unique to ModA, except for one rondeau (*Pour bel accueil suy je las deceu*)<sup>102</sup> and one virelai (*Ne me chaut vostre mauparler*).<sup>103</sup> Whereas *Pour bel accueil suy je las deceu* partially survives in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 827 (fragment) (Bern827)<sup>104</sup> the verses of *Ne me chaut vostre mauparler* are found in two Visconti manuscripts, one in a private collection<sup>105</sup> and the other at the British Library (London, British Library, Add. 15224 [L015224]).<sup>106</sup> Both poetic sources are copies of a French chansonnier prepared for a member of the Visconti family, probably Gian Galeazzo. In many of the 194 texts contained in L015224, the word *chantee* (or *chantes*) is added

99. The term "significant/significative" has as a specific philological meaning, although it is often misused by musicologists. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela, "Glossario", in *La filologia musicale. Istituzioni, storia, strumenti critici*, Vol. 1: *Fondamenti storici e metodologici della Filologia musicale* (Lucca: LIM, 2015), s.v.; English ed.: Ead., *Musical Philology. Institutions, History, and Critical Approaches*, Vol. 1: *Historical and Methodological Fundamentals of Musical Philology* (Pisa: ETS, 2015).

100. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 67, and Ead., "Lombard Patronage", 219-30.

101. Attribution is a complicated matter that cannot be sufficiently discussed here. An attribution hypothesis needs to be methodologically reliable (see for instance how it is dealt with in the study of visual arts). Even the intuitions of experienced scholars require rigorous critical evaluation in order to be regarded as plausible. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Valutazione dell'autenticità e attribuzionismo", in *La filologia musicale*, Vol. 2, 175-210.

102. ModA, f. 44v.

103. ModA, f. 48r.

104. Bern827, f. Ar (only tenor and contratenor).

105. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 15.

106. L015224 was published by Norbert Hardy Wallis, ed., *Anonymous French Verse: An Anthology of Fifteenth Century Poems Collected from Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: University of London Press, 1929).

to the formal rubric at the top, undoubtedly indicating the existence of a musical setting. *Ne me chaut vostre mauparler* – a violent defensive-offensive attack in response to a defamatory accusation – bears the indication *bergerete chantee* in manuscript Lo15224.<sup>107</sup> The atmosphere of courtly intrigue and envy in the text of *Ne me chaut vostre mauparler* recalls the anonymous ballade *Langue puens, envénimée*,<sup>108</sup> attributable to Antonello according to Greene and Leech-Wilkinson.<sup>109</sup> Whereas ModA transmits all of Antonello's extant French *unica* (with only two exceptions),<sup>110</sup> none of his Italian settings appear there. The absence of Antonello's "French" notational peculiarities in *Langue puens, envénimée*, together with the unusual topic of the ballade, has led Anne Stone<sup>111</sup> to reject the attribution hypothesis mentioned earlier.<sup>112</sup> Antonello's few surviving polyphonic pieces are of great interest. They consist of: 8 French-texted compositions (5 ballades, 2 rondeaux, 1 virelai), all in ModA, and 7 settings of Italian texts (6 ballatas, 1 madrigal). The French-texted compositions, showing the typical three-voice structure (vocal cantus, instrumental contratenor and tenor), constitute a fairly solid group:

ModA, f. 12v: *Du val prilleus ou pourpris de jeunesse* (Anthonellus de Caserta) B<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>;

ModA, f. 13: *Biauté parfaite, bonté souveraine* B<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>;<sup>113</sup>

ModA, f. 13v: *Notés pour moi ceste ballade* B<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>;

ModA, f. 19v: *Dame d'onour, c'on ne puet esprixier* R<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>;

ModA, f. 28v: *Très nouble dame souveraine* V<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>;

ModA, f. 32v-33r: *Amour m'a le cueur mis en tel martyre* B<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>;

107. Andrés Locatelli has pointed out that the reading *nostre mauparler* in Wallis' edition is not present in the manuscript. Cf. Hardy Wallis, *Anonymous French Verse*, 51 and Andrés Locatelli, *Fenomenologia metrico-musicale nelle composizioni francesi di Matteo da Perugia* (forthcoming).

108. ModA, f. 14r.

109. Cf. Gordon Greene and Terence Scully, ed., *French Secular Music*, Polyphonic Music of Fourteenth Century, 20 (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1982), 258, and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Articulating Ars Subtilior Song", *Early Music* 31 (2003): 6-18, at 7-9.

110. The ballade *Beauté parfaite bonté souveraine* (a setting of Machaut's *Louange des dames*) is in the "Codex Reina", Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 (R), f. 46v, next to the ballade *Du val prilleus ou pourpris de jeunesse*. The latter is also present in the "Codex Boverio", Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2 (T.III.2), ff. 4v-5r.

111. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 100.

112. In my opinion, the second argument should be reconsidered. No musician was obliged to exclusively set a given type of text, nor can we make this assumption on the sole basis of his surviving works.

113. The rondeau *Hors suis ye bien de tre toute ma joye*, whose two-voice setting adheres to Italian stylistic preferences, is squeezed into a very limited space at the bottom of ff. 12v-13r, between Antonello's *Du val prilleus ou pourpris de jeunesse* and *Beauté parfaite, bonté souveraine*. Such a position may lead us to the conclusion that this piece can also be attributed to Antonello, but the considerable stylistic gap between the rondeau and the rest of Antonello's French works suggests that this is not the case. The rondeau lacks all the typical mensural and notational features that are homogeneously present throughout the rest of the composer's French pieces.

ModA, f. 38v: *Dame zentil, en qui est ma sperance* R3<sup>1</sup>;

ModA, f. 40v: *Dame d'onour, en qui tout mon cuer maynt* B3<sup>1</sup>.

The texts of Antonello's French compositions are of a very high and refined literary standard, and, in some cases, they seem to mirror particular aspects of courtly life.<sup>114</sup> *Notés pour moi ceste ballade* is a private missive written by a female character. The lady addresses her lover and he sets a poem to music according to the conventions of the art of courtly love. The rondeau *Très noble dame souveraine* works as the perfect complement to this ballade. There, the lover writes a letter accompanying a virelai that he composed for the lady. The ballade *Amour m'a le cuer mis en tel martyre*, which also exploits the concept of courtly love, is imbued with the intense feelings and "physical" symptoms of lovesickness.

*Dame d'onour, en qui tout mon cuer maynt* is a peculiar example. According to Stone,<sup>115</sup> the ballade's refrain contains poetic and musical intertextual links to Vaillant's virelai *Par maintes fois ay oy recorder* and mensural similarities to Goscalco's B3<sup>1</sup> *En nul estat n'a si grant fermeté*. The poetic text of *Dame d'onour, en qui tout mon cuer maynt*, which conforms to the generic principles of the polyphonic ballade, constitutes a male character's peremptory request for availability and obedience to his beloved lady, and he feels entitled to exercise his right. According to Carla Vivarelli, "Potrebbe dunque essere lo stesso signore del castello che si rivolge ad una dama della corte nella speranza di ottenerne i favori. Per questo il tema sembra essere una missiva privata, composta per diletto dello stesso signore" ("*It may be the castle's signore himself who addresses the lady hoping to obtain her favours. For this reason, the letter appears to be composed for the lord's delight*").<sup>116</sup> But rather than a hopeful request, the text seems like an order issued by a sort of *ante litteram* Sun King. Ironically enough, the Christological symbol of the radiate sun – probably borrowed from Gaston Fébus' heraldic repertoire – was also present in the Visconti's *razza*, one of Gian Galeazzo and his sons' most important emblems.<sup>117</sup>

As discussed earlier, all of Antonello's Italian works are present in Man:

Man, ff. LXViv-LXVIIr: *Del glorioso titol d'esto duce* (Anthonellus Marot de Caserta) M2<sup>2</sup>;

114. Antonello's poetic and musical texts have been published in a critical edition by Carla Vivarelli, ed., *Le composizioni francesi di Filippo e Antonello da Caserta tradite nel codice estense a.M. 5. 24, edizione critica e studio introduttivo*, *Diverse voci*, 6 (Lucca: ETS, 2005), 91-9.

115. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 79.

116. Cf. Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 99.

117. Caraci Vela, "La polifonia profana a Pavia", 253-6.

Man, ff. LVIIv-LXVIIIr: *A pianger l'ochi mey pur mo' commença* B<sup>2</sup>;  
 Man, ff. LXVIIIv-LIXr: *Più ch'el sol in lo mio cor Lucia* B<sup>2</sup>;  
 Man, f. LXIXv: *Con dogliosi martire* B<sup>2</sup>;  
 Man, f. LXXr: *Or tolta pur me sy da li ochi mey* B<sup>2</sup>;  
 Man, f. LXXv: *Madonna, io me rammento* M<sup>2</sup>.

Only *A pianger l'ochi mey pur mo' commença* and *Più ch'el sol in lo mio cor Lucia* are transmitted in other manuscripts as well (all of northern provenance). The former is found in Pist and PadB (1115), and the latter in Parma75 (with a contratenor added by Matteo da Perugia).<sup>118</sup>

Anne Stone has summarised the surviving biographic information regarding Antonello,<sup>119</sup> and Agostino Ziino and John Nádás have made an important scholarly contribution in the form of the commentary to the facsimile edition of Man.<sup>120</sup> As Carla Vivarelli has noted,<sup>121</sup> Ziino and Nádás have successfully determined that the composer's Italian and French works are coeval – i.e., that they must be understood as expressions of a “musical bilingualism” that is characteristic of Trecento polyphony.<sup>122</sup>

Musical “bilingualism” establishes a relationship between two distinct compositional practices. In his interpretation of *Più ch'el sol in lo mio cor*

118. Pedro Memelsdorff has worked extensively on Matteo's contratenors in a series of important publications that have shed new light on their history and analysis. Cf. Pedro Memelsdorff, “Lizadra donna: Note on the Contratenors of Matteo da Perugia and the Musical Text”, in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, 233-78; Id., “Ore Pandulfum. Il contratenor come glossa strutturale”, in *Musica e liturgia nel medioevo bresciano (secoli XI-XV)*, ed. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani and Rodobaldo Tibaldi (Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, 2009), 381-420; Id., “Ars non inveniendi: riflessioni su una straw-man fallacy e sul contratenor quale paratesto”, *Acta Musicologica* 81 (2009): 1-21. The topic was then revisited in Signe Rotter-Broman, *Komponieren in Italien um 1400*, 138-53; 419-25. I have analysed the methodological problems that emerged from such an approach in Caraci Vela, review of Rotter-Broman, *Komponieren in Italien um 1400*, 118-9. It is illogical to deny the contratenor's textual status. The concept of text is not that of an obscure and bulky galaxy, but simply that of “a thought formalised in writing”. This is exactly what the integrative and substitutive contratenors found in ModA and elsewhere comprise. The integrative/substitutive contratenors attributed to Matteo are options that reflect different textual phases. They are born from an evident desire to adapt a composition to new requirements, musical effects and contrapuntal conceptions. Since such adaptation strategies have great cognitive value for us, they constitute an important facet in the history of the works' textual tradition. They define a particular idea of counterpoint and compositional theory, and contribute significantly to our understanding of text mobility in time, revealing the updating processes that enriched and extended the reception of a given work.

119. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 78-80.

120. Cf. Nádás and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 13-49. This is the first comprehensive study, based on all the primary and secondary sources available, that addresses secular polyphony in Pavia during Gian Galeazzo's time. With regard to Antonello, Cf. *ibid.*, 38-9.

121. Cf. Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 15-6.

122. See the first pages of this essay. Antonello's Italian compositions (all in Man) and his French works (all in ModA) can be seen as two sides of the same coin, as they are of reciprocal help in the current analysis. All of these compositions reveal intertextual references to Filippotto's works, and this opens promising perspectives for the future.

*Lucia*, Pedro Memelsdorff has highlighted certain stylistic peculiarities that call for further consideration.<sup>123</sup> In my opinion, his most important observation is that archaic “Italic” features coexist with more modern, *subtilior* refinements following a perspicuous rhetorical strategy that appears to be consciously implemented by the composer. Also, the idea inherited from Strohm<sup>124</sup> that a hypothetical direct relationship between Antonello and Matteo may have existed is enticing, but the evidence in favour of this position deserves special treatment that cannot be exhausted here.<sup>125</sup>

ModA contains the only two surviving works by Johannes de Janua, who was apparently present in Pavia between 1375 and 1388, first as a student, then as a doctor of philosophy, and finally as a university lector:

ModA, f. 27v: *Ma douce amour et ma sperance* V3<sup>1</sup>;

ModA, f. 12r: *Une dame requis l'autrier d'amer* B3<sup>1</sup>.

The lyrics of Johannes' virelai *Ma douce amour et ma sperance* are present in the two Visconti manuscripts containing French poetry, already mentioned above.<sup>126</sup> Johannes de Janua was an Italian: Janua is the medieval Latin diction for Genoa. The city had always been central to Visconti politics, and relations between them had been continuous and intense. Johannes, who was a

123. Cf. Pedro Memelsdorff, “Più chiar che 'l sol': luce su un contratenor di Antonello da Caserta”, *Recercare* 4 (1999): 5-22. Memelsdorff's essay inspired Sebastien Jean's master's thesis: Id., “Più chiar che 'l sol': Reconsidering a Ballata by Anthonello da Caserta” (Brandeis University, 2010).

124. Cf. Strohm, “Filippotto da Caserta”.

125. According to Ziino and Nádas, the ballata should have been written for the marriage of Lucia (Bernabo's daughter) to Frederick of Thuringia in 1399. Gian Galeazzo forced the marriage, a pompous celebration whose witnesses included Pietro Filargo, which was later invalidated (Nádas and Ziino, *The Lucca Codex*, 39). In 1399, Lucia was about 30 years old, an advanced age for a bride at the time. A new marriage was stipulated in 1406 but lasted only eight months due to the accidental death of the spouse, Edmund of Kent. For both the occasions (1399 and 1406) the same question emerges: who would commission a celebratory ballata for an unfortunate and rather old princess who, once destined for the royal throne, had instead lived humiliated and probably scorned by the court? In any event, the principal reason why I think that Lucia Visconti was not the ballata's dedicatee is the middle-high rhetorical level of the text. A passionate love appeal (with language that seems to anticipate that of *O rosa bella*), is totally incompatible with an official religious event and, especially, unacceptable for a high-rank addressee. Lucia, despite everything, was still a Visconti. We may therefore expect a text with elevated allusions, and allegorical images accompanied by heraldic imagery belonging to her birth or her spouse's family. Realistic appreciations and direct, vibrant expressions of love are extraneous to this genre. A composition's generic status reflected the distance between social ranks, making the borders between musicians and the highest sphere of power impassable. Thus, the Lucia mentioned in Antonello's *Più chiar ch'el sol in lo mio cor Lucia* may refer to someone else that has not yet been identified. After all, the name was reasonably not rare at the time.

126. Cf. Hardy Wallis, *Anonymous French Verse*, 18.

foreigner, moved to Pavia to undertake his university studies and then settled there, at least during the period for which archival evidence survives. We cannot exclude that more than one Genoese musician called Giovanni may have passed through Pavia in the same years, but, if we suppose that the surviving evidence refers to the same person, his presence can also be traced in Genoa, Avignon and Florence.<sup>127</sup> Apparently, then, Johannes had the same contacts and travel opportunities as other highly regarded musicians.

*Ma douce amour et ma sperance* is a lover's declaration of devotion in the typical courtly love style. It is intertextually related to the poetical incipit of Hasprois' ballade *Ma douce amour, je me doy bien complaindre*,<sup>128</sup> copied on the adjacent page of ModA.<sup>129</sup> Hasprois' song is in turn intertextually woven with other compositions in a curious way: the verse "quant je ne voy vo gente portraiture" recalls Filippotto's *En remirant vo douce pourtraiture*, copied immediately after in ModA (f. 35v). Both ballades include intertextual links to other works, and a deep and structured comprehensive analysis may lead to further discoveries.

*Une dame requis l'autrier d'amer* contains intertextual links to Filippotto's *De ma dolour ne puis trover confort* but its subject is not as elevated, with a subtly ironic ending.<sup>130</sup>

Leaving aside several well-known *unica* (that refer either to the Bolognese papal court, to the council of Pisa or to an assembly of prelates in Filargo-Alexander V's entourage) and the *Gloria* and *Credo* set by Matteo and other anonymous composers,<sup>131</sup> a number of other compositions exclusively transmitted in ModA warrant further analysis. Jason Stoessel considers that Egidius' ballade *Franchois sunt nobles* is a plead to French honour, recently shaken by the staggering murder of Louis d'Orléans (1407).<sup>132</sup> In my opinion, the

127. Cf. Stoessel, "Revisiting *Aj mare*", 468n35.

128. On Hasprois' tradition, Cf. Yolanda Plumley, "Crossing Borderlines", 15-7. New perspectives on the relationship between Hasprois and the Italian musicians of the Visconti circle are being studied by Andrés Locatelli.

129. f. 28r.

130. This ballade is recalled in a much later chanson: Ockeghem's rondeau *L'autre d'antan l'autrier passa*. The rondeau is written in the same mid-low rhetorical level, with expressions derived from spoken language and not from the aulic tradition, and it deals with the topic of disillusionment in love. It is a strange coincidence that Ockeghem's piece also contains generic temporal reference to the past – "*l'autrier*" – and quotes the city of Milan (in reference to the famous Milanese arms factory).

131. For example, *Sumite karissimi* by Zacara; *Veri almi pastoris* by Corrado da Pistoia; *Furnos reliquisti/Equum est* by Egardus; *Artes psallentes anexa dulcori* by Bartolomeo da Bologna.

132. Cf. Jason Stoessel, "The Angevin Struggle", 9 and 14. Such an event was certainly important to Louis II of Anjou, who had offered immunity to John the Fearless after obtaining the latter's

piece could refer to many different circumstances and places since the textual subject matter is vague and there is strong use of irony, and the political references could apply to any situation or location in which the relationship with France was an everyday concern and a key aspect of politics.

The anonymous ballade *Ore Pandulfum modulari dulci* explicitly alludes to an episode in the life of the great condottiere Pandolfo III Malatesta. Pandolfo was continuously and intimately involved with Visconti politics, first through Gian Galeazzo and the widowed duchess, Caterina, and then to Giovanni Maria and Filippo Maria, who defeated him in the battlefield more than once between 1420 and 1424.

The anonymous ballade *En un vergier clos par mesure* (f. 18v),<sup>133</sup> musically and poetically linked to the anonymous virelai *Je la remire sans mesure* (f. 34r, textless in ModA but not an *unicum*), constitutes an interesting example among the *unica* that explore the common allegorical/love subject matter. In both ballades, the concept of *mensura* generates frequent changes of mensural signs and underlines the similarity of certain melodic fragments between the two pieces that are visually easier to recognise. Moreover, *Je la remire sans mesure* is intertextually related to Filippotto's ballade *En remirant vo douche portraiture* (ff. 34v-35r)<sup>134</sup> – one of the pieces quoted by Ciconia in *Sus une fontaine en remirant* (f. 27r). Ciconia's work, in turn, shows an alternation of mensural signs that recalls *En un vergier clos par mesure*. Further analysis may unearth an even more complex intertextual chain.

(2) In the absence of a modern and rigorous critical edition of ModA's plurally attested works that traces the textual mobility of every piece according to today's philological standards, it is only possible to hypothesise (with the benefit of the doubt) in which directions the interpretative work on the collation data might point. In this sense, Machaut constitutes an exception: his compositions in ModA are those with the highest number of concordant wit-

confession that he was the mastermind behind the murder. However, this episode was even more important to the Visconti, because it translated into great political and private uncertainty. For example, there was some question as to Valentina's security, as a widow in a hostile environment dominated by her cousin and implacable nemesis Isabeau of Bavaria – Isabeau was Bernabo's granddaughter and queen of France.

133. Cf. Jason Stoessel, "The Angevin Struggle", 7-9. Stoessel reveals intertextual links to Filippotto's *Par le grant sens d'Adriane la sage*, which is, in turn, related to the anonymous ballade *En la maison Dedalus enfermée* (splendidly copied in Berkeley, University of California Library, 744 [Berk744], f. 31v), etc.

134. The intertextual network connected to this *virelai* is discussed in Pedro Memelsdorff, "'Le grant desir'. Verschlüsselte Chromatik bei Matteo da Perugia", in *Provokation und Tradition, Erfahrungen mit der Alten Musik*, ed. Hans Martin Linde and Regula Rapp (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2000), 55-83.

nesses, and there is a vast body of critical and philological literature to assist in their interpretation. After Machaut, the composers with plural attestations in ModA are Zacara, Bartolino, Senlèches, Landini (with only one title in the manuscript) and others. A hypothesis of visualisation of each of their compositions' traditions may be a good point of departure for the observation of textual innovation phenomena, understood here as strong indicators of the formation of one of ModA's significative nuclei.

Provisional scrutiny shows that the paths of transmission and the textual quality of ModA's plurally attested works are heterogeneous. For instance, in Antonello's ballade *Du val prilleus ou pourpris de jeunesse*,<sup>135</sup> Carla Vivarelli has readily identified intertextual allusions to Dante's *Inferno* (*Canto V*).<sup>136</sup> Such a discovery places the work in an Italian cultural milieu in which knowledge of Dante's *Commedia* was widespread and deeply internalised.<sup>137</sup> The ballade is also copied in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 ("Codex Reina") (R) and Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, T.III.2 (T.III.2), with slightly fewer correct readings than those in ModA.<sup>138</sup> This suggests that ModA's antigraph (accurately copied therein) may have been closer to the starting point of the work's transmission. Conversely, Filippotto's four compositions in ModA (all with concordant sources), raise interesting questions about tradition. They must have arrived in ModA through significantly mediated paths. Maria Sofia Lannutti has shown that the lyrics of *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief paine* in Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564 (Ch), R and Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della badia greca di S. Nilo, 197 (Gr197) derive from an already corrupt antigraph.<sup>139</sup> The analysis of the musical text of this ballade confirms an innovative tradition marked by scribal interpretative strategies that involve the application of different notational criteria (particularly evident when comparing R to Ch), sometimes with the purpose of underlining intertextual references.<sup>140</sup>

The application of the principles described above to a new critical assessment of the manuscript may usefully enrich recent scholarly work. Hopefully, future

135. For a critical edition of this piece, including apparatus and facsimile, see Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 90-1; 128-31; 157-8; 168.

136. *Ibid.*, 92.

137. On the widespread presence of Dantesque intertextuality in the lyrics of Trecento polyphonic music as a generator of images and vocabulary, and on the extreme difficulty in recognising the phenomenon for those who do not have a thorough knowledge and understanding of the *Commedia* in its proper Italian form (and not in questionable translations), see Caraci Vela, "Per una nuova lettura".

138. Cf. Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 157-8.

139. See her contribution to this volume.

140. Cf. Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 153-7.

investigations will re-examine the paths of tradition in ModA's plurally attested works while also embarking upon interdisciplinary research that makes room for a rigorous study of linguistic phenomena (fundamental characteristics of the *usus scribendi* of a particular scribe or compiler) and to new approaches to palaeographic-codicological, notational, compositional and paratextual aspects. This research should be conducted systematically, rather than for specific cases alone. The creation of a new modern critical edition of this corpus must be a priority. In my opinion, if we take into consideration the state of today's comprehensive research, it is difficult to deny that the Frenchifying repertoire of ModA testifies to the existence of a coherent and characteristic compositional taste, whose points of reference are recognisable in the theoretico-musical, literary and iconographic context of Visconti culture between the age of Galeazzo II and the first years of Filippo Maria. This musical-poetic repertoire must have been appreciated and enjoyed, for it was then selected and carefully collected into the central body of a large and complex manuscript. This codex was not rapidly prepared for a specific historical event, but rather was more likely produced as a result of a process of "physiological sedimentation" within an environment permeated with French-oriented culture and complex international relations.

I would like to add a corollary to the reminded two criteria formulated by Atlas. It is fundamental to find reasonable methods to date the single compositions in a collection, and not to make them float throughout the decades as though style, compositional techniques, counterpoint, and formal elaborations remained unchanged over time. Seeking for objective and logical data may serve this purpose better than recurring to the subterfuge of twisting textual allusions in favour of a more or less appealing dating hypothesis.

This point may seem obvious, but it is not if we consider the emblematic case of Bartolino's *Imperial sedendo fra più stelle*. Bartolino's compositional career can be comfortably followed in time through its contrapuntal and technical-compositional evolution, and chronological indicators are perspicuous. Of these indicators, the regulation of perfect parallel consonances of the same species (= ppcss) is the most reliable. Notwithstanding, the scholarly dating of his works continues to vary from decade to decade. Bartolino (like Niccolò, Paolo and others) uses fifths, octaves and unisons, sometimes even in series of 3 or 4 in certain works (as Piero, Giovanni da Cascia and Gherardello), whereas other pieces contain anything from zero to only one or two ppcss, mirroring the situation for the entire post-1370 repertoire. This phenomenon takes place in (not only) an Italian context in which the norm is widely shared and respected with perfect coherence.<sup>141</sup> The madrigal *Imperial sedendo fra più stelle*

141. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche".

is present in six manuscript witnesses with prevailing Italian features (alternating *octonaria* and *senaria perfecta* and a markedly melismatic cantus line) and a high number of ppcss (more than ten occurrences, plus two cases of parallel unison). Four of these manuscripts (including ModA) preserve the two-voice version, one further manuscript preserves a tablature version, and the remaining source a three-voice version.<sup>142</sup> Nicole Goldine reasonably dates the madrigal to the years 1364-1367, interpreting it as a celebratory piece for Francesco Carrara il Vecchio,<sup>143</sup> but a subsequent study by Petrobelli suggests that the piece should be dated to a period between 1388 and 1402.<sup>144</sup> His hypothesis, written more than fifty years ago, has since been regarded as indisputable and has never been subject to critical evaluation. However, as I have argued elsewhere,<sup>145</sup> there is no proof that Bartolino was alive and active after the 1390s: Petrobelli's belief originates from some debatable interpretations made regarding some of the texts Bartolino set, and from a vague and quite improbable documentary reference.<sup>146</sup>

I have previously discussed the reasons why *Imperial sedendo fra più stelle* cannot be dated to 1401: the madrigal's style and counterpoint are in fact characteristic of compositional styles four decades earlier.<sup>147</sup> Also, I believe that the piece's text refers to Francesco il Vecchio and not to his son, Francesco il Novello. Jason Stoessel<sup>148</sup> recently provided a very thorough description of the Carrarese symbolic iconography alluded to in the text (interpreted by him as a reference to Il Novello), and has situated the madrigal in the context of Il Novello's relations with Niccolò III, whose previous connections with the Carraras are well documented, and with Louis of Anjou. But in this case it was not necessary to write a madrigal anew: as noted above, it was enough that a piece was appreciated and capable of transmitting a message for its meaning to be updated, renewed and redirected to a new situation. Francesco Caronelli's treatise *De curru carrariensi*,<sup>149</sup> which is extremely useful for decoding the madrigal's sym-

142. R, ff. 13r, only tenor, and 22v-23r: in both cases inside Bartolino's section; Sq, ff. 109v-110r; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568 (Pit), ff. 47v-48r; Man, ff. 90v-92r, correctly attributed; ModA, ff. 30v-31r.

143. Cf. Nicole Goldine, "Fra Bartolino de Padova, musicien de court", *Acta Musicologica* 34 (1962): 142-55: 150-1.

144. Cf. Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova", in *Studies in Music History. Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Westpoint: Princeton University Press-Greenwood Press, 1968), 85-112, at 94-8.

145. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela, "Per una nuova lettura", 14-8.

146. Cf. Petrobelli, "Some Dates", 110-1.

147. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche", 96-124.

148. Cf. Stoessel, "The Angevin Struggle".

149. Cf. Francesco Caronelli, *De curru carrariensi*, ed. Caterina Griffante (Venice: Istituto Veneto

bology, was written in the time of Francesco I Il Vecchio (1376). Thus, the madrigal can be linked to Bartolino's early period, no later than the early 1370s. *Imperial sedendo fra più stelle* was undoubtedly one of the composer's most famous works, since it opens Bartolino's section in Sq (together with the miniature that depicts Bartolino). Such a privileged position is generally reserved for an author's most representative or celebrated composition.<sup>150</sup>

Another example of how important it is to date compositions according to reliable criteria is offered by Antonello's famous madrigal *Del glorioso titol d'esto duce*. Here again, various dates have been suggested for this piece, from 1347<sup>151</sup> to 1415 or 1423.<sup>152</sup> This composition imitates the stylistic models of fifty years earlier: two vocal voices, rich melismatic writing, a *divisio* change in the ritornello, and an absence of *overt/clos* endings. But, next to traits of a "recreated ancestry", the madrigal shows signs of a more recent composition. See, for instance, the ppccs that become "allowed" using typical late-Trecento contrapuntal strategies,<sup>153</sup> the audacious *alla quinta* imitation at the opening of the second verse, and the peculiar Italian notation (with letters and *pontelli*) in Man, an all "Italic" kind of *subtilitas* that speculates on the shape of signs. The most convincing hypothesis is that this madrigal was composed for the ducal title bestowed on Gian Galeazzo by Emperor Wenceslao IV (11 May 1395). The text and its allusions illustrate this sufficiently.<sup>154</sup>

di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1983). If the misprint "*Carrariensis*" in Stoessel's article was a genitive singular, it would in fact form an explicit reference to Francesco I il Vecchio. According to contemporary sources, and in later years too (i.e., in the memory of his contemporaries and beyond), "il Carrarese" *par excellence* is the noble figure of Il Vecchio, and not Il Novello.

150. Since this piece has proved problematic to modern scholars, it seems appropriate to clarify the attribution rubric in ModA f. 30r: "Dactalus de padua fecit" (see Jason Stoessel, "Arms, A Saint and *Imperial sedendo*"). The mysterious name *Dactalus* is attested in Trecento Italian vernacular texts as a diminutive of *dattero* (the fruit of the date palm, rare and exotic at the same time), and in rabbinic texts in Norcia (see Ariel Toaff, *The Jews in Umbria: 1245-1435* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 166 and 185). This said, ModA's *Dactalus* is easily explainable as an error made by the scribe, whose exemplar must have had a *Bartolus* in a heavy Gothic cursive script. Thus, he must have mistaken the bellied initial *B* with a curled *D*, the *c* with an *r*, and the *o* attached to the previous letter with an *a*. It is absolutely impossible that the madrigal chosen as the opening of Bartolino's section in Sq was instead composed by another, obscure composer. Furthermore, Bartolino was very well-known in Florence, and Sq contains an almost complete edition of his works.

151. Cf. Suzanne Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia, un musicien liegeois et son temps*, 2 vols. (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1960), Vol. 1, 66. Antonello was probably not even born in 1347.

152. Cf. Nino Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca. 3. Il repertorio musicale", *Musica Disciplina* 5 (1951): 115-142 at 135 and Id., *Scuole polifoniche italiane del sec. XV. Collectanea Historiae Musicae* 1 (1953): 11-8, at 17. Whereas Clercx's dating is unsubstantiated, Pirrotta's suggestions that the work either referred to the marriage of Joanna II of Naples to Jacques Bourbon, or to the queen's adoption of Louis III of Anjou, are much more reasonable given the stylistic elements.

153. In the coeval compositional praxis, the ppccs are consciously and systematically rescued via the use of rests, passing notes, syncopations: such strategies were felt effective to interrupt the interval chain.

154. "Ciascun fa festa omai ch'ha in sé vertute [...] Ma questo è quel che per virtù celeste" are

*Filippotto, a crucial point*

Filippotto is a key figure within and beyond the context of Viscontean musical culture, regardless of the possibility that he was actually continuously present in Pavia. Giuliano di Bacco has thoroughly analysed the scarce biographical data that can be objectively used to understand and contextualise the role of the composer's mensural and contrapuntal theoretical speculation.<sup>155</sup> Moreover, recent musicology has given substantial attention to the quotation of Filippotto's music by his contemporaries and successors,<sup>156</sup> a widespread phenomenon in early fifteenth-century Italy. Thus, it is possible to outline a provisional picture of his (close or distant) connections with the other composers that were variously associated with the Visconti circle. Manuscript Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, 5.2.25 (Se) mentions a *Philipoctum de Caserta* as the author of the *Regule contrapuncti*, and a similar attribution appears in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1114 (Ash 1114). As mentioned above, Chic ascribes both the *Tractatus figurarum* and the *Post octavam quintam* to Magister Philipoctus Andreae,<sup>157</sup> and further mentions his father's name and details of his university degree. But where did Filippotto complete such a degree? Naples, Pavia, Paris? No documentary evidence survives, but it is clear that Filippotto was well acquainted with French culture, including Machaut's poetry and music. Such a cultural background is consistent with his Neapolitan provenance and suggests likely transalpine connections. Unlike other musicians that wrote "Italian" and "French" compositions, no Italian settings by Filippotto survive, and the geographical location of his artistic activity has been subject to much conjecture.

The hypothesis that Filippotto was active in an Avignonese context, which would have provided an ideal milieu for musical debate and exchange, is based on the following observations:

– Filippotto participates in an intertextual network with different generations of French composers (Machaut, Senlèches and others). But it is impor-

two persistent references to Gian Galeazzo's title of *conte di Vertù*, reinforced by repetition. "Chè novo re si nasce per salute [...] Fia novo Augusto cum triumfi e feste": Gian Galeazzo was at the peak of power and his *Regno di Adria* dream had not yet shattered. He was still likely to succeed in his tenacious plan of expansion across the peninsula, and his project was accompanied, as stated above, by strong ideological motivations.

155. Cf. Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri*; Id., "Original and Borrowed".

156. Cf. Plumley, "An Episode in the South?"; Ead., "Playing the Citation Game"; Ead., "Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*"; Ead., "Crossing Borderlines". Carla Vivarelli devoted special attention to Filippotto and Antonello da Caserta, outlining the character of musical culture in the Kingdom of Naples, where both of them must have come from. Cf. Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 3-27; Ead., "Ars cantus mensurabilis per modo iuris".

157. Cf. Di Bacco, *De Muris e gli altri*, 351-2.

tant to remember that intertextuality does not necessarily imply a literal closeness in terms of the geographical location of the composition of the respective texts. Musicians often travelled in the retinues of their patrons or commissioners, and manuscripts circulated even more than they do.

– The great political ballade *Par les bons Gédéon et Sanson delivré*, also present in Ch<sup>158</sup> and T.III.2,<sup>159</sup> is an explicit profession of obedience to Pope Clement VII. However, Strohm has observed that Filippotto may have written it while still in a Campanian context as a commission close to Queen Joanna I, perhaps in the aftermath of the Council of Fondi (1378). In my opinion, this date seems a little too early for this ballade. Conversely, it is not impossible that Filippotto composed it while part of a Visconti circle, maybe in the last years of Bernabò's rule, who was optimistic about a change of obedience during the negotiations for Lucia's marriage to Louis II of Anjou. Alternatively, it may have been composed between 1385 and the early 1390s, in line with Gian Galeazzo's political opportunism. Bueno de Mesquita quotes a document that attests verbal promises made by Gian Galeazzo while arranging Valentina's marriage (1385-6) in which he openly endorsed the French pope. Also, in 1386, the cardinals were granted asylum in Pavia after escaping Urbano VI's rage. In March 1391, Gian Galeazzo received the French diplomatic mission (guided by Louis de Touraine and the Duke of Burgundy) as part of an agreement in which he promised to give official support to Clement VII. Between 1393 and 1395, Gian Galeazzo (with Charles VI and Clement VII) pushed the tightly-woven political and diplomatic agenda of his ambitious *Regno di Adria* scheme, but the events following the death of the Avignonese Pope brought the project to failure.<sup>160</sup> Furthermore, I believe that it does not make sense to place the commission of *Par les bons Gédéon et Sanson delivré* in Avignon, where an official recognition of Clement VII would have been redundant. Instead, if produced in the Visconti circle, the tribute would have been politically meaningful and full of future promise. In those years, such a gesture would have prompted the pope to invest his political endorsement on the Visconti's side.

In any event, the ballade reflects the political stance of a highly positioned commissioner. It is inconceivable to think of it as a reflection of Filippotto's

158. F. 45v.

159. F. 5v. It contains the variant "antipapa" instead of "papa" alluding to Clement VII, who must have long been dead at the time of the manuscript's preparation. According to Agostino Ziino, T.III.2 may have been copied in a Northern Italian monastery of Pisan-Bolognese rule between 1409 and 1417. Cf. Agostino Ziino, ed., *Il codice T.III.2. Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria* (Lucca: LIM, 1994), 54-5 (and 110-1).

160. Cf. Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti Duke of Milan*, 64, 65, 66, 125, 155-9.

personal beliefs: this idea is anachronistic, contrary to social conventions and irreconcilable with a musician's social status, regardless of his renown. Not even Dufay or Ockeghem – two prominent personalities with proven diplomatic careers and direct relationships with the high spheres of power<sup>161</sup> – would have expressed their own opinions in their political motets. In a political composition of a high generic status, a musician does not have a direct dialogue with power. The composer is at the service of an aristocratic patron, whose ideas and beliefs are set to music.<sup>162</sup>

All of Fillippotto's ballades share the same melodic incipit on the cantus line, a syncopated descending motive, variedly elaborated in each of the pieces, where it functions as a sort of musical signature. In particular, *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief paine* and *De ma dolour ne puis trouver confort*,<sup>163</sup> both present in ModA, contain unmistakably similar incipits. This motive, always identifiable, is then reused by other musicians in compositions of the *Espérance/Souffrir m'estuet* cycle and elsewhere,<sup>164</sup> and even in later works in which Filippotto was evidently still held as a prestigious referent. *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief paine* contains the verses "Telle vertu li a Dieu dounee / qu'el puet souvir chascun a souffisance / par dignité et tres noble puissance",<sup>165</sup> whose literal sense is, as usual, complete, but, on the allegorical level, it is a clear reference to Gian Galeazzo, the Count of Vertu. Gian Galeazzo's attributes of dignity, power and nobility are always present and variously combined in the compositions that celebrate him.

Emblematic examples in liturgical and devotional music can be found in Matteo da Perugia's *Gloria*<sup>166</sup> and in two works by the young Dufay (the three-voice motet *Ave virgo quae de coelis* and the four-voice sequence *Gaude virgo, mater Christi*). Matteo must have had immediate access to the repertoire

161. Ockeghem was, after all, a feudal lord with a small-scale court of his own. Cf. Agostino Magro, "Premierement ma Baronnie de Chasteauneuf: Jean d'Ockeghem, Treasurer of St. Martin in Tours", *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 165-258.

162. In other cases, the music may adopt a less elevated generic status, as seen in Zacara. Indeed, Zacara loved exploring rather informal and low rhetorical registers (for example, when he quotes pope names in a familiar tone), and venting with sarcasm his own frustration for the political events that affected his life. Cf. Maria Caraci Vela, "Dall'arte allusiva all'intertestualità 'fisiologica': aspetti del processo compositivo in Zacara da Teramo", in *Antonio Zacara da Teramo e il suo tempo*, 187-211.

163. The lyrics' incipit derives from the *Duplum* of Machaut's motet 14 (*Maugré mon cuer / De ma dolour / Quia amore langueo*).

164. Cf. Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche"; Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Esperance and the French Song in the Foreign Sources", *Studi Musicali* 36 (2007): 3-19; Plumley, "Playing the Citation Game"; Ead., "Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson", *Music and Letters* 84/3 (2003): 355-77.

165. Cf. Maria Sofia Lannutti's essay in this book.

166. The first *Et in terra* by Matteo in ModA, ff. 1v-2r.

that ended up on the Modena codex together with his own complete works. Dufay may have had contact with Filippotto's and/or Matteo's works through the musicians present at the Council of Basel or in Bologna in 1426, where copies of the music belonging to Alexander V's or John XXIII's entourage were probably still circulated or preserved.

Filippotto's stylistic echoes are even more present in the secular polyphonic repertoire, and they can be found in the various compositions that constitute the *Espérance/Souffrir m'estuet* group: for example, in Galiot's isorhythmic rondeau *En attendant d'amer la douce vie*, in Senlèches' ballade *En attendant Espérance conforte* (both in ModA and Ch, two of the four manuscripts that preserve Filippotto's *En attendant souffrir m'estuet*), in Paolo's virelai *Souffrir m'estuet*, in the anonymous ballade *En mon cuer est un blanc cine pourtrait* (three times), and in Matteo's *Trouver ne puis aucunement confort* (five times). Filippotto's stylistic influence can also be found in Ciconia's *Sous une fontaine*, as well as in his splendid three-voice madrigal *Una panthera in compagnia di Marte* on the cantus I line in an marked position (end of the initial melisma of "Marte"); other notable intertextual traces present in Ciconia's madrigal deserve greater scholarly attention.

The network of compositions belonging to the *Espérance / Souffrir m'estuet* group was widely circulated in Europe,<sup>167</sup> and contains, through mottos and heraldic symbology, clear allusions to the Visconti family. The framework of allusive intertextuality in these works must be enriched and reconsidered in the light of new perspectives<sup>168</sup> and systematic analyses of intertextual occur-

167. Cf. Michael Scott Cuthbert, "Esperance and the French Song".

168. Cf. Maria Sofia Lannutti's proposals for this conference. Based on these new observations, and on previous research carried out by Lannutti and me, I believe that a chronology of the compositions built upon Bernabò's motto *Souffrir m'estuet* could be as follows (cf. in particular Lannutti, "Polifonie verbali", 45-92, and Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche"):

*Between Bernabò's time and the first years of Gian Galeazzo's rule:*

– Bartolino, *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba*;

– Niccolò, *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba*.

*Gian Galeazzo's age:*

– Filippotto, *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief paine* (although Yolanda Plumley dates it in the 1380s);

– *Esperance* cycle sequel: Senlèches, *En attendant Esperance conforte*; Galiot, *En attendant d'amer la douce vie*; *Le sault périlleux* (which presents the image of the fountain). However, the directionality of such quotations calls for supplementary research. Then, Ciconia, *Sous une fontayne en remirant*; (Filippotto's motive returns on *Una panthera in compagnia di Marte*); Paolo, *Souffrir m'estuet et plus non puis durer* (where Bernabò's mottos and *Esperance* are combined).

*Filippo Maria's age:*

– Matteo, first *Et in terra* di ModA; *Trouver ne puis aucunement confort*;

– Dufay, motet *Ave virgo quae de coelis*, and sequence *Gaude virgo, mater Christi*.

The rest of the compositions belonging to the same intertextual network may be situated within this grid.

rences. It is generally assumed that *Espérance* is a musical motive linked to the Valois, and that it derives from the very famous anonymous rondeau *Espérance qui en mon cuer*, in turn related to Machaut.<sup>169</sup> Nevertheless, the verbal/musical presence of the *Esperance* motive next to *Souffrir m'estuet* is a clear indicator that the Viscontis were the addressees and maybe the commissioners of the compositions containing both references. Gian Galeazzo apparently took possession of Bernabo's personal motto, as he did with other devices that belonged to his uncle and to Galeazzo II.

The presence of Visconti emblems and mottos in French compositions is usually associated with Valentina, who presumably took his family's heraldic heritage to France. It should be remembered, however, that, given Valentina's status (as a married woman), her family's symbology was expected to merge with her husband's heraldry to create a combined coats of arms and *devices*.<sup>170</sup>

A substantial risk of twisting the facts derives from the assumption that all works written in French or in imitation of the French style were written in France, despite the presence of elements that indicate a different provenance. Although this topic is too substantial and complex to be treated here, it is worth mentioning at least one example: the motto *A bon droit*. The motto *A bon droit*, which thanks to Francesco di Vannozzo's *Canzone morale fatta per la divisa del conte di Virtù*, can be ascribed to Petrarca as a gift to the young Gian Galeazzo, appears in the three-voice anonymous ballade *Bonté de corps en armes eprouvée*.<sup>171</sup> The ballade's acrostic denotes that it is a eulogy for Bertrand du Guesclin II.<sup>172</sup> In the absence of other indicators, it would be tenuous to link the song to Valentina Visconti. *A bon droit* also appears in Solage's virelai *Joieux de cuer en seumellant* (intertextually rich) and in the anonymous ballade *Dolour me tient, par ma foye, a bon droit*.<sup>173</sup> However, we cannot automatically assume that these three compositions were written in France. An adequate musical and poetical

169. Cf. Maria Sofia Lannutti's contribution to this volume.

170. Cf. Laurent Hablot, "La mémoire héraldique des Visconti dans la France du XV siècle", in *L'arme segreta. Araldica e storia dell'arte nel Medioevo (secoli XIII-XV)*, ed. Matteo Ferrari (Florence: Le Lettere, 2015), 267-83. Heraldry is a visual communication system that follows a rigorous code. Any changes – either political, familial or social – must be accurately registered so that the system's communicative function subsists. Cf. D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, "Insignia of Power: The Use of Heraldic and Paraheraldic Devices by Italian Princes, c. 1350 - c. 1500", in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, 1250-1500*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg (Notre Dame-London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 103-27.

171. Cf. Francesco Novati, "Il Petrarca e i Visconti", in *Francesco Petrarca e la Lombardia. Miscelanea di studi e ricerche critico bibliografiche raccolte per cura della Società storica lombarda ricorrendo il sesto centenario della nascita del poeta* (Milan: Hoepli, 1904), 9-84, at 55.

172. Cf. Ursula Günther, "Zwei Balladen auf Bertrand und Olivier du Guesclin", *Musica disciplina* 22 (1968): 15-45. The figure of Bertrand du Guesclin II should be studied in depth.

173. In Ch, f. 58v and Fp, f. 82v.

philological analysis of the witnesses' *usus scribendi* may shed new light on the song's provenance and provide a more convincing explanation for the presence of such a characteristic Visconti motto in these works. *A bon droit* was one of Gian Galeazzo's most important mottos, and he employed it from 1385 in order to justify Bernabò's murder. It is difficult to believe that such a significant message could be employed casually.

Solage was active in the Duke of Berry's circle, the king of France's brother and Gian Galeazzo's brother-in-law. Moreover, Solage's ballade *Plusieurs gens voy qui leur pense* is intertextually related to *Trop bien me plet ma iaquete* in Lon,<sup>174</sup> the collection of French poetry written for the private use of a Visconti (perhaps Gian Galeazzo). In any case, the relationship between the Visconti and Jean de Berry was familiar and amiable. In a letter sent by Giovanni Maria in 1403 to accompany a precious codex from his library,<sup>175</sup> he cordially calls Jean "zio" (i.e., "uncle"), even though the latter was in fact the brother of Gian Galeazzo's first wife.

*Dolour me tient, par ma foye, a bon droit* is also copied in R,<sup>176</sup> and represents a very simplified subgenre of the ballade (two voices, with a tenor as simple instrumental support, and a smooth and melodious cantus; in black notation with no signs of *subtilitas*), and tells the story of a lover's abandonment and betrayal. It has not yet been possible to identify any allusive messages in the text, although it is likely that there are hidden references, since the ballade includes Gian Galeazzo's motto in its opening incipit. It is possible that the figure of the unfaithful lady represents a personification of France, whose crisis with the Visconti took place in 1395-6, but this hypothesis requires further consideration.

Several topics have been left unmentioned and many questions remain of course unsolved; but forthcoming research will not delay in giving us unexpected answers and increasingly refined exegesis tools.

174. Cf. Stone, *The Manuscript*, 84n144 and 84n145.

175. Cf. Albertini Ottolenghi, "Codici miniati francesi", 282.

176. F. 84v.

## ABSTRACT

This paper draws attention to the interrelationships – in the decades of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries – between the intense processes of active reception of French secular polyphony and the reprise of formal models belonging to the earliest phase of Italian Ars Nova. This reprise was a conscious and cultured choice, and the only viable option for music in the proto-humanistic perspective aimed at the recovery of a strong cultural identity, namely of a “classic” and Italic tradition. The fruit of such relationships was an authentic musical bilingualism, modulated with a wide variety of solutions depending on the cultural environment, the different committents and the solicitations of the historical context. The analysis of intertextual phenomena (especially architextuality, poorly studied as of today) and the study of the transmission routes of single musical texts may provide a wealth of information on this subject, but they still require rigorous methods supported by the necessary argumentations. The privileged point of observation proposed is the city of Pavia during the rule of Gian Galeazzo and Filippo Maria Visconti, with its cultural sites (the University and the Library) and characterised by direct or mediated contacts with French ambassadors and courtiers – particularly intense in connection with the great project (bound to fail) of the Kingdom of Adria. An interesting role in this complex environment is possibly played by the Modena codex, subject of many valuable studies, but not yet of a systematic and modern critical edition of all the repertoire that it preserves.

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«PLAZENS PLASERS» AND OTHER FOURTEENTH-CENTURY  
CATALAN REFRAIN SONGS\*

Catalan poets writing at the turn of the fourteenth century (e.g. Andreu Febrer, Gilabert de Pròixida, Jordi de Sant Jordi) were captivated by the work of Guillaume de Machaut, with its brilliant recodification of the *formes fixes*. Such fascination proved crucial to the establishment of trends in Catalan poetry which had emerged much earlier in French song. In particular, early Catalan poets demonstrated a proclivity for refrain songs.<sup>1</sup> The process whereby such songs became standard in Catalan poetry included the fusion of strophic varieties of French origin with the genres inherited from the troubadours. It likewise comprised the adoption of a new style of phrasing intended to refashion the language employed by the Catalan poets, as well as the horizon of expectation of their public. Following the impact of Machaut's works upon the Aragonese court, Catalan poetry embraced a new mode of expression which increased the syntactical resources used to enhance the emotive aspects

\* This paper forms part of a project funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement No. 772762, *Ioculator seu mimus. Performing Music and Poetry in Medieval Iberia*). An overview of the MiMus Project's lines of research can be found in Anna Alberni, "Ioculator seu mimus. Performing Music and Poetry in Medieval Iberia", *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 5/2 (2018): 435-41. The translation of this chapter has been undertaken by Dr Robert D. Hughes (Prague).

1. For the purposes of this study, I consider the term "refrain song" to include all songs in a strophic form and containing a refrain, notwithstanding the position of the latter within the strophe: *dansa*, ballade, rondeau, virelai, that is to say, Friedrich Gennrich's "Rondeltypen" in Id., *Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes als Grundlage einer musikalischen Formenlehre des Liedes* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1932). On the influence of French poetry upon Catalan literature, see Amédée Pagès, *La poésie française en Catalogne du XIII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup>* (Toulouse, Paris: Privat, Didier, 1936) and Lluís Cabré, "Los enuigs de Jordi de Sant Jordi i l'adaptació del lai líric a la poesia catalana medieval", in *Estudis de literatura catalana en honor de Josep Romeu i Figueras*, ed. Lola Badia and Josep Massot i Muntaner (Barcelona: PAM, 1986), Vol. 1, 183-206, and Id., "El conreu del lai líric a la literatura catalana medieval", *Llengua & Literatura* 2 (1987): 67-132.

of texts.<sup>2</sup> This new “syntax of sentimentality”, wherein echoes of other literary traditions were assimilated into poetic text (e.g. the Dante of the *Rime*, the earliest readings of Petrarch’s *Canzoniere*), proved to be greatly appealing to the Catalan poets writing at the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

The strophic forms of this new poetry seem to have found ready ground in the Catalan court thanks to the sustained presence of musicians and jongleurs from the Angevin territories where refrain songs thrived. From the end of the thirteenth century onwards, these artists had cultivated the tastes and the ears of the courtly public of the Crown of Aragon with their dance songs in the French style. Few manuscript witnesses to the earliest Catalan refrain songs survive. However, a number of recently discovered texts have enriched our understanding of the development of this poetic and musical genre.<sup>4</sup> Such recent discoveries stir one to reconsider other compositions possessing similar characteristics which were transmitted independently from the chansonnier manuscript tradition, or have been sporadically exhumed from the archives. They have thus tended to remain outside the consideration of literary historiography. The marginal nature of these pieces may have led to the masking of their presence and, as a result, to the minimisation of their role within the narrative encompassing the evolution of fourteenth-century Catalan poetry. However, the gathering of a series of poetic “vestiges” (*tracce*) implies the existence of a textual corpus, and behind the texts of this corpus necessarily lies a textual community and a corresponding cultural demand.<sup>5</sup>

2. For a description of some of the syntactic resources present in this novel mode of expression, see Marta Marfany, “La influència de la poesia francesa des d’Andreu Febrer a Ausiàs March”, *Estudis Romànics* 24 (2012): 259-87.

3. It was not until the second half of the fifteenth century that Ausiàs March rhetorically claimed to depart from such style in the well-known opening of his poem 23, 1-4: “Lleixant a part l’estil dels trobadors / qui, per escalf, trespassen veritat, / e sostrahent mon voler affectat / perquè no-m torb, diré-l que trob en vós”, cf. Ausiàs March, *Poesies*, ed. Pere Bohigas (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 2005), 125 [Disregarding the style of the troubadours who, through <their> ardour, exceed <the> truth, and casting aside my <own> affectionate desires in order that they do not unnerve me, I shall tell you what I find in you].

4. This work has been mainly undertaken by the BITECA team, *Bibliografia de Textos Antics Catalans, Valencians i Balears*: [https://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/biteca\\_ca.html](https://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/biteca_ca.html) (last accessed July 2, 2020). For the Catalan corpus of *danses*, see Gemma Avenoza, “La *dansa*. Corpus d’un genre lyrique roman”, *Revue des Langues Romanes* 107 (2003): 89-129 and Ead., “La *dansa*. Introducción a la tipología de un género románico”, in *Cancioneros en Baena. Actas del II Congreso Internacional Cancionero de Baena In memoriam Manuel Alvar*, ed. Jesús L. Serrano Reyes, (Baena: Ayuntamiento de Baena, 2003), Vol. 2, 89-105. The text of the poems can be found at the RIALC website (*Repertorio informatizzato dell’antica letteratura catalana*) under «Anonimi aggiunti», reference number o.bis: <http://www.rialc.unina.it/indice.htm> [last accessed July 2, 2020].

5. My use of the term *traccia* (or ‘vestige’) aligns with that of Armando Petrucci, “Storia e Geografia delle culture scritte (dal secolo XI al secolo XVIII)”, in *Letteratura italiana. Storia e Geografia, II. L’età moderna*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa (Turin: Einaudi, 1988), 1193-292, and after-

The influence of French poetry on the Catalan repertory of the first half of the fourteenth century, as well as the activity of the minstrels documented in the correspondence of and payments made by the Royal Chancellery of the Crown of Aragon, lead one to question the supposed marginality of the oldest refrain songs preserved in Catalonia. In this article, I shall focus upon the small corpus of fourteenth-century Catalan *danses* based on the scheme aaab with refrain. The aim is to advance in two directions: 1) towards new editions which enable a better comprehension of the texts and their transmission; and 2) towards a reassessment of already-known pieces in the light of novel documentary or historiographical information in order to establish their position in the history of fourteenth-century Catalan poetry, including the intertextual networks that place them in specific contexts of production and reception. The hypothesis underlying this approach is that refrain songs represented the stimulus for a renewal of the formal possibilities of medieval Romance lyric which broadened the universe of the troubadour courtly song by way of popularising and archaicising touches.<sup>6</sup> To what degree did the reception of refrain songs, filtered through the troubadour tradition and refashioned following Machaut's recodification of the *formes fixes*, determine the characteristics of the Catalan repertory composed at the end of the fourteenth century and the turn of the fifteenth century?

#### THE STANDARDISATION OF REFRAIN SONGS IN CATALONIA

In 1936, Amédée Pagès discussed the presence of jongleurs at the Catalan court who, throughout the medieval period, disseminated melodies from French songs and epic poems. Pagès was the first scholar to realise the importance of studying the ways in which poetic forms of French origin (chiefly refrain songs and lays) were adapted and received within Catalan literature. Nevertheless, he was unaware of four lyric pieces discovered by Fr Higiní

wards used by Alfredo Stussi, *Tracce* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2001). The term 'textual community' is used in the sense established by Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). For the – problematic – parallel with the early Italian poetry set to music as "tracce di una tradizione sommersa" ("vestiges of a submerged tradition"), see Maria Sofia Lannutti and Massimiliano Locanto, *Tracce di una tradizione sommersa. I primi testi lirici italiani tra poesia e musica* (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005).

6. See Maria Sofia Lannutti, "Per uno studio comparato delle forme con ritornello nella lirica romanza", in *La lirica romanza del Medioevo. Storia, tradizioni, interpretazioni. Convegno triennale della Società Italiana di Filologia Romanza (S.I.F.R.)*, Padova-Strà, 27 settembre-1 ottobre 2006, ed. Furio Brugnolo and Francesca Gambino (Padua: Unipress, 2009), 337-62, esp. 337.

Anglès in 1935, copied onto the endpapers of certain notarial documents from Sant Joan de les Abadesses, in the Catalan Pyrenées, unusually preserved with musical notation, and dateable to the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Further new items of poetry have progressively come to light in recent years. In many cases these lyric pieces have been preserved in the form of notes within notarial protocols or in the margins of manuscripts devoted to other works. They have come down to us without musical notation, yet present formal structures identical or closely related to those of the *danses* from Sant Joan. It therefore seems likely that these poems were performed as songs, consistent with the formal and thematic characteristics of the *dansa* genre.

Three of the four songs from Sant Joan de les Abadesses (*S'anc vos ame, Ar lausetz, ...era-us preg*) are based on the scheme *aaab* with refrain, a form widespread in the oldest French repertory: some 70 examples are recorded, of which 40 are to be found in *chansonnier I* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308)<sup>8</sup>. As Maria Sofia Lannutti (2012) has explained, the form *aaab* | *AB* or *aaab* | *BB* involves a musical interaction between the final line of the strophe, which possesses a fixed rhyme, and the refrain: in other words, the melody of the final line of the strophe completely or partially anticipates the melody of the refrain (A or B). The resultant melodic repetition has a function equivalent to that of the *volta* in the Italian ballata and the *tierce* in the *virelai*. According to Lannutti, the melodies from Sant Joan can be considered to be akin to that of the French *ballette*, *Amours a cui je me rench pris* (RS 1602), the

7. Higiní Anglès, *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1935; repr., Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1988). The manuscript is now preserved at the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya [*olim* Biblioteca central de la diputación provincial de Barcelona], 3871). Following their initial publication by Anglès, the poetic pieces from Sant Joan de les Abadesses have been edited and studied by Gerald A. Bond, "The last unpublished Troubadour Songs", *Speculum* 60, 4 (1985): 827-49 (repr. in *Capçalera: revista de divulgació històrica i cultural de l'Ajuntament de Sant Joan de les Abadesses* 1 (1989): 66-94, translated into Catalan); Isabel de Riquer and Maricarmen Gómez Muntané, *Las canciones de Sant Joan de les Abadesses. Estudio y edición filológica y musical* (Barcelona: Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres, 2003); Pär Larson, "Ço es amors e altre possibili tracce italiane in poesia occitanica del secolo XIII", in *Studi di Filologia romanza offerti a Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso*, ed. Pietro G. Beltrami, Maria Grazia Capusso, Fabrizio Cigni and Sergio Vatteroni, (Pisa: Pacini, 2006), Vol. 1, 777-803; and Maria Sofia Lannutti, "L'ultimo canto: musica e poesia nella lirica catalana del medioevo (con una nuova edizione del Cançoneret di Sant Joan de les Abadesses)", *Romance Philology* 66 (2012): 309-63.

8. In the introductory study to their edition, Isabel de Riquer and Maricarmen Gómez Muntané already noted the northern origins of this form, while correlating this aspect with the Gallicisms found in some of the texts and with the Messina or Lorraine system of musical notation employed within the protocol from Sant Joan. The texts have subsequently been reedited, with important linguistic and metrical observations, by Pär Larson and Maria Sofia Lannutti. For the Oxford *chansonnier*, see Eglal Doss-Quinby and Samuel N. Rosenberg, *The Old French Ballette. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Douce 308* (Geneva: Droz, 2006).

only other secular example of this structure to have been preserved with musical notation. This confirms the circulation of a variety of responsorial melodies arranged in strophes consisting of three monorhymed lines with a reprise line (*volta*) and a refrain. This structure, already used in the religious repertory, must have also been associated with texts of an amorous nature enjoying a certain level of dissemination in Occitania and Catalonia between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup> Such diffusion, as we shall see, had an impact on the poetry composed by the Catalan poets writing at the turn of the fourteenth century and afterwards.

Various pieces of the Occitan lyric poetry repertory so highly valued at the French court of Charles I of Anjou (1227-1285), King of Naples and Jerusalem as well as Count of Provence, share a similar structure, particularly the *danses* from the final section of the Occitan chansonnier Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1749 (E), probably added to the collection at the last minute.<sup>10</sup> Cerverí de Girona (1259-1285) employs these “low” strophic forms with refrains and crosses them with those of the “learned” register associated with the last generation of troubadours, thus establishing a precedent and model for subsequent Catalan poets. It remains unclear, however, whether as a result of these choices, Cerverí’s compositional style was innovative or whether he was following models already in vogue at the court of Peter the Great.<sup>11</sup> Whatever the case, it seems that the taste for these dance songs in the French style must have influenced Catalan poetry during the first half of the fourteenth century.

Besides the manuscript witnesses, we possess proof of the significant presence in Catalonia of musicians and jongleurs originating from the courts in

9. See Lannutti, “L’ultimo canto”, 330-1, and Anna Alberni, Maria Sofia Lannutti, “*Lay ves França*. Les structures formelles de la musique et de la poésie dans la lyrique catalane des origines”, in *Les Noces de Philologie et Musicologie. Textes et musiques du Moyen Âge*, ed. Christelle Cazaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadiou, Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne and Fabio Zinelli (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018), 371-99, esp. 382-3. For the *ballette* RS 1602, see Doss-Quinby and Rosenberg, *The Old French Ballette*, 202-5.

10. Stefano Asperti, *Carlo d’Angiò e i trovatori. Componenti ‘provenzali’ e angioine nella tradizione manoscritta della lirica trovadorica* (Ravenna: Longo Angelo, 1995). Anna Radaelli, ed., *Danses provenzali del XIII secolo. Appunti sul genere ed edizione critica* (Florence: Alinea, 2004), 86-7, describes the section as a kind of *plaquette* consisting of fifteen texts added to the end of the chansonnier once the project of compiling the collection had already been concluded. On chansonnier E, see most recently Caterina Menichetti, *Il canzoniere provenzale E (Paris, BnF, fr. 1749)* (Strasbourg: ELiPhi, 2015).

11. Miriam Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona: un trobador al servei de Pere el Gran* (Barcelona-Palma: Universitat de Barcelona-Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2011), 201-10. In general, scholars consider Paulet de Marselha as the troubadour to have introduced the *dansa* to Catalonia, and have highlighted the mediating role played by the court of Rodez in the dissemination of the genre. See Asperti, *Carlo d’Angiò e i trovatori*, 108, and Anna Radaelli, “La dansa en llengua d’oc: un gènere d’èxit entre Occitània i Catalunya”, *Mot so razzo* 6 (2007): 49-60.

which such poetic forms circulated. In the years following Cerverí's death, King James II (r. 1291-1327), himself the author of a Marian *dansa* in the form of a ballata, made frequent payments to jongleurs of the King of Naples, Charles II of Anjou (r. 1285-1309).<sup>12</sup> These transient jongleurs performed at the Catalan court: on the 24th of November 1295, James II issued a gracious concession to Malapert, a jongleur in the service of the King of Naples.<sup>13</sup> On the 6th of February 1297, from Rome, King James ratified payments to Guillaume Renard, jongleur of Philip IV of France, as well as to Bertran de Ros, jongleur of King Charles II of Naples.<sup>14</sup> Shortly afterwards, in April of the same year, the king ratified further payments that had been made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Bernat de Sarrià, while he, the king, was in Rome. Among these were imbursements to Joaní and Jacomí, both jongleurs of Robert of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, as well as to Gambó, Giovanni da Procida's jongleur.<sup>15</sup> The presence at the Catalan court of jongleurs in the service of Robert of Anjou, Duke of Calabria and future King of Naples (r. 1309-1343), is of considerable note.

Robert of Anjou was linked to the Crown of Aragon from the time of his infancy, when he was held prisoner by Peter the Great as a result of the episode known as the Sicilian Vespers. Robert was imprisoned in place of his father, Charles II, who had been captured at the battle of the Gulf of Naples on the 5<sup>th</sup> of June 1284, and was set free as a result of the Treaty of Canfranc on the 28<sup>th</sup> of October 1288. Robert arrived in València in around December of 1288, and remained there until 1295, following the Treaty of Anagni.<sup>16</sup> Later, he would marry two Catalan princesses: Violant (Yolande), daughter of Peter the Great and Constance of Sicily, and Sanxa (Sancia) of Majorca, daughter of

12. *MiMus DB. Ministrers i música a la Corona d'Aragó medieval*: www.mimus.ub.edu, last accessed July 2, 2020 (Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 263, f. 5v). A preceding summary of the document can be found in Josep Trenchs i Òdena, *Documents de cancelleria i mestre racional sobre la cultura catalana medieval*, coord. M.T. Ferrer i Mallol, ed. I. J. Baiges, D. Duran, T. Huguet, M. Rifaust and E. Redondo (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2011), doc. 212. I cite and make use of only a small part of the documents contained in the MiMus DB (in progress).

13. For the *dansa*, *Mayre de Deu e fylha* (RIALC. *Repertorio informatizzato dell'antica letteratura catalana* www.rialc.unina.it [last accessed July 2, 2020] 84bis, 1), see Cesare De Lollis, "Ballata alla Vergine di Giacomo II d'Aragona", *Revue des Langues Romanes* 31 (1887): 289-95; Irénée Cluzel, "Princes et troubadours de la maison royale de Barcelone-Aragon", *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 27 (1957-1958): 321-73; Maurizio Perugi, "Il Sordello di Dante e la tradizione mediolatina dell'invettiva", *Studi Danteschi* 55 (1983): 23-135; Pär Larson, "Ancora sulla ballata *Molto à cb'io non cantai*", *Medioevo Letterario d'Italia* 1 (2004): 51-72; Id., "*Ço es amors* e altre possibili tracce italiane"; Alberni and Lannutti, "*Lay ves França*. Les structures formelles".

14. *MiMus DB* (Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 321, f. 33r-v).

15. *MiMus DB* (Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 245, ff. 4v-5r). Edited by Trenchs i Òdena, *Documents de cancelleria*, doc. 230.

16. Jesús Ernest Martínez Ferrando, Santiago Sobrequés and Enric Bagué, *Els descendents de Pere el Gran: Alfons el Franc, Jaume II, Alfons el Benigne* (Barcelona: Teide, 1954), 32-3 and 75-8.

James II of Majorca and Esclarmonde of Foix. This fact probably helps to explain his interest in possessing a manuscript containing the works of Cerverí de Girona, a Catalan poet who had incorporated into his chansonnier genres and forms of French poetry that were fashionable at the Angevin courts.<sup>17</sup> Thus, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of December 1304, King James ordered his steward Arnau Messeguer to hand over two books (or at least one) to the jongleur Comí, consisting of the works of Cerverí de Girona, because he was obliged to send them to Robert, Duke of Calabria.<sup>18</sup> Noteworthy here is the participation of Comí as a messenger in this transaction, possibly the same jongleur who would go on to sing the *Sermó* before the king in 1322, as recorded by the *Crònica* of Ramon Muntaner. Was it the very same Comí who “dix una cançó novella que hac feta lo dit senyor infant en Pere” [...] [sang a new *cançó* composed by the said Lord Prince Peter], Count of Ribagorça and of Empúries (1305-1380), son of James II and uncle and counsellor to the future Peter the Ceremonious, during the coronation of his brother, Alfonso IV (r. 1327-1336) in 1328 at Zaragoza? The *Crònica* points out that this jongleur led the way in the performance “per ço com En Comí canta mills que null hom de Catalunya” [...] [for the reason that Comí sings better than any man in Catalonia] (*Crònica*, Chap. 298). Given that the *Sermó* had to be sung “en so de Gui Nantull” [according to the melody of the French chanson de geste *Gui de Nanteuil*], it is plausible to think that the performer must have been of French origin.<sup>19</sup>

17. See Amédée Pagès, “La *dansa* provençale et les *goïgs* en Catalogne”, in *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch. Miscel·lània d'Estudis Literaris, Històrics i Lingüístics* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1936), Vol. 1, 201-24, and Miriam Cabré, “La lírica d'arrel trobadoresca”, in *Història de la Literatura Catalana, Literatura medieval (I), Dels orígens al segle XV*, ed. Lola Badia (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia catalana, Editorial Barcino, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2013), 219-96, esp. 260-9. Cerverí de Girona's composition *A la plug'e al ven iran* (Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* [Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1933], 434, 1a [from now on, *BdT*]), structurally close to the Occitan *balada*, is described as “Espingadura d'en Cerverí” in the rubric of the Catalan chansonnier Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* Biblioteca central de la diputación provincial de Barcelona), 146 (Sg), f. 33v-34r. According to Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona*, 215-216, the genre's name could have its origins in the verb *espingar*, meaning “to play the flageolet” (cf. *Diccionari etimològic i complementari de la llengua catalana III*, ed. Joan Coromines (Barcelona: Curial, 1980-2001), 649b, s.v. “espinguet”) and, therefore, could refer to a form of dance accompanied by this instrument. This hypothesis is encouraged by attestation of the term *espringuier* or *espinguer* in French (Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* [Heidelberg: Winter, 1935], 8185, s.v. “springuen”), as has been noted by Ilaria Zamuner, ed., *Le baladas del canzoniere provençale Q. Appunti sul genere e edizione critica* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2012), 15-7. The rubric, then, could allude to the manner of performing the text, i.e., to the performance itself rather than to a genre determined by its form.

18. *MiMus DB* (Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 235, f. 167v). Document first cited by Martí de Riquer, “Treinta composiciones del trovador Cerverí de Girona”, *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 17 (1945): 59-157, esp. 61.

19. Comí is the affectionate version of the name Jacomí (Fr. *Jaquemin*). On the identification of this jongleur, see Marina Navàs Farré, “Poètica i literatura tardotrobadoresca a la cort de l'infant

The document relating to the books by Cerverí has not escaped scholarly attention, although read in the light of the aforementioned poetico-musical contacts between the Catalan court and the Angevin court of Naples at the turn of the fourteenth century, it reveals a more richly nuanced context. First of all, the Duke of Calabria's interest in the two "librorum operis factis per Cerverinum qui sunt in Barchinona" [books of works composed by Cerverí which are in Barcelona] constitutes an example of the earliest reception of Cerverí de Girona's poetry in Angevin territories, within a multilingual and refined cultural setting that included French, Occitan, Tuscan, Neapolitan and, of course, Latin.<sup>20</sup> Second, the presence of French musicians and jongleurs at the Court of Aragon during this period – and after, until the end of Peter the Ceremonious's reign – presents a fitting background for the standardisation of refrain songs in Catalan poetry in the first half of the fourteenth century. Mention of at least two "trobadors de danses" (lit. "troubadours of dance") in the service of Peter the Ceremonious (1336-1387) and Eleanor of Sicily (1349-1375), namely, Pere de Rius (documented as a "minstrel", "troubadour of dance" and "troubadour of song" between the years 1362 and 1381) and Andreu Gascó (documented as a "troubadour of dance" and a "joglar de boca" in 1372 (lit. "jongleur of the mouth"), i.e., someone who either sang or recited verse), both originating from the court of the Count of Foix, Gaston Fébus, bears witness to the prestige in which the *dansa* was held in the closing years of the fourteenth century, and can be considered testimony to the ennoblement of the genre.<sup>21</sup>

Further proof can be found in the celebrated account given by Ramon Muntaner in his *Crònica* (Chap. 297), where he explains that Prince Peter

Pere", in *L'infant Pere d'Aragó i d'Anjou "molt graciós e savi senyor"*, ed. Antoni Conejo da Pena (Valls: Cossetània Edicions, 2015), 87-110, and Stefano Maria Cingolani, "Joglars, ministrers i xantres a la Corona d'Aragó (segles XIII-XV). Observacions i perspectives de recerca a propòsit d'un diplomatar en curs", in *Cobles e lays, danses e bon saber. L'última cançó dels trobadors a Catalunya: llengua, forma i edició*, ed. Anna Alberni and Simone Ventura (Rome: Viella - Institut de Recerca en Cultures Medievales, 2016), 237-68, and Id., forthcoming. For the *Crònica* of Ramon Muntaner, see Ferran Soldevila, *Les quatre grans cròniques, III. Crònica de Ramon Muntaner* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2011). For new information concerning the other two jongleurs who, besides Comí, sang and recited compositions by the Prince Peter of Ribagorça (the future Count Peter of Aragon and Anjou) at the coronation feast of Alfonso IV ("The Kind") of Aragon (1328), see n. 22 below.

20. As regards the cultural climate prevailing in Angevin Naples, see *Boccaccio e Napoli: Nuovi materiali per la storia culturale di Napoli nel Trecento*, ed. Giancarlo Alfano, Emma Grimaldi, Sebastiano Martelli, Andrea Mazzucchi, Matteo Palumbo, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese and Carlo Vecce (Florence: Cesati, 2014); and Jane Gilbert, Catherine Keen and Ella Williams, "The Italian Angevins: Naples and Beyond, 1266-1343", *Italian Studies* 72 (2017): 121-7. On Cerverí's poetic heritage, see Cabré, *Cerverí de Girona*.

21. Alberni and Lannutti, "Lay ves França. Les structures formelles". For the relevant documentation, cf. *MiMus DB*.

sang “una dansa novella que hac feta” [a new *dansa* that he had composed] after “cascun menjar” [each course of the meal] during his brother’s coronation. The chronicler highlights the fact that each piece was performed after each course of the meal and that “all those who had brought the dishes gave their response to him” or, in other words, sang the refrain or response. This scene, wherein the prince performed at least ten *danses* composed *ex novo* for the coronation ceremony, serves to corroborate the prestige attached to the *dansa* genre.<sup>22</sup>

The process whereby the *dansa* was ennobled at the Catalan court seems to form part of a broader movement which led to a redefinition of the poetic genres produced in the Crown of Aragon. In order to survey the paths this process followed, it may be useful to re-examine the small group of *danses* that exhibit the most primitive form, namely three monorhymed verses with a reprise line implying melodic repetition and a refrain. The characteristics of these pieces will enable me to establish connections with compositions whose strophic structure is more complex, such as the *danses* of the *Cançoneret de Ripoll*. These latter compositions have been preserved in a manuscript which did not envisage musical notation, and wherein the copying of the poems was combined with an interest in metapoetical reflection (Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Col·leccions, Còdexs: Ripoll 129 [Rip129]). A similar prescriptive-descriptive component constitutes the principal feature of the manuscript in which the *dansa*, *Plazens plasers* (BdT 461,193a) is preserved, a piece whose

22. The three jongleurs who, according to the account given in Muntaner’s *Crònica*, took part in this ceremony were Ramasset, who recited “un serventesc novell que el senyor infant En Pere hac fet” [a new *serventes* composed by the Lord Prince Peter], the jongleur Comí, who recited “una cançó novella” [a new *canço*] by the same author, and the jongleur Novellet, who recounted “en parlant set-cents versos rimats” [in spoken voice seven hundred lines <of verse>], composed by Prince Peter. Now, thanks to the *MiMus DB*, we know that Muntaner’s Ramasset was Salvador Ramàs, the youngest of a family of jongleurs in the service of the Catalan princes. Among the documents in which Salvador Ramàs appears, one dating from 1329 (*MiMus DB* [Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 575, f. 36rv]) informs us that he was considered to be a *mimus* in the service of Pere de Ribagorça (“mimo incliti infanti Petri”), and that the jongleur Novellet bore the nickname “Novellet d’Espanya” (“Novelleto Ispanie”). A further document dating from 1321 confirms payments to Salvador Ramàs, jongleur to Prince Peter, for having brought certain *cobles* composed by Peter to Alfonso (*MiMus DB* [Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 301, f. 120r-121r]). At the seminar entitled *Cobles e lays, danses o e bon saber. La poesia catalana abans d’Ausias March: llengua, forma, edició* (Universitat de Barcelona, 24<sup>th</sup> May 2013), we revealed the existence of this corpus of documents, which at that time were still in the process of being compiled, as is explained in Alberni and Ventura, *Cobles e lays, danses e bon saber*, 22-4 and 244-5. We kindly acknowledge Marina Navàs for having issued some of these documents (see Ead., “Poètica i literatura tardotrobadoresca”). Raül Sanchis, “La dansa metafòrica en la festa valenciana” (PhD diss., Universitat de Tarragona, 2019) has also cited a number of items of the *MiMus DB*. For an analysis of the relevant documents, see Cingolani, “Joglars, ministrers i xantres” and Id. forthcoming, as well as the *MiMus DB*.

strophic characteristics are very simple though rendered more intricate by a complex interplay of internal rhymes and retrogradation: I shall linger upon this particular fact, because it seems to me that it may help assess the “institutional” scope of the lyric tradition that underlies this group of texts.<sup>23</sup>

Listed below are the incipits of the small corpus of anonymous fourteenth-century Catalan aaab-structured refrain songs containing a melodic reprise line and a refrain – a corpus still susceptible to expansion by virtue of the incorporation of new discoveries:

1. *S'anc vos ame, era us vau desaman* (BdT 461, 215c; Rao 0, 125)<sup>24</sup>
2. *Ar lausetz, lauset, lauset li comandamen l'abbet!* (BdT 461, 27b; Rao 0, 1)
3. *... era us preg qe m'aujatz, bela mia* (BdT 461, 251b)
4. *Plazens plasers, tant vos am e us dezir* (BdT 461, 193a)
5. *Na dolça res, be m'es greu* (Rao 0, bis)

To the three *danses* from Sant Joan de les Abadesses,<sup>25</sup> should be added, first of all, the *dansa*, *Plazens plasers* and the so called *ballada*, *Na dolça res* (in fact, another *dansa*). The blueprint of these five pieces has a Catalan precedent in Cerverí de Girona's *dansa-balada*, *Pus no vey leys cuy son amics* (BdT 434, 9c), and without shifting from the immediate troubadour context, in the *baladeta*, *Lo fin cor qu'ie-us ai m'ausi, dona Gaia* (BdT 244, 4), attributed to Guiraut d'Espanha and added to the end of the Occitan chansonnier E.<sup>26</sup> This piece shares a specific style of composition with *Plazens plasers* and *Na dolça res*. In turn, the latter two may be related to various *danses* from the *Cançoneret de Ripoll* and to the other two *danses* from the Florence manuscript, where *Na dolça res* is also preserved: namely, *Bon esforç mal astre venç* and [...] *domna de bon ayre* (Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Pal. 1052 [Pal1052], ff. 14v-15v). In a forthcoming paper I shall address the relationship between these pieces and a composition copied into a notarial protocol from Besalú (1348),

23. As regards the French and Occitan poetic and metapoetic tradition, see Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay, *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the Rose to the Rhétoriciens* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 165-96.

24. “Repertori d'autors i obres”, in *Repertori mètric de la poesia catalana medieval*, ed. Jordi Parramon i Blasco (Barcelona: PAM, 1992)

25. See Lannutti, “L'ultimo canto”.

26. Texts edited by Pagès, “La *dansa* provençale”, 206-7; Cerverí de Girona, *Lírica*, ed. Joan Coromines, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Curial, 1988), 212; Otto Hoby, *Die Lieder des Troubadors Guiraut d'Espanha* (Fribourg: Sant-Paulus Drukerei 1915), 43; and Radaelli, *Dansas provenzali del XIII secolo*, 143-53. Both Radaelli and Ilaria Zamuner, “Les *baladas* occitanes: origen del gènere i definició del corpus”, *Mot so raso* 6 (2007): 61-74, and Ead., *Le baladas del canzoniere provenzale Q*, 8-9, describe the “zajalesque” structure of the *baladeta*, *Lo fin cor qu'ie-us ai m'ausi, dona Gaia* (BdT 244, 4), and underline its singularity.

*Madona, xantant vos diria*, brought to light by Josep Romeu (1980) as the first of a series of three *cobles esparses* having mutually related metrical schemes. I will propose a new edition of the three anonymous *cobles* as a single piece, akin in form and register to the other compositions constituting this corpus. At present, I shall be dealing principally with the interpretation and the *mise en recueil* of the *dansa, Plazens plasens*.

#### «PLAZENS PLASERS» AND THE COLLECTION OF POETIC TREATISES IN MS BC239

*Plazens plasens, tant vos am e us dezir* is a *dansa* formed of two *cobles* and a *respos* structured aab | AB, as copied into MS Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* Biblioteca Central de la Diputació Provincial de Barcelona), 239 (BC239) between the *Razos de Trobar* by Ramon Vidal de Besalú and the anonymous *Doctrina de compondre dictatz*. In the most recent edition of the text, Field considered it to be the work of Ramon Vidal,<sup>27</sup> whereas Asperti has roundly refuted the attribution of such authorship.<sup>28</sup> As has been explained by Marshall,<sup>29</sup> the poem could have been copied onto an empty space in the manuscript's antigraph. The structure and content of this exemplar could have been similar to those of BC239 from Barcelona, itself a collection of vernacular works concerning poetic composition which dates from approximately the fourteenth century.

The compiler of BC239 (or, more probably, of its model) put together a collection of poetic treatises of diverse origin, conferring upon them uniform pagination wherein the apparatus consisting of rubrics, capital letters and spaces had the role of lending cohesion and coherence to the whole. I present an outline of its contents, below:<sup>30</sup>

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| [ff. 1r-11r]  | Berenguer d'Anoia, <i>Mirall de trobar</i> – 1300?                               |
| [ff. 12r-23r] | Jofre de Foixà, <i>Regles de trobar</i> – end of 13 <sup>th</sup> c.             |
| [ff. 24r-29r] | Ramon Vidal de Besalú, <i>Razos de trobar</i> – beginning of 13 <sup>th</sup> c. |

27. Ramon Vidal de Besalú, *Obra poètica*, ed. Hugh Field, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Curial, 1989; repr. 1991), Vol 2, 177.

28. Asperti, *Carlo d'Angiò e i trovatori*, 106.

29. John H. Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), LXXVI.

30. For a detailed description of the manuscript's contents, see Simone Ventura, "La *Doctrina d'Acort* di Terramagnino da Pisa fra copia e riscrittura", in *Transcrire et/ou traduire. Variation et changement linguistique dans la tradition manuscrite des textes médiévaux, Actes du congrès international, Klagenfurt, 15-16 novembre 2012*, ed. Raymund Wilhelm (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2013), 151-89, esp. 154-8.

- [ff. 29r-31r] Anonymus, *Doctrina de compondre dictatz* – end of 13<sup>th</sup> c.  
 [ff. 32r-56r] Joan de Castellnou, *Compendi* – mid-14<sup>th</sup> c.  
 [ff. 57v-64v] Terramagnino da Pisa, *Doctrina d'acort* – end of 13<sup>th</sup> c.  
 [ff. 65r-82v] Joan de Castellnou, *Glosari* – mid-14<sup>th</sup> c.  
 [ff. 83r-158v] *Flors del gai saber* (= verse redaction of the *Leys d'amors*) – mid-14<sup>th</sup> c.  
 [ff. 161r-184v] Jaume March, *Libre de concordances* – 1371. Different hand.

From a codicological viewpoint, BC239 can be split into two parts: the first, consisting of the first ten octerns, copied by the same hand, gathers together the treatises which extend from the *Mirall* to the *Flors*; the second part consists of the *Libre de concordances* by Jaume March, the most recent of the treatises and one copied by a different hand in the final two sexterns of the codex. The *Mirall de trobar*, the *Regles de trobar* and the *Razos de trobar* occupy an opening section that constitutes the first two quires of the manuscript. The *Doctrina de compondre dictatz* closes the second quire, immediately after the *Razos*. Between quires three and six, we encounter works by Joan de Castellnou, namely, the *Compendi* and the *Glosari* to the *Doctrinal de trobar* of Ramon de Cornet. The sequence is interrupted by the *Doctrina d'Acort* by Terramagnino da Pisa, a short verse treatise deriving from the *Razos de trobar*, which may have been added later, as an exemplar became available. Lastly, the *Flors del gai saber*, a verse redaction of the *Leys d'amors*, fills the four other remaining quires from the first part of the codex.

From the point of view of content, this first part of the collection can be split into two unevenly configured groups:

a) the treatises of the so-called “Vidal tradition”,<sup>31</sup> namely, the *Razos de trobar*, the *Regles de trobar* and the *Doctrina d'acort*;

b) the series of works deriving from or related to the *Leys d'amors*: in other words, the treatises by Joan de Castellnou (the *Compendi* and the *Glosari* to the *Doctrinal de trobar* by Cornet), and the *Flors del gai saber*, a verse redaction of the earliest edition of the *Leys d'amors*.<sup>32</sup>

According to Marshall, the *Doctrina de compondre dictatz* was written in order to complement the *Regles de trobar* by Jofre de Foixà.<sup>33</sup> From a codicological viewpoint the *Doctrina*, copied onto the final three folios of the manuscript's second octern (ff. 29r-31r), immediately after the *Razos de trobar* by Ramon Vidal, also seems to exercise the function of completing the contents of the *Razos* and of the *Regles* by Jofre de Foixà.

31. Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, xcvi-xcviii.

32. Cf. Beatrice Fedi, “Per un'edizione critica delle *Leys d'Amors*”, *Studi Medievali* 40 (1999): 43-118.

33. Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, xciii-xcv: in fact, Marshall attributes authorship of the *Doctrina* to Jofre himself.

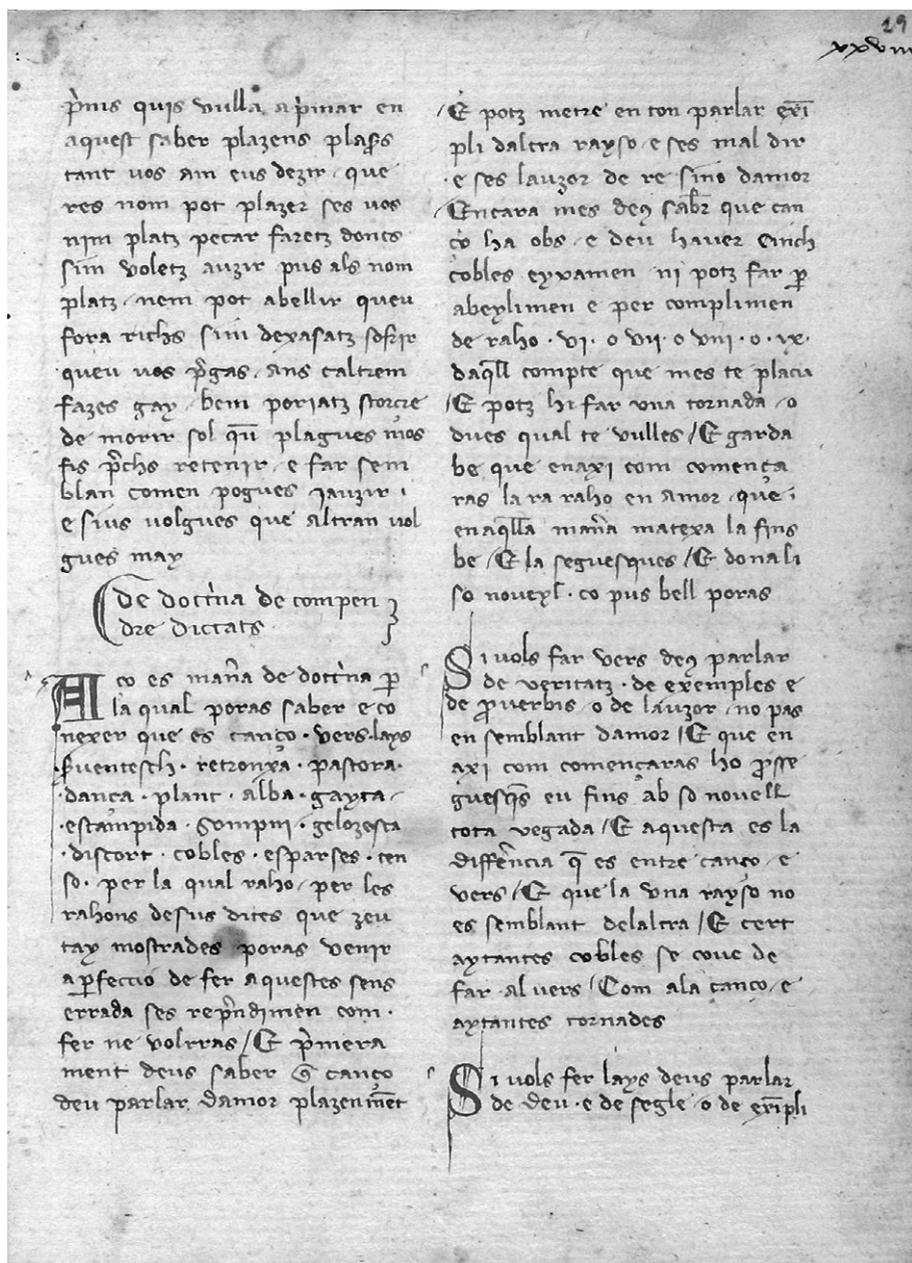


Figure 1. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (*olim* Biblioteca Central de la Diputació Provincial de Barcelona), 239, f. 29r: end of the *Razos de trobar* – beginning of the *Doctrina de compondre dictatz*

As the image in Figure 1 reveals, the *Doctrina de compondre dictatz* does not begin on the front side (recto) of the page, as is customarily the case in BC239 at the beginning of each treatise. If we focus on the macrotextual structure of the *Doctrina*, the rubric which opens the treatise, “De doct(ri)na de compen|dre dictatz” (note “comprendre”, erroneously, instead of “compondre”), has a hierarchical value equivalent to that of the rubrics indicating the subchapters of a treatise, as in the case of the *Mirall de trobar* (cf. ff. 29ra, 5ra), for instance.

Immediately prior to this rubric, anomalously hierarchised as a subchapter instead of as the opening of the work, we find the verses of the *dansa*, which the scribe seems to have accidentally appended to the end of the *Razos de trobar*. They are not even situated at the beginning of the written line: folio 29r opens halfway through a sentence from the *Razos*, and the *dansa* itself commences before the end of this line:

Ez eu no puch dir ges totas las paraulas malvadas ne las rayzos, mas tant ne cuig dir que totz homs // 29ra prims qui-s vulla [...] aprimar en aquest saber *plazens plasers tant vos am e us dezir que res no-m pot plaser ses vos ni-m platz pecar faretz doncs* [etc.].

[And by no means can I mention all the wicked words and remarks, but I can only think of saying about this matter that everyone // 29r subtle enough who wishes [...] to grow more subtle in this <form of> knowledge *pleasant pleasure, so much do I love and desire you that in your absence nothing can please me, nor succeeds in pleasing me. You shall commit a sin, therefore*, [etc.].

Like Asperti,<sup>34</sup> I do not share Field’s hypothesis to the effect that the placement of the *dansa* at the end of the *Razos de trobar* constitutes a commentary on the use of *paraules biaxades ni falsades* [distorted and deformed words] and an appropriate and perhaps satirical complement to the final words of the treatise [“Ez eu no puc dir ges totas las paraulas malvadas ne las rayzos”, etc.].<sup>35</sup> If we bear in mind the fact that this manuscript is probably a copy of a lost exemplar, we notice that the transcription of the poem occurs at a point when the hierarchy of the collection’s system of rubrics seems to falter, becoming less consistent. Such hesitancy was possibly present in the scribe’s exemplar, a fact which may have brought about the transcription of the poem in our manuscript. Or perhaps the space left blank between the *Razos* and the *Doctrina* was already occupied by the short poem in the exemplar, as Marshall points out, and it was precisely this which subsequently caused the copyist’s hesitancy vis-à-vis the rubric of the *Doctrina* in BC239.<sup>36</sup>

34. Asperti, *Carlo d’Angiò e i trovatori*.

35. Vidal de Besalú, *Obra poètica*, 186.

36. Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, LXXVI.

Whatever the case may be, and without losing sight of the question implicit in Field's approach, one has to ask oneself what were the reasons behind the presence of the *dansa* in this collection of vernacular treatises on poetry dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and copied in Catalonia. Let us return, then, to the characteristics of the text and of the manuscript witness: *Plazens plasers* is a poem transcribed by the copyist or compiler of an ambitious encyclopaedic collection of – mostly Catalan – treatises on the *art de trobar*. The collection ends with the *Diccionari de rims* by Jaume March (1371), added by a different hand though fully consistent with the “book” as a whole. Beyond the “vestigial” [traccia] nature one may attribute to the insertion, the text possesses characteristics akin to those exhibited by the small group of *danses* added to the end of the Occitan chansonnier E.<sup>37</sup> This does not mean that it constitutes a marginal piece: on the contrary, there are elements which lead one to think that it formed part of a well-established textual tradition within the milieu in which the poetic treatises were compiled, or in the mind of the person who, slightly later, ordered the collection to be copied.

We know very little about the setting in which BC239 was produced: the only thing that seems certain is that the compilation took place within Catalan-speaking territories during the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>38</sup> The collection is demonstrative of the interest in didactic troubadour works in Catalonia towards the second half of the fourteenth century. Such interest is explicitly connected to a king of the House of Aragon, as is shown by the first paragraph of the *Regles de trobar* by Jofre de Foixà, a text written “per manament del noble e alt senyor en Jacme, per la gracia de Deu rey de Sicilia, qui en trobar pensa e s'adelita grantmen” [“at the command of the noble and lofty Lord James, by the grace of God King of Sicily, who greatly ponders upon and enjoys troubadour poetry”].<sup>39</sup> This dedication restricts the dating of the treatise to between the years 1286 and 1291; namely, the brief period in which James II was King of Sicily.<sup>40</sup> The characteristics of the text, a form of

37. Radaelli, *Dansas provenzali del XIII secolo*, 86, makes use of the term ‘instant-song’.

38. As far as the dating of the manuscript and the Catalanisms within the text are concerned, it is difficult to narrow things down any further than the *terminus post quem* implied by the addition of the *Diccionari de rims*.

39. Jofre de Foixà described his work as “doctrina en romanç, per que cells qui no-s entenen en gramatica, mas estiers han subtil e clar engyn, pusquen mils coneixer e apendre lo saber de trobar” [instruction in Romance whereby those who are not familiar with Latin, though otherwise possess subtle and clear intellects, may better acquaint themselves with and learn the knowledge <involved in composing> troubadour verse] (Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, 56).

40. Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, LXXII. It should be recalled that Jofre de Foixà was the abbot of San Giovanni degli Eremiti in Palermo (1293).

“digest” of the *Razos de trobar*, including an additional series of basic advisory materials concerning poetic composition, led Marshall to define the “target audience” of the *Regles* as “an aristocratic circle of amateurs anxious to compose Provençal verse correctly”.<sup>41</sup> The same point is likewise applicable in 1324, when Ramon de Cornet finished his *Doctrinal de trobar* with a dedication to the Infant Pere de Ribagorça, son of James II:

Mos libres es complitz, / Dieus ne sia grazits / e la Verges Maria. / E vulh que donatz sia / a-n Pedro, filh del rey / d’Arago, car lo vey / savi, cert e valen / e de trobar saben / e gent enamorat / quez yeu non hay trobat / en est mon tan cortes / per que caps d’amor es / e dignes de lauzors / ez er mi grans honors / si vol mon libre prendre (vv. 514-528).<sup>42</sup>

[My book has ended, / for which may God / and the Virgin Mary be thanked. / And I wish it to be given / to Peter, son of the King / of Aragon, for I see / <that he is> wise, well-informed and worthy of respect / as well as knowledgeable about poetry / and tender in his love / <inasmuch as> I have never found / such a courtly <man> in this world, / since he is an experienced poet [lit. ‘leader in love’] / and worthy of praise / and it would now be a great honour <to> me / if he wished to receive my book].

Some twenty years later, in 1341, Joan de Castellnou dedicated the *Glosari* he had composed in order to correct the *Doctrinal* by Cornet to the same “mout aut poderos senhor mon senhor l’enfant en Pere, del mout aut poderos senhor en Jayme de bona memoria Rey d’Arago fill, per la gracia de Deu Comte de Ribagorça e d’Ampuries” [“very lofty <and> powerful lord, my Lord Infant Peter, son of the very lofty <and> powerful Lord James, King of Aragon, of fond memory, by the grace of God Count of Ribagorça and of Empúries”]. As is well known, between these two dates, the encyclopaedic compilation of the *Leys d’amors* (finished in 1350, though begun in 1323) had been set in motion: the *Glosari* placed emphasis upon the points at which the *Doctrinal de trobar* failed to adhere to the precepts of the Toulousain *Leys*.<sup>43</sup>

41. “[a circle] anxious to continue an established mode of poetic expression which was for them not merely an object of antiquarian curiosity but a living tradition of which they still felt themselves to be part” (Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, LXXV).

42. Joan de Castellnou, *Segle XIV. Obres en prosa. I. Compendi de la coneixença dels vicis en els dictats del Gai Saber, II. Glosari al Doctrinal de Ramon de Cornet*, ed. Josep M. Casas Homs (Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajana, 1969), 201-2.

43. On this subject, see Alfred Jeanroy, “La poésie provençale dans le sud-ouest de la France”, in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, Vol. 38 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1949), 99-110, and Giulio Cura Curà, “Il *Doctrinal de trobar* di Raimon de Cornet e il *Glosari* di Johan de Castellnou”, *La parola del testo* 9 (2005): 125-91. Andrés Descalzo, “Comentarios sobre algunos trovadores al servicio de Pedro IV o de paso por su corte”, *Recerca Musicològica* 9-10 (1989-1990): 295-301, esp. 296, pro-

The manuscript BC239, as well as the *Cançoneret de Ripoll*, must have been compiled during this time, the latter constituting a further exceptional witness to the aforementioned interest in metapoetic reflection.

#### «PLAZENS PLASERS» AND METAPOETIC REFLECTION

The case of *Plazens plasens* in BC239 can be interpreted in the light of another, better known manuscript. The codex from the Ripoll collection Rip129 includes a fragment from the *Regles de trobar* by Jofre de Foixà, as well as two short, anonymous treatises on genre and rhyme. These brief treatises are followed – without interruption to the Romance section of the manuscript – by the eighteen poetic pieces known as the *Cançoneret de Ripoll*, twelve of which are *danses*.<sup>44</sup> The contents of the codex that are now of interest to us consist of the following:

- [ff. 19r-25r] Jofre de Foixà, *Regles de trobar* (without a heading) – end of 13<sup>th</sup> c.
- [ff. 25v-26r] First short treatise on poetic genres – mid-14<sup>th</sup> c.
- [ff. 26r-26v] Second short treatise on types of rhyme – mid-14<sup>th</sup> c.
- [ff. 27r-30v] Anthology of eighteen poetic pieces (*Cançoneret de Ripoll*) – mid-14<sup>th</sup> c.

In the study which precedes her edition of the poems, Lola Badia considers it likely that the short treatises are the work of the chansonnier's compiler, and she observes that Catalan poets of the fourteenth century must have felt a particular need (or had a particular taste) for the prescription of poetic rules.<sup>45</sup> This atmosphere of grammatical erudition is common to other Catalan manuscripts containing poetry, and corresponds to a perception – specific to the fourteenth century – of poetry as knowledge.<sup>46</sup> As Badia explains, the

posed the identification of Joan de Castellnou with the poet and treatise writer of the same name, who certain scholars consider also to be one of the overseers (“mantenidors”) of the Jeux Floraux in Toulouse. For Joan de Castellnou, see most recently Sadurní Martí, “Joan de Castellnou revisité: notes biographiques”, *Revue des Langues Romanes* 121 (2017): 623-59, who has edited and/or cited a number of documents from the *MiMus DB*.

44. For the Ripoll manuscript, see Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, *Del manuscrit 129 de Ripoll: Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. Regles de trobar, tractat poètic, col·lecció de poesies* (Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1911) and Id., “Literatura catalana”, in *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas* (Barcelona: editorial, 1949), Vol. 3; Lola Badia, ed., *Poesia catalana del s. XIV. Edició i estudi del Cançoneret de Ripoll* (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1983).

45. Badia, *Poesia catalana del s. XIV*.

46. Regarding this approach, see Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry*. For a general approach to the prevailing Catalan literary circles, and an up-to-date account of the Catalan/Occitan

two treatises were written while bearing in mind poems VII (*Fis vos suy aman* [Rao 20,1]), XVII (*Li fayt Dieu son escur* [Rao 20,2]) and VIII (*Dompna, de mi merce-us prenya* [Rao 33,1]) from the anthology.<sup>47</sup> Even though it is not possible to determine whether the poems were written in order to exemplify the subjects of the short treatises, or whether the short treatises were written in light of the collected material in order to explicate it and to set it up as a model, it is noteworthy that the aspect which seems to interest the author of the first treatise the most is the functioning of internal rhyme within the Chaplain of Bolquera's *dansa*, *Fis vos suy aman*. I will return to this question, because it seems to me that it can help to explain the presence of the *dansa*, *Plazens plasers* in BC239. Let us first of all take a look at the poem's text:

*Plazens plasers* (BdT 461, 193a)<sup>48</sup>

Plazens plasers, tant vos am e us dezir  
que res no-m pot plazer ses vos, ni-m *play*. 2

Pecat faretz, doncs, si-m voletz auzir,  
pus als no-m *platz* ne [no·]m pot abellir,  
qu'eu fora rics si-m dexasatz sofrir  
qu'eu vos pregas, ans c'altre-m fazes gay. 6

Be-m poriatz storçre de morir  
sol que us plagueſ mos fis prechs retenir  
e far semblan co m'en pogueſ jauzir,  
e, si us volgueſ, que ultra-n volgues may? 10

1 after dezir, the copyist has inserted a virga 2 play] platz 3 pecat] peçar 4 a virga after platz 6 a virga after pregas and after gay 8 que us] que; a virga after retenir 9 a stroke or virga after jauzir 10 a stroke, possibly to indicate vocalic contact, above que ultra-n.

manuscripts in question, including the *Registre Cornet* (1340-1360) and the protocols from Castelló d'Empúries, see Cabré, "La lírica d'arrel trobadoresca", 273-8.

47. The poems' numeration follows Badia, *Poesia catalana del s. XIV*, 150-1. The author of the first two dances is the Capellà de Bolquera [Chaplain of Bolquera], called "lo xantre de Bolquera" and "lo noble archipreste de Bolqueres" by Francesc Eiximenis in his *Terç del Crestià*, where the Chaplain is cited next to Cerverí. His works must have enjoyed considerable dissemination, since another of his poems, *Li fait Dieu son escur*, is also preserved in *Cançoner Vega-Aguiló* (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya [olim Biblioteca Central de la Diputació Provincial de Barcelona], 7, f. 94r [VeAg; Rao 20,2]). For VeAg, see Anna Alberni, "Intavulare", *Tavole di canzonieri romanzi (serie coordinata da Anna Ferrari)*, I. *Canzonieri provenzali*, 11. *Biblioteca de Catalunya: VeAg (mss. 7 e 8)* (Modena: Mucchi, 2006). It is not clear whether the author of *Dompna, de mi merce-us prenya* is the Dalmau de Castellnou cited at the foot of f. 28r of the Ripoll manuscript: cf. Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, xlv, n. 1, and Badia, *Poesia catalana del s. XIV*, 221, n. 27.

48. There exists an eighteenth-century copy of BC239 which also transmits the brief poem (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 13405). I have not been able to consult this *codex descriptus*, which, according to Hugh Field (Vidal de Besalú, *Obra poètica*, Vol. 2, 177), possesses no variants apart from its slightly simplified punctuation.

*Translation*

*Response.* Pleasant pleasure, so much do I love and desire you, that in your absence nothing can please me, nor succeeds in pleasing me.

I. You shall commit a sin, therefore, if you kill me, since there is nothing else [apart from you] which pleases me or which I find appealing; for I should consider myself well rewarded were you to allow me to make my entreaties to you, rather than that another lady should make me happy.

II. With ease shall you be able to dissuade me from dying, should it please you merely to listen to my faithful entreaties, and to show me how I might take delight in this situation; and, should you wish, would I love another lady more?<sup>49</sup>

The first editor of the text, Paul Meyer, transcribed it without making any interventions therein, though he did indicate certain significant emendations in the footnotes. The metrical form of the short poem was described by István Frank in his *Répertoire* (I, 10, 44:2 and 44:3),<sup>50</sup> who linked its structure to that of one of the anonymous *danses* from Sant Joan de les Abadesses, namely, *S'anc vos ame* (then unedited, though reproduced as a facsimile by Higiní Anglès, *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII*, 185 and 406, with musical transcription of the *respos* and of the first two lines of the first *cobla*). Martí de Riquer subsequently republished the poem, transporting the majority of the emendations suggested by Meyer to the body of the text, while adding a new interpretation of the final word of the *respos* (v. 2): *play* instead of *platz*, which is the reading found in the sole surviving manuscript witness.<sup>51</sup>

While this emendation is minuscule, it bears important consequences for an understanding of the poem's structure. Despite the fact that he failed to retain the reading "*play*" in his edition of Ramon Vidal de Besalú's works, Hugh Field intuitively recognised the importance of the line-end, and he

49. Or, following Paul Meyer, "Traité catalans de grammaire et de poétique", *Romania* 6/23 (1877): 341-58, and Riquer's emendation in v. 10 ("altra-*m* valgues" instead of "altra-*n* volgues"): "and, should you wish, another lady would grant me her favour". The text proposed by Meyer, and followed by Martí de Riquer, *Història de la literatura catalana. Part antiga* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1964), Vol. 1, 112, is probably closer to the original than that of BC239. In this article, however, I preserve the reading from the sole manuscript, a reading which, despite the repetition of the verb "voler", is intelligible. A further possible emendation to the line consists in the introduction of an antihiat "z" within the vocalic sequence "que altra".

50. István Frank, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours. Tome premier, Introduction et répertoire*. Tome second, *Répertoire (suite) et index bibliographique* (Paris: Champion, 1953-1957).

51. Avenoza, "La *dansa*", 124, likewise accepts this interpretation in a footnote, without, in the end, actually getting round to implementing the emendation, possibly being aware of the implications it bears for the metrical scheme: "Peut-être devrions-nous corriger la rime du v. 2 en *play* (au lieu de *platz*); ainsi se réaliserait la répétition de la rime du refrain au dernier vers de chaque *cobla* (v. 6 *gay*, v. 10 *may*)".

identified it as belonging to a complex series of internal assonances and consonances in the text, which had gone unnoticed by the previous editors. Thus, in his introductory study, Field describes two series of vocalic and consonantal endings occurring at the fourth syllable in lines 1, 2 and 4, and at the eighth syllable in line 3 of each *cobla*.<sup>52</sup> Such endings, which, in fact, should be considered as correspondences akin to internal rhymes, are organised according to a dual system of retrogradation which works in both directions: first, in relation to the major rhymes (3/1, 1/3); second, the vowel sequence in the second *cobla* reverses that of the first *cobla* (e/a/a/a, a/e/e/e). This subtle “double game” consisting of a chiasmic contrast in terms of the distribution of rhymes, as described by Field,<sup>53</sup> is indicated by italics (vocalic correspondences) and underlining (consonantal correspondences) in my edition.<sup>54</sup>

In the *Leys d'amors*, within the paragraphs entitled “De la diffinitio de rim” [On the definition of rhyme], “De las diverses maneras de rims” [On the different types of rhyme], “Dels rims acordans e primieramen dels rims sonans” [On *rims acordans* and, first, on *rims sonans*], and “Dels rims consonans” [On consonantal rhyme], one can gauge the ambiguity affecting the terminology from the semantic field of *acordansa* [agreement]. This latter, in principle, is to be understood as phonetic identity at line-ends, an identity which can be either *sonan* (a correspondence pertaining to vocalic sounds alone) or *consonan* (a correspondence pertaining to all sounds) and, in each case, can be split into *borda* (*simpla/dobla*) and *leyal*. Both *sonansa borda* and *consonansa borda*, belonging as they do to the realm of imperfect rhyme, are considered unacceptable in the *Leys*, with the sole exception of *versos estramps* (i.e., unrhymed, separate lines of verse within a *cobla*, showing preference for feminine forms). Despite this rule, however, the author of the preceptive treatise acknowledges its generalised use, particularly in poetic forms of “la pus iusana species” [the lowest kind] such as *viaderes* or *viandelas*, which should be avoided because they fail to have “cert compas” [<an> assured rhythm].<sup>55</sup>

52. Vidal de Besalú, *Obra poètica*, Vol. 2, 177-87.

53. *Ibid.*, 186.

54. One should also ask oneself whether the poem is complete: according to Field (Vidal de Besalú, *Obra poètica*, Vol. 2, 182) the system of retrograde internal rhymes does not permit the composition of a third *cobla*. Avenzoa, “La *dansa*”, considers it to be incomplete and therefore excludes it from her catalogue. Bearing in mind the text’s nature as a material “vestige”, it is not easy to issue judgement on the matter, although I am inclined to side with Field on this point. The poem, moreover, has a very marked bipartite structure which seems to have expended itself within the space of the two stanzas.

55. “Sonansa borda reproam del tot, jaciayssó que tot jorn uza hom d’aquesta sonansa borda en viandelas, de les quals no curam, quar d’aquelas no vim, ni trobar non podem cert actor, so es a dire que no sabem don procezişso ni qui las fa, ni podem trobar cert compas en aquelas. Empero aytal sonansa e consonansa bordas pot hom be pauza[r] per maniera de rimes estrampas”. [We roundly

The most noteworthy characteristic of the anonymous *dansa*, *Plazens plasers* is that these vocalic and consonantal correspondences are not situated at the end of the line, but rather are placed internally, and that they act as internal rhymes between consecutive lines. The *Leys* describe such internal correspondences (or rhymes) in the paragraphs devoted to *bordos empeutatz* (and, we might add, to *bordos biocatz*), defined in opposition to *bordos principals*.<sup>56</sup>

The idea that *bordos principals* may “otherwise [be] called *verays principals*” is supported by the first of the short treatises from Ripoll, where the *dansa* is specifically treated as a genre. Firstly, the text defines the genre’s strophic features (i.e., a refrain and three *cobles*, plus one or two *tornades*) as well as its theme (“tostemps de materia d’amor e de lahor de dona” [invariably concerning <the poet’s> love for and praise of a lady]), following the guidelines associated with the descriptive models of the *canço*, the *tenso*, the *sirventes*, the *cobla* and the *vers*. An additional and significant observation is then made concerning the number and types of rhyme: thus, a *dansa* must have “iiii rimes principals” [four principal rhymes], and, after these, the text that follows “deu

condemn *sonansa borda*, even though such *sonansa borda* is commonly used in *viandelas*, with which we are not concerned, since we are not considering those, nor can we discover a recognisable author for them, which is to say that we do not know where they come from nor who composes them, nor can we discover <an> assured rhythm therein. Such *sonansa <borda>* and *consonansa borda*, however, can be used in *rims estramps*]. The numbering of the chapters as well as all the quotations from the *Leys d’amors* derive from the edition by Beatrice Fedi, *Las Leys d’Amors. Redazione lunga in prosa* (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2019), II, 23 4 (at 263). For an in-depth treatment of the matter, I refer the reader to the comments by Fedi, in preparation. Cf. also the chapter devoted by Radaelli, *Dansas provenzali del XIII secolo*, 62-70, to the technical rhymes of her corpus of *danses*. For the *viadera*, see Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, 142. A definition of *viadera* is found in the first treatise from Ripoll (Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, 103).

56. “Vist [h]avem dels bordos de quatre sillabas, de .v., de .vi. e de .vii. et en ayss[i] entro .xii. E devetz saber que nos [h]avem tres manieras de bordos, [so es assaber bordos] principals, [en altra maniera digz verays principals], [et havem] bordos empeutatz e bordos biocatz. Bordos empeutatz es quar, segon qu’es estat dig, can la pauza d’alqun bordo ha acordans[a] am l’autra pauza del bordo seguen oz am la fi d’aquel meteysh bordo oz am la fi del promda verset preceden, adonc[z] cascuna d’aquestas pauzas es appellada bordos empeutatz, quar, en ayssó que la una pauza s’acorda per acordans[a] ab l’autra oz ab la fi d’aquel meteysh bordo o del preceden, cascuna pauza pot far bordo per si meteysha. [We have examined the lines of verse consisting of four, five, six, seven and, likewise, of as many as twelve syllables. And you should know that there are three kinds of *bordos*, namely, *bordos principals*, called otherwise *verays principals*, and there are *bordos empeutatz* and *bordos biocatz*. As has been said, *bordos empeutatz* <occur> when the *pauza* (i.e., caesura) of any *bordo* is in agreement with the other *pauza* from the following *bordo* or with the ending of the very same *bordo* or with the ending of the previous, neighbouring line, so that each of these *pauzas* is called a *bordo empeutat*. For, insofar as one particular *pauza* accords by agreement with another or with the ending of that very same *bordo* or with the previous <such>, each *pauza* is capable of creating a *bordo* by itself]. Fedi, *Las Leys d’Amors*, II, 12 and 13 (246-7). The *Torcimany* by Lluís d’Averçó contains a description of the varieties of *bordos empeutatz*; see Josep M. Casas Homs, ed., “*Torcimany*” de Lluís d’Averçó. *Tratado retórico gramatical y diccionario de rimas*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956), Vol. I, II 2 (104-8).

esser semblant al refrayn en rimes e en so” [must resemble the refrain in terms of rhyme and music]. The passage in question then immediately proceeds to explain the nature of the *rimes principals* and *meyns principals* (the latter also bearing the name *doblades*), distinguishing them from each other depending on whether they occur at the end of or are internal to the relevant line. Although it is well known, I reproduce the entire passage of the first Ripoll treatise on *rimes meyns principals* in the *dansa* below. It is exceptional in that the whole explanation is given in the form of a metrical commentary on one of the *danses* from the *Cançoneret* (*Fis vos suy aman*), from which the refrain and the first *cobla* are copied.<sup>57</sup>

Rimes principals dich io a diferencia de les meyns principals, axi com aqueles qui son doblades, axi com par en la dança del Capela de Bolquera qui diu:

Ffis vos suy aman ses enian  
 ab ferm talan, cors ben estan;  
 donchs prende-us merçes, pus tot bes,  
 dopna, n vos es,  
 que no-m auciat desiran.

Aço es refrayn; pus seguex se la cobla, qui diu:

Al prims que vos vi vos plevi  
 ab cor fi, dompna, mi e tots quans bens puyx far ni dir  
 ab cor que non vir de servir  
 vos, qu'eu mir e desir en mon cor ser e mayti.

Assi a .iiii. rimes principals, ço es la primera qui es en *-i*, d'aquel mot qui diu *plevi*, e la quarta d'aquel mot qui diu *mayti*; les altres dues son en *-ir*. E hi ha d'altres mots termenats en *-i* o en *-ir*: fa-s per doblar les rimes.

[I distinguish primary rhymes (*rimes principals*) from those which are less primary (*meyns principals*), such as those which are duplicated (*doblades*), as is apparent in the *dansa* by the Chaplain of Bolquera, which states:

I am your faithful lover, lacking in guile,  
 Firm <in my> desire, <O lady> fair of body.

57. For the paragraph concerning the *dansa* genre, see Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, 102, vv. 49-66, from which I quote. Badia, *Poesia catalana del s. XIV*, 50, n. 6, reproduces the passage on rhyme when commenting on the metrical structure of the *dansa*, *Fis vos suy aman*, reconstructed by Marshall and Riquer, following the instructions provided in the treatise. Gérard Gonfroy, “La rédaction catalane en prose des *Leys d'Amors*: édition et étude critique des trois premières parties”, 2 vols. (PhD diss., Université de Poitiers, 1981), Vol. 2, 227, also compares the two passages. Radaelli, “La dansa en llengua d’oc”, 50-4, re-examines the description of the *dansa* genre as given in Occitan treatises, including those from Ripoll.

Have mercy on me, therefore, for every good,  
 <My> lady, lies within you,  
 Do not lead me to perish from my love!

The above constitutes the refrain; next follows the *cobla*, which states:

As soon as I saw you, I pledged to you  
 With a faithful heart, <O> lady, myself, as well as any good things I can do or say  
 With a will that shall not turn from serving  
 You, upon whom I gaze and <whom I> desire in my heart day and night.

There are thus four primary rhymes, namely, the first which is in *-i*, as regards the word which says *plevi*, and the fourth, as regards the word which says *mayti*; the other two are in *-ir*. And there are other words ending <either> in *-i* or in *-ir*: this is done in order to duplicate the rhymes.]

The second short treatise from Ripoll, bearing as its heading the rubric “Aquestes son les maneres de les rimes” [These are the kinds of rhyme] (f. 26rv), likewise discusses internal rhymes, though it defines them as *dobles* rather than as *doblades* and once more quotes the first two lines of the same *dansa* (an argument to support sole authorship of the two treatises, or the idea that the author of the second treatise might have tried to complete the preceding one).<sup>58</sup> Despite the divergence between these two accounts, it is evident that what is being defined constitutes a single phenomenon, namely, rhymes occurring within the same line of verse (in this case, a correspondence with the preceding line-end).<sup>59</sup>

The most interesting aspects of this brief exploration of terminology are as follows: 1) in fourteenth-century treatises on poetry, internal rhyme and assonance are described in relation to dance genres such as the *dansa* and the *vian-dela* (in the *dansa*, *Na dolça res*, as we shall see, the rhyme *carrera: bela* stands out; and the metrical scheme employed in *Madona*, *xantant vos diria*, accord-

58. *Rimes dobles*, partly corresponding to Latin Leonine rhymes, occur when the rhymes are internal, and are present at the end of both the first and second hemistichs of a line of verse; *rimes doblades*, on the other hand, generally speaking, indicate rhyming couplets. A good starting point for the terminology of internal rhyme in medieval Catalan poetry is Jordi Parramon, *Diccionari de poètica* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1998), s.v. “rima interna”.

59. “Rimes dobles no son sino con una mateixa rima se dobla, axi con aquella qui diu: Fis vous suy ayman sens enian / Ab ferm talan, cors ben estan”. [*Rimes dobles* occur only when one and the same rhyme appears twice, as is the case with <the poem> that states ‘Fis vous suy ayman sens enian / Ab ferm talan, cors ben estan’]. A little further on, the treatise adds a new element of confusion to the terminology when it defines *rimes doblades* as being those “qui van de dues en dues, axi com aquestes: Er veu qu’em venguts als iorns lonchs / Que flors s’arenguen sobre·ls troncs” [which occur in twos, such as the following: Er veu qu’em venguts als iorns lonchs / Que flors s’arenguen sobre·ls troncs]. As Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, 143, clarifies, the *Lays* describe this combination of lines as *rims caudatz*.

ing to the new edition I am preparing, is built upon recourse to *sonansa borda* at certain points within a stanza); 2) the author of the two short treatises from Ripoll displays a particular interest in lending order to the classification of varieties of rhyme, classification either overlooked or disregarded by previous and contemporary treatises; 3) the association of the *dansa* by the Chaplain of Bolquera, *Ffis vos suy aman*, with the definition of *rimes menys principals* or *doblades*, set forth as a metrical commentary on one of the poetic pieces from the *Cançoneret*, accords enormous significance to the Ripoll manuscript.

The system of retrograde correspondences akin to internal rhymes that we encounter in *Plazens plasars* is not explicitly defined in any of the treatises. It is evident, however, that the idea of a poetic text conceived as a verbal fabric susceptible to being made richer and more complex by virtue of the artifice of “technical” rhyme sits well alongside the concept of poetry evident in the rhetorical treatises. In BC239, the major rhymes and the *sonansas* of the *dansa*, *Plazens plasars*, are signalled by the use of a stroke or virga (cf. Figure 1). Despite the fact that the use of such signs is not consistent in the manuscript, one is bound to conclude, with Field,<sup>60</sup> that the copyist recognised the existence of correspondences between sounds situated within a given line of verse, as indeed the edition in question reveals.<sup>61</sup> Such correspondences might have been perceptible as regards the intonation of the melody, which has not been preserved. Be that as it may, the artifice is deliberately sought by the author, as well as recognised by the copyist of MS 239: this makes it clear that the text’s literary code was still operative within the milieu in which it was received. The treatise writer from Ripoll, being attentive to internal rhyme and to exemplifying the description of such rhyme by means of a *dansa* from the *Cançoneret*, must have belonged to this very milieu, which has been located within a setting close to the Catalan court of the first half of the fourteenth century. We should recall that in the first treatise from Ripoll, among the examples of *cobles* provided “de materia d’acuyndamens” [concerned with encounters], one such *cobla*, attributed to Pere de Vilademany, is quoted which opens with the line “del orde suy del noble infant en Pedro” [belonging to the Order of the noble Prince Peter], thereby alluding to Prince Peter of Ribagorça.<sup>62</sup> It has not proved possible to identify with any certainty what this Order might be, nor the role – if any – played therein by Prince Peter as regards the diffusion of particular genres of poetry. It can be confirmed, how-

60. Vidal de Besalú, *Obra poètica*, Vol. 2, 182.

61. The eighteenth-century MS from Madrid reproduces the punctuation marks of BC239 (commas instead of virgas, and full stops, at all times according to Field (Vidal de Besalú, *Obra poètica*, Vol. 2, 182)).

62. Marshall, *The Razos de Trobar*, 102.

ever, that the Catalan court held *danses* in high regard as one of the most greatly cherished forms of entertainment.<sup>63</sup>

#### POETIC LANGUAGE, ALLUSION AND RECURSIVITY

One of the distinctive elements of medieval Catalan poetry is the use of a language traditionally described as being hybrid, which in this case refers to the mixing of Catalan and Occitan morphological features.<sup>64</sup> On the basis of this idea, Field has highlighted the “metrically marked” distribution of forms from the two languages which alternate in the rhymes and assonances of the *dansa*, *Plazens plasars*, describing the phenomenon as if it were an exceptional case linked to the particular metrical complexity of the text and to its supposed semantic ambiguity.<sup>65</sup> For Field, a representative example of this linguistic behaviour can be found in the form *dexassatz* (v. 5), which belongs neither to Catalan nor to Occitan and should be considered expressly to have been coined in order to resolve the poem’s specific equation between rhyme and metre (interpreting the line as “were you to allow me to make my entreaties to you”). Meyer and Riquer, on the other hand, have proposed the “standardising” emendation *denbassats*, thereby causing the discursive value of a style of phrasing particular to the courtly register to prevail over the first-person pronoun in the very same line (*si·m*), a pronoun which governs the verb (thus interpreting the sense as: “were you to deign to accept my entreaties to you”). Given the difficulties of justifying the emendation *denbassats*, I have decided to maintain the morphologically mixed reading found in the manuscript, namely, *dexassatz*.

As is well known, linguistic hybridism formed part of the established tradition as regards the poetic language of *fin’amor* in Catalonia. The study of the

63. Rubió i Balaguer, “Literatura catalana”, 676, interprets the term *orde* as a core group of poets; Badia, *Poesia catalana del s. XIV*, 36-38, suggests a chivalric order. The question remains open. For an account of the *status quaestionis* regarding the possible role of Prince Peter as a promoter of poetry at the Catalan court, see Cabré, “La lírica d’arrel trobadoresca”, 273-9, and Ead., “Pere d’Empúries, un poeta de nissaga reial a la ‘crònica’ de Ramon Muntaner”, *Mot so raso* 17 (2018): 63-76, as well as Cingolani, forthcoming.

64. See Andreu Febrer, *Poesies*, ed. Martí de Riquer (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1951), 140-60.

65. It ought to be said that Field’s definition, formulated without regard to the perspective of contact linguistics which we are currently applying to medieval language, still remains valid: “El poema, doncs, és escrit en un metallenguatge que no és ni occità ni català, sinó una mescla de tots dos en la qual l’autor forja noves formes per exigència de la rima quan els recursos de què disposen aquestes llengües resulten insuficients” [The poem, therefore, is written in a metalanguage which is neither Occitan nor Catalan, but rather a mixture of them both wherein the author coins new forms in virtue of the requirements of rhyme when the resources available to these languages turn out to be insufficient] (Vidal de Besalú, *Obra poètica*, Vol. 2, 184).

manuscript transmission of poetic texts brings to light the awareness felt by both copyists and authors that they had within their reach a literary language of a composite nature, which permitted alternation. Such alternation bore reference both to reasons of poetic economy (e.g. syllabic count, metrical form, the requirements of rhyme) and to the allusive nature of certain words.<sup>66</sup> Catalan poetry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries offers us many examples of alternation and of linguistic “fusion”, from the *Cançoneret de Ripoll* to the *Cançoner Vega-Aguiló*.<sup>67</sup> In some cases, this poetic language includes features from French and Italian, as occurs in the case of the *Cançoneret de Ripoll* itself (which contains Gallicisms such as *beutey*, *sotmis*, *entremis*, *guionatge*) as well as in the *danses* from Sant Joan de les Abadesses.<sup>68</sup>

Linguistic mixture, then, is not a feature specific to this poem, and should not be related to any supposed ambiguity of the text: the problems of meaning that the poem presents are attributable to its manuscript transmission. I do not believe, for example, that we have to assume a semantic ambiguity between the verbs *auzir/aucir* in v. 3 (see the verb *morir* in v. 7, located in perfect strophic and syllabic symmetry at the line’s end). In this short poem, the ambiguity does not reside in the linguistic mixture itself but rather in the viewpoint of the lyric “I” who speaks, and which can be interpreted as the ironic correlate of the play of retrograde internal rhymes occurring within the poem’s very lines.

The *dansa*, *Plazens plasers*, is written in a language characteristic of medieval Catalan poetry of troubadour origin. If we consider the phenomena of linguistic contact fostered by this literary code, rhyme B of the *respos* (i.e., *platz*) can be likened to the rhymes from the final line of the following two

66. The awareness of the cultural nature of this linguistic choice is borne out by a text such as the *Mirall de trobar* by Berenguer d’Anoia, a text dating from the earliest years of the fourteenth century and transmitted by a sole witness in BC239: see Simone Ventura, “Poesia, grammatica, testo: il *Mirall de Trobar* di Berenguer d’Anoia e il ms. 239 della Biblioteca de Catalunya”, in *Cobles e lays, danses e bon saber*, 159–86.

67. Such is the case of *retreg* in Ripoll V, v. 22, on which see Badia, *Poesia catalana del s. XIV*, 65: “L’africada final és provençal (*retrach*) però la qualitat vocàlica es catalana” [The final affricate is Provençal (*retrach*) though the vocalic quality is Catalan]. On linguistic hybridism in VeAg, see Anna Alberni and Fabio Zinelli, “The Last Song of the Troubadours: une recherche sur la poésie occitane et française dans l’espace catalan (résultats, problèmes d’édition, enjeux)”, in *Actes du XXVII Congrès international de linguistique et de philologie romanes* (Nancy, 15–20 juillet 2013). Section 13: *Philologie textuelle et éditoriale*, ed. Frédéric Duval, Lino Leonardi and Richard Trachsler (Nancy: ATILF, 2017) [<http://www.atilf.fr/cilpr2013/actes/section-13.html>, last accessed July 2, 2020]; Fabio Zinelli, “Costruire una lingua. Elementi linguistici tolosani nella poesia catalana del medioevo tra prestito e convergenza”, in *Cobles e lays, danses e bon saber*, 33–92; Anna Alberni and Fabio Zinelli, “La réception des troubadours entre deux langues: le Chansonnier Vega-Aguiló (Barcelona, mss. 7–8)”, in *La réception des troubadours en Catalogne*, ed. Miriam Cabré, Sadurní Martí and Albert Rossich (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

68. See Larson, “Ancora sulla ballata”, and Lannutti, “L’ultimo canto”, 324–8.

stanzas (i.e., *gay*, *may*): one only has to assume that the *play* of the original was transformed into *platz* by the copyist, as Riquer has suggested.<sup>69</sup> In this way, the rhyme from the *respos* anticipates those situated at the end of each of the stanzas. In other words, rhyme b of the stanza functions as a genuine melodic repetition or line with *volta*, as likewise occurs in the three *danses* accompanied by musical notation from Sant Joan de les Abadesses according to Lannutti's text (*S'anc vos ame, Ar lausetz, . . . era us preg*), and thus follows a responsive pattern widespread within the oldest French repertory which also influenced Occitan poetry composed within an Angevin setting.<sup>70</sup>

The strophic form of the *dansa*, *Plazens plazers*, is very simple. As we have seen, however, the aaab | AB model is enriched by a series of internal assonances and consonances (*sonansas*) which must have been perceptible to the ear. More than derivative or grammatical rhymes, though, we find a network of words from the same lexical family: *plazens*, *plazers* (v. 1); *plazer*, *play* (v. 2); *platz* (v. 4). The poem has a clear bipartite structure which enables the poet to highlight the recursivity and specular effect of synonymous or antonymous terms which are situated in symmetrical positions within the strophe or the line: "si no-m voletz auzir" (v. 3), "storçre de morir" (v. 7); "pus als no-m platz" (v. 4), "sol que us plagues" (v. 8); "sofrir" (v. 5), "jauzir" (v. 9); "ans c'al-tre-m fazes gay" (v. 6), "que altra-m valgues may" (v. 10).<sup>71</sup> The above constitute customary formulae and resources in the genre of the dance song, subject as it is to a repertoire of themes and motifs limited and, in good measure, determined by the constrictions of rhyme.

Worthy of remark, in this respect, are the thematic and formal similarities with the anonymous *baladeta*, *Lo fin cor qu'ieu-us ai m'ausi, Dona Gaia* (BdT 244,4), copied into the Occitan chansonnier E, a composition constructed entirely upon the same metrical scheme, plus word endings in *-ire* (a), *-aia* (b), which recall those of *Plazens plazers* (*-ir*, *-ai*):

69. The idea that poetic texts written in Catalonia were composed in a "purer" Occitan, and that responsibility for the mixed (Catalanised) forms lay with the incompetence of the copyists has changed in recent years as a result of an approach to the texts based upon contact linguistics: see Fabio Zinelli, "Occitano e catalano, 'dialetti in contatto' nel canzoniere Vega-Aguiló (Biblioteca de Catalunya, 7-8)", in *Transcrire et / ou traduire*, 111-50.

70. It might be refuted that, by adopting the emendation *play* from v. 2, one is casting doubt on the author's awareness, in the refrain, of the presence of internal rhymes within the *cobles*. Field has rejected it for this very reason, and his edition has *platz* at the end of the *respos*, on the understanding that the author sought to indicate, in the lines of the refrain, the assonance (*sonansa*) which subsequently reappears in the internal rhymes of the stanza, specifically by offering the clue of the alternation: *-s/-tz*. This supposed function of the *respos* as a "technical prologue", however, does not seem to me to be demonstrable enough to maintain the reading the manuscript offers in this passage.

71. Both the reading of the MS ("altra-n volgues may") and the emendation proposed by Meyer and Riquer ("altra-m valgues may") enter into this game of conceptual and lexical symmetries.

*Lo fin cor qu'ieu-us ai m'ausi, Dona Gaia (BdT 244,4)*

*Lo fin cor qu'ieu-us ai            m'ausi, Dona Gaia,  
si de vos non ai                    ioi, ni re que-m plaia.*

M'amia, Bel Cors	blanc com flor de li <re>	
avinen e pros,	don an lo bendire,	4
qu'ieu am mais de vos,	dona, lo dezire,	
que d'autra ricor,	si tot s'a que-m plaia.	

Ai las, que farai?	E voletz m'ausire?	
C'ab un dous esgar	m'avetz dat consire,	8
e faitz gran pecat	quar tan grieu martire	
mi faitz esperar,	si-us tenetz tan cara. <sup>72</sup>	

*Translation*

*Response.* The pure desire I bear for you kills me, Dona Gaia, if from you I do not receive anything which may gratify me.

I. <O> my beloved, <O> Fair Body, white as the lily flower, gracious and demure, praised by all, for, <O> lady, I cherish the desire <I bear> for you more than the possession of another lady, even though she might have in her what pleases me.

II. Alas, what shall I do? Do you <really> wish to kill me? For with a sweet glance did you make me ponder, <and> yet you commit a great sin, for you lead me to expect such a severe martyrdom, should you hold yourself so dear.

The central theme of the *dansa*, *Plazens plasens*, is that of the topic of the lover who prefers his unreciprocated desire for his lady to its requirement with any other such lady (vv. 5-6: “qu'eu fora rics si-m dexassatz sofrir / qu'eu vos pregas, ans c'altre-m fazes gay” [for I should consider myself well rewarded were you to allow me to make my entreaties to you, rather than that another lady should make me happy]). There is also a secondary motif consisting of the entreaty itself (v. 8: “sol que us plagues mos fis prechs retenir” [should it please you merely to listen to my faithful entreaties]), as well as the theme of the merciless lady, presented as being capricious and cruel, to the very extent that the poet accuses her of being sinful since her actions could result in leading her lover to his death (v. 3: “Pecat faretz, doncs, si-m voletz auzir” [You shall commit a sin, therefore, if you kill me]). The tone is intentionally flip-

72. Text cited from Radaelli, *Dansas provenzali del XIII secolo*, 145-6. The metrical scheme, as the editor explains, does not match that of the Occitan *balada*. Zamuner, *Le baladas del canzoniere provenzale Q*, 7-9, relates this piece of poetry to the French model pertaining to the earliest examples of the *ballette* form.

pant, it being accompanied, as it is, by sensual allusions tinged with a small degree of irony.

Many of these thematic and formal elements, which are customarily described as being particular to a para-courtly register, are also found in the anonymous *baladeta* from chansonnier E. In fact, the third line (v. 3) quoted from *Plazens plasers* seems to be a synthesis of vv. 7 and 9-10 from *Lo fin cor qu'ieu·us ai* (cf. text above), containing, as they do, the same rhyme in *-ir(e)* on the verb *aucir(e)* in v. 7: “Ai las, que farai? E volets m’ausire?”, “e faitz gran peccat quar tan grieu martire / mi faitz esperar, si-us tenetz tan cara”. In v. 10, the final line of the *baladeta*, the assonance *-ara* stands out in a position which befits a rhyme in *-aia*, a further characteristic feature of “low” forms, as the *Lays* call to mind in the previously quoted passage concerning *sonansa* and *consonansa borda*.

The theme of the lady capable of causing the death of the lover, a death described as pleasant and  *fina* (or exquisite), is likewise found, with emphasis on the forms *plaire* (to please/gratify) and *auzir* (to kill), in the *respos* from another *dansa*, this one attributed with certainty to Guiraut d’Espanha, *Gen m’ausi midons, e s’ill plazia* (BdT 244,2):

*Gen m’ausi midons, e s’ill plazia*  
*c’apres si m’ausizes, be·m plairia,*  
*e tenria per fina ma fi.<sup>73</sup>*

#### *Translation*

My lady (lit. “my lord”) kills me slowly/softly, and if it pleased her to kill me <while I was> at her side, it would please me well, and I should consider my end to have been exquisite.

The above choice of themes from the *fin’amor* repertoire in *Plazens plasers* – with its consequent rarification of images and turns of phrase, and the constant recourse to the repetition of word sequences (*syntagmata*), words themselves and rhymes which become emblematic precisely in virtue of such recursivity – constitute the common features of thirteenth-century Occitan dance song. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that we find a still more limited choice of themes in the *danses* from the *Cançoneret de Ripoll*: 16 poetic pieces from a total of 18 elaborate upon the sentimental repertoire of the lover, without explicit reference to courtly topics such as the lovers’ secret, the *lauzengiers* (“flatterers”/“slanderers”/“betrayers”) or the value of *joi* (“joy”/

73. Text cited from Radaelli, *Dansas provenzali del XIII secolo*, 173-80.



Na dolça [res, be m'es greu  
qu'a partir m'ich hay en breu.]<sup>76</sup>

*Translation*

I. Sweet creature, it pains me deeply that I have to leave you so soon.

II. When I had to leave <my > mistress with <the> sweet gaze, I could not have been consoled had the whole world been mine.

III. Sweet [creature, it pains me deeply that I have to leave you so soon.]

The literary interest of the text lies in its form as a dialogue between a lady, “madona ab dolç esgar” [<my> mistress with <the> sweet gaze], and her “amich” or “lover”, a dialogue which concludes with a dedication to the composition itself, charged as it is with acting as a messenger between the lovers. Worth noting, first of all, is the indication we find in the manuscript as to the repetition of the refrain. The two lines of the *respos* have been written only once at the beginning of the piece, as in *Plazens plasers* and the *danses* from Sant Joan de les Abadesses; however, in the case of *Na dolça res* the first two syllables of the line (“Na dolça”) are repeated at the end of each strophe, preceded by a pilcrow, to indicate the return of the refrain as is customary in the transcription of refrain songs. Driven by the monotony of such repetition, the copyist even reaches the point of writing the formula at the end of the initial refrain: “¶Na dolça res, be m'es greu / [qu']a partir mich hay en breu ¶Na dolça”. This indication, emphasised by the copyist’s carelessness, leads one to think that the refrain should likewise be repeated after each strophe in the case of the *dansa*, *Plazens plasers*, which has the same metrical structure as *Na dolça res*, though it lacks any specific reference to a repetition.

The *balada*, *D'amor m'estera ben e gent* (*BdT* 461,73), from the Occitan chansonnier Q, structured as two monorhymed lines with a reprise line (or *volta*) and an intercalated refrain line, likewise repeats the two lines of the *respos* at the end of each strophe (a B a b | BB). Cerverí would complicate this form in *Pus no vey leys cui son amics* (*BdT* 434,9c), the first line of the refrain being intercalated after the first and second lines of the strophe, while the entirety of the *respos* is repeated at the end, in a hybridisation of the basic pattern of the *dansa* with that of the Occitan *balada* (a A a A a b | AB): the rubric, in

76. Text cited from Gemma Avenoza, “Poemes catalanooccitans del s. XIV en un manuscrit florentí. Edició i estudi de *Na dolça...*, primer del recull”, in *Trobadors a la península ibèrica. Homenatge al Dr. Martí de Riquer*, ed. Vicenç Beltran, Meritxell Simó and Elena Roig (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2006), 73-90, at 81.

fact, defines the composition as a “dansa-balada”. Thus Cerverí’s poetry, characterised by innovation on the basis of the resources offered by tradition, seems to act as a link between the earliest French and Occitan models and the Catalan poetry of the fourteenth century.<sup>77</sup>

The dedication of the *dansa*, *Na dolça res*, calls to mind the *formule de délivrance* (“release formula”) from the *balada*, *Amors m’estera ben e gent*:<sup>78</sup>

Ballada, ten ta carrera  
e digues a la tan bella  
que heu m’i seray en breu.

*Translation*

*Balada*, go on your way and tell <my> most beautiful <lady> that I shall shortly be there.

This formula and, above all, the dialogical nature of *Na dolça res*, recall the clever dialogue between Pere Alemany and his own composition (*Rao* 4, 1) in the *Cançoneret de Ripoll*, and they do so in a manner which seems to imply the dramatised representation of a dialogue between the author and the *dansa*-interlocutor, embodied by the jongleur:

– Ay, senyer, saludar-m’ets?  
– Ma dança, Deu vos don jay.  
D’un venits? – Eu·s o *diray*:  
  
de leys que n’es blanxa, saura. 4  
– Dança, quo·l va? – Senyer, be,  
per ma fe.  
– Ay las, poretz pendre haura  
qu’eu la veja çela re? 8  
– Far cove,  
qu’autreyat m’o ha tres vets.  
– Er me diats, donchs, quo·l play.  
– Mon senyer, eu·s o *diray*.<sup>79</sup> 12

77. The vogue for such forms of *dansa* in Catalonia during the thirteenth century leads one to consider that perhaps it is not fortuitous that we find mention of a king of Aragon in the anonymous *balada*, *D’amor m’estera ben e gent*: “q’ar estauc sai en Aragon / ab lo rei q’a bon preç valen” [for here I am in Aragon / with the king, who is very worthy and noble] (vv. 11-12).

78. “Balada, vai ad esperon / d’amor m’estera ben e gent / e saluda·m lei, de cui son, / qar manten valor e ioven” [*Balada*, go swiftly / Love will treat me well and kindly / and greet her on my behalf, the one to whom I belong / for she upholds worth and youth] (vv. 33-36). Text cited from Zamuner, *Le baladas del canzoniere provenzale Q*, 35-7.

79. Text cited from Badia, *Poesia catalana del s. XIV*, 225-6, and cf. 114-7. Dialogical form is

*Translation*

I. “Oh! <My> lord, you greet me?” “My *dansa*, may God give you joy. Whence have you come?” “I shall tell you:

II. From her who is fair and blonde.” “<O> *dansa*, how is she?” “By my faith, <she is> well, my lord.” “Alas, can you see to it that I may behold that creature?” “It must be done, for three times has she acknowledged it to me.” “Now tell me, then, how can I see her.” “My lord, I shall tell you.”

The agility of the metrical combination (7+3) and the syncopated syntax, capable as they are of including both replies and counterreplies in the space of a heptasyllabic line (“–Ffay tot bes. –Vos, que-u farets”, v. 31 [“Do every <kind of> good.” “No, *you* shall do it.”]), heightens the comic nature of the scene and brings the *dansa* close to contemporary verse narrative. This has been noted by Lola Badia, who has highlighted the expressive affinities between Pere Alemany’s *dansa* and certain passages from the anonymous narrative poem *Fraire de Joi e sor de Plaser*. The genre par excellence which plays with the dialogic form of the love letter is the *salut* (or greeting), including the more-or-less leading role played by the lovers’ go-between, be it the composition itself or, as is often the case, a small bird.<sup>80</sup> We should not be surprised, therefore, that the characterisation of the lady in the *danses* from our corpus shares features with the oldest French and Occitan *saluts* as well as with the subsequent Catalan evolution of the genre in the fourteenth century.<sup>81</sup>

explained in the *Leys* in relation to the *dansa*. One of the *danses* from Sant Joan de les Abadesses, *Ar lauset lauset lauset*, also makes use of dialogue, though in this particular instance we are a long way from the “courtly love” atmosphere characteristic of the genre.

80. For Occitan *saluts*, see Francesca Gambino and Speranza Cerullo, eds., “*Salutz d’amor*”. *Edizione critica del corpus occitanico*, Testi e documenti di letteratura e di lingua, 29 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2009). For French *saluts*, see Estelle Doudet, Sylvie Lefèvre, Marie-Laure Savoye, Agathe Sultan and Hedzer Uulders, eds. *Lettres d’amour du Moyen Âge: les saluts et complaintes* (Paris: Librairie générale française, 2016). For Catalan *saluts*, see Hedzer Uulders, “*Lettres qui van per tal afar*. Un nouveau salut occitano-catalan et la fortune du genre en Catalogne (I)”, *Estudis Romànics* 31 (2009): 77-103, and Id., “*Lettres qui van per tal afar*. Un nouveau salut occitano-catalan et la fortune du genre en Catalogne (II)”, *Estudis Romànics* 32 (2010): 215-48.

81. Cerverí’s verses lead one to conclude that the *salut* and the *dansa* forms might have had a point of contact in the melody employed (*Pus fis amayre no nasc de mayre* 434a, 51, vv. 5-8): “Doncs, ses estrayre, fay lay retrayre, / xantàn, en loc de dança, / ans qu’eu repayre en son repayre, / salutz, ab desirança” [So, ceaselessly, cause her to return, by singing, with desire, a *salut* instead of a *dansa*, before I repair to her abode]. Martí de Riquer, ed., *Obras completas del trovador Cerverí de Girona* (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterráneos, 1947), 78. The passage from Cerverí is recorded by Cerullo, “*Salutz d’amor*”, 40, n. 51, and repeated by Uulders, “*Lettres qui van per tal afar* (II)”, 218-9, who points to a possible parallel between the forms of the *salut* and the Catalan *dansa*. The musical dimension of the *salut* is explained by Agathe Sultan, “Les refrains et leurs résonances”, in *Lettres d’amour du Moyen Âge*, 42-55.

The topic of the *descriptio puellae* is present in nearly all the dance songs, wherein the lady, in addition to being beautiful, is characterised by her sweetness. This contrasts with the “ingratitude” of the *midons* from Catalan courtly song of a refined nature, where the lyric “I” usually limits itself to describing its own emotional state, generally one of distress, and to pleading for mercy. It is true that the poetry of Andreu Febrer contains multiple feminine gestures described as being sweet, and, in doing so, imitates turns of phrase and rhymes from Guillaume de Machaut. Such sweetness, however, forms part of the attributes pertaining to the inaccessibility of the beloved, and as such is destined to fertilise the ground of longing and despair. The foregoing characteristics thus set up a scenario different from the one we find in the *danses*, wherein the dialogue between the lovers is not only possible, but is also frequently tinged with eroticism and accompanied by an exchange of gestures which implies possession.

In *Na dolça res*, allusion to the lady occurs via the sweetness of her gaze, “madona ab dolç esgar” (vv. 4, 22), by means of the intensifying exclamation “tan dolces hulahades feu!” [such sweet glances you offer] (v. 26), just as in the *baladeta* attributed to Guiraut d’Espanya, and then via the epithet “madona” [mistress], which we encounter anew in the third poetic piece from the Florence manuscript, a *dansa* whose metrical scheme is close to those from Ripoll ([...] *domna de bon ayre*: “Ay las, madona, que us val?”, v. 11) as well as in the anonymous piece copied into the notarial protocol from Besalú, “Madona, xantant vos diria” (refrain), “madona, la vostra amor”, “madona, la nug e-l dia” (vv. 3 and 6). The epithet “madona” occurs only once in the lyric poetry from the chansonnier VeAg, specifically in the enigmatic address of a *dansa* by Joan Basset to the Mother of God (*Ab letres d’aur per mesura*, Rao 14,2). On the other hand, it is most definitely to be found in the amorous Catalan *saluts* (*Madona dolça*, *Deus vos sal*, and *En nom de Deu totpoderos*) as well as in contemporary *noves rimades* (a type of Catalan narrative poetry written between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries), beginning with the rubric from the *Ventura del cavaller n’Huch e de Madona*, in a discursive context very remote from that of the courtly song.<sup>82</sup> In the second poem from the Florence manuscript (*Bon esforç malastre venç*), the lady is addressed by way of two series of adjectives: “francha douça dona mia” [generous, sweet lady of mine] (v. 6) and “gentil prous dona plasens” [kind, virtuous and pleasing lady] (v. 3), emphasising the fetish word upon which the *senhal* is constructed in each repetition of the refrain in *Plazens plasens*.

82. On the *Ventura*, see Lola Badia and Amadeu J. Soberanas i Lleó, “La ventura del cavaller N’Huc e de Madona: un nouveau roman occitano-catalan en vers du xive siècle”, *Romania* 114/1-2 (1986): 96-134.

The smile, one of the gestures which expresses the lady's sweetness, is another trait which the *danses* share with the *saluts*. In the small corpus of examined refrain songs with an aaab structure, there occurs "un bel riso" [a winning smile] alighting upon the beloved's lips in *Amors, merce, no sia* (v. 10); and a smile, together with song, prepares the way for the more-than-encouraging response of the beloved in *Na dolça res* (vv. 22-38). Three items from the *Cançoneret de Ripoll*, two of which are *danses*, allude to a "ris" [smile], always qualified by the adjective "dolç" [sweet]: VII, v. 15 ("tan gin mi conquis le dolç ris"); IX, v. 16 ("ab un dolç ris gracios"); XIV, v. 26 ("e, quan me veu, fa-m un dolç, plasant ris"). In the poetry of Gilabert de Pròixida, on the other hand, the elusive smile of *midons* serves to elicit melancholic – if not despairing – thoughts on the part of the lover, in tune with the poetry made fashionable by Machaut and the poets of his generation (*Fort me desplay quant no vey, Rao* 139,13, vv. 35-36: "e say que morray breumén / si no la vey dels huelhs rire" [for I know that I shall shortly die / if I fail to see her smile with <my own> eyes]).

Let us turn now to the principal themes of *Plazens plasers* and *Na dolça res*, which consist of desire and word games. The speaker of *Na dolça res*, the lady's privileged interlocutor, declares himself to be under the sway of his mistress, who, already in her initial response, grants him an uninhibited "yo son al vostre plaser" [I am at your pleasure] (v. 18): a new pun on the rhyme which opens the *dansa* from BC239, *Plazens plasers*. In such a context, the pleas for mercy constitute recurrent expressions of desire: we see this in *Madona xantant vos diria* and in *Na dolça res*, as we likewise do in *Plazens plasers*, the *danses* from E and the *baladas* from Q. Similarly, the refrain from the *dansa* by the Chaplain of Bolquera quoted in relation to the rhymes that are "meyns principals" [less principal] in the second short treatise from Ripoll, namely, *Fis vos suy ayman*, hammers home the theme of a plea for mercy in order to avoid the death of the lover on account of unreciprocated love:

doncs, prenda-us merces, pus tot bes, dompna,·n vos es,  
que no m'alçiat desiran.

#### *Translation*

Have mercy on me, therefore, for every good, <my> lady, lies within you. Do not lead me to perish from my love.

Let us note that this passage, whose internal rhymes stand out as if in *bas-relief*, contains three *biocs* (or short lines) which reproduce the aaab sequence of rhymes (i.e. -es, -es, -es, -an), and thus blur the boundaries of the line once more by means of a device that the melody might have emphasised.



tered through the oeuvre of the great Champenois poet, as often occurs in Catalan poetry dating from the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.<sup>87</sup>

The first part of the strophe in the *dansa* from Ripoll is structured on the basis of a combination of lines consisting of 4 and 6 syllables and featuring internal rhymes, which leads one to conclude that the poetic piece was intoned at a rapid rhythm akin to that of the *estampie* and the lyrical lays, something which would fit in well with the “gaya melodia” mentioned in v. 25. Cerverí de Girona, as we know, likewise wrote certain pieces following this metrico-melodic model. One detail, however, could help us to trace the language of the model in question, namely, the rhyme *figura:Esriptura*. If we consider a lax pronunciation of the French *u* sound, we have a sequence of six rhyme-words (combining lines and *biocs*) employing the *-ir(e)* ending, as occurs in the *estampie, Souvent souspire*.<sup>88</sup>

The formula “Sovint sospir” in the *dansa* from Ripoll, associated, as it is, with the desire to gaze upon the inaccessible image of the lady or of that by which she is represented (“son laus e la Scriptura”), is accompanied by rhyme-words which resonated in the verses of some of the best Catalan poets of the fourteenth century. In the *cançó* by Gilabert de Pròixida, *Pus que vos play, dompna, que res no us dia* (Rao 139,19, vv. 41-45), “figura” rhymes with “sepultura”, and thus deploys the motif of the imprint of the beloved’s image upon the poet’s heart even beyond the latter’s death. The new context of the rhyme, however, elicits the pathos of French fourteenth-century *chansons*:

Ja no us porets ab me plus deportar  
 —————  
 car tant n’ay duyt que-n fau la sapultura,

87. For information regarding the Machaut manuscript known as the Ferrell-Vogüé codex (MachVg), see Lawrence Earp, “Machaut’s Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Works”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989): 461-503, esp. 478, n. 35; Anna Alberni, “El Roman de Cardenois i l’empremta de Guillaume de Machaut en la poesia catalana medieval”, *Romania* 130/1 (2012): 74-108; *The Ferrell-Vogüé Machaut Manuscript. Introductory Study*, ed. Lawrence Earp, Domenic Leo and Carla Shapreau (Oxford: DIAMM Publications, 2014), 28-68. For a summary of the presence of MachVg in Aragon, see also Anna Alberni, “Guillaume de Machaut at the court of Aragon, 1380-1430”, in *Translation and Reception of Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century French Literature*, ed. Marta Marfany and Kevin Brownlee, *Digital Philology: A Journal of Medieval Cultures*, 7/2 (Fall 2018): 173-90.

88. “Souvent souspire / mon cuer plain d’ire / pour la plus belle de l’empire / si me martire / que ne l’os dire / souvent mi fet plourer et rire / ele mi set bien escondire / et moi seur tousz autres despire [...]” [My heart, full of sadness, often sighs for the most beautiful <lady> in the empire. She torments me so much that I dare not describe it <and> often causes me to <both> weep and laugh: she knows well how to deny me and to despise me above all others]. Metrical scheme: a4’a4’a8’a4’a8’a8’a2’a2’a8’a2’a2’a6’. Here I quote the text from Lannutti, “Intertestualità, imitazione metrica e melodia”, 10.

mas, enquer mort, celhs qui volran mirar  
dins en mon cor, veyran vostre figura.<sup>89</sup> 45

*Translation*

I. You may no longer have sport with me [...]

II. [...] for so much have I endured that I long for the grave; even <once I am> dead, however, those who wish to look into my heart shall see your form [*figura*].

In the opening strophe of his well-known *cançó*, *Just lo front port vostra bella semblança* (Rao 164,10) Jordi de Sant Jordi carries the allusive potential of this word to its apex: here the “figura” of the lady (v. 3) is no longer a rhyme-word but a *rim estramp* (a non-rhyming word) bearing a dramatic level of semantic eccentricity, as described by Costanzo Di Girolamo.<sup>90</sup>

Just lo front port vostra bella semblança  
de que mon cors nit e jorn fa gran festa,  
que remirant la molt bella figura  
de vostra ffaç m'es romassa l'empremta 4  
que ja per mort no se-n partra la forma;  
ans quant seray del tot fores d'est segle,  
çels qui lo cors portaran al sepulcre  
sobre ma faç veuran lo vostre signe.<sup>91</sup> 8

*Translation*

Deep in my mind [lit. “beneath my forehead”] I bear your beautiful image, at which, night and day, I take great delight. For, having gazed at the very lovely form of your face, its imprint has remained with me, and even death shall not cause its form to depart therefrom; but rather, when I shall be wholly outside this world, those who shall bear my body to its grave will see your sign upon my face.

It is interesting to see how Jordi de Sant Jordi repeats the formula of the sighs from afar in the incipit of his *cançó*, *Sovint sospir, dona, per vos de lluny* (Rao 164,15), that focuses on the subject of longing or absence, in this instance filtered through the reception of the ballade of the *Loange des dames*, *Loing de vous*

89. Text cited from Gilabert de Pròixida, *Poesies*, ed. Martí de Riquer (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1954), 66.

90. Costanzo Di Girolamo, “La versification catalane médiévale entre innovation et conservation de ses modèles occitans”, *Revue des Langues Romanes* 107 (2003): 41-72.

91. Text cited from Martí de Riquer and Lola Badia, *Les poesies de Jordi de Sant Jordi: cavaller valencià del segle XV* (València: Tres i Quatre, 1984), 168.

*souvent souspir* (Lo30). As Jaume Torró has observed, the poets of the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous drew inspiration from this and other poems by Jordi de Sant Jordi, making them serve as an intertext for their *danses* employing retroenchal devices (i.e., refrain-words or -lines) and their French ballades.<sup>92</sup>

Thanks to the work of Yolanda Plumley on allusion and citation,<sup>93</sup> we know the extent to which the “new style” adopted by the generation influenced by Machaut was indebted to the tradition of quoting French thirteenth-century poetry and music. Just as Machaut and his contemporaries made good use of lines and refrains originating from earlier anonymous songs and turned the use of such borrowing into an *avant garde* style, Catalan poets from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries availed themselves of poetic and musical materials circulating within their milieu. It is logical to think, therefore, that, through the influence of Machaut’s oeuvre, these poets had already absorbed part of the discursive and formal tradition of the earliest French poetry, disseminated through music. The younger poets of Alfonso the Magnanimous’s era continued putting this technique into practice. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Jordi de Sant Jordi, who had filled his *cançons* with quotations from songs that were fashionable in his own day, was foremost among their preferences.

Scholars of the *Ars Nova* have shed light upon a body of poetry until relatively recently unknown, and an extraordinary range of potential “intertexts” have emerged relevant to the study of the medieval Catalan lyric. However, the manuscript tradition of the *Ars Nova* corpus has tended to privilege the music over the text, while, as we know, with rare exceptions, the text is the only thing to have been preserved of the settings of secular Catalan poetry from the period. Various studies within the present volume reveal the interest in surveying the networks of borrowing and quotation in the songs of the *Ars Nova* at the same time as highlighting the difficulty in doing so in the absence of reliable critical editions of the texts, both verbal and musical. One of the cases studied by Maria Sofia Lannutti in this volume,<sup>94</sup> namely, *En*

92. On this subject, see Jaume Torró i Torrent’s review of Jordi de Sant Jordi, *Poesies*, ed. Aniello Fratta, (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 2005), in *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 26 (2007): 822-6; Id., *Sis poetes del regnat d’Alfons el Magnànim*, ed. Jaume Torró i Torrent (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 2009); Marfany, “La influència de la poesia francesa”; Alberni, “El *Roman de Cardenois*”.

93. Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

94. Maria Sofia Lannutti, “‘Sofrir m’estuet’ ‘En attendant’ ‘Sus la fontayne’ from Pavia to Florence and Rome”, 263: “En remirant vo douce pourtraiture, / en laquele est tout doulz ymaginer, / m’a point Amours d’une tres fort pointure / d’ardant desir, si que mon cuer durer, / las, il ne puet, douce dame sans per, / se vo doulçour ne me va secourrant: / *pour vostre amor, dame, vois languissant*”.

*remirant vo douce pourtraiture* by Philippoctus de Caserta, enables one to appreciate the evocative power of certain turns of phrase and key words in the opening strophe of the *Estramps* by Jordi de Sant Jordi (the gerund “remirant”, the ending in *-ure*, the presence of the rhyme-word “figura”). The anonymous song dating from the fourteenth century, *En mon cuer est un blanc cine pourtrait*, that Plumley has connected to certain melodic motifs from various ballades by Guillaume de Machaut as well as to the text of another ballade by Grimace, *Dedens mon cuer est pourtrait un ymage*, contributes further elements to this rich web of intertextual and musical reverberations.<sup>95</sup> This should not surprise us, given that Jordi de Sant Jordi was a poet who set his own compositions to music, as the Marquis of Santillana explained. This fact made him particularly receptive to bringing together the echoes from a musical repertory which crossed frontiers.<sup>96</sup>

The ballade, the poetic form with refrain par excellence for Machaut’s generation, and the love song in the troubadour style, constituted the genres that served as the foundation for Catalan poets to explore the transformative possibilities of such a legacy.<sup>97</sup> The *dansa*, for its part, seems to have “narrowed itself down” to certain characteristics, both formal and pertaining to content, which differentiated it from the other strophic forms in use at the end of the fourteenth century. If we focus upon the corpus of the VeAg *danses*, we encounter 10 poetic pieces in total, from the *dansa e scodit* by Jordi de Sant Jordi (*Rao* 164,16) to the small group of *danses* emanating from the circle of Joan Basset (*Rao* 14,2 and 14,17), Gabriel Ferrús (*Rao* 64,2) and Guerau de Massanet (*Rao* 105,1), passing through the *dansa* composed by Pere Tresfort (*Rao* 181,3), plus the anonymous pieces added by a second hand in spaces left blank on the manuscript (the *Cobles de la Ballesta*, and two dialogical pieces in Castillian: the *coblas* by Fray Antón and the *malmonjada* [verses of the reluctant nun], *Madre por no me dar nada*). In three instances, one can find recourse to *retronxament* (*Rao* 14,2, 105,1 i 64,2), which should be understood as the

95. Yolanda Plumley, “An ‘episode in the South’? Ars subtilior and the Patronage of the French Princes”, *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 103–68, esp. 131–6 and Ead., *The Art of Grafted Song*, 292–3.

96. The textual network behind Jordi de Sant Jordi’s *Estramps* includes also the opening lines of Machaut’s *ballade* L110, with its syntactically “marked” use of the fetish word “belle” in v. 2: “En remirant vo gracios viaire / e vo gent corps, belle, qui tant m’agree, / douce esperance en mon fin cuer repaire, qui rejoist mon cuer e ma pensee / si doucement que ma joie doublee / en est cent fois quant je vous puis veoir, / se’n sui amis loyaus sans decevoir”. On the French and musical background of Sant Jordi’s *Estramps*, see the coinciding observations by Marta Marfany, “Postil·les musicals franceses als *Estramps* de Jordi de Sant Jordi”, *Qui fruit ne sap collir. Homenatge a Lola Badia*, ed. Anna Alberni, Lluís Cifuentes, Joan Santanach and Albert Soler (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, Editorial Barcino, 2021), Vol. 1, 413–21.

97. On the Catalan ballades, see Dominique Billy, “La ballade dans la poésie catalane des XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles: un genre entre deux traditions”, *Revue des Langues Romanes* (2014): 185–214.

late manifestation of a tendency towards a high level of technicality, as we have seen in the texts under analysis.<sup>98</sup>

In terms of content, the *danses* seem relatively immune to the pathos which impregnates the Catalan love poetry of the period straddling the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Like *Plazens plasers* and the other refrain songs upon which we have commented in this essay, the *danses* of the VeAg chansonnier present a tone of sober and serene optimism (quoting Badia<sup>99</sup> on the Ripoll *danses*). This tone includes irony (Tresfort, *Jovencelbs qui no a-ymia*, “Amors, d’ome pech fai destre, / atressi de paubre rich [...] e fay dormir ab rafil / en lit de mayritz tot dia” [Love makes a dullard shrewd and, likewise, a pauper wealthy [...] and leads one to sleep all day long while snoring in a husband’s bed]); a popularising flavour, with the refrain “mirant la flor de l’amethla” [gazing at the almond blossom] (Massanet, *Amoros joy mi renouvelha*); a feminine voice and a deliberately base or “low” style, with the humorous refrain “tostemps veniu con om sopa” [you always come round when I’m eating supper] (Ferrús, *Pus flach sou que nulha stopa*); as well as the thematic hybridism found in the *dansa* by Sant Jordi (*Tant es li mals que-m fayts soffrir*), related as it is to the troubadouresque *escondit*. Of the two *danses* by Fra Joan Basset, one is of a Marian variety (*Ab letres d’aur per mesura*) and the other a *maldit* or *desdansa* (*Pus havetz bondat despesa*). We can thus see how at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries the *dansa* tended to adopt certain themes and tones, which remained outside the discourse of the lover’s sadness typical of the great courtly song form.<sup>100</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

In fourteenth-century Catalan poetry, refrain songs fostered a process of hybridisation between the “low” and the courtly akin to that which has been described with regard to the origins of the responsorial metrical model in

98. As has been suggested by Lannutti, “Concordia discors”, 155, the persistence of the poets of Alfonso the Magnanimous’ period in cultivating the *dansa retronxada*, alongside the French *ballade*, may be attributable to the fact that both forms share a very similar metrical structure, since their respective refrains are repeated at the end of each stanza. The *danses* by the Chaplain of Bolquera in the *Cançoneret de Ripoll* are the earliest examples of this form within a Catalan setting.

99. Badia, *Poesia catalana del s. XIV*.

100. This fact is confirmed by the *danses retronxades* by Pere Torruella, Rodrigo Dies and Francesc Sunyer, all of which address the theme of love and possess a significantly toned-down level of dramatism or use popularising and proverbial touches, even when they adapt their phrasing to French models such as that of Oton de Grandson. Those of Martí Garcia and Lluís de Vila-rasa, on the other hand, crammed with reminiscences of and turns of phrase from the songs and lays of Jordi de Sant Jordi and Andreu Febrer, are fully immersed in the “serious” style made fashionable by the poets of Machaut’s generation.

Romance literatures. These forms functioned as a stimulus of renewal for the lyric poetry produced in Catalonia, which was probably disseminated by means of music. This tendency is exemplified by both the proliferation of rhyme correspondences which blur the boundaries of the lines, as occurs in the *dansa*, *Plazens plasers*, with the rhetorical and musical possibilities that are offered thereby, and the repetition of lines by means of the technique of *retronxament* in the *danses* from Ripoll, which recalls the responsorial purpose of the reprise line (or *volta*) in the earliest dance songs of French origin.

The manuscript tradition of the contemporary precepts for poetry seems to reflect an interest in refrain forms, both as regards the descriptions of the genres within the treatises and the presence of poetic and preceptive texts alongside each other in the manuscripts (BC239; Rip129). If we bear in mind the dedications found in, and the information that emerges from the texts surveyed here, we can assert that the tradition was not marginal nor threadbare, as some critics have maintained.<sup>101</sup> New archival documentation has enabled us to depict a more specific context of production and reception for such poetry.

101. This idea, which was inherited from the studies of Alfred Jeanroy and Martí de Riquer, and asserts that the poetic tradition in fourteenth-century Catalonia was marginal and moribund or antiquarian, has been revised in recent years: see Miriam Cabré, Sadurní Martí and Marina Navàs "Geografia i història de la poesia occitanocatalana del segle XIV", in *Translatar i transferir. La transmissió dels textos i el saber (1200-1500)*, ed. Anna Alberni, Lola Badia and Lluís Cabré (Santa Coloma de Queralt, Tarragona: Obrador Edèndum, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2009), 349-76.

#### ABSTRACT

The influence of French poetry on the Catalan repertory of the first half of the fourteenth century, as well as the activity of the minstrels documented in the correspondence of and payments made by the Chancellery of the monarchs of the Crown of Aragon, lead one to question the supposed marginality of the oldest refrain songs preserved in Catalonia. In this article I focus upon the small corpus of fourteenth-century Catalan *danses* based on the scheme *aaab* with refrain. The aim is to advance in two directions: towards new editions which enable a better comprehension of the texts and their transmission; and towards a reassessment of already-known pieces in the light of novel documentary or historiographical information. This might help establishing the place that befits refrain songs in fourteenth-century Catalan poetry, including the intertextual networks that place them in specific contexts of production and reception.

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THE POWER OF SONGS PAST: EVOKING OLD COURTLY SONGS  
IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY LYRICS FOR EASTER\*

In my recent study of citational practices in French songs and lyrics without music from ca. 1280 - ca. 1420,<sup>1</sup> I demonstrated that studying citational practices in late medieval French lyrics and songs lends a powerful forensic tool with which to illuminate our understanding of the compositional process of poets and composers and the reception of their works. It can also shine vital new light on the geographical dispersal of such works and on their date of composition, and even on possible contexts for their subsequent performance. My findings highlighted the extent to which the new so-called fixed forms of the fourteenth century perpetuated traditions of quotation and allusion that had been so fundamental to the crafting of poetry and music in the thirteenth century. Indeed, the allusiveness that characterises so many extant lyrics with and without music from this period reflects the essentially playful and collaborative nature of lyric composition at this time. Certain unnotated manuscript sources transmit sets of deliberately interrelated lyrics that were the product of *puy*s, contests in which authors were sometimes challenged to submit secular or religious lyrics constructed around material set by the organizers.<sup>2</sup> But I showed that composers of polyphonic songs in the elevated Ars Nova style, including Guillaume de Machaut and his contemporaries, simi-

\* Research for this essay was undertaken as part of my project *Music in the Time of Jehan de Berry*, which was generously supported by a Leverhulme Trust Major Research Fellowship (2015-18), and of *Ioculator seu mimus (MiMus): Performing Music and Poetry in medieval Iberia* led by Professor Anna Alberni, University of Barcelona, which is funded by the European Research Council (ERC-CoG-2017-772762).

1. Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

2. See *ibid.*, chapter five for a discussion of collections of lyrics composed for the *puy*s of Valenciennes and Paris in the fourteenth century; and chapter one presents a case study of a group of interrelated song-texts from ca. 1300 that were likewise probably the fruits of such an institution.

larly engaged in citational jousts with one another, building their works around quotations from past songs as a way of demonstrating their prowess in relation to their peers or predecessors.

In this essay, I explore a set of lyrics copied in the late fifteenth century that further illustrates this playful inventiveness by evoking French courtly lyrics and songs, but does so in an altogether unusual and unexpected context. Although presented without notation in its manuscript sources, this work testifies to the longevity of certain songs and lyrics from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that are transplanted here into a novel setting where they serve to engage but also to instruct their readers. The work in question, which has thus far escaped close scrutiny by musicologists and literary scholars alike, provides fascinating insights into the cross-fertilization of secular and religious culture in late medieval France. It also contributes rare and intriguing evidence for the enduring popularity of certain secular songs and lyrics that had enjoyed success in their own day but seemingly continued to inspire new authors and their audiences for many years to come.

*Les xij. balades de pasques* appears in a paper manuscript of 161 folios that was copied after 1470 and once belonged to the great bibliophile and collector Paul Pétau (1568-1614); this manuscript is now in the Vatican library under the shelf-mark Reg. lat. 1728.<sup>3</sup> This lyric cycle is presented on ff. 117v-118v, without attribution and undated, amidst twelve vernacular works. The latter are mostly religious texts dating from the thirteenth to late fifteenth centuries. These include: several saints' lives from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; a French version of a Latin text written by the Franciscan visionary Jean de Roquetaillade in 1356;<sup>4</sup> Pierre de Nesson's *Vigiles des*

3. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1728 (Reg1728). Ernest Langlois describes it as follows: measuring 299mm x 208mm, 161 folios, 45-55 lines per page, two columns for verse and the prose presented in long lines; bound in red leather with the arm of Pius IX; see Ernest Langlois, "Notices des manuscrits français et provençaux de Rome antérieurs au XVIe siècle", in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Vol. 33/2 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1889), 233. A watermark identification with Briquet 1041 and 1685 dates the manuscript to the end of the third quarter of the fifteenth century; the watermark can be located in the Île de France and in Champagne. The manuscript was owned by Paul Pétau (1568-1614), and then by his son, Alexandre (d. 1672) who later sold the collection; see the entry by Anne-Françoise Leurquin, "Vaticano (Città del), Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1728" in the database "Jonas" of the IRHT/CNRS at <http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/66135> (last accessed June 6, 2017).

4. On the original Latin text, see most recently Matthias Kaup, *John of Rupescissa's "Vade mecum in tribulatione"* (1356). *A Late Medieval Eschatological Manual for the Forthcoming Thirteen Years of Horror and Hardship* (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2016). On the French translations of this text, see Barbara Ferrari, "Le *Vade mecum in tribulatione* de Jean de Roquetaillade en moyen français (ms.

*morts* from the early fifteenth century;<sup>5</sup> the anonymous fourteenth-century *Évangile de Gamaliel* on the Resurrection of Christ; and a further anonymous account of the Resurrection and other spiritual works from the mid- to late fifteenth century. They also include two secular items composed in the 1440s, a pair of responses to Alain Chartier's *Belle dame sans mercy*: one is anonymous and recounts how the lover seeks refuge in the Church, while the other, *Confession et Testament de l'amant trespasé de deuil* attributed to Pierre de Hauteville, outlines the lover's death and testament. Hauteville fulfilled various roles at the French royal court; he was also the *prince*, or head judge, of the famous *cour amoureuse* (court of love) that was established there in 1400 and whose members included poets Deschamps and Garençières as well as composers Haucourt, Tapissier and Charité. The statutes of the *cour amoureuse* inform us that this institution held monthly lyric contests, to which its members were invited to submit ballades composed on refrains chosen by the organizers; in other words, these competitions were citational. It is worth noting that Hauteville cites the incipits of songs in his poem and that, according to the description of Paris by Guillebert de Metz, he had in his entourage *galants* who were skilled in the composition and instrumental performance of ballades, rondeaux, virelais and other *dictiés amoureux*. It seems, then, that Hauteville's interest extended to music as well as poetry.<sup>6</sup> As we will see, although *Les xij. balades de Pasques* meshes especially closely with the French religious texts presented in the manuscript, like Hauteville's poem, it also evokes the spirit of the secular *puy* in its citational format; its presence in the Vatican manuscript alongside Hauteville's work, therefore, may be no accident.

BAV, Reg. lat. 1728)", in *Pour acquérir honneur et pris: mélanges de moyen français offerts à Giuseppe Di Stefano*, ed. Maria Colombo Tinelli and Claudio Galderisi (Montreal: CERES, 2004), 225-36, and Ead., "La prima traduzione francese del *Vade mecum in tribulatione* di Giovanni di Rupescissa (Parigi, BNF, fr. 24524)", *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 50 (2004): 59-76.

5. Pierre de Nesson died between 1439 and 1442; he was an officer at the court of Jehan, duke of Bourbon, son-in-law of Jehan, duke of Berry, and served in the embassy of Charles VI to the Council of Basel in 1436; see Arthur Piaget and Eugénie Droz, *Pierre de Nesson et ses oeuvres* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1977). Nesson's *Vigiles des morts*, a meditation on death, was a popular work and survives in many sources; ca. 1450 a prose version was made, on which see Olivier Delsaux, "La mise en prose des *Vigiles des morts* de Pierre de Nesson, texte inconnu attribuable à Jean Miélot", *Le Moyen Âge* 119 (2013): 143-81. A list of sources and bibliography is given on the "Jonas" IRHT/CNRS database; see "Vigiles des morts, Pierre de Nesson" at <http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/7120>, and [https://www.arlima.net/mp/pierre\\_de\\_nesson.html#mar](https://www.arlima.net/mp/pierre_de_nesson.html#mar); last accessed June 6, 2017.

6. Antoine Jean Victor LeRoux de Lincy and Lazar Maurice Tisserand, eds., *Paris et ses historiens aux 14<sup>e</sup> et 15<sup>e</sup> siècles: documents et écrits originaux recueillis et commentés* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1867), 234.

## 1. THE THEMATIC CONTENT OF «LES XIJ. BALADES DE PASQUES»

The work recounts, in semi-dramatised form, the story of the Passion, focussing specifically on the Resurrection on Easter Day. Designed to be read in sequence, its twelve poems present a lyric commentary on these dramatic events: its central core presents vignettes of the reaction and suffering of the Virgin when she discovers Christ's tomb empty, which are largely expressed through dialogues between herself and Mary Magdalen on the one hand, and with an angel on the other. This core is framed by reflections from the narrator and his advice to his readers to keep the faith (the twelve lyrics are presented in their manuscript sequence in Examples 2-13 in the Appendix below).<sup>7</sup>

The first lyric sets the scene in spring, reminiscing that it was in this sweet season that the flesh of God was placed in the Holy Sepulchre, guarded there by armed Jews; as they slumbered, they lost the precious jewel (*biau joiel*), which, it concludes, we must serve with loyal heart. The second lyric dwells further on the *faulx juifz* guarding the tomb; the narrator advises that we must have faith in the Resurrection, otherwise the Jews' allegation that Christ died would be hard to refute. In the third poem, Nature induces the narrator to recall the Holy Scriptures that teach us that the Lord was resurrected by divine intervention and that He then blessed his disciples, warning them of a false prophet hidden amongst them. The fourth reflects on how the Resurrection, the gift of love, took place as predicted, and relates how the three Marys together journeyed to find God, each recalling Christ's suffering and lamenting in her own tongue, and it concludes that the death of Jesus of Nazareth holds us in loving servitude. The fifth lyric presents the three Marys as they walk at dawn on Easter Day to discover Christ's tomb empty; the disconsolate Virgin Mary laments how she beheld the wound inflicted by a spear on her Son as he hung on the cross. In the next lyric, Mary Magdalen responds that Christ will break down the door of the great castle of martyrdom, where the devil imprisons many souls, and there save His *bons amys*. In *balade* seven, the Virgin advises Magdalen to tread gently, and reminds her that we must love and anoint Jesus; but an angel from on high tells her to return to Christ's tomb by the tree in the beautiful field and, continuing into the eighth poem, confirms that Christ is not there. The Virgin replies that she so desires to see

7. My transcription of *Les xij. balades de Pasques* is from the Vatican manuscript and differs slightly from that of Adalbert Keller, *Romwart. Beiträge zur Kunde mittelalterlichen Dichtung aus italienischen Bibliotheken* (Mannheim: Bassermann; Paris: Renouard, 1844). I am very grateful to Francesca Manzari for kindly checking my transcription of the Easter lyric cycle against the original manuscript in the Vatican library.

Him that she cannot sleep; in *balade* nine, she implores the angel to reveal Jesus' whereabouts and the angel responds that He is in Galilee, which fills the Virgin with joy. In *balade* ten, she is comforted on an island in the sea as Mary Magdalen reports that her Son has appeared to her, which has made her rejoice and conclude that there is a tower full of great riches in Galilee. In *balade* eleven, the narrator states that Hope has implanted in his heart the will to rejoice in praising God, who comforts the Virgin and appears in His divine state six times on Easter Day, thereby bringing solace to His followers; the narrator reflects that the pains Christ suffered for us makes him love life. In the concluding *balade*, he introduces a personal prayer: he addresses Christ, whom, he reminds us, died on Good Friday but was resurrected on Easter Day, imploring Him to protect us from the snares of the devil and to keep us from evil intent. As he concludes the work, the narrator asks the Lord to take pity on us all and on himself at the Last Judgement.

## 2. FRENCH DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE: RELIGIOUS MODELS

The piety expressed in *Les xij. balades de Pasques* places it within the genre of French religious writing that was long established in France and reached a pinnacle in the fifteenth century. Late medieval piety had stimulated increased production of Books of Hours for the laity since the mid-thirteenth century, which encouraged the reader to meditate on their religious texts, in particular those on the life of Christ, a process assisted by images in the case of illuminated copies. Alongside these prayer books, there developed a tradition of meditative texts in the vernacular that were designed at once to move and to instruct the laity. From early on, some authors integrated elements from secular literature in order to draw in their lay readers. As Maureen Boulton has recently suggested, these writers “combined the religious truths of Christianity (otherwise set out in less accessible texts) with apocryphal stories translated from Latin, and recast them in the narrative modes of secular literature in order to appeal to an audience used to lighter fare”.<sup>8</sup> Lives of the Virgin or of Christ from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for instance, drew on devices from romance, including in some cases the use of the octosyllabic couplets as well as motifs from *chansons de geste*. A particularly interesting example is *Les Trois Maries* by Carmelite friar and chronicler Jehan de Venette,

8. Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *Sacred Fictions of Medieval France. Narrative Theology in the Life of Christ and the Virgin, 1150-1500* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), 7-8. The details that follow regarding the Passion tradition are from McCann's stimulating study.

a verse life of the Virgin and her sisters written in 1357 that focuses mostly on the Incarnation and on the Passion. The latter is recounted in Mary's own words in a passage modelled on the celebrated Latin text *Tractatus de planctu beatae Mariae Virginis*, which was variously attributed to St Augustin and St Bernard.<sup>9</sup> Elsewhere, however, Venette sought to move his noble audience by introducing elements evocative of romance: these included an emphasis on the veneration of relics, which was especially dear to the French nobility, and even references to knights, battles and adventures.

As Claudia Rabel has recently discussed, the feast of the Trois Maries was established in the Carmelite order in the 1340s and soon after was adopted by the diocese of Paris. Rabel proposed that Venette's *Les Trois Maries* was written for Blanche d'Evreux (1330-98), dowager queen of Philippe VI of France (d. 1350), and suggested that twin manuscript copies of it may have been produced in connection with the foundation in 1401 of a confraternity in honour of the Trois Maries by the Parisian Carmelite house.<sup>10</sup> The work certainly found favour in Valois circles at that time. Charles V of France (1338-80), Philippe VI's grandson, was especially devoted to the Three Marys, and founded a chapel dedicated to them in Chartres cathedral.<sup>11</sup> His brother, the great bibliophile and patron of the arts, Jean, duke of Berry (1340-1416), owned a copy of Venette's work in his library and I wonder whether that copy was Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1532, one of the twin copies mentioned above, which was illuminated by the artist known as the *Maître du Policratique*, the lead artist of Berry's Machaut manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 9221 (MachE).<sup>12</sup> In total, seven copies of Venette's *Les Trois Maries* from the period are still extant today.<sup>13</sup>

A series of fifteenth-century Passion texts in prose that draw on early Latin models and similarly connect with Valois France and its royal capital provide a further literary context for the Easter lyrics that concern us here. One such text is an influential French sermon that was delivered by Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, on Good Friday in 1403, known as *Ad deum*

9. Arthur Långfors, "Contributions à la bibliographie des Plaintes de la Vierge", *Revue des langues romanes* 53 (1910): 58-69.

10. Claudia Rabel, "Des histoires de famille. La dévotion aux Trois Maries en France du XIVe au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Textes et Images", *Revista de História da Arte* 7 (2009): 121-37, at 126-7. On Venette's work, see also Boulton, *Sacred Fictions*, 68-78.

11. *Ibid.*, 128.

12. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1532 belonged to the library of the dukes of Bourbon in the fifteenth century; Berry's daughter Marie married Jehan I, duke of Bourbon in 1400.

13. On the manuscript tradition of Venette's *Les Trois Maries*, see Boulton, *Sacred Fictions*, 79-8, and 305-6.

*vadi*.<sup>14</sup> After an introduction, this work falls into two parts, each divided into twelve sections that represent the hours of day and night: the first part relates to Christ's arrest and trial in the morning, and the second to the Crucifixion in the afternoon. Gerson's purpose was to move his listeners to devotion and sorrow; to do this he asks them to imagine the pictures and events he describes, notably, the suffering of the Virgin.<sup>15</sup> The *Passion Isabeau*, which is of similar date and was apparently commissioned by Charles VI's Queen Isabeau de Bavière, proved enormously popular. This work aimed to appeal to its readers' emotions by alternating descriptions of Christ's suffering with the reactions of the Virgin; much of the narrative in the second part is in Mary's voice, where she voices her sorrow in long laments.<sup>16</sup> A few years later and also in Paris, Christine de Pizan wrote a meditation on the Passion entitled *Heures de Contemplacion sur la Passion de Nostre Seigneur Jhesu-crist* that was designed to appeal to a wide readership that explicitly included women. Like Gerson, Christine organised her work according to the monastic hours, and she likewise sought to imagine the reactions of the Virgin.<sup>17</sup> So, too, did the *Contemplacions sur les sept heures de la Passion*, written by Miélot for Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, in 1456; like Christine, this author regularly addresses his princely reader, whom he urges to imagine what is being described as if present at the scene.

In addition to these Passions, there survive three French texts that served as expansions to the Passion.<sup>18</sup> These works focus specifically on the Resurrection, starting their account on the Saturday morning and depicting the final events of Christ's life, his Resurrection and Ascension, ending with Pen-

14. It was copied widely and today survives in twenty-five manuscripts and fragments that attest to its varied readership. These sources range from paper manuscripts originally owned by various monastic houses to deluxe parchment ones made for the high aristocracy; one of the latter (now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 990 [Paris990]) was a devotional anthology commissioned by Marie de Berry, duchess of Bourbon and daughter of Jean, duke of Berry. See Boulton, *Sacred Fictions*, chap. 5.

15. As Boulton suggests, "Gerson's appeal to emotion is ultimately aimed at making his audience more receptive to the systematic moral instruction that is woven into his reflection on the Passion". Boulton, *Sacred Fictions*, 236.

16. This text was extremely popular, to judge from the copies in thirty-six surviving manuscripts, which include anthologies of devotional texts, such as the deluxe manuscript owned by the princely poet Charles, duke of Orléans and his wife Marie de Clèves, or the illuminated copy belonging to a rich merchant of Troyes, Guillaume Molé.

17. This text survives in just two anthologies, one that includes the *Passion Isabeau* and another text by Gerson alongside other works, while the other unites various spiritual texts, including Pierre de Nesson's *Vigiles des morts*, which appears along with the Easter *balades* in Reg1728.

18. For this account of the Resurrection texts, see Sean T. Caulfield, "An Edition of the Middle French prose 'resurrection nostre Saulveur Jhesucrist' based on vatican reginensis lat. 1728" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1993), especially 77-90.

tecost. *Les xij. balades de Pasques* thus relates especially closely to these and it is therefore interesting that one of them is also transmitted in Vat1728. Here, rather than being coupled with a Passion text as is the case with the other examples, the *Resurrection nostre Saulveur Jhesuchrist* serves as a kind of prologue to the popular fourteenth-century *Vengeance nostre seigneur*.<sup>19</sup> The latter is a Resurrection text that is drawn almost verbatim from another life of Christ, *La Vie et Passion de nostre Seigneur Jhesuchrist*, which is attributed in one source to Franciscan theologian Pierre aux Boeufs (1368-1425), confessor to Queen Isabeau in 1404 and an influential presence at the French royal court.<sup>20</sup> The content of the Easter lyrics intersects with chapters nine to twelve of the *Resurrection nostre Saulveur Jhesuchrist*, which recount how the three Marys came to the tomb on the Sunday morning, discussing their sorrow and carrying with them the holy oil to anoint Christ, there encountering the angel.<sup>21</sup> As we have seen, the central core of the Easter *balades* cycle, running from the fifth to the tenth *balade*, comprises the dialogue between the Virgin and Mary Magdalen (reference to the holy oil they bring is in no. 7) and their encounter with the angel. In the tenth chapter of the *Resurrection*, the Marys, on returning to the field where the tomb is situated, meet there St John and Peter and see two angels, and in the following chapter Christ appears to them and they speak with him. The disciples are not mentioned in the Easter *balades*, however; instead, the focus is on the Virgin's exchanges with Mary Magdalen and with the angel, and on Christ's appearance to her and to Mary Magdalen, and the comfort this brought them.

In *Les xij. balades de Pasques* the action is thus more compressed due to the miniaturist form. Yet despite this essential difference, this work relates to the Resurrection and the Passions mentioned above in its aim to appeal to the lay reader by using dialogue to dramatise the events recounted and to stimulate the readers' empathy for the suffering of the Virgin. Like those texts, it includes reflection and meditation on the story recounted in the lyrics that frame this central episode; here, the narrator reminds his readers of the significance of Easter and the importance of maintaining their faith. Another aspect that is shared with certain of the Passion texts discussed above is its formal division into twelve "sections", in this case twelve lyrics. Although the rela-

19. Ibid., 90. This work is presented in other manuscripts alongside the *Passion Isabeau*; see Boulton, *Sacred Fictions*, 247 and 248-9n67.

20. See Caulfield's discussion of the authorship and dating, and other bibliography he cites there; Caulfield, "An edition", 36-40. On the close parallels between the *Resurrection* and the *Vie et passion*, see *ibid.*, 88-9 and the useful proposed stemma on 91.

21. Caulfield's edition from the Vatican manuscript begins at *ibid.*, 135.

tionship to the various monastic hours is not spelt out here, it seems probable that for fifteenth-century readers of such devotional texts this division may well have been understood as an allusion to the hours.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, the lyric form of the *balades de Pasques* recalls an anonymous lament in verse from the early fifteenth century that survives in a manuscript now in the Médiathèque Municipale de Cambrai (Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale [olim Bibliothèque Municipale], 812 [Ca812]).<sup>23</sup> Introduced as *les regrez que nostre dame fist quant Jhesuchrist rechupt mort et passion en arbre de la crois pour humaine lignie au jour de vendredy*, this work comprises eight *douzains*, which, in turn, address God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, St John the Evangelist, the Archangel Gabriel, the Cross, the Jews and sinners, and ends with a four-line address to the Virgin by the author.

### 3. MODELS FROM THE SECULAR WORLD

The author's choice of a secular lyric form for his *balades de Pasques* might surprise us today, but as we have seen, this chimes with a long-established tradition within French devotional writing to integrate elements from secular literature in order to draw in the lay reader. Indeed, the designation of the poems as *balades* immediately evokes the secular world, for the ballade was the archetypal form for love poetry and songs from the mid-fourteenth right up to the fifteenth century; by 1400, the ballade had become a classic vehicle for the urban *puy*s, together with the related *chanson royale* and the *serventois*, which often carried Marian texts.<sup>24</sup> By evoking a secular form that would have been familiar to the lay reader, the author of the Easter lyrics was doing something akin to Gautier de Coinci in his *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, who introduced chansons by famous trouvères to which he fitted new, sacred texts. Gautier even transformed one *grand chant* by adding catchy refrains typical of dance-songs in order to reach out to his lay readers in terms they would enjoy and understand.<sup>25</sup> Given the long tradition of sacralising French love songs using *contrafacta*, in particular for veneration of the Virgin, a practice that

22. Another possible association might have been with the twelve disciples; I thank Maria Sofia Lannutti for this suggestion.

23. Arthur Långfors, "Contributions à la bibliographie des Plaintes de la Vierge", 65.

24. On the *puy*s and the forms cultivated there in the fourteenth century, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 5.

25. See Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Late Medieval France. From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 109-11 and Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 164 and the bibliography cited there.

continued into and beyond the fifteenth century especially in the context of *puy*s, the choice of the ballade form for the Easter *balades* may not seem so remarkable. However, religious ballades are far from common and the lyrics that make up the Easter cycle, in fact, are not ballades at all. In its classic form, the ballade comprises three stanzas, each of which closes with the same refrain, usually of one or two lines. Sung ballades of the mid- to late fourteenth century typically favour seven- or eight-line stanzas, although from the late fourteenth century ballades without music often featured longer stanzas and a concluding *envoy* in the mode of the *chanson royale*. In contrast, each of the Easter lyrics, except the last one, comprises a single stanza of thirteen lines and, therefore, there is no internal refrain and neither does any refrain-like element unify the series.

One notable feature shared by the lyrics (again, except the last one) offers a clue as to the secular model drawn upon by the author. Each lyric begins with a couplet, the two lines of which are then reiterated, split to frame the remaining nine lines of the stanza. This matches the format of the *fastras*, another of the “fixed-forms” that, like the ballade, crystallised in the early fourteenth century and became popular with competitors at *puy*s by 1400. The *fastras* had its roots in thirteenth-century nonsense poems and by 1320, sporting a new, distinctive template, it was cultivated in French royal court circles: two partially notated examples appear among the *sottes chansons* of the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* and there also survives a set of thirty un-notated *fastras* by Watriquet de Couvin, a court poet active in the same political circles a few years later.<sup>26</sup> According to a rubric in manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 14968 (Paris14968), Watriquet and his associate Raimondin performed these works before King Philippe VI on Easter Day, probably in 1329. Example 1 (see the Appendix below) presents one of these *fastras* to illustrate their characteristic form: first, at the head of the lyric, appears a courtly couplet (shown in italics) written in red ink; this is then followed by an eleven-line stanza, comprising isometric lines and rhyme scheme *aabaabbabab*, in which this couplet frames nine lines of nonsense.

The compositional principle of the *fastras*, then, comprised the grafting of nonsense verse upon a courtly couplet; this later earned the form the name *fastras enté* (grafted *fastras*). It has long been suspected that the couplets of Watriquet’s *fastras* were pre-existent and a century ago, Charles-Victor Lan-

26. On the relationship of the *Fauvel* examples to thirteenth-century *sottes chansons* and other nonsense forms, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 114–20; for a detailed account of Watriquet’s *fastras* and associated bibliography, see *ibid.*, chap. 4.

glois showed that one derived from a trouvère song<sup>27</sup> and another was drawn from a motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, the splicing of the couplets across the beginning and end of the form recalls thirteenth-century *motets entés*, where existing *refrains* are split between the start and end of the upper voices, and also certain fixed-form songs and lyrics from the fourteenth century, notably ballades and *serventois*, in which we find borrowed material similarly divided between the beginning and end of the stanza.<sup>29</sup> I have recently identified several further matches with the couplets of Watriquet's *fastras*, works, including in lyrics by Machaut and Le Mote,<sup>30</sup> which thereby strengthens Langlois' supposition that Watriquet's *fastras* were citational.<sup>31</sup> An accompanying image in the single manuscript source depicting Watriquet and Raimondin presenting these *fastras* before the king leads us to imagine that the game might have involved challenging one another to improvise a stanza of nonsense on the spot in response to the chosen courtly material.<sup>32</sup> The resulting bravura performance would have showcased the lyrical prowess of these *menestrels de bouche* as they improvised a flight of fancy within the strict constraints of the form. The quotation of a familiar musical work, including, as in one of the *Fauvel* examples, the original melody, coupled with political in-jokes, would doubtless have added to the appeal of these bizarrely entertaining works. In the example presented here (Example 1), the reference to solmization syllables emphasizes a musical dimension; a political reference is made in the evocation of Pierre Rémi, a high-ranking officer at the royal court who was tried for maladministration of finances and hanged for treason shortly before the composition of these works.

27. Guillaume de Machaut also quoted this material some years later in three of his ballades without music. For a recent case study of these and other ballades by Machaut built around material borrowed from the trouvères, see Yolanda Plumley, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Advent of a New School of Lyric c. 1350: The Prestige of the Past", in *Poetry, Art, and Music in Guillaume de Machaut's Earliest Manuscript (BnF fr. 1586)*, ed. Lawrence Earp and Jared C. Hartt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 315-40.

28. Charles-Victor Langlois, "Watriquet, ménestrel et poète français", *Histoire littéraire de la France* 35 (1921): 394-421 at 412n3.

29. Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 5 discusses some of Jehan de Le Mote's ballades from the 1330s that feature such splicing of borrowed material between incipit and refrain of the ballade stanza; see also the anonymous *serventois* shown in *ibid.*, 174-5.

30. Details are presented in *ibid.*, chap. 4; a summary of the matches is presented on the table on p. 139.

31. Most scholars have previously assumed that these couplets were pre-existing but for a different view, see Patrice Uhl, *Rêveries, fatrasies, fatras entés. Poèmes "nonsensiques" des XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Louvain: Peeters, 2012), 60-1, the publication of which overlapped with my own study. Uhl's point that *refrains* were sometimes combined or altered and that Watriquet himself might have modified such existing materials to suit his own purposes seems plausible, however.

32. See the fuller discussion of the performance of these works in Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, 141-3, and also Uhl, *Rêveries*, 61-6.

The form, if not the content, of the Easter *balades* thus relates them directly to the *fastras*: they display an identical format and rhyme scheme, and thus appear to represent a religious equivalent to that secular genre. An early fifteenth-century poetry treatise by Baude Herenc provides examples of two kinds of *fastras*: the *fastras impossible*, where the content is nonsensical as in Watriquet's examples, and the *fastras possible*, which is the case here, that is, where the verse makes sense.<sup>33</sup> Whether the Easter lyrics relate directly to Baude's category is not entirely clear since Herenc does not indicate that the *fastras* could be religious; neither does he specify that its form is drawn from an existing work, as apparently was the case in Watriquet's examples. Nevertheless, it certainly seems that our Easter lyrics were indeed understood to be *fastras* in their own time, because six of them appear in a second manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4641B (Paris4641B), f. 142v, which was compiled in Paris ca. 1430-ca. 1440,<sup>34</sup> where they are introduced as follows: *Cy apres s'ensuit vi. fastras qui sont faits et entez sur la Resurrection notre Seigneur*. Not only is their form identified correctly here but, with the descriptor *entez* (grafted), the compositional principle behind them is likewise made explicit: like the secular *fastras*, the *balades de Pasques*, indeed, are citational, as I shall now demonstrate.

#### 4. COURTLY QUOTATIONS IN «LES XIJ. BALADES DE PASQUES»

The couplet that heads each of the lyrics adds a further secularising element to the Easter lyrics, for they are all suspiciously courtly in tone. As I have suggested was the case in Watriquet's *fastras*, these couplets are all quotations, most or all from secular models. In the analysis that follows, I explore how each cou-

33. See Baude Herenc, *Le Doctrinal* in Ernest Langlois, ed., *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique* (Paris: 1902; repr., Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), 192-3. In the same volume, a treatise by Jehan Molinet presents an example of a *fastras* of the "possible" kind that is not religious; in his discussion, Molinet suggests that the form is suitable for amorous themes, because of its repetition of lines, which are of seven or eight syllables ("[...] convenable a matieres joyeuses, pour la repetition des metres [lines], qui sont de sept et de huit [syllables].") Although he indicates that lines are repeated, he does not explicitly state that the couplets are formed by quotations. Both theorists, however, specify that the *serventois* (which by that time was always religious) was modelled on secular songs; this tallies with the statutes of the *cour amoureuse* of 1400.

34. Paris4641B transmits in sequence nos. 2, 4, 5, 10, 11, and 12. My discussion focuses on the full set, which appears only in the Vatican manuscript. The readings of the above six lyrics from Paris4641B differ in places from those of the Vatican manuscript, providing better copy in some cases but displaying errors elsewhere (all of them lack the repetition of the first line of the couplet, so they appear as twelve-line stanzas; for no. 12, the Paris manuscript gives the final line twice, at the end and as the second line). The disparities between the two manuscripts indicates that exemplars with divergent readings were in circulation. My edition of the lyrics in the figures follows the Vatican manuscript except in a couple of instances where the Paris manuscript offers a better version; these spots are indicated in the footnotes below the texts.

plet served as a starting point for the composition of the lyric it encloses and how the author used these secular elements to drive home his message. Table 1 presents a summary of the couplets and the matches that I have thus far identified.

Table 1. The couplets of the Easter *balades* and their matches with earlier works

BALADE	COUPLETS	SHARED WITH:
1	En ce doulx temps que raverdit la pré Que cilz arbre flourissent de nouvel.	Renaut de Trie: <i>Quant je voi le doz tens venir</i> (chanson, early 13 <sup>th</sup> c.) [paraphrase]
2	S'Amours n'estoit plus poissant que Nature, No foy seroit legier a condempner.	Brisbarre: <i>Marian serventois</i> (1330s?) [same incipit also in: Anon., <i>Marian serventois</i> (1330s?); <i>Serventois pastourel</i> (before 1390); <i>Balade</i> (14 <sup>th</sup> c.?)]
3	[Si doucement me demaine nature] Que je ne say si je suis mors ou viz.	Machaut: <i>Se Dieus me doit de ma dame joïr</i> (ballade, <i>Lo162</i> , 1340s) Trebor: <i>Helas, Pitié envers moy dort si fort</i> (ballade with music, 1380s)
4	Le don d'amours, qui tous les cuers attrait, Nous met et tient en amoureux servage.	Granson: <i>Qui veult entrer en l'amoureux servage</i> (ballade, late 14 <sup>th</sup> c.) [reformulated]
5	Coeur de marbre couronné d'ajemant, Ourlé de fer, a la pointe acheree.	Machaut: <i>Amis, je t'ay tant amé et cheri</i> ( <i>chant royale</i> , <i>Lo254</i> , 1360s) Le Mote: <i>Coers de marbre, couronnés d'ajmant</i> (ballade, 1339)
6	Ung chastel say ou droit fief de l'empire Dont Venus est de son droit chastellaine.	Anon: <i>Un chastel sçay es droiz fiez de l'empire</i> (ballade, before ca. 1390)
7	Marchiez du pie legierement L'herbe du joly pré regnant.	—
8	Qui bien aime, il ne doit mie Le tiers de la nuyt dormir.	Anon: <i>Qui bien aime, il ne doit mie / Demie la nuit dormi</i> (refrain, 13 <sup>th</sup> c.) Anon: <i>Qui bien aime / Cuers qui dort / Viderunt</i> (motet, late 13 <sup>th</sup> c.) Anon: <i>L'abeï du chastel amoureux</i> (poem, late 13 <sup>th</sup> c.)
9	Seducit d'amours, nourry en doulx espoir, Out mon cuer mis en noble seignourie.	Watriquet: <i>Desir d'amours, nourry en dous espoir / Tient mon cuer pris en noble seignorie</i> ( <i>fastras</i> , ca. 1329)
10	En ung ilsle de mer avironnee Say une tour qui est de grant noblesse.	—
11	Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat Sentir me fait d'amer la doulce vie.	Anon: <i>Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat</i> (rondeau with music, 1360s)
12	Clere faïçon de bialuté souveraine	—

The first lyric, as we have seen, sets the scene of Christ's Resurrection in spring. The couplet *En ce doulx temps que raverdit la pré | Que cilz arbre flourissent de nouvel* serves to evoke this pleasant season in the reader's imagination and to situate the cycle as a whole within the imaginative space of French courtly literary tradition by adopting this classic opening. Many narrative vernacular poems and *dits* from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries influenced by the *Roman de la Rose* begin in this way. From a time and milieu relatively close to Watriquet's *fastras*, for instance, is *Li Regret Guillaume*, by his fellow countryman Jehan de Le Mote,<sup>35</sup> a poem written in 1339 to commemorate the death of the Count of Hainaut. Interpolated into the overarching narrative of that work is a series of laments in ballade form, a good number of which are constructed around framing courtly quotations in a manner akin to those of Watriquet's *fastras*. Another example from the same period is the popular *Le Jugement du Roy de Bebaigne* by Le Mote's more famous contemporary and lyric interlocutor Guillaume de Machaut. That work it is set at Easter and was often known as *Le temps pascour* on account of its opening:

Au temps pascour que toute riens s'esgaie,  
Que la terre de mainte colour gaie  
Se cointoie, dont pointure sans plaie  
Sous la mamelle  
Fait Bonne Amour a mainte dame bele,  
A maint amant et a mainte pucelle [...]<sup>36</sup>

Of course, such springtime scene-setting at the opening of vernacular poems predates the fourteenth century, and the choice to use this for the opening couplet in *Les xij. balades de Pasques* also evokes in particular the earlier and prestigious secular love song tradition of the trouvères. Although it is not an exact match, the couplet of the first lyric strongly echoes the start of a song by Renaut de Trie (fl. 1219-1239), *Quant je voi le doz tens venir* (RS 1484), as can be seen in Example 2 (where correspondences are shown in bold font). Renaut's song inspired several imitations in the thirteenth century that bear similar incipits, including a Marian *contrafactum*, but, as Theodore Karp noted long ago, an Italian *caccia* from the trecento also quotes this song in its text.<sup>37</sup>

35. See Jehan de Le Mote, *Li Regret Guillaume, Comte de Hainaut. Poème inédit du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Auguste Scheler (Leuven: Imprimerie J. Lefever, 1882).

36. See *Guillaume de Machaut: The Complete Poetry and Music*, Vol. 1, *The Debate Poems*, ed. Richard Barton Palmer, Uri Smilansky and Domenic Leo (Kalamazoo: Michigan University Press, 2016), 46.

37. Theodore Karp, "The Textual Origins of a Piece of Trecento Polyphony", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967): 469-73.

Recently, Giuliano Di Bacco observed that not only was the incipit of Renaut's song quoted there but so was the whole of the first stanza.<sup>38</sup> Recent research has begun to reveal that trouvère songs were still being plundered in this way by French songwriters in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. My own recent findings have shown that Guillaume de Machaut drew far more persistently on the songs of his trouvère predecessors than previously supposed, in his fixed-form lyrics and songs as well as in his motets. Moreover, there are two striking examples of extensive quotation from trouvère songs amongst the anonymous songs of the early fifteenth-century Cyprus codex (Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, J.II.9 [Cyp]) that suggest that Machaut's successors from ca. 1400 were likewise inspired by these old songs.<sup>39</sup> These songs from the Cyprus codex suggest that the trouvère song repertoires had remained very much alive in the collective imagination within French and francophone courts in the early fifteenth century.

Whether the opening couplet of the first Easter *balade* would have been readily identified by the readers of *Les xij. balades de Pasques* is hard to say. Yet the choice of this material at the start of the work suggests, at least, that the genre of spring songs cultivated by the trouvères was still familiar at this much later point and hence was useful for the author's purpose. From the very opening, the couplet calls to the mind of the reader the agreeable sweetness of spring, with its warmth and its greening of the landscape and, importantly, its association with love. The reiteration of the first line cements the spring context in the listener's mind, while the conclusion of the stanza with its second line attributes the yearly blossoming of trees in spring to Christ; instead of dwelling on earthly love, the narrator thus deftly steers the reader to Godly thought and devotion.

The couplet opening the second *balade* evokes two of the classic allegorical figures that populate fourteenth- and fifteenth-century songs and lyrics, *Amours* and *Nature*, and has the character of an epithet: if love was not stronger than nature, our faith would be easy to refute. This couplet finds an

38. Giuliano di Bacco, "Quant je voi le dous temps. On the 14th-century Italian Reincarnation of a Trouvère Song" (unpublished paper); I am grateful to Dr Di Bacco for sharing his research with me.

39. On Machaut's quotations from the trouvères in his songs, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 8, and, in particular, Ead., "Guillaume de Machaut and the Advent of a New School of Lyric"; and in his motets, see in particular Jacques Boogaart, "Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and their Function in Machaut's Motets", *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 1-86. On the Cyprus songs in question, see Yolanda Plumley, "Memories of the Mainland in the Songs of the Cyprus codex", in *Poésie et musique à l'âge de l'ars subtilior, Autour du manuscrit Torino BNU J.II.9*, ed. Gisèle Clement, Isabelle Fabre, Gilles Polizzi, Faïch Thoraval (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 95-113, and a further case identified by Isabelle Fabre in her essay in the same volume.

exact match with the first two lines of a Marian *serventois* ascribed to Brisbarre (see Example 3), author of *Le Restor du paon*, which he composed before 1338 as a sequel to the popular *Voeux du paon* by Jacques de Longuyon to which cycle, in turn, Jehan de Le Mote added his *Le Parfait du paon* in 1340. A *Serventois de Nostre Dame* beginning with these two lines is cited and attributed to Brisbarre in the early fifteenth-century poetry treatise known as *Les Règles de la seconde rhétorique*.<sup>40</sup> An extant poem of five stanzas plus envoy that starts in this way may be Brisbarre's work; it appears, without attribution, in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1543 (Paris1543), a mixed anthology from ca. 1400 that includes texts by Jean de Meung and Jean Le Fèvre, under the rubric *Cby comenche un serventois de nostre dame* (f. 99r; this is the reading presented in Example 3, tentatively attributed to Brisbarre). Another Marian *serventois* with the same incipit and first lines of each stanza is transmitted by Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2095 (Paris2095; f. 80v, entitled *balade*), a fourteenth-century anthology of mainly religious texts. These two poems appear together in Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 897 (Ar1), a *Roman de la Rose* manuscript copied in 1370 that also features Machaut's *Jugement du roi de Behaigne* and various saints' lives amongst other texts. A three-stanza ballade is built on this same incipit and first lines of stanzas but treats a more wordly subject: it begins *Se l'argent n'estoit plus puissant que nature* and is found, alongside a large number of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century song-lyrics, in *Le Jardin de Plaisance* (f. 202v, entitled *balade*), which was printed by Vérard in 1501. Finally, in Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 902 (Penn), f. 6b, in an anthology of lyrics deriving from French royal court circles compiled ca. 1390 that includes many lyrics and song-texts by Machaut, there is a *serventois pastourel* with five-stanzas and *envoy*; once again, this poem shares the incipit and first lines of its stanzas with the above three poems.

The address to the "Prinches d'amour" in the *envoy* of the *serventois* from Paris2095, and to a "Prince" in the poem from Penn, suggests that all these poems may have been contributions to a *puy*. According to Eustache Deschamps, by the late fourteenth century the *serventois* form, along with the *chanson royale* and the *fastras*, was "ouvrage qui se porte aux puis d'amours, et que nobles hommes n'ont pas accoustumé de faire".<sup>41</sup> Since, as already mentioned, the fourteenth-century *serventois* was often Marian and modelled on existing *chanson amoureuses*, it seems possible that these four works were based

40. See Langlois, *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique*, 12.

41. See Langlois' discussion, *ibid.*, XLV.

on a now-lost *chanson amoureuse*.<sup>42</sup> Whether the second Easter *balade* was quoting from that same secular model or from Brisbarre's Marian *serventois* is hard to say. In Brisbarre's poem, the two lines are presented as a statement, which is then developed in the ensuing lines in the first stanza: Love teaches us that Christ was born of the Virgin to save mankind but whoever argues according to Nature against the Immaculate Conception will not know the truth, for the Holy Spirit, which is Love, made Him; that's what the narrator steadfastly believes. The *balade de Pasques* follows a similar argument. The couplet supports the author's moralising aim: his point is not to push for acceptance of Christ's begetting but, rather, to urge his reader to remember that Love caused Jesus to rise again, and that we must believe this without fail because if the Jews' could prove that Christ's body had turned to dust, our faith would be easy to deny.

The couplet of *balade* three is related to a ballade without music by Guillaume de Machaut that probably dates from the 1340s and appears in Penn as well as in the Machaut manuscripts (Example 4). In Machaut's lyric, the second line of the couplet, *Que je ne say se je sui mors ou vis*, forms the refrain of the poem; in the ballade form, the refrain, which serves as the "punchline" of the work, is the classic locus for quotations, along with the incipit. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, Machaut's lyrics and song-texts are full of quotations and allusions. Machaut drew extensively on the songs of the *trouvères* to furnish textual and sometimes even musical material for his ballades and other lyric forms, and he also seems to have engaged in citational jousts with his contemporary Jehan de Le Mote on more than one occasion; as mentioned above, certain of his lyrics cite material that Watriquet had previously quoted in his *fastras*.<sup>43</sup> However, although it seems possible that the author of *Les xij. balades de Pasques* knew this ballade by Machaut, the shared line probably originated elsewhere. It also features in *Baudoin de Sebourc*, a *chanson de geste* from the early fourteenth century, and was evidently still circulating later since it appears again in a song by the composer Trebor from the 1380s or 90s that is transmitted in the Chantilly codex (see Example 4), and in the refrain of an anonymous ballade appended to a fifteenth-century treatise on poetry writing.<sup>44</sup>

42. The Arras manuscript also contains Machaut's poem the *Judgement of the King of Bobemia*, which was composed in the 1330s, and other *dits* from that time, including Jehan Acart de Hesdin's interpolated *dit La Prise amoureuse*, which is dated 1332 (on this work, see below).

43. See Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 8 and especially Ead., "Guillaume de Machaut and the Advent of a New School of Lyric".

44. See Langlois, *Recueil des arts de seconde rhétorique*, 11.

The ballades by Machaut and Trebor use the line in a predictable way, as an exclamation by the narrator to the trials endured for being in love. In Machaut's ballade, the line concludes each stanza, thereby furnishing the central conceit of the lyric, while in Trebor's it falls in the second line: here it is Pity who ignores the narrator so completely that he hardly knows if he is dead or alive. In the third *balade de Pasques*, the first line of the couplet, *Si doucement me demaine Nature*, which I assume was also borrowed, echoes the previous *balade* in the series by referring to personified Nature, who now gently leads the narrator to remember the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, that, despite the Jews, Christ was resurrected. The second line of the couplet provides the conclusion of Christ's cry to His disciples that the *prophete baïjs* is hidden amongst them, knowledge that causes Him such unease that He does not know if He is alive or dead. Here, then, the pathos of the terrestrial lover is transformed into Christ's disquiet and, curiously, the quotation serves Christ to question whether in His resurrected state He is dead or alive.

The secular flavour of the couplet of *balade* four is all too apparent: here the gift of the god of Love, which attracts all lovers' hearts, holds us in loving servitude. I have not found an exact match for this material but a very similar formulation appears in a ballade without music by Oton de Granson from the late fourteenth century, which is transmitted in Penn in addition to other sources (see Example 5, which presents the first stanza of Granson's ballade).<sup>45</sup> Granson's lyric is in the spirit of a "mirror" for the lover: whoever wishes to enter love's servitude – this is the incipit – needs to ensure that he observes the rules set by convention in order to earn the gifts of Love – this is the punchline, the refrain. The rules of the game are spelt out in the second stanza: the lover must love loyally, be discreet and hide his lovesick state, be gentle and courtly, and bear himself nobly; he should avoid bragging or talking too much, and do his best to serve the lady, and, in fact, he must honour all women with humility, to fear, dread, love and obey, and to pray often in loving manner. When read together, the incipit and refrain of Granson's poem closely echo the couplet presented in the *balade de Pasques*; it seems likely that Granson, too, was paraphrasing existing material here. While he used the material to offer an instruction manual to the would-be lover, the author of the Easter *balade* transforms the bonds of secular love to spiritual love,

45. The lyric is given here after Oton de Granson, *Poems*, eds. Joan Grenier-Winther and Peter Nicholson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2015), no. 44; the full version with English translation is presented online at <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/granson-nicholson-grenier-winther-ainsi-puet-il-don-d'amours-desservir> (last accessed June 6, 2017).

using this material to meditate on the gift of love that leads all to seek Christ, whose death, he tells us, holds us all in loving servitude.<sup>46</sup>

The couplet of *balade* five offers a further link with Machaut and Le Mote (Example 6).<sup>47</sup> It presents a highly distinctive image of the lady's heart made of marble and crowned with a steel-tipped diamond edged with iron. The first line matches the incipit of a ballade from the interpolated poem *Li Regret Guillaume* by Jehan de Le Mote, which, as we saw above, dates to before 1339 and survives without notation. Le Mote's ballade is one of the "sung" laments for his dead patron, Guillaume I, Count of Hainaut, and is voiced by Plaisance, one of the Count's allegorised virtues. In Machaut's work, the full couplet provides the two-line refrain of a *chanson royale* without music (*Amis, je t'ay tant amé et chéri, Loange des Dames* [L0254]) of unknown date but composed before 1350. It seems possible that Machaut and Le Mote submitted these items to a *puy* for which this highly idiosyncratic material had been set as a challenge by the organisers, given the address in Machaut's *envoy*: "Princes, onques ne vi fors maintenant / Amant a cuer plus dur que un *dj*amant / Ourlé de fer a la pointe aceree."<sup>48</sup> Alternatively, Machaut's lyric might have been composed later in response to Le Mote's or to a now-lost model. Whether the author of the Easter *balade* knew Le Mote's or Machaut's lyrics is unclear, but together, these items indicate that this material was doing the rounds in the mid-fourteenth century. Either way, the association of this material with the secular domain of courtly love-lyric served our author's purpose, for he used this material to frame the *balade* that introduces the pain felt by the three Marys as they lament Christ's passing: the Virgin speaks of her sorrow and how she saw her Son on the Cross, His body wounded by the long, piercing spear, the description of whose sharp steel point is supplied by the second line of the couplet. Thus, the idiosyncratic couplet that so startlingly evokes the pains of worldly love in the lyrics by Le Mote and Machaut is now put to dramatic use to bring home to the lay reader of the Easter lyrics Mary's anguish at Christ's death.

The couplet of the sixth *balade* (Example 7), *Ung chastel say ou droit fief de l'empire / Dont Venuis est de son droit chastellaine*, matches the opening two lines

46. My edition of the fourth Easter lyric in Example 5 corrects v. 7 to follow the better reading of Paris4641B, which provides "Les trois royaulx Maries" instead of "Les trois royaulmes avec luy".

47. Penn transmits six of Machaut's eight *chansons royales* but not this one.

48. See *The Art of Grafted Song*, chaps. 6 and 7. Machaut's poem might be later since it does not appear in the earliest of the Machaut manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1586 (MachC), which is thought to date to before ca. 1356.

of an anonymous ballade that is transmitted uniquely and without musical setting in Penn (f. 6b),<sup>49</sup> which dates this material to before ca. 1390. This ballade clearly evokes the *Roman de la Rose*. In its opening two lines, Venus is presented as custodian of the castle wherein dwells the narrator's love-object. Despite being warned off by the allegory *Raison*, the lover is impelled to approach it, encouraged by Dame Oiseuse, but he is terrified and angry when he sees Venus torch the land around it; his message is to warn young lovers about the perils of such castles of Love. In the sixth Easter *balade*, these two borrowed lines frame the first speech by Mary Magdalen: the castle is Satan's fortress with many souls imprisoned within, the doors of which Christ will batter down so that he can choose the good souls and thereby save the human race by storming the castle of martyrdom of which Venus, by rights, is the custodian. The author evidently adopted this existing couplet because of the castle motif, which not only frames the poem but, as in the model from Penn, becomes a central motif: the castle of earthly Love guarded by Venus is now Satan's castle of martyrdom, and Christ, instead of the hapless lover, is the knightly figure who will break down the doors; Venus now represents God's love, which is the true custodian of the fortress.

I have not identified the couplet of *balade* seven, *Marchiez du pie legierement / L'herbe du joly pré regnant* but it evokes the genre of the *pastorelle*. A similar sentiment is expressed in a *refrain* that is quoted in a thirteenth-century Robin and Marion motet (see Example 8): the motetus of *Quant voi la fleur en l'arbroie / Et tenuerunt* (Mo 241) opens in a similar manner to *Les xij. balades de Pasques* as a whole, setting the scene in spring as the leaves turn green, and it closes by quoting a *refrain* that advises Marion to leap carefully to avoid her shoes being damaged: *Espringués legierement / Que li soliers ne fonde*. The author of the Easter lyrics was seeking to paint a similar pastoral image in his readers' imagination. Now it is the Virgin who advises her companions to tread carefully as they go to anoint Christ; the *joly pré* is where the tomb is situated and where Mary is instructed to go by the angel. Note how the second iteration of the lines varies slightly from the initial presentation of the couplet (*l'herbe* now becomes *l'arbre*, and *regnant* becomes *regnault*), which might suggest the author was collating his material from two different exemplars; interestingly, similar disparities between couplet and verse can be seen in *balades* ten and eleven (see below), as well as in Watriquet's *fastras*.

49. I am grateful to Elizabeth Eva Leach for reminding me of this secular model; the connection was also noted by Charles R. Mudge, "The Pennsylvania Chansonnier, A Critical Edition of Ninety-Five Ballades From the Fifteenth Century with Introduction, Notes and Glossary" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1972), 287.

The couplet of the eighth *balade de Pasques* also connects with the thirteenth-century musical repertory, once again echoing an old *refrain* (no. 1586 in Van de Boogaard's catalogue of *refrains*, hereafter VdB).<sup>50</sup> The *refrain* in question appears in the late thirteenth-century allegorical poem *L'abeï du chasteel amoureux* (at the end of the ninth commandment, as *Qui bien ainme, il ne doit pas le tier de la nuit dormir*), and at the start of the motet *Qui bien aime il ne doit mie / Cuer qui dort il n'aime pas / Viderunt* from the Montpellier codex (Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196 [Mo], Mo 99, as *Qui bien aime, il ne doit mie demie la nuit dormir*) (Example 9). In the motet, the quotation provides the theme of sleep that runs in counterpoint between the two upper voices; the presence there of this *refrain* suggests that it may well have carried an associated melody. In the Easter lyric, the first line of the borrowed couplet fits comfortably into the continuing speech of the angel, as he informs Mary that Jesus is not present at the tomb and, therefore, that "whoever loves well should not at this time come here". The second line of the couplet rounds off Mary's reply, as she emphasises that such is her desire to see her Son that she can barely sleep a wink. Thus, in this transplantation of the courtly couplet, it is not the worldly lover who suffers insomnia but the Virgin Mary (*la dame saintie*). What is interesting in this and in the other Easter *balades* is how familiar motifs from the thirteenth-century secular lyric repertory are redeployed to tell a story about a different and more worthy form of love than the earthly kind. In this particular lyric, the author pushes this approach further. The second line of the main stanza, "*Dame, de tous biens garnie*" also has a courtly ring; in fact, this same formulation is found in another thirteenth-century motet, *Nus ne se doit / Ave verum corpus* (Mo 276). The same is true of the ninth line, "J'ay tel desir de le veïr", which is a very common trope in the motet and song repertory of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; for instance, *Pensis, chief, enclin / Flos filius eius* (Mo 239) ends its motetus with "tant la desir veoir", and examples abound in the trouvère song repertory and, in particular, in the songs and lyrics of Guillaume de Machaut – this conceit permeates the latter's celebrated double-texted ballade *Quant Theseus / Ne quier veoir* (B34) where both its lyrics share as their refrain *Je voy assez, puis que je voy ma dame*.<sup>51</sup>

The author of the Easter lyrics appears to have felt that such secular resonances would render his cycle accessible and meaningful for his lay readers,

50. Nico van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle au début du XIV<sup>e</sup>* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969). See also the useful database by Anne Ibos-Augé that incorporates Boogaard's catalogue at <http://refrain.ac.uk/5147/> (last accessed June 6, 2017).

51. On Machaut's Ballade 34 and its influence on his contemporaries and successors, see Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 10, and ead., "Memories of the Mainland".

helping to communicate its spiritual message by appealing to their own experience of love and, in particular, to their familiarity with the courtly song tradition. The ninth *balade* strengthens the link with Watriquet's *fastras*, for its couplet matches one of those used there (see Example 10).<sup>52</sup> Although the wording is slightly different to Watriquet's, and the latter is a nonsense poem, the link with that work seems more than just coincidence: the Easter lyric displays the same form, the same grafting principle, the same Easter context, and it is built around the same couplet, although, of course, its content is now firmly religious. Watriquet's nonsense poem is characteristically obscure and satirical: we are told that Desire for Love, fed by Sweet Hope, did such battle last night with a cockerel that he warned Trickery and Craftiness and said that God and his saints have no power over [a line is missing] the many vices that hold sway in Rome; everyone is out in the cold because Envy holds the narrator's heart in noble sovereignty. In the Easter lyric, the two lines of the couplet form part of the dialogue and help the Virgin express her mental state: first her feelings of love, which are fed by hope, and at the end, her happiness and relief after learning from the angel that Christ is alive; it is now the angel's news, fuelled by divine hope, that places her heart in noble sovereignty.

I have not identified the couplet of the tenth *balade* but, again, it is courtly in flavour (Example 11). *En ung ilsle de mer avironnee / Say une tour qui est de grant noblesse* evokes passages from various *chansons de geste*; note how its opening line recalls the start of a chapter (no. 90) in the fourteenth-century *La Belle Helene de Constantinople*, for instance, at the point when the young Marie is sacrificed on an island by her uncle, the Count of Clochestre:

Or est Marie au fu delee la mer salee.  
 En une ile qui fut de mer avironnee,  
 Voit le fu alumer et la flame levee.<sup>53</sup>

In *Le Roman de Charles de Chauve*, which dates from ca. 1360, we find a similar formulation at the point when King Philippe, having set off to find the site of Jesus' tomb, is forced by a storm to take refuge *En .i. ille qui est de mer avironnee*; there he comes by *un hermitage*, in which he is held prisoner by

52. The *fastras* in question is found not along with the rest of Watriquet's examples but in a recently rediscovered manuscript, now Brunswick, Bowdoin College Library, M194.W337 (Brun), f. 44v. The edition presented here is after Charles H. Livingston, ed., "Manuscrit retrouvé d'oeuvres de Watriquet de Couvin", in *Mélanges offerts à Maurice Delbouille*, Vol. 2 (Gembloux: Duculot, 1964), 439-46, at 442.

53. See Claude Roussel, ed., *La Belle Helene de Constantinople* (Geneva: Droz, 1995), v. 3470.

the traitorous Butor.<sup>54</sup> In the Easter lyric, in contrast, the site of Jesus' tomb is one of joy as the Virgin Mary is comforted by the appearance of her Son, which leads her to renounce her sorrow and to exclaim that she knows that in Galilee there is a tower full of riches.<sup>55</sup>

The choice of couplet for the penultimate *balade de Pasques*, no. 11, which forms the climax of the series, is particularly intriguing for the musicologist because *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat / Sentir me fait d'amer la douce vie* matches exactly the refrain of an anonymous polyphonic song from ca. 1365 that enjoyed great fame from the mid-fourteenth century and well into the fifteenth. Interestingly, that song, which is in rondeau form, is itself citation-al: its second refrain line alludes to the text of Guillaume de Machaut's song *En amer a douce vie* from his *Remede de Fortune*, a work from the 1340s or early 50s possibly composed for Bonne of Luxembourg, wife of the future Jehan II of France (see Example 12).<sup>56</sup> This allusion thus provides a *terminus post quem* for the anonymous rondeau, the relatively simple style of which suggests a composition date before ca. 1375. In a previous study, I connected the rondeau with royal French circles, proposing that its text may well have also been intended to evoke Louis II of Bourbon, who adopted the motto "*Esperance*" when he founded his princely Order of the Golden Shield in 1366 on his return from England, where he had served as one of the royal hostages. Louis was closely related to the royal Valois family: his mother Isabelle was a sister of Philippe VI and his own sister Jeanne was married to the new king, Charles V. Louis remained a close counsellor to the monarchy during and after Charles' reign, assuming the role of regent, alongside Charles' brothers, during the troubled reign of Charles VI. His intimacy with the young Charles VI

54. Otto Rubke, *Studien über die Chanson de Charles le Chauve (Inhalt, Quellen, Textprobe, Namenverzeichnis)* (Greifswald: Adler, 1909), 84.

55. As in *balade* seven, the second line of the couplet differs slightly on its iteration at the end, suggesting that the couplet and the main part of the poem might have been collated by the scribe from different exemplars. The reading of these lines in the Paris manuscript, on the other hand, is consistent.

56. For a full case study on this song, see Yolanda Plumley, "Citation and Allusion in the Late Ars nova: The Case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* Songs", *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 287-363. Bonne of Luxembourg has long been considered the patron behind Machaut's *Remede de Fortune*; see especially Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide* (New York and London, 1995), 24-6. However, new documentary evidence published by Michelle Bubenicek and now amplified with additional material by Andrew Wathey, connects Machaut to alternative patrons in the 1340s, inviting us to consider the possibility that this work was originally destined for another female princely patron. See Michelle Bubenicek, *Quand les femmes gouvernent. Droit et politique au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Yolande de Flandre* (Paris: École des chartes, 2002), 154, n. 39; the forthcoming publication by Andrew Wathey is cited and discussed in Lawrence Earp, "Introduction", in *Poetry, Art, and Music*.

and the latter's brother is reflected in their adoption of his device of a belt bearing the *Esperance* motto. This device was also distributed to other French and foreign nobles.<sup>57</sup>

If my hypothesis is correct, the connection of the rondeau with French royalty might help account for its wide circulation and enduring popularity. As I have discussed elsewhere, the *Esperance* rondeau was quoted in several songs from the late fourteenth century that can be linked to French princely circles. It was at the centre of the citational complex of Ars subtilior songs, including three that begin *En attendant* and that variously quote its text, with or without its music; its idiosyncratic opening text and music are also evoked in the anonymous song *Je voy mon cuer*.<sup>58</sup> The rondeau itself is extant in a surprising number of sources, mostly from ca. 1400. These include Penn, an unnotated lyric anthology that originated in or close to the court of Charles VI ca. 1390, which provides the only full version of the song's text (given in Example 12), and twelve musical sources of varying geographical provenance north and south of the Alps, where the rondeau appears with varying accompanying parts, mostly without its text, and, in two cases, arranged for instruments.<sup>59</sup> Of these written traces, the latest testimony is a fifteenth-century English source with white notation; a *basse danse* with the same title that dates from 1449.<sup>60</sup> The quotation in the couplet of the Easter *balade* thus provides further and intriguing testimony to the longevity and continued appeal of this song, but it also strengthens my hypothesis that the latter very likely originated in or close to the Valois princely courts. In the Easter cycle, the quotation matches exactly the reading of the rondeau's refrain-text in Penn, further reinforcing the connections between *Les xii balades de Pasques* and that source. The author evidently anticipated that this

57. See *ibid.*, 352; in a forthcoming study, I shall present further evidence regarding the historical context of the *Esperance* song.

58. See the detailed analysis of this network in Plumley, "Citation and Allusion" and the further bibliography listed there. A new source for *Je voy mon cuer* is reported in Michael Scott Cuthbert, "A New Trecento Source of a French Ballade", *Harvard Library Bulletin* 18 (2007): 77-82. See also Lannutti's essay in this volume (237-72) for further connections, in particular with an Italian bilingual ballata set to music by Paolo da Firenze.

59. Two new sources for the song were recently identified in fragments from Italy from the late fourteenth century by Michael Scott Cuthbert; see Michael Scott Cuthbert, "*Esperance* and the French Song in Foreign Sources", *Studi musicali* 36 (2007): 3-20, which provides an updated list of sources. A further new source has been identified in a Gradual that was copied in Avignon and then taken to Rome; see Michael Scott Cuthbert and Nicola Tangari, "Identificazioni di composizioni vocali italiane e internazionali in alcuni manoscritti liturgici del tardo Trecento", *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra* 37 (2016): 219-28.

60. See David Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 154.

long-standing popular song would still be familiar to his targeted lay readers and thus a useful tool. Once again, he transformed this secular material to fit his spiritual purpose. In the *Esperance* rondeau, Hope battles in the lover's heart to help him love sweet life – this is the line that alludes to Machaut's love song from the *Remede de Fortune*, composed by the lover with *Dame Esperance's* help to woo his lady. In contrast, in the Easter lyric Hope strives in the heart of the Christian narrator and implants there the desire to rejoice in praising Christ, who comforts the grieving Virgin Mary by appearing to her six times on Easter day. At this joyful climax of the Easter cycle, the narrator declares that the company was so sweetly comforted on seeing Christ risen that we should all now exalt Easter Day; he concludes that Christ's great suffering to redeem us makes him love Sweet Love, just like the lover-narrator of the *Esperance* rondeau.

The twelfth and final poem (Example 13), at least in the Vatican source, lacks a framing couplet but the first line is surely also drawn from a secular model: *Clere façon de biaulté souveraine* is now directed to Christ, rather than to the *dame* of a love song. The reader is thus implicitly encouraged once more to consider how Christ's spiritual beauty surpasses that of any earthly beloved, and to heed the narrator as he addresses Christ with a prayer to deliver us from evil and to have mercy upon us all on the Day of Judgement, including the author himself.<sup>61</sup>

By evoking these secular songs and lyrics of the past, the author of the Easter *balades* seems to have been doing something akin to Gautier de Coinci, who, in his *Miracles de Notre Dame* of the early 1220s, overtly drew on the form and content of existing trouvère songs to create Marian songs that his lay audience would understand and enjoy. In this case, the anonymous author drew on a series of lyric materials that had evidently circulated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As is frequently the case when investigating late medieval quotations, even when a match with an earlier extant work is identified it is often impossible to confirm a direct relationship, or whether the shared material originated in that specific context. As we have seen, some of the matches I have presented here are not exact ones, suggesting that the author of the Easter cycle may have drawn on another, related model. This seems likely to be the case for the couplets of *balades* one, four, and eight. However, in the remaining matches I have identified here, the formulation of

61. The Paris manuscript presents the final line both at the end of the poem and as its second line, suggesting these two lines might represent a quoted couplet.

the shared material is very similar or even exact. Especially intriguing are the repeated intersections with the works of Machaut and his contemporaries Jehan de Le Mote, Watriquet, Brisbarre and the anonymous composer of the *Esperance* rondeau, and with the lyric anthology Penn; all those works originated in, or close to, the French princely courts in the last half of the fourteenth century.

##### 5. DATING AND PLACING «LES XIJ. BALADES DE PASQUES»

When and where, then, might the Easter cycle have been composed? Since all the connections I have identified date from before ca. 1390, it might seem reasonable to conclude that the cycle was written ca. 1400, when the cited models or materials were still sufficiently familiar for their use in this new context to be meaningful. The recurrent intersections with the Penn lyric anthology certainly suggest such a date could be plausible. Yet, as we have seen, many such song lyrics continued to be copied well into the fifteenth century. The widely circulated rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat* illustrates particularly vividly how old songs could enjoy a surprisingly extended shelf life, in this case, of nearly a century. Indeed, in studying citational practices in late medieval French songs and lyrics over the past years, I have been repeatedly surprised by evidence attesting to the longevity of lyric material; I have encountered *refrains* used by Watriquet in the 1320s in motets and songs composed decades later,<sup>62</sup> and, recently, I have pinpointed extensive and explicit borrowings from the *trouvères* in lyrics and songs by Machaut and in songs from ca. 1400 transmitted in the early fifteenth-century Cyprus codex.<sup>63</sup> As I suspect was the case for Machaut and the poet-composer of the Cyprus codex, the author of the Easter *balades* must have had access to a book or a gathering of courtly materials that included at least the lyrics of old songs, if not their musical settings. Possibly, this source material comprised a set of *fastras* that included the one by Watriquet, that shares its couplet with the ninth Easter lyric alongside others that are no longer extant. It seems possible that the Easter cycle might date from as late as the 1430s, given its relationship with the early fifteenth-century tradition of vernacular Passions and with the *Resurrection* transmitted in the Vatican manuscript, on the one hand, and the presence of half its lyrics in Paris4641B, on the other.

62. See Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 4.

63. See Plumley, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Advent of a New School of Lyric"; and Ead., "Memories of the Mainland".

Who might have composed *Les xij. balades de Pasques* and to whom were they addressed? As I suggested above, the modelling of sacred lyrics upon secular ones was closely linked to the activities of urban *puys*, which by the fourteenth century were long established in northern France. The annual *puy* organised by the Parisian goldsmiths offers some good examples. I have demonstrated elsewhere how the surviving religious lyrics from this annual poetry contest reveal an increasing tendency after 1350 to be modelled on earlier, winning entries.<sup>64</sup> The sung religious rondeaux that appear in the Miracle plays staged by the goldsmiths on the same day were similarly citational: I have shown that some of those from ca. 1350 were modelled on secular songs from Jehan Acart de Hesdin's *La Prise amoureuse*, an interpolated romance composed before 1332.<sup>65</sup> It seems an intriguing possibility that the Easter lyric cycle similarly was the product of a French confraternity, written by one of its members to entertain his lay *confrères* at Easter and to celebrate with them this most important religious festival in the Church calendar. Clerics and laymen rubbed shoulders in confraternities and at the urban *puys*. Whether religious or lay, the author of this little work was clearly familiar with the tradition of French devotional writing, and, in particular, with early fifteenth-century vernacular accounts of the Passion, as well as with secular lyrics and songs from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The position of the Easter lyrics next to the two mid-fifteenth-century debate poems in the Vatican manuscript reminds us that the secular and sacred worlds were far from polarised at this time. The presence of six of the Easter lyrics in Paris4641B together with two religious dramas<sup>66</sup> raises the enticing possibility that they were composed to be performed alongside, or as part of, a miracle or mystery play hosted by a confraternity. The annual staging of Passion plays by confraternities was well established by the late fourteenth century; the statutes of 1374 of the *confrérie de la Charité*, for instance, signal its regular staging of dramas, which were most often devoted to the Passion.<sup>67</sup> Such performances were also staged by other confraternities, not

64. See Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song*, chap. 5.

65. *Ibid.*

66. These are an *Épître farci de Saint Étienne* from the thirteenth century and *Le Mariage des quatre fils Hemon* [*Aymon*] from the fifteenth.

67. "... jeux qui furent faix et ordenez [le 27 mars 1380] en l'onneur et remembrance de la Passion Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Christ par aucuns des bourgeois et autres bonnes gens d'icelle [ville de Paris] ... Si comme esdiz jeux on a acoustumé a faire par chascun an a Paris"; see Graham A. Runnalls, "La confrérie de la Passion et les mystères. Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire de la confrérie de la Passion depuis la fin du XIVE jusqu'au milieu du XVIe siècle", *Romania* 122 (2004): 135-201, at 140; and Emile Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Etudes sur les sources et le classement des mystères de la Passion* (Paris: 1902; repr., Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), 11.

least those dedicated to the Passion and Resurrection. The oldest known confraternity of the Passion is that of Nantes, founded in 1371,<sup>68</sup> but the most celebrated is the Parisian *La confrérie de la Passion et de la Resurrection Nostre-Seigneur*. The latter performed plays on the Passion and Resurrection at Easter at the Church of the Trinity in Paris from 1380 onward and it survived right up to the eighteenth century.<sup>69</sup> This particular confraternity was probably responsible for the performance of a Passion before Charles VI at his Parisian palace of Saint-Pol in 1380.<sup>70</sup> From 1402, it was given the monopoly on the staging of plays after a general ban had been introduced by the Provost of Paris in 1398; it was given permission to stage plays not just for its members but in public for a wider audience.<sup>71</sup> This body may have been involved in the staging of *Le Mystere de la Resurrection* before the king at Easter in 1390, for which there survives an account that records payment made to *certain chapelains et clerks de la Sainte Chapelle*.<sup>72</sup> Such collaboration between this confraternity and the musicians of the royal chapel in the presentation of Easter plays may also provide a context for *Les xij. balades de Pasques*. Another document, this time from the accounts of Philippe “le bon”, duke of Burgundy, informs us that a *Mystere de la Resurrection* was presented at Easter 1418 before the queen and the duke of Burgundy in Troyes; again, this was organised by a chaplain of the Burgundian court, Maistre Jehan Bonne, who collaborated with a *valet de chambre* who, curiously, went by the name Jehan Fastras.<sup>73</sup> Is the name Fastras simply a coincidence or might we construe from this probable nickname that *fastras* poems with religious texts were similarly implicated in the staging of plays at Easter? Could a Resurrection play staged by this man in collaboration with singers of the royal chapel and, possibly even with the confraternity of the Passion or a similar body, have been the occasion for the composition of *Les xij. balades de Pasques*?

These references to the involvement of singers of the princely chapels are richly suggestive, given that the Easter lyrics were built on quotations taken from secular songs and courtly lyrics of the kind we know these musicians composed and performed. Several elements in the cycle encourage the suspi-

68. *Ibid.*

69. See Emile Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion*, 11.

70. *Ibid.*, 211-2.

71. Runnalls, “La confrérie de la Passion”.

72. *Ibid.*, 141.

73. Nine years earlier a certain Fatras, presumably the same man, and his companions, *joueurs de farces*, performed for the King in Paris, once again, at the palace of Saint-Pol; see Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion*, 101.

cion that its author was close to French royal circles, not least the repeated matches with the lyric anthology Penn and the juxtaposition of the work with Hauteville's response to the *Belle dame sans mercy* in the Vatican manuscript.<sup>74</sup> Certainly, the contents of Paris4641B, which transmits six of the Easter lyrics, point to a Parisian context for that manuscript, and it is worth mentioning that at least one of the included lyrics presents a better reading than the Vatican copy.<sup>75</sup> The scribe-compiler of Paris4641B was very likely a lawyer operating in the *Chambre des comptes* or *Cour des aides*,<sup>76</sup> and the collection includes three ballades on life at court (presented under the rubric *Trois ballades contre les courtisans*), including one by poet and royal officer, Eustache Deschamps. The contents of the Vatican manuscript likewise suggest a clerkly compiler and a Parisian context, and point to a milieu that links the university and the royal court. Alongside the French texts in the volume are some Latin works<sup>77</sup> that include some legal texts, a treatise on the Salic Law, a topic much debated in royal French circles during the 100 Years War, some philosophical disputations by Cicero [*Tusculanae disputationes*], and, in a later hand, a Latin grammar by Guillaume Tardif, a professor at the University of Paris and lector to King Charles VIII in the 1480s. Interestingly, the scribe responsible for most of the contents, including *Les xij. balades de Pasques*, also copied at the very start of the manuscript a fragment of Johannes de Muris' *Musica speculativa*<sup>78</sup> and a *species tonarum*; whoever compiled this manuscript evidently had more than a passing interest in music.

74. Hauteville fulfilled various functions in the royal administration, including being *maître general des monnaies*; as well as being *prince d'amour* of the *cour amoureuse*, he was a member of a literary confraternity in Tournai (*du Chapel Vert*); Daniel Poirion, *Le poète et le prince: l'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1965), 39.

75. See footnotes 34 and 46.

76. Nicole Pons, "Honneur et Profit. Le recueil d'un juriste parisien au milieu du XVe siècle", *Revue historique* 645 (2008): 3-32.

77. See Langlois, *Notices et extraits*, 234n1.

78. The extracts are from the updated version of Muris' *Musica speculativa* (from ca. 1325); this is preceded by a *species tonarum*, and followed by the grammar text by Tardif. See Caulfield's brief discussion of scribal hands in Caulfield, "An Edition", 102-3.

## APPENDIX

*En chantant me reconforte*  
*Quant j'ai perdu mon ami.*  
*En chantant me reconforte*  
 Une oe, qui fu si forte  
 Qu'elle abati saint Remi  
 En luitant a jambe torte;  
 Mais uns limaçons l'enporte  
 As chans de Bé-fa bé-mi,  
 Et puis dist: "A! É-la-mi,  
 Va chacier dehors no porte  
 Le songe Pierre Remi,  
 Et li di qu'envie est morte,  
*Quant j'ai perdu mon ami."*

Example 1. Watriquet de Couvin: *fastras* (ca. 1330)

## Premiere balade.

*En ce doux temps que raverdit la pré,*  
*Que cilz arbre flourissent de nouvel.*  
*En ce doux temps que raverdit la pree,*  
 Que la chair Dieu estoit mise et posee  
 Ou glorieux sepulchre, bon et bel,  
 Avoient juifz qui gardoient l'entree,  
 Dont chacun d'eux avoit la teste armee;  
 Maiz en dormant perdirent biau joiel:  
 Au resveillier parchurent le tombel  
 Dont cieux avoit descouverte l'entree.  
 Que nous devons servir de cuer loyal;  
 Car c'est par luy, ceste vertu loee,  
*Que cilz arbres flourissent de nouvel.*

## Renaut de Trie (RS 1484)

Quant je voi le doz tens venir  
**Que reverdit la pree,**  
 Et j'oï le rousignol tentir  
 Ou bois soz la ramee,  
 Adonques ne me puis tenir  
 De chanter, car tuit mi desir  
 Et tote ma pensee  
 Sunt en cele amer et servir  
 Cui j'ai m'amor donee,  
 Senz repentir.

Example 2. 'Balade' 1: Echoes of the trouvère tradition

ii<sup>e</sup> balade.

*S'Amours n'estoit plus poisant que Nature,  
 No foy seroit legier a condempner.  
 S'Amours n'estoit plus puissant que Nature,  
 Les faulx juifz qui mettoient le cure  
 De fermement le sepulcre garder,  
 Ilz n'eussent pas perdu la creature,  
 Qui receu avoit la mort obscure;  
 Maiz Bonne Amour le fist ressusciter,  
 Ce devons nous bien croire sans errer,  
 Car se les juifz, par verité seure,  
 Ou eust dit et peu bien prouver  
 Que sa chair eust tourné a poureture,  
 No foy seroit legier a condempner.*

Brisbarre: *Serventois de Nostre Dame* (stanza 1)

*S'Amours n'estoit plus poissans que Nature,  
 No foy seroit legiere a condempner,  
 Qui nous aprent que Diex de Vierge pure  
 Nasqui ch'a vis pour le people sauver;  
 Mais qui selonc Nature argueroit  
 Comment che n'est que Vierge mere soit,  
 Ja ne seroit par Nature sceü;  
 Mais Sains Espris le fist de sa vertu,  
 Qui est Amours, ainsi mes cueurs le croit.*

Example 3. 'Balade' 2: material shared with a religious serventois (1330s)

La iii<sup>e</sup> balade.

*Si doucement me demanie nature  
 Que je ne say si je suis mors ou viz.  
 Si doucement me demanie nature  
 Quant me souvient de la sainte scripture  
 Qui nous aprent que, maulgré les juifz,  
 Ressuscita; car d'eulx il n'avoit cure  
 Et se leva par divine faicture  
 Du monument, en seignant ses amis  
 Dont ung tirant. Si cria a haultz cris:  
 "Ha! Male gent vecy grande laidure  
 Emblé nous est le prophete haÿs;  
 S'en ay au cuer telle desconfiture  
 Que je ne say se je suis mors ou viz."*

## Machaut, Lo162 [stanza 1]

Se Dieus me doint de ma dame joÿr,  
 Que je ne sui onques ne temps ne heure  
 Que je n'aie penser ou souvenir  
 De sa biauté, comment que je demeure  
 Long de sa fine douçour;  
 Dont il avient souvent que pour s'amour  
 Je sui a li si durement pensis  
*Que je ne say se je sui mors ou vis.*

## Trebor [stanza 1, vv. 1-4]

Helas, Pitié envers moy dort si fort  
 Que je ne sçay se je sui mort ou vis.  
 Dangier, Refus, Desdaing sont d'un acort,  
 Encontre moy poient grever toutdis.

Example 4. 'Balade' 3: material shared with a lyric by Machaut  
 (before 1350) and a song by Trebor (ca. 1390)

iii<sup>j</sup>° balade.

*Le don d'amours, qui tous les cuers attraict,  
Nous met et tient en amoureux servage.*

*Le don d'amours, qui tous les cuers attraict,*  
A Pasques, eust tout acomply et fait  
Quanque de luy avoient dit ly sage  
En ce moment qu'il avoit tout parfait  
Les trois royaulx Maries<sup>a</sup> sans retraict  
Avoient prins ensemble leur voiage  
Pour trouver Dieu, qui nous fist a s'ymage,  
En recordant ce que luy eüst sourfait  
Et la disoit chacune en son langage:  
"Ay my! La mort Jhesus de Nazareth  
*Nous met et tient en amoureux servage.*"

a: MS: trois Royaulmes avec luy (above reading from Paris4641B).

Example 5. 'Balade' 4: material shared by a ballade lyric by Granson (late fourteenth century)

La v<sup>e</sup> ballade.

*Coeur de marbre couronné d'ajemant,  
Ourlé de fer, a la pointe acheree.  
Cuer de marbre couronné d'ajemant,*  
Aloient les trois Maries disant,  
"A Pasques, droit devant l'aube crevee,  
Que le filz Dieu, par divin fait puissant,  
Ressuscita ou sepulcre plaisant."  
Et la disoit la Vierge couronnee,  
De doulent cuer la triste desconfortee,  
"Ay, my! Mon Dieu, m'amour, mon doulx  
enfant,  
En la croix viz vo chair forment navree;  
Ce fist longis du fer, long et trenchant,  
*Ourlé de fer, a la pointe acheree.*"

## Oton de Granson [stanza 1]

*Qui veult entrer en l'amoureux servage*  
Ne si mette s'il ne veult maintenir  
Ce qui s'ensuit, selon le droit usage,  
De vray amant qui tant a aquerir  
Grace d'amours et a honneur venir.  
Premierement, c'est d'amer loyaument,  
Estre secret, pour son fait miex couvrir.  
Soit doulx, courtois, de gent contement.  
*Ainsi puet il don d'amours desservir.*

## Machaut, Lo254 [stanza 1]

Amis, je t'ay tant amé et cheri  
Qu'en toy amant me cuidoie sauver;  
Lasse! dolente, et je ne puis en ti  
N'en ton dur cuer nulle douceur trouver,  
Pour ce de moy vueil hors joie bouter  
Et renoier Amours d'ore en avant,  
Sa loy, son fait et son faus convenant,  
Quant tu portes, sous viaire de fee,  
*Cuer de marbre couronné d'ajemant,  
Ourlé de fer, a la pointe asseree.*

Jean de Le Mote, *Balade de Plaisance*  
[stanza 1]

*Coers de marbre, couronné d'ajmiant,*  
M'est point si durs, selonc m'entencion,  
Que li cuers est qui, de voloir engrant,  
Ama jadis men frere et men baron,  
S'en li n'en a grief tribulation,  
Car tant qu'en my jamais n'arai leece,  
*Plaisance euc non, or ai a non Tristrece.*

Example 6. 'Balade' 5: material shared with lyrics by Machaut and Le Mote (ca. 1350)

La vj<sup>e</sup> balade.

*Ung chastel say ou droit fief de l'empire  
Dont Venus est de son droit chastellaine.  
"Ung chastel say ou droit fief de l'empire,  
Ou mainte ame a que le dyable detire,"  
Ce respondit Marie Magdalene,  
"Dont Jhesu Crist, donné sans contredire,  
Debrisera les portes pour eslire  
Ses bons amys et gettera de paine,  
Car saulvé a mainte lignee humaine  
Qu'Adam dampna, ce peut on pour voir dire,  
Que fait avoit euvre si tres villaine,  
Qu'il nous acquist le chastel de martire,  
Dont Venus est de son droit chastellaine."*

Balade (Penn, f. 42r)

Un chastel sçay es droiz fiez de l'empire  
Dont Venus est de son droit chastelaine.  
La m'adresçay, muant mon mal en pire,  
N'a pas loing temps; droit que par une plaine  
Vi aprochier dame de Raison plaine.  
En trespasant me dit, "Amis, regarde,  
Cilz chasteaulz est la perilleuse garde."  
  
Ce que Raison m'ot dit pris à despire.  
D'amours espris, lors au chastel me maine  
Dame Oiseuse, qui jeune cuer empire,  
Pour preux me tient quant Fortune m'assainne  
Ou escript vy Lancelot en grant paine.  
Fu cy jadis Morgain en ot la garde.  
Cilz chasteaux [est la perilleuse garde].

Esbaïs fu, paoureux et plain d'ire,  
Quant j'aperceü Venus qui fort demaine  
Deduit d'enfant et son brandon atire.  
Le feu esprent tout entour le demaine.  
Dangier m'assaut; Dolour me fu prochaine.  
Jeunes, jolis amans, prenez y garde,  
Cilz chasteauls est [la perilleuse garde]!

Example 7. 'Balade' 6: material shared with a late fourteenth ballade lyric

La vij<sup>e</sup> balade.

*Marchiez du pié legierement  
L'herbe du joly pré regnant.  
"Marchiez du pié legierement,"*  
S'a dit la Vierge doucement,  
"Dames gentilz, alez nous fault,  
Oingdre de ce doulx ongnement  
Jhesu aminstrablement,  
Qui Vendredi fut a l'assault  
Ensemble le saint moment.  
Maiz ung ange leur dit en hault:  
"Doulce dame reportez ent  
*L'arbre du joly pré regnault."*

Example 8. 'Balade' 7

La viii<sup>e</sup> balade.

*Qui bien aime, il ne doit mie  
Le tiers de la nuyt dormir.  
"Qui bien ayme, il ne doit mie,  
Dame, de tous biens garnie,  
A ceste heure cy venir;  
Car Jhesus, le fruit de vie,  
Cy n'est pas, je le vous affie,"  
Sa dit l'ange, "Sans faillir,  
D'ycy en voulu partir.'  
Dont dist la dame saintie:  
"J'ay tel desir de le veïr,  
Que je ne povoie mie  
*Le tiers de la nuict dormir."**

Thirteenth-century *refrain* (VdB, 1586)

*Qui bien aime il ne doit mie! Cuers qui  
dort il n'aime pas! Viderunt* (Mo 99)

Motet, Triplum:

*Qui bien aime, il ne doit mie  
Demie la nuit dormir;  
Ainz doit penser a s'amie,  
S'il veut bien amors servir.  
Cil ne doit joïr  
D'amer, que que nus en die,  
Qui les maus ne veut sentir.  
Qui bien veut, mal doit souffrir.*

Example 9. 'Balade' 8: quotation of a thirteenth-century *refrain*

La ix<sup>e</sup> balade.

*Deduct d'amours, nourry en doulx espoir,  
Out mon cuer mis en noble seignourie.*  
 “*Deduct d'amours, nourry en doulx espoir,  
Ange de Dieu, amy, or me dy voir  
Ou Jhesus est né; le me celés mie!*”  
 “*Dame royal, se le voulez sçavoir,  
En Galilee alez, sans remanoir;  
Il se tient la, je le vous signifie,  
La en sera vraie nouvelle ouÿe.  
Je m'en revois la sus en hault manoir.*”  
 Dont respondit la dame a chiere lie:  
 “*Ce doulx parler et par divin espoir,  
Out mon cuer mis en noble seignourie.*”

Watriquet de Couvin: *fastras*

*Desir d'amours, nourri en dous espoir,  
Tient mon cuers pris en noble seignorie.*  
*Desir d'amours, nourri en dous espoir,  
Se combati tant a .i. coc ersoir  
Qu'il avertit Barat et Tricherie  
Et dist que Diex ne si saint n'ont pooir  
[...]  
Ourgueil, Hainne, Mesdit ne Felonie,  
Et qu'Avarisse, Luxure et Simonnie  
A court de Rome ne se seut mais veoir.  
Chascuns en est hors planice et hantie  
Pour ce qu'Envie c'on y a fait ardoir,  
Tient mon cuer prise en noble seignourie.*

Example 10. ‘Balade’ 9: material shared with a *fastras* from ca. 1330

La x<sup>e</sup> balade.

*En une ilsle de mer avironnee  
Say une tour qui est de grant noblesse.  
En ung isle de mer avironnee  
Fut la royale Vierge reconfortee  
De son doulx filz qui luy rendist liesse,  
Qui s'aparut premier celle journee  
A Marie Magdalene appelee,  
Et luy monstra de son corps la haultess,  
Dont elle dist: “J'ay veü la noblesse  
De la chair Dieu, qui est ressuscitee,  
Si qu'a mon cuer n'avra jamais tristesse;  
C'est bien raison que dedens Galilee  
Say une tour qui est de grant noblesse.*

Example 11. ‘Balade’ 10

La xj<sup>e</sup> balade.

*Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat,  
 Sentir me fait d'amer la douce vie.  
 Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat,  
 A mis en moy ung vouloir qui s'esbat  
 En loant Dieu, qui la Vierge Marie  
 Reconforta, son cuer doulent et mat;  
 Et se apparut en son divine estat  
 Vi. foiz au jour de la Pasque jolie.  
 Si doucement conforta sa maisgnie,  
 Que de tous cuer, sans trichier nul barat,  
 Doit moult estre la journee exaulcee;  
 Car la griefte qu'il eust pour no rachat  
 My fait sentir d'amer la douce vie.*

## Anonymous: rondeau

*Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat,  
 Sentir me fait d'amer la douce vie;  
 Mais Faulx Dangier le refuse et debat  
 Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat.  
 Cheoir ne puet se Franc Cuer ne le bat,  
 Qui de doulgour tiengne la seignourie.  
 Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat,  
 Sentir me fait d'amer la douce vie.*

Example 12. 'Balade' 11: quotation of a sung ballade from ca. 1365

La xij<sup>e</sup> balade.

*Clere façon de biaulté souveraine,  
 Tu qui junas la saint xl<sup>e</sup>  
 Et qui mourus au jour du Vendredi,  
 Et qui au jour de la Pasque haultaine  
 Ressuscita, c'est bien chose certaine,  
 Si come c'est voir, biau sire Dieu, je vous pry,  
 Deffendez-nous de las de l'ennemy,  
 Que nous n'aions entencion villaine  
 Et qu'au saint jour du jugement aussi  
 Que vous venrez juger lignee humaine  
 Aiez pitié de vostre chier amy.*

Explicit.

Example 13. 'Balade' 12: the conclusion

## ABSTRACT

Recent research, including my own, has demonstrated how tracing the intertextualities that link many late medieval French lyrics and songs can cast powerful light on the transmission and reception of those works. It can also contribute fascinating evidence about their longevity and offer clues as to the cultural meaning they carried for their medieval readers and listeners. In this essay, I explore a curious case where French-texted songs from the distant past are evoked in a new and surprising context: a cycle of vernacular lyrics for Easter composed in the later fifteenth century. By using secular songs to frame these religious lyrics, the author sought to bring home the significance of the Passion to his lay readers in terms that would be appealing and meaningful to them.

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Davide Checchi

THE GRASS-SNAKE IN VERONA: ON MADRIGALS SET TO MUSIC  
BY JACOPO DA BOLOGNA AND GIOVANNI DA CASCIA\*

Over the last fifty years, the prevalence of semiotic studies has produced, in addition to undeniable achievements in the understanding of some dynamics in literature and discourse, a considerable number of different terminological systems. Julia Kristeva first coined the term *intertextuality* in her 1967<sup>1</sup> essay as a means of analysing and discussing the intersections between literary texts and between enunciations, and she applied this concept to two different fields of study (literary criticism and linguistics). Therefore in subsequent scholarship this term has been characterised by a “dangerous polysemy”,<sup>2</sup> with the inevitable implication that scholars often use the same word, *intertextuality*, in reference to different concepts, or different words in reference to the same concept of “intertextuality”.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, this terminological variety may also be the result of two opposite speculative leanings. Essays by Kristeva, Riffaterre and Eco employ various different terminologies in regards to different aspects of intertextuality, with very detailed definitions that attempt to form a semiotic theory that includes as much discursive phenom-

\* The research presented here is an integral part of the Advanced Grant project “European Ars Nova. Multilingual Poetry and Polyphonic Song in the Late Middle Ages”. This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 786379). 

1. Julia Kristeva, “Bakhtine, le mot, le dialogue et le roman”, *Critique* 33 (1967): 438-65.

2. Segre, “Intertestualità”, 574 and 582; Algirdas Julien Greimas e Joseph Courtés, *Sémiotique. Dictionnaire raisonné de la théorie du langage* (Paris: Hachette, 1979), 194.

3. I especially refer to works with a methodological intent: Kristeva, “Bakhtine”; Michael Riffaterre, “La trace de l’intertexte”, *La Pensée* 215 (October 1980), Id. *La Production du texte* (Paris: Seuil 1979), especially the essay “Semiosi intertestuale: Du Bellay, ‘Songe’ VII”, 149-66; Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982); Cesare Segre, “Intertestuale – interdiscorsivo. Appunti per una fenomenologia delle fonti”, in *La parola ritrovata. Fonti e analisi*, ed. Costanzo Di Girolamo and Ivano Paccagnella (Palermo: Sellerio, 1982), 15-28, then with the title “Intertestualità e interdiscorsività nel romanzo e nella poesia”, in Id., *Testo e romanzo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1984), 103-18 and in Id., *Opera critica* (Milan: Mondadori, 2014), 573-91 (reference edition); Umberto Eco, *Lector in fabula* (Milan: Bompiani, 1979) and Id., *Sulla letteratura* (Milan: Bompiani, 2002).

ena as possible. Conversely, Genette and Segre propose a terminological simplification – characterised, especially in Segre, by an appreciation of Bakhtin's theories – with the aim of equipping scholars with useful interpretative tools that are, as far as possible, unambiguous.<sup>4</sup>

This analysis of the intertextual links between some Trecento madrigals will apply Genette and Segre's concept of intertextuality: the presence of a text in another text through use of citation or allusion. Indeed, this definition clearly circumscribes the field of research, and it is also productive for the analysis of poetic texts of different periods, as Segre, Maria Corti and Gian Biagio Conte's studies have demonstrated.<sup>5</sup>

The texts set to music in the Italian Ars Nova are particularly appropriate for intertextual analysis. These compositions often include verbal or metric prosodic connections (especially in their rhymes and in the choice of rhyme scheme) with other Trecento lyric texts without music,<sup>6</sup> or with other Ars Nova compositions. At times, these connections create small sylloges, usually called "cycles",<sup>7</sup> composed of a series of texts deeply interrelated from a thematic-lexical point of view.

4. A good summary of different terminological systems is in Andrea Bernardelli, "Il concetto di intertestualità", in *La rete intertestuale. Percorsi tra testi, discorsi e immagini* (Perugia: Morlacchi, 2010), 9-62 and Id., "The Concept of Intertextuality Thirty Years On: 1967-1997", *Versus. Quaderni di studi semiotici* 77/78 (1997): 3-22; Id. *Che cos'è l'intertestualità* (Rome: Carocci, 2013); Id., *Intertestualità* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1998); Marina Polacco, *L'intertestualità* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1998).

5. See, for example, Maria Corti, "Intertestualità", in *Per una enciclopedia della comunicazione letteraria* (Milan: Bompiani, 1997), 15-32; Ead., "Una tipologia dell'intertestualità", in Ead., *La felicità mentale. Nuove prospettive per Cavalcanti e Dante* (Turin: Einaudi, 1983), 61-71; Cesare Segre, "La favola della luna (Ariosto, 'Sat.', III, 208-31) e i suoi precedenti", in *Book Production and Letters in the Western European Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Conor Faby*, ed. Anna Laura Lepschy, John Took, Dennis E. Rhodes (London: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 1986), 279-83, now with the title "I pazzi e la luna dietro al monte (Ariosto, «Sat.», III, 208-31)" in Segre, *Opera critica*, 625-30; Gian Biagio Conte, *Memoria dei poeti e sistema letterario* (Turin: Einaudi, 1974). Even if it is precedent to the creation of the term *intertextuality* by Kristeva, it is worth mentioning a fundamental essay on Dante's poetry by Gianfranco Contini, "Un'interpretazione di Dante", in Id., *Un'idea di Dante* (Turin: Einaudi, 1981), 69-111 [previously published on *Paragone* (October 1965), and in Id., *Varianti e altra linguistica, Una raccolta di saggi (1938-1968)* (Turin: Einaudi, 1970), 369-405].

6. See Guido Capovilla, "Ascendenze culte nella lingua poetica del Trecento. Un sondaggio", *Rivista di Letteratura italiana* 1 (1983), 233-70, 433-89.

7. In addition to the "biscia cycle", the subject of this essay, see the well-known cycles "del parlaro": Piero, *A l'ombra d'un parlaro* and *Sovra un fiume regale*; Jacopo da Bologna, *O dolze apres'un bel parlaro fiume* and *Un bel parlare vive su la riva*; Giovanni da Firenze, *Appres'un fiume chiaro* and *O parlaro gentil, se dispogliato* (see Nino Pirrotta, "Marchettus de Padua and the Italian Ars Nova", *Musica Disziplin* 9 (1955): 57-71 at 69-70 and Robert Nosow, "The *perlaro* Cycle Reconsidered", *Studi musicali*, n.s. 2/2 (2011): 253-80); and "delle ninfe Euganee": Piero/Jacopo da Bologna, *Sì come al canto de la bella Iguana*; Giovanni da Firenze, *Nascoso el viso stava fra le fronde; Pianze la bella Iguana* (Anonymous). Antonio Calvia identifies a couple of madrigals set to music by Nicolò del Preposto linked by the presence of the syntagma "bruna vesta" and with a strong thematic connection to Giovanni Boccaccio's *Filistrato* (Antonio Calvia, "Un dittico visionario nella veste musicale di Nicolò del Preposto", in *Cara scientia mia, musica*, *Studi per Maria Caraci Vela*, ed. Angela Romagnoli, Daniele Sabaino, Rodobaldo Tibaldi, and Pietro Zappalà (Pisa: ETS, 2018), 1027-66, and his essay in this volume).

Sometimes the intertextual nexus is a simple mnemonic echo, intentional or not, of a well-known text used (especially by mediocre poets) as a source of metric *iuncturae* to create a new poem. In this case, the reuse of a poetic text could concern specific rhyme-words, the initial or final hemistich of the hendecasyllable or even entire verses. This kind of intertextuality, related to the signifier (rhyme and syntagmatic accents) of *iuncturae* or of chains of rhymes taken from another text, is essentially “formal” and poets do not use it to create a dialogue or a thematic connection with previous texts. Nevertheless, the study of these intertextual echoes is useful to determine the author’s cultural *milieu* (especially when he is anonymous) and to recreate his “library”.<sup>8</sup>

In other poems, like the madrigals I will analyse later, intertextual links are more substantial and are employed by poets to create semantic and thematic connections with one or more previous texts. In these cases, recognising the intertextual links is often essential to understanding the whole meaning of the text, which is only ascertainable by turning our attention to the quoted text and to the meaning of the intertextual quote in its original context.<sup>9</sup>

For example, the so-called “biscia cycle” is composed of the madrigals *Nel bel zardino*, *Posando sopra un’aqua*, and *Soto l’imperio*, that were set to music by da Jacopo da Bologna, and the madrigal *Donna già fui*, that was set to music by Giovanni da Cascia:<sup>10</sup>

Jacopo, *Nel bel zardino*

Nel bel zardino che l’Atice cenge	
vive la bisa fera venenosa,	
che zià fo dona bela e amorosa,	3
donando a mi fedel ottima luce.	
Spezò la fede e tene via deversa,	
sì che de dona in serpe fo reversa.	6

8. For more information on this argument, see Harold Bloom, *The Anatomy of Influence* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2012), for some examples of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian poetry see Domenico De Robertis, “Petrarca interprete di Dante (ossia leggere Dante con Petrarca)”, *Studi danteschi* 61 (1989): 307-28; Capovilla, “Ascendenze culte”; Andrea Afribo, “Sequenze e sistemi di rime dal secondo duecento ai *Fragmenta*”, in Id., *Petrarca e petrarchismo. Capitoli di lingua, stile e metrica* (Rome: Carocci, 2009), 119-57.

9. In addition to the studies by Nosow and Calvia (see note 7), some useful methodological advice for the *Ars Nova* texts set to music can be found in Maria Caraci Vela, “Per una nuova lettura del madrigale *Aquila altera / Creatura gentile / Uccel di Dio* di Jacopo da Bologna”, *Philomusica online* 13 (2014): 2-58 and Maria Sofia Lannutti, “Polifonie verbali in un madrigale araldico trilingue attribuito e attribuibile a Petrarca: *La fiera testa che d’uman si ciba*”, in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano. Verso una nuova edizione critica dell’«Ars nova»*, ed. Antonio Calvia and Maria Sofia Lannutti (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), 45-92.

10. The texts are according to Giuseppe Corsi, ed., *Poesie musicali del Trecento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970).

Cum più la fuzi, più me dà di morso,  
né remedio ge trovo né secorso. 8

Jacopo, *Posando sopra un'aqua*

Posando sopra un'aqua, en sonio vidi  
tramutars'una dona in fera bissa,  
che tut'al volto me se zitò fissa. 3

Ligomi per li piedi cum la coda  
e questa serpe me mordea sì forte,  
ch'io me svegliai poco lonci da morte. 6

Atorno 'l collo me lassò una stropa,  
che per incanti mai no se desgrova. 8

Jacopo, *Soto l'imperio*

Soto l'imperio del posente prince,  
che nel so nom' ha le dorate ale,  
regna la bisa el cui morso me vince 3  
sì, che da lei fugir nula me vale.

La me persegue e 'l cor mio segnoreza;  
poi como dona instesa se vageza. 6

Come ch'io la remiro pur s'acorze,  
i ochi doneschi e chiude e via sen fuze;  
ma como serpe toscosa porze 9  
de foco fiamma che m'aceca e struze.

L'animo ha crudo e sì aspra la scorza,  
ch'amor en lei per mi più non ha forza. 12

Custei me fe' zà lume più che 'l sole;  
cum più zò me ricordo più me dole. 14

Giovanni, *Donna già fui*

Donna già fui leggiadra innamorata,  
facendo al servo mio dolce sembante;  
or sono in biscia orribil tramutata 3

sol per uccider questo falso amante:  
non so come 'l suo cor mai lo sofferse,  
ch'a dirmi villania si discoperse. 6

Com'io di tormentarlo sia ben sazia,  
tornerò donna e renderògli grazia. 8

The four madrigals, when considered individually, have independent meanings based on different variants of two widespread *topoi* in Trecento poetry: the theme of the loved woman compared to a wild animal (especially

because of her pride),<sup>11</sup> and the theme of the woman with no mercy for her lover (typical of courtly love poetry since the troubadours).<sup>12</sup> However, when the four texts are considered together, they show some common *iuncturae* and words that cannot only be explained by their thematic affinity, and therefore they suggest the presence of an intertextual dialogue between the poets:

Table 1: Intertextual references in *Nel bel zardino*, *Donna già fui* and *Posando sopra un'aqua*

<i>Nel bel zardino</i> (Jacopo) v. 2-3 vive la <b>bisa fera</b> venenosa, / che zià fo DONA bela e amorosa v. 6 de DONA in serpe fo reversa	<i>Donna già fui</i> (Giovanni) vv. 1, 3 DONNA già fui leggiadra innamorata / [...] or sono in <b>biscia</b> orribil <i>tramutata</i>	<i>Posando sopra un'aqua</i> (Jacopo) v. 2 <i>tramutars'</i> una DONA in <b>fera bissa</b>
<i>Nel bel zardino</i> (Jacopo) v. 7 più me dà di morso v. 6 serpe	<i>Soto l'imperio</i> (Jacopo) v. 3 el cui morso me vince v. 9 serpe	<i>Posando sopra un'aqua</i> (Jacopo) v. 5 me mordea sì forte v. 5 serpe
<i>Nel bel zardino</i> (Jacopo) v. 4 donando a mi fedel ottima luce v. 2 vive la <b>bisa</b> v. 7 cum più la fuzi, più me dà di morso	<i>Soto l'imperio</i> (Jacopo) v. 13 Custeì me fe' zà lume più che 'l sole v. 3 regna la <b>bisa</b> vv. 3-4 el cui morso me vince / sì, che da lei fugir nulla me vale	

Furthermore, the recurrence of the word “biscia” (Visconti’s heraldic symbol *par excellence*)<sup>13</sup> in all of the texts and the precise historical and geographical references in the first verses of Jacopo’s *Nel bel zardino che l’Atice cenge* (v. 1) and *Soto l'imperio* (vv. 1-2 “Soto l'imperio del posente prince, / che nel so nom’ ha le dorate ale”) suggest that this cycle could allude to a specific event or person.

11. For some examples see Niccolò Soldanieri, *Un bel girfalco scese a le mie grida*; Cino Rinuccini, *Un falcon pellegrin dal ciel discese*; Cino da Pistoia, *Saper vorrei s’Amor, che venne acceso e Ciò che procede di cosa mortale*; Matteo Frescobaldi, *Una fera gentil più ch’altra fera*. An overview of texts united by the topos of the woman-falcon can be found in Francesco Filippo Minetti, “Autobiografico, o autobiograficamente rivisitato, il madrigale *Mostrò-mmi Amor* intonato da Francesco Landini?”, in “*Col dolce suon che da te piove*” *Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo. In memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa Barezani (Florence: SISMELE - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), 429-52.

12. As a paradigmatic example for this topic see Dante’s *Così nel mio parlar vogli’essere aspro*.

13. The presence of heraldic symbols is very common in vernacular and Middle Latin encomiastic and political poems of the Trecento. For Visconti’s “biscia” or “vipera” some examples can be found in *Valorosa vipera gentile. Poesia e letteratura in volgare attorno ai Visconti fra Trecento e primo Quattrocento*, ed. Simone Albonico, Marco Limongelli and Barbara Pagliari (Rome: Viella, 2014) and in Maria Antonietta Marogna, “La vipera viscontea in versi latini trecenteschi”, in *L’antiche e le moderne*

Many scholarly interpretations of these texts are formed based on the presence of the Visconti's emblem and on the only available historical and geographic reference: a passage of Filippo Villani's *Liber de origine civitatis Florentinae*, which mentions that Jacopo and Giovanni were together at Mastino II della Scala's court in Verona.<sup>14</sup> Since Mastino died in 1351 and Jacopo composed a motet and two madrigals (one of them dated 1348)<sup>15</sup> in honour of Luchino Visconti (who also died in 1351), the common hypothesis is that the two musicians were together in Verona between 1349 and 1351.

Genevieve Thibault has attempted an interpretation of Jacopo's *Soto l'imperio*.<sup>16</sup> She concludes that vv. 1-2 "posente prinze / che nel so nom' ha le dorate ale" contain an allusion to Galeazzo II Visconti (lord of Milan in 1354), because his name includes the word *ale*, and she therefore posits that Jacopo came back to Milan after the death of Mastino II della Scala. However, Giuseppe Corsi, in his anthology *Rimatori del Trecento* (1969),<sup>17</sup> suggests that the four madrigals are only linked via the theme of a woman that turns into a grass snake, and he does not offer any interpretation for the whole textual cycle. He only puts forward two suggestions: the first concerns the possibility that Giovanni's *Donna già fui* is a "woman's reply"<sup>18</sup> to Jacopo's *Nel bel zardino*; the second is an identification of the "posente prinze / che nel so nom' ha le dorate ale" (*Soto l'imperio* vv. 1-2) with Mastino II della Scala who, as an Imperial vicar, was allowed to include the imperial eagle in his emblem.

In two essays published in 1976 and 1988,<sup>19</sup> Enrico Paganuzzi outlines an

*carte. Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Billanovich*, ed. Antonio Manfredi and Carla Maria Monti (Rome-Padua: Antenore, 2007), 397-417.

14. «Iohannes de Cascia, cum Mastini Della Scala tiranni veronensis atria questus gratia frequentaret et cum magistro Iacobo bononiensi artis musice peritissimo de artis excellentia contenderet, tiranno eos muneribus irritante, mandralia plura sonosque multos et ballata intonuit mire dulcedinis et artificiosissime melodie, in quibus quam magne, quam suavis doctrine fuerit in arte manifestavit». (Filippo Villani, *De origine civitatis Florentie et de famosis civibus*, ed. Giuliano Tantruli (Padua: Antenore, 1997), 408).

15. The motet is *Lux purpurata radiis/Diligite justitiam* and the madrigals are *Lo lume vostro* and *O in Italia*. A second motet in honor of Luchino and attributable to Jacopo is actually incomplete (we have only the *triplum Laudibus dignis*). For an analysis of these texts and a summary of the *status quaestionis* see Elena Abramov-Van Rijk, "Luchino Visconti, Jacopo da Bologna and Petrarch: Courting a Patron", *Studi Musicali*, n. s. 3 (2012): 7-63.

16. Genevieve Thibault, "Emblèmes et devises des Visconti dans les oeuvres musicales du Trecento", in *L'Arts Nova Italiana del Trecento III*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Certaldo: Centro di Studi sull'Arts nova Italiana del Trecento, 1970), 131-60.

17. Giuseppe Corsi, ed., *Rimatori del Trecento* (Turin: UTET, 1969).

18. Corsi, *Rimatori*, 1012.

19. Enrico Paganuzzi, "Il Trecento", in *La musica a Verona*, ed. Enrico Paganuzzi and Pierpaolo Brugnoli (Verona: Banca mutua popolare di Verona, 1976), 33-70 and Id., "La musica alla corte scaligera", in *Gli scaligeri 1277-1387. Saggi e schede pubblicati in occasione della mostra storico-documentaria allestita dal Museo di Castelvecchio di Verona (giugno-novembre 1988)*, ed. Gian Maria Varanini (Verona: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1988), 527-32.

interpretation that satisfies the meanings of all four madrigals, and he hypothesises that the metamorphosis of the woman into a grass snake alludes to a woman who married a Visconti, and thus acquired his emblem. Since the expression “zardino che l’Atice cenge” points to a setting around the city of Verona, Paganuzzi connects the four madrigals to the marriage between Beatrice Della Scala (also known as Regina), Mastino II’s daughter, and Bernabò Visconti, which took place in 1350. He supports his hypothesis with these arguments:

1) the text refers to the woman’s brightness (*Nel bel zardino* v. 4 and *Soto l’imperio* v. 13), which aligns with Dante’s description of Beatrice;

2) v. 3 of *Soto l’imperio* “regna la bisa el cui morso me vince” includes an allusion to the name Regina, from the verb *regna*;

3) the text mentions a spell that is cast on a rope so that it cannot be untied (*Posando sopra un’aqua* vv. 7-8), which is an allusion to Beatrice’s reputation as a witch;

4) the “posente prince” refers to Mastino II, according to Corsi’s interpretation.

Paganuzzi asserts that the incomplete nature of the madrigals may explain the lack of a happy ending (necessary, due to the happy context of the narrative) and the discrepancy in the number of musical settings (three texts set to music by Jacopo, and only one by Giovanni). Carleton and Nosow accept this interpretation, and they add some new arguments to support it. Carleton says that the image of a pitiless grass snake that wins over its lover constitutes a form of Visconti propaganda, aimed at instilling fear in the neighboring *signorie*.<sup>20</sup> This intimidation was possible due to the diffusion of these madrigals in Verona (according to Paganuzzi), outside the Visconti’s domain.

However, contrastingly, Nosow proposes that *Posando sopra un’aqua* be excluded from the cycle.<sup>21</sup> He only finds intertextual links between *Donna già fui* and *Nel bel zardino*, whereas he interprets *Posando sopra un’aqua* as belonging to a “different category of lyric”, due to the fact that in this last madrigal the metamorphosis takes place in a dream. According to Nosow (who incidentally quotes *Soto l’imperio* in a note), *Nel bel zardino* tells of Bernabò Visconti’s lament, burdened by the woman / grass snake / Beatrice Della Scala, whereas *Donna già fui* constitutes Beatrice’s answer to Bernabò, and the final sentence “renderolli graçia” signifies both the concession of mercy to her lover and the woman’s homage to her new lord.

20. Sarah Carleton, “Heraldry in the Trecento Madrigal” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2009).

21. Nosow, “The Perlaro Cycle”.

Not all of Paganuzzi's arguments are convincing. Beatrice's reputation as a witch – in addition to being unflattering – cannot be applied to an event that happened in 1350 (her marriage to Bernabò), because it derives from an accusation that Gian Galeazzo levelled against Bernabò in 1385, during the trial which determined his removal from the political scene.<sup>22</sup> The alleged allusion to the name Regina at v. 3 of *Soto l'imperio* is also somewhat tenuous, and frankly I do not find Paganuzzi's argument convincing. Nevertheless, the madrigals' implied meaning is the fundamental obstacle to Paganuzzi's interpretation. Only in the madrigal set to music by Giovanni, where the woman speaks, does her metamorphosis into the grass snake have positive connotations, whereas in the other three, set to music by Jacopo, the metamorphosis is clearly negative, and in two cases (*Nel bel zardino e Soto l'imperio*) the lover states his regret for the time when the woman was devoted to him and used to be his source of light. These meanings are not very appropriate for the celebration of a marriage.

Even Carleton's argument is problematic. If we consider that Bernabò is the woman / grass snake's lover, it is not plausible that he is scared by his wife's heraldic metamorphosis. Even a hypothetical display of power in the Della Scala family's domain is not consistent with the characterisation of Mastino II as "potente prince", and an exhibition of this kind would have been counter-productive on the occasion of a marriage that was supposed to strengthen the peace stipulated in 1343 after the war between Mastino II and Luchino Visconti. For these reasons, I think that Carleton's interpretation cannot be considered plausible.

The text and music of a lyric song (a madrigal, caccia or ballata) sometimes derive from different creative acts that are distinct in time and space. In other words, it is not necessarily the case that the text and the music were composed at the same time or in the same context. The text and music of the polytextual madrigal *Aquila altera / Creatura gentile / Uccel di Dio*, for example, were clearly the result of separate compositional endeavours,<sup>23</sup> and the text of the trilingual madrigal *La fiera testa* is attributable to Petrarca and set to music twice, once by Nicolò del Preposto and once by Bartolino da Padova.<sup>24</sup> Therefore,

22. «Item quia, quum tradidisset illustrem filiam suam Dominam Catharinam Domino Comiti in uxorem, ipsi Dominae Catharinae fecit fieri incantationes et sortilegia, quibus stantibus ipsa non poterat concipere. Et mortua Domina Regina, propalatis dictis sortilegiis, et distinctis, et interfectis, dicta Domina Catharina infra tres menses concepit» (*Annales Mediolanenses*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 16 [Milan: Societas Palatina, 1730], col. 798).

23. Caraci Vela, "Per una nuova lettura".

24. Lannutti, "Polifonie verbali" and Maria Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche de 'La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba': problemi di contestualizzazione e di esegesi", in *Musica e poesia*, 93-141.

we cannot assume that the texts of all four madrigals were composed when both Jacopo and Giovanni were in Verona, and in any case, it is possible that the two composers met elsewhere before, at the Visconti's or even at Scaliger's court, or at one of the other courts in northern Italy.

For these reasons, my own interpretation will avoid supposition of this nature and instead focus primarily on the meaning of the four madrigals, on the basis of just two certain details: 1) that the texts include an allusion to the Visconti's emblem, the grass snake, once in a positive light (Giovanni, *Donna già fui*), and three times in a negative light (Jacopo); and 2) that the metamorphosis takes place in a Veronese setting. In fact, this last detail only occurs in two of Jacopo's madrigals (*Nel bel zardino* and *Soto l'imperio*), and is particularly notable when read taking into account other texts and iconographic documents. The verb *cingere* (to surround or encircle) can be employed in geographical contexts to refer to the enclosure of an area or to a position beside an enclosed area, as we can see in these verses taken from Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo* (especially numbers 2 and 3):<sup>25</sup>

- 1) [L'Italia] dal settentrion la chiude e **cinge** / la Germania e con quella s'intende (I.xi.94-6)
- 2) [la Toscana] dal mezzogiorno la **cinge** e afferra / lo mar Mediterano; poi Apenino / di vèr settentrion chiude la terra (III.vi.19-21)
- 3) [L'isola di Creta] libico mar dal mezzodì la **cinge** (IV.vii.65)
- 4) La Spagna Portogallo serra e **cinge** (IV.xxvii.88)

Therefore, the expression "che l'Atice cenge" could refer to an area to the east or the west of the river.<sup>26</sup> However, the expression "bel zardino" occurs in two other madrigals set to music by Giovanni and related to Scaliger's court:<sup>27</sup>

1) In *Nascoso el viso*, which belongs to the so-called Anguane's cycle (a mythological creature of the popular tradition of north-eastern Italy): vv. 1-2: "Nascoso el viso stava fra le fronde / *d'un bel zardino*";

2) In *La bella stella*, Lancillotto Anguissola's enigmatic madrigal there is an allusion to a "*bel giardino* adorno / di bianchi gigli di sotto e d'intorno".

25. Fazio degli Uberti, *Il Dittamondo e le Rime*, ed. Giuseppe Corsi, 2 vols. (Bari: Laterza, 1959).

26. For some insight into the mapping of river courses in Northern Italy in the fourteenth century, see the map preserved in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1960, f. 267v.

27. The texts are according to Corsi, *Poesie musicali*.

In any case, the passage in *Soto l'imperio* vv. 1-2, “Soto l'imperio del posente prince / che nel suo nom' ha le dorate ale”, removes any doubt because this periphrasis refers, according to Corsi, to an exponent of the Della Scala's family. This text is comparable to the statues of the Arche Scaligere, that show Cangrande and Mastino II with winged helmets, and to this celebrative *ballata minore*, taken from Gidino da Sommacampagna's metric treatise, which would appear to support Corsi's hypothesis:<sup>28</sup>

Arder d'amor mi face  
quel Can che fuga la Lupa fallace.

Questo bianco Mastino  
con l'ale d'oro sempre vola in alto;  
l'excelso paladino  
ch'el guida sempre tende al summo smalto.  
Però sansa diffalto  
sempre luy servirò de cuor verace.

It is also possible that the expression “bel zardino che l'Atice cenge” (*Nel bel zardino*, v. 1) refers not to the Della Scala's domains, but to the city of Verona, which in this period was characterised by the presence of several urban green areas, especially after the construction of the city walls by Cangrande in 1325, that enclosed large fields reserved for arboriculture.<sup>29</sup>

The simultaneous depiction in these texts of a grass snake, representative of a Visconti, described as imperious and merciless even if in a Scaligerian *milieu*, and the portrayal of one Della Scala family member in flattering terms (described “posente prince”) would seem to be a contradiction. However, in the colourful history of fourteenth-century northern *signorie*, characterised by continuous and unexpected changes of alliance, it is possible to identify an event that may help to reveal the meaning behind these four madrigals.

In the first 30 years of the fourteenth century, Mastino II della Scala was able to take advantage of an alliance with Milan, Florence and other *signorie* of northern Italy against John of Bohemia.<sup>30</sup> In 1335, he was the most pow-

28. Gidino da Sommacampagna, *Trattato e Arte deli Ritrimi Volgari*, ed. G. P. Caprettini (Vago di Lavagno: La Grafica Editrice, 1993).

29. On this topic see A. Conforti Calcagni, “Giardini scaligeri ed altro verde urbano nel Trecento”, in *Gli scaligeri 1277-1387*, 261-6.

30. In 1330, John of Bohemia, son of Emperor Henry VII, went to Italy driven by imperial designs, and took advantage of the confusion caused by continuous wars between the rising *signorie* of Northern Italy. Brescia, threatened on the west by the Visconti and on the east by the Della Scala family, was the first city that declared its loyalty to John, followed by Bergamo, Lucca, Parma, Reggio and Modena. In 1331, John went back to Bohemia, where he was defeated in a war against an

erful lord of Italy and one of the most powerful lords in Europe, according to Giovanni Villani:

Che il Mastino avea minacciato che innanzi il mezzo maggio prossimo [1336] verrebbe a vedere le porte di Firenze con III<sup>m</sup> armadure a cavallo, per abattere l'orgoglio de' Fiorentini; ed erali possibile, ch'elli era signore di Verona, di Padova, di Vicenza, di Trevigi, di Brescia, di Feltrò, di Civita Belluna, di Parma, di Modona, e di Lucca; e aveano di rendita l'anno di gabelle de le dette X cittadi e di loro castella più di VII<sup>c</sup> migliaia di fiorini d'oro, che non ha re de' Cristiani che lli abbia se none il re di Francia, senza l'altro loro séguito e amistà de' Ghibellini, che mai non fuoro tiranni in Italia di tanta potenza (l. XII, cap. XLV).<sup>31</sup>

However, on June 21, 1336, Florence and Venice formed an alliance in order to challenge the power of the Della Scala family, and they waged war against Mastino II. Initially, the Visconti did not take part because they were dealing with the stabilisation of the territories gained in the war against John, as well as some family infighting. In 1334-5, Lodrisio Visconti organised a conspiracy against the triumvirate in charge, formed by Azzone, Luchino and Giovanni Visconti. The conspiracy failed, and Lodrisio was forced to seek refuge in Verona in 1336, where he tried to reorganise a new attack against the triumvirate with the aid of Mastino II, who probably provided him with financial aid. The chronicler Peter Azario, who is usually rather impartial, wrote:<sup>32</sup>

Preterea post multos annos dominus Ludrixius Vicecomes, filius quondam domini Petri germani prefati domini Mathei, in Sepri et apud Gallerate castrum Crene erexit valde pulcrum, multum homines Seprii gravando. [...] Et tandem se gessit pro molesto quod Veronam fugit.<sup>33</sup>

As a result of Lodrisio's presence in Verona and the threat of war against Milan with Mastino II, the Visconti broke their alliance with Mastino, stip-

alliance led by Louis IV the Bavarian. While John was dealing with this problematic situation, in Italy, Florence, Mastino II della Scala, the Visconti, Mantua, Ferrara and Robert of Anjou made an alliance to conquer the cities that were under John's protection and to divide Northern Italy into different zones of influence, on the basis of a mutually agreed pact. However, Mastino II broke the deal and went on to conquer some areas of Northern Italy, even threatening Florence through control of the Apennines between Parma and Lucca.

31. Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta, (Parma: Guanda, 1995), III, 100.

32. On the chroniclers of the Visconti and their relationships with power see Sharon Dale, "Fourteenth-Century Lombard Chronicles", in *Chronicling History. Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sharon Dale, Allison Williams Lewin, Duane J. Osheim (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 171-95.

33. Petri Azarii *Liber gestorum in Lombardia*, ed. Francesco Cognasso (Bologna: 1926-39), 33 Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 16 P. 4, 33.

ulated in 1332, and joined the anti-Scaligerian league alongside Florence and Venice. In 1337, the league arrived at the gates of Verona with 4000 knights led by Luchino Visconti. Therefore, Mastino II, cornered, was forced to attack the enemy in an open field with only 3000 knights. Despite significantly outnumbering Mastino's army, Luchino refused to fight and left for Milan, which may either have been the result of a secret agreement with Mastino II, or due to the desertion of some of his knights. Whatever the reason, the war continued without the participation of the Visconti until its conclusion in 1339; after which, the Scaliger realm was reduced to the territories of Verona and Vicenza only.

Immediately after the end of the war, Lodrisio Visconti, still exiled in the Scaligerian lands and financially supported by Mastino II, recruited some mercenary troops near Verona and Vicenza and waged war against Milan. This allowed Mastino II to be rid of the dangerous presence of the mercenaries and at the same time to weaken the Visconti. Different chroniclers report Mastino's involvement; Pietro Azario says that

Azo [...] maioritatem suorum equestium tenebat in Brixia, timendo ne prefatus dominus Mastinus civitatem Brixie recuperare studeret quam perdidit et cuius domini Mastini consilio prefatus dominus Ludrisius se gerebat;<sup>34</sup>

Galvano Fiamma says that<sup>35</sup>

Anno Domini 1337 [recte 1339] fuit bellum de Parabiago inter Dominum Lodrisium Vicecomitem, qui cum magno exercitu, auxilioque Domini Mastini de la Scala Azonem dominio privare conabatur.

and Giovanni Villani says that

Messer Loderigo Visconti, consorto di meser Azzo Visconti signore di Milano e suo ribello, andò a Vincenza con sua moneta, e col favore e moneta di meser Mastino, il quale per levarsi delle sue terre la detta gente stati suoi avversari, e per mandarli adosso a meser Azzo suo nimico, fece condocere al detto meser Loderigo la detta compagnia (l. XII, cap. XCVII);<sup>36</sup>

whereas the *Annales Mediolanenses* report that Mastino II may have attempted to double-cross the Visconti:

34. Ibid.

35. Gualvanei de la Flamma *Manipulus Florum*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 11 (Milan: Societas Palatina, 1727), col. 736.

36. Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, III, 206.

Nam Dominus Mastinus auctor hujus mali ficte scipserat Domino Azzoni, quod sibi cavere deberet, quia gens alienigena cito invaderet statum suum.<sup>37</sup>

In February 1339, Lodrisio crossed the Adda with 2000 knights, according to Villani, an amount more or less confirmed by Fiamma, who reports 2500 knights, 800 infantrymen and 200 crossbowmen. Lodrisio's attack was a serious threat to Milan, especially when the troops led by Luchino were defeated near Parabiago, and Luchino himself was captured by Lodrisio. The final battle happened near Parabiago again, on February 21. Galvano Fiamma reports that both formations used the Visconti's grass-snake and eagle emblem as a banner, and adopted two different battle cries to distinguish themselves: the Milanese shouted "miles sancti Ambrosij", while Lodrisio's troops cried "ruithband Heinrich".<sup>38</sup> While the authenticity of this anecdote is unclear, it shows that the Visconti in power in Milan, with which Fiamma sympathises, perceived this battle as a conflict between two factions of the same family, both of whom fought under the same banner. Milan won the war and Lodrisio was imprisoned until Luchino's death, after which he was taken into the service of Giovanni and Galeazzo II Visconti as a skilled captain, until his death in Milan in 1364.

I propose that the texts of the four madrigals discussed in this study in fact refer specifically to these events between 1336 and February 1339, and I consider that the woman subject who metamorphoses into a merciless grass snake acts as a metaphor of Lodrisio's betrayal, particularly because Lodrisio contributed to the family's political and military rise during Matteo I's tenure. According to this hypothesis, it is possible to explain why the verses refer to a woman who was well disposed and loyal to her lover in the past (*Donna già fui* vv. 1-2 "Donna già fui leggiadra innamorata, / facendo al servo mio dolce semblante" and *Soto l'imperio* vv. 13-4 "Custei me fe' zà lume più che 'l sole / cum più zo me ricordo più me dole"), while in *Nel bel zardino* we find a reference to Lodrisio's treachery (vv. 3-6 "che zìa fo dona bela e amorosa, / donando a mi fedel ottima luce. / Spezò la fede e tene via deversa, / sì che de dona in serpe fo reversa"). Moreover, Lodrisio conspired many times against his own family,<sup>39</sup> and this sly and duplicitous behaviour is effectively por-

37. *Annales Mediolanenses*, col. 713.

38. Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 12 P. 4, Gualvani de la Flamma *Opusculum de rebus gestis*, ed. Carlo Castiglioni, (Bologna: 1938), § 166: "Luchinus autem princeps totius exercitus ad campum se contulit inter Parabiagum et Canegrate: cui ex adverso Lodrisius se obtulit. Et quia amborum vexilla erant viperea cum aquilis, et ut milites discerneretur a milite, nostri milites clamabant: 'miles scanti Ambrosij'; alij milites clamabant: 'ruithband heinrich'".

39. Lodrisio was even involved in the conspiracy that caused the temporary exile of Galeazzo in November 1322. In addition to this, the *Annales Mediolanenses* say that «Eodem Anno [1339] et

trayed in *Soto l'imperio* vv. 5-10, by the fickle, elusive and deadly grass snake. The reference to Mastino II della Scala as "potente prince" may further suggest that the texts of these madrigals should be dated between 1336 and June 1337, before the drastic reduction of his territories due to the anti-Scaligerian league. From this perspective, it is possible to situate Giovanni's composition of madrigal's musical setting (the only madrigal where the woman's metamorphosis into a grass snake has positive connotations) in the Veronese territory and to see in it as a delineation of the woman's metamorphosis that is favourable to Lodrisio.

If we analyse the texts and the relationship between text and music in more detail, it is possible to identify elements that may help to reveal the chronological order of at least two of the madrigals. The rhyme scheme of *Donna già fui* is ABA BCC DD. This scheme is very rare in Trecento poetry and it is only employed in one other madrigal setting by Giovanni (*O perlaro gentil*), in the other three madrigals by Jacopo (*O dolze appres'un bel perlaro*, *Straccias'i panni* and *O in Italia felice liguria* with double *ritornello* DD EE) and in four of the five madrigals by Giovanni Dondi. The scheme was known as *madrigale-rispetto* because of its affinity with the rhyme scheme of the *rispetti* and *strambotti* of the Quattrocento, composed with eight hendecasyllables in alternate rhymes or four hendecasyllables ABAB followed by two couplets CC DD (the last scheme is typical of Tuscan *strambotti*, also called *rispetti*). Guido Capovilla, in his fundamental essay on the madrigal,<sup>40</sup> shows that it is inaccurate to refer to these madrigals as *rispetti ante litteram*, since they are explicitly called madrigals in their manuscript sources and they are transcribed as a pair of three verses followed by a couplet. This particular rhyme scheme is in fact connected to the experimentalism typical of Lombard-Venetian poetry, and it is also linked to the use of a *sirma* with a CDC DEE scheme in sonnets by Fazio degli Uberti, Antonio Beccari and Niccolò de' Rossi.

In any case, it is very unusual that six of the nine madrigals with ABA BCC tercets have an *enjambement* between the third and fourth verse and a syntactical subdivision of 4 + 2, as we can see in Giovanni Dondi's *Altera donna et gentil per natura* (vv. 1-4),<sup>41</sup> *Se per sofrir e star sempre* (vv. 1-6),<sup>42</sup> *Tanto sum*

mense Januarii Dominus Lodrisius Vicecomes, qui erat bannitus a Civitate Mediolani, et contra Dominum Azzonem Dominum Mediolani semper machinabatur, in animum duxit improvise et manu hostili Civitatem Mediolani invadere» (*Annales Mediolanenses*, cols. 712-3).

40. Guido Capovilla, "Materiali per la morfologia e la storia del madrigale 'antico', dal ms. Vaticano Rossi 215 al Novecento", *Metrica* 3 (1982): 159-252.

41. "Altera donna et gentil per natura, / di margarite hornata et d'or vestita, / bella amorosa più d'altra creatura, / spregiata vidi et da pochi gradita;" (Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio, *Rime*, ed. Antonio Daniele [Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 1990], 89).

42. "Se per sofrir et star sempre costante / a sostener una grave percossa, / mazor cha carcho chi

*stato, che quel ch'io non voglio* (vv. 3-4),<sup>43</sup> Giovanni da Cascia's *Donna già fui* and *O perlaro gentil* (vv. 3-4)<sup>44</sup> and Jacopo's *O dolze appres'un bel parlaro* (vv. 1-4).<sup>45</sup> In terms of the musical setting, both Giovanni's *O perlaro gentil* and Jacopo's *O dolze appres'un bel parlaro* have a melodic structure that is typical of a madrigal, with an A section that is repeated on two tercets and a B section sung on the *ritornello*, whereas *Donna già fui* has no musical repetitions, and is therefore *durchkomponiert* (or through composed), a characteristic usually employed in the finest compositions.<sup>46</sup> These structural relationships between text and music can be summarised in the following example:

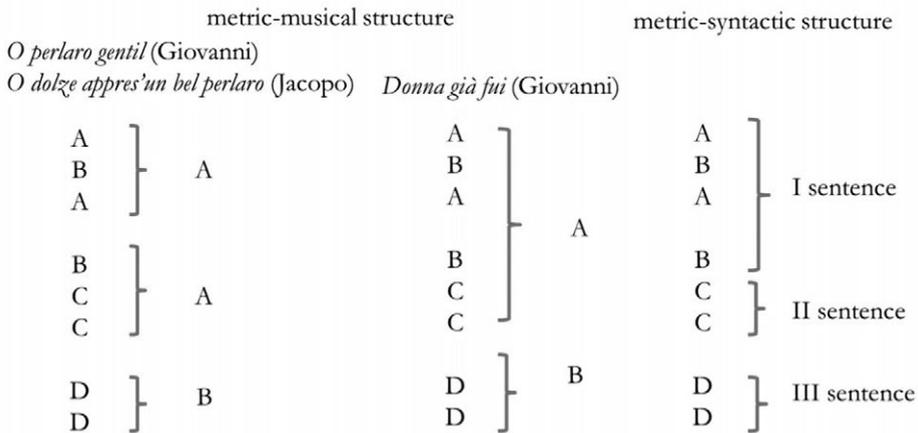


Figure 1: Madrigal settings with an ABA BCC DD rhyme scheme

With this in mind, we can better understand the rhyme scheme and the melodic structure of Jacopo's *Soto l'imperio*. Adopting the rhyme scheme ABA BCC DED EFF GG, with two syntactic *enjambements* between vv. 3 and 4 and vv. 9 and 10, this madrigal literally doubles the rhyme and syntactic schema of Giovanni's *Donna già fui*. The doubling is clear even in the musical composition: Jacopo doubles the voices over the *tenor*, composing a three-voice

porti leffante, / de' l'huom aver alcun merito possa / nel mondo pieno d'angososi pianti, / prender el de' quostui per tuti quanti" (Dondi dall'Orologio, *Rime*, 109).

43. "mi vien trovando, onde molto mi doglio, / quel che a me è più conforme: dov'i' / ..." (Dondi dall'Orologio, *Rime*, 113).

44. "nel tempo novo dolce 'nnamorato / ritorneranno li fiori e le fronde" (Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 17).

45. "O dolze apres'un bel parlaro fiume, / speso lavi le man, le gambe, i pedi / de questa rea for d'ogni bon costume, / a cui de fedel cor tuto me dedi" (Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 40).

46. For the music, see W. Thomas Marrocco, ed., *Italian Secular Music*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, Vol. 6 (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1964).

madrigal, and he does not adopt a *durchkomponiert* structure, but instead sets the first six verses to music in section A (like Giovanni), which is repeated twice. Therefore, in *Soto l'imperio* Jacopo both imitates and doubles Giovanni's melodic structure, as outlined in the following example:

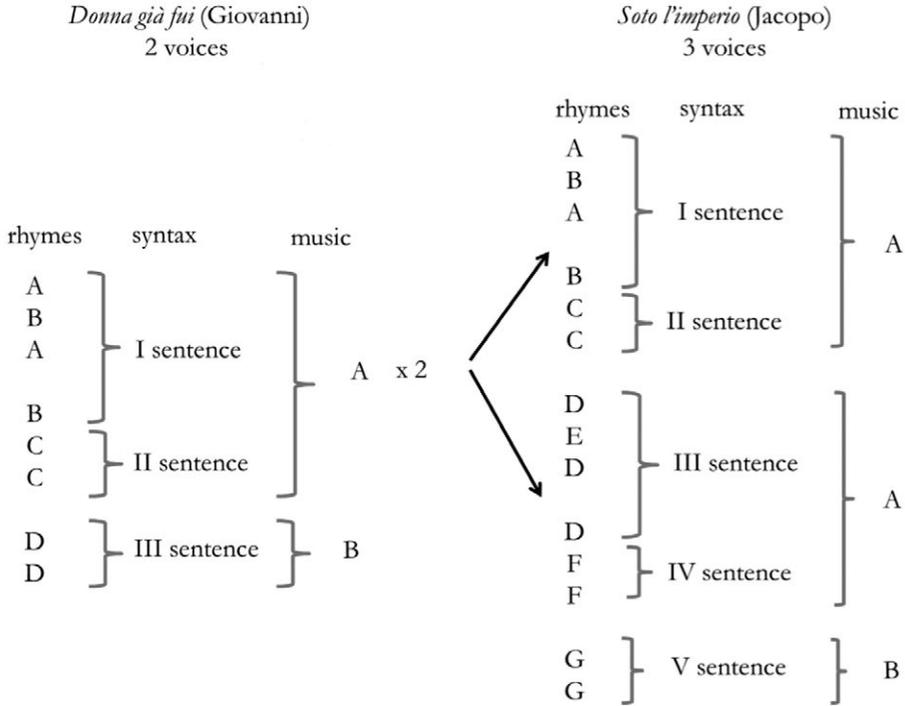


Figure 2: Structural relationships between *Donna già fui* and *Soto l'imperio*

Moreover, due to the repetition of the melodic section A, the synonyms “biscia” at v. 3 and “serpe” at v. 9, are sung to the same melody in all the three voices, which further highlights the textual doubling:

a - le, Re - gna la bi - scia  
 fu - ce, Ma' co - me ser - pe

nel suo no.m'al.te do.ra.te a - le, Re - gna la bi.scia' cui mor - so mi  
 - chi don.nes.chi chiu.d'e via s'en fu - ce, Ma' co - me ser.pe' tos.si - co - sa

il cui mor - so mi vin -  
tes - si - co - sa por -

- gna la bi - scia il cui mor - so mi vin -  
co - me ser - pe os - si - co - sa por - - ce, Si  
- ce, Di

vin  
por

Example 1: Jacopo, *Soto l'imperio*, mm. 18-25  
(Marrocco, *Italian Secular Music*, Vol. 6, 153).

In the three madrigals by Jacopo the word “serpe” is always employed as synonym of “biscia”, and it is always found in the poetic verses sung on the repetition of melodic section A (*Soto l'imperio* v. 9; *Nel bel zardino* v. 6; *Posando sopra un'aqua* v. 5). The composer may have used this synonym in order to portray the allusion to the Visconti heraldic grass snake negatively, by matching the heraldic imagery invoked by the word “biscia” with the synonymic “serpe”, which is associated with concepts of betrayal and fraud, because of the reference to the *serpens* in the book of Genesis. This employment of the words “biscia” and “serpe” with the aim of implying either positive or negative connotations to the Visconti emblem was probably common in political literature of the Trecento. From a non-exhaustive examination of Latin and vernacular texts, I have observed that when an author positively mentions the Visconti or their emblem, he only uses the words *bissal/biscia*, *vipera/vipra/bivera* or *anguis*; whereas in texts hostile to the Visconti the words *serpel/serpente/serpens* are more commonly employed.<sup>47</sup>

The analysis of the relationships between the text and music, and of the intertextual links between *Donna già fui* and *Soto l'imperio* show not only that these madrigals form part of an exchange between Giovanni and Jacopo, but also that Jacopo's *Soto l'imperio* represents an answer to Giovanni's *Donna già fui*. On the basis of the intertextual links between *Nel bel zardino* and *Donna già fui*, I propose that *Donna già fui* constitutes an answer to *Nel bel zardino*, according to Nosow's and Corsi's hypotheses. From this perspective, vv. 4-5 of *Donna già fui* “Non so come 'l suo cor mai lo sofferse, / ch'a dirmi villania si discoperse” could be related to the accusation of betrayal expressed in *Nel bel zardino* v. 5 “Spezò la fede e tene via deversa”. It is interesting to observe

47. See for example Sacchetti's *L'alto rimedio di Fiorenza magna, Credi tu sempre, maledetta serpe, Non mi posso più tener ch'io non dica* (v. 38 “di liguria la gran serpe”), *Quel re superno che ogn'altro avanza*, and the texts mentioned in A. Lanza, *Firenze contro Milano. Gli intellettuali fiorentini nelle guerre con i Visconti (1390-1440)* (Anzio: De Rubeis, 1991).

that, despite their different rhyme schemes, these madrigals have the same syntactic structure 4+2+2 and present a chiasmic syntactic and thematic disposition in the first four verses:

1. Nel bel zardino che l'Atice cenge 2. vive la bisa fera venenosa, 3. che zià fo dona bela ed amorosa, 4. donando a mi fedel optima luce.		1. Donna già fui leggiadra innamorata, 2. facendo al servo mio dolce sembante; 3. or sono in biscia orribil tramutata 4. sol per uccider questo falso amante.
---	--	--

In summary, I suggest that the madrigals were composed in this order:

- |                           |          |  |
|---------------------------|----------|--|
| 1) <i>Nel bel zardino</i> | Jacopo   | The metamorphosis of a loyal woman into a treacherous grass snake may allude to Lodrisio Visconti's betrayal and his escape in Verona in 1336.   |
| 2) <i>Donna già fui</i>   | Giovanni | The author of the text appropriates the allegory present in <i>Nel bel zardino</i> , but reframes it in a positive light. The woman / snake's cruelty is a consequence of a "villania" (a reference to <i>Nel bel zardino</i> ?) witnessed by her slave. |
| 3) <i>Soto l'imperio</i>  | Jacopo   | This madrigal reaffirms the subject of <i>Nel bel zardino</i> , with an emphasis on Lodrisio's duplicity and dangerousness.  |

Unfortunately, it is not possible to explain the allegorical meaning of Jacopo's *Posando sopra un'aqua* and its role in this intertextual dialogue. However, despite the common subject and the presence of the words "fera bisca" and "serpe", this madrigal has some characteristics that distinguish it from the other three madrigals: it does not have a syntactic structure 4 + 2; the metamorphosis occurs in a dreamlike dimension; and the lover is passively subjected to the effects of the transformation. But it is of course also possible that the narrative of *Posando sopra un'aqua* is dependent on an allusion to an event that I have not been able to identify<sup>48</sup> or, as Paganuzzi suggests, due to the loss of one or more madrigals in the cycle.

In terms of the other three madrigals, *Nel bel zardino*, *Donna già fui* and *Soto l'imperio*, we might question whether the allusions to events that happened in the second half of 1330s imply that their respective musical settings were composed in those years, perhaps at the same time as the poetry. It is unlikely that the answer is the same in all three cases. *Donna già fui* and *Soto l'imperio*

48. The insistence on the topic of physical duress (v. 4 "Ligomi i piedi" and vv. 7-8 "Atorno 'l collo me lassò una stropa, / che per incanti mai non se desgrova") may suggest a reference to the capture of Luchino Visconti by Lodrisio during the battle of Parabiago in 1339. But this hypothesis is somewhat tenuous and it is not supported by sufficient textual references.

both include relationships between the text and music; that is to say that in both madrigals, specific rhymes and syntactic structures convey a particular meaning in connection with the music they are set to. In this case, it is plausible that the composition of the text and music was the result of a single creative act. The situation is different in the case of *Nel bel zardino*, as Jacopo's musical setting does not reveal any connections to the other madrigals. Therefore, three different scenarios are possible: 1) the madrigal poetry was initially circulated without music, and Jacopo composed the musical setting at a later time; 2) the madrigal was immediately set to music by Jacopo; 3) the madrigal was immediately set to music by Jacopo or another composer but the music has not been preserved, and Jacopo's musical setting preserved in the witness was composed afterwards. In a recent essay, Maria Caraci Vela showed that the presence of frequent parallel perfect consonances may be typical of the earliest Italian Ars Nova compositions.<sup>49</sup> In fact, the early dating of *Donna già fui* and *Soto l'imperio* is compatible with Caraci's hypothesis, since these musical settings have the greatest number of parallel perfect consonances in the entire corpus of Jacopo and Giovanni's madrigals. Conversely, the musical setting of *Nel bel zardino* has less than five parallel perfect consonances and it would appear to have been composed at a later date, so we cannot exclude the possibility that this madrigal was set to music some years after Lodrisio's betrayal. After all, as Caraci says, "nel caso dei grandi madrigali (o mottetti) politici o d'occasione, la riflessione veicolata dalla musica supera la contingenza storica e va al di là del singolo personaggio o evento che può averla suscitata, e l'opera si presenta, così, rileggibile e reinterpretabile in contesti diversi".<sup>50</sup>

49. Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche", 93-124.

50. Caraci Vela, "Per una nuova lettura", 51.

## ABSTRACT

After a short introduction concerning the concept of “intertextuality”, this essay analyses the relationship between the four madrigals of the so-called “biscia cycle”: *Nel bel zardino*, *Posando sopra un’aqua*, and *Soto l’imperio*, set to music by Jacopo da Bologna; and *Donna già fui* set to music by Giovanni da Cascia. The author describes the intertextual links between these madrigals, and discusses the interpretations and datings proposed by Corsi, Paganuzzi, Carleton and Nosow. Since no one hypothesis is entirely convincing, the author proposes a new theory that suggests that the poetic texts make allegorical references to the war between Lodrisio Visconti and Milan in 1339.

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THE MUSICAL RECEPTION OF BOCCACCIO'S «FILOSTRATO»  
IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY\*

INTRODUCTION

Scholars interested in secular Trecento music are often required to confront issues concerning, simultaneously, the interpretation of verbal texts and musical settings. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate, through a multidisciplinary approach, the poetic texts that were set to music in order to uncover new evidence regarding the intentionality of intertextual allusions between musical works of fourteenth-century Italian polyphony. At the same time, an analysis of musical intertextuality will give new meaning to the links found between poetic texts.

Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, a well-disseminated poem written in eight-line stanzas during the fourth decade of the fourteenth century, has been recognised as a source of some relevance for a number of poems set to music in the following decades. By reconstructing the wider context of *Filostrato*'s musical links, this study will shed new light on its quotation in the madrigal *Vidi, com'[a] Amor piacque di mostrarmi*, set to music by Nicolò del Preposto (XXX), and its relationship to another madrigal by Nicolò, *It'a veder ciascun, per meraviglia* (XXVII). I will firstly focus on the musical references present in the text of the *Filostrato*, which, as I shall argue, contributed to its musical reception, and I will produce a survey of the overall presence of Boccaccio's poem in Trecento polyphony. In the second part of this study, I will focus on the analogies between the musical settings of the two madrigals by Nicolò del Preposto linked to the *Filostrato*.

\* The research presented here is an integral part of the Advanced Grant project "European Ars Nova. Multilingual Poetry and Polyphonic Song in the Late Middle Ages". This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 786379).  

## 1. MUSIC IN THE «FILOSTRATO»

The critical edition of Nicolò del Preposto's works<sup>1</sup> has made it possible to highlight a few groups of compositions juxtaposed in the manuscript tradition by virtue of their thematic coherence. In the "Squarcialupi Codex" (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 [Sq]), the main witness of Nicolò's compositions, several clues suggest that the ordering of the pieces was based on thematic or alphabetical groupings already in existence in the manuscript tradition or obtained by rearranging the compositions in such a way as to underline these thematic connections. In two recent essays, I have shown how, in some examples taken from the ballatas and madrigals of Nicolò del Preposto, the thematic consistency of the poetic texts is reflected in the relationships between the musical settings.<sup>2</sup>

In the essay published in 2015, I discussed a few examples of compositions – until then considered anomalous from the point of view of their musical and poetic form – from Nicolò del Preposto's oeuvre, in which I showed how the study of the entire (literary and musical) manuscript tradition and the comparative analysis of the formal characteristics of music and text can contribute to a better understanding of the works and the intertextual relationships between them. I particularly focused on a group of three two-voice ballatas with moralising subjects and with "complex" internal connections where music and text inextricably mirrored in the intentional ordering found in Sq: *Chi 'l ben sofrir non pò, Stato nessun ferm'à, Ciascun faccia per sé*.<sup>3</sup> I further uncov-

1. Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera Completa. Edizione critica commentata dei testi intonati e delle musiche*, La Tradizione Musicale, 18; Studi e testi, 10, ed. Antonio Calvia (Florence: Sismel - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017).

2. Antonio Calvia, "Presunte anomalie e intertestualità verbale e musicale nell'opera di Nicolò del Preposto", in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano. Verso una nuova edizione critica dell'«Ars nova»*, ed. Antonio Calvia and Maria Sofia Lannutti (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), 143-88; Id., "Un dittico visionario nella veste musicale di Nicolò del Preposto", in *«Cara scientia mia, musica»*. Studi per Maria Caraci Vela, ed. Angela Romagnoli, Daniele Sabaino, Rodobaldo Tibaldi and Pietro Zappalà (Pisa: ETS, 2018), 917-56.

3. These are nos. XVIII, XXI and XXIII of the new complete edition; see Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera Completa*. In the Squarcialupi Codex (Sq), these ballatas were, significantly, entered in a pseudo-contiguous order on ff. 88v-90r. *Ciascun faccia per sé* is copied in principal position because of its longer length, while *Chi 'l ben sofrir non pò* and *Stato nessun ferm'à* are both entered at bottom of folios which are filled with three small songs per page opening. The unveiling of the connections between *Stato nessun ferm'à* and the other two ballatas was possible thanks to the collation with a literary witness, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzii 178, which helped to fill a two-verse *lacuna* and in so doing allowed me to discern that it employed the same metric-formal structure as the other two texts. If we consider the entire repertoire of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century ballatas listed by Linda Pagnotta, *Repertorio metrico della ballata italiana: secoli XIII e XIV* (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1995), we can note that an identical metric scheme – zZ; AB, AB, bZ, all made of oxytonic verses – can only be found in *Non c'è rimasa fé*, set to music by Paolo da Firenze. The latter

ered a very similar instance of these connections between three ballatas entered in adjacent folios in Sq in the works of Andrea da Firenze.<sup>4</sup>

In a 2018 publication, I highlighted the relationship between the madrigals *It'a veder ciascun, per meraviglia*, and *Vidi, com'[a] Amor piacque di mostrarmi* by Nicolò del Preposto, both *unica*.<sup>5</sup> I first provided a view of the broader context in which the intertextuality between *Vidi, com'[a] Amor piacque di mostrarmi* and Boccaccio's *Filostrato* should be viewed. In the forthcoming paragraph, I will summarise some of the elements of Boccaccio's poem which affected its musical reception.

The *Filostrato* is an *ottava rima* poem in which the lyrical dimension – as is well known – far surpasses the narrative one.<sup>6</sup> Its reception in fourteenth-century Italy was not only musical; indeed Petrarch's sonnet *RVF CXII* addressed to Sennuccio del Bene was once considered to have influenced Boccaccio's work given the very close links with two octaves of the fifth part of the poem (V, 54-55), but this influence has instead been read by Santagata as having moved in the opposite direction.<sup>7</sup> In Boccaccio's *Decameron*, during the

can be considered therefore – even if there are no intertextual musical references – a sort of homage to Nicolò; cf. Calvia, “Presunte anomalie”, 165-87 and 169.

4. See Antonio Calvia, “Ahi vermeglietta rosa: ulteriori aggiunte per i frammenti di Siena”, in *Fonti musicali senesi. Storie, prassi e prospettive di ricerca. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Siena, Complesso Museale di Santa Maria della Scala, 17 ottobre 2016)*, ed. Giulia Giovani (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 2018), 67-88, 78-85; I argued, there, that a fourth ballata, the anonymous *Abi vermeglietta rosa* (2<sup>2</sup>), has intertextual links, both in terms of the music and the text, to the series of three ballatas set to music by Andrea and must be considered as his work or the work of a composer close to him (a pupil or an imitator); see *ibid.*, 85; the first complete edition of the ballata *Abi vermeglietta rosa*, formerly known as *Yvi neglecta rosa*, can be read in the appendix to Calvia, “Ahi vermeglietta rosa”, 86-8. When I published the essay, I was not aware that the ballata's correct incipit had already been deciphered in 2011 by Jason Stossel on the Facebook page “Ars Nova: Group for the Study of 14th and Early 15th c. Music”; see <https://www.facebook.com/groups/128983113783974/> (last accessed February 10, 2021).

5. I had tentatively argued that there may also be a possible connection between the ballata *Benché partir da-te molto mi doglia* and the subject matter of the *Filostrato*. Even if the topic of separation (i.e. the exile from the beloved) is central in Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, I no longer think that the links are enough to hypothesise some kind of connection with the ballata. See Antonio Calvia, “Un dittico visionario nella veste musicale di Nicolò del Preposto”, in “*Cara scientia mia, musica*”. *Studi per Maria Caraci Vela*, ed. Angela Romagnoli, Daniele Sabaino, Rodobaldo Tibaldi and Pietro Zappalà, *Diverse voci...*, 14 (Pisa: ETS, 2018), 1027-66, at 1040.

6. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Filostrato*, ed. Luigi Surdich (Milan: Mursia, 1990), 22.

7. Marco Santagata, *Per moderne carte. La biblioteca volgare del Petrarca* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990), 181-3; Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, ed. Marco Santagata (Milan: Mondadori, 2004), 524-5. Santagata's hypothesis has been accepted by Battaglia Ricci (Lucia Battaglia Ricci, *Boccaccio* [Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2000], 77) and considered more than plausible by Bettarini (Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere. Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini, Nuova raccolta di classici italiani annotati, 21, 2 vols. [Turin: Einaudi, 2005], Vol. 1, 522-4). See also Maria Sofia Lannutti, “Il paradiso perduto. Sull'origine e il significato dell'aura nel Canzoniere di Petrarca”, in “*Cara scientia mia, musica*”, 991-1026, at 1010-11 and 1020-6.

introduction to the Sixth Day, Dioneo and Lauretta sing “di Troilo e di Criseida”.<sup>8</sup> This musical reception of the story of Troilo (Troilus) and Criseida (Cressida)<sup>9</sup> is most likely due to a new detail about Troilo’s character apparently added by Boccaccio: his inclination to “sing”.<sup>10</sup> In fact, as Debenedetti already pointed out over a century ago, Troilo’s aptitude for “singing” was not present in the two works that scholars considered – at that time – the most plausible sources for Boccaccio’s *Filostrato*: Guido delle Colonne, *Historia destructionis Troiae* (late thirteenth century), and Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Roman de Troie* (twelfth-century *roman* in octosyllabic rhyming couplets).<sup>11</sup> In the following pages, I provide an exploration of the most noteworthy passages related to “singing” or a musical sphere in Boccaccio’s *Filostrato*:

1. Except for the *Proemio*,<sup>12</sup> the first occurrence of the verb “cantare” in the octaves of the *Filostrato* is found in part I, as a form of introspective “singing”, when Troilo “lieto si diede a cantare” (I, 37, 4):<sup>13</sup>

8. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, Sixth Day, Introduction, 3: “E questo con festa fornito, avanti che altro facessero, alquante canzonette belle e leggiadre cantate, chi andò a dormire e chi a giocare a scacchi e chi a tavole; e Dioneo insieme con Lauretta di Troilo e di Criseida cominciarono a cantare” (Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron. Edizione critica secondo l'autografo hamiltoniano*, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence: Accademia Della Crusca, 1976), 405); in a similar context, in *Decameron*, Third Day, Conclusion, 8, Dioneo and Fiammetta sing “di messer Guiglielmo e della Dama del Vergiù”; the reference is to the story of *La chastelaine de Vergi*, but it is not clear if Boccaccio knew the *cantare La Dama del Verzù* or an older remanement of *La chastelaine*; see “La Dama del Verzù”, ed. Roberta Manetti, in *Cantari novellistici dal Tre al Cinquecento*, ed. Elisabetta Benucci, Roberta Manetti and Franco Zabagli, 2 vols. (Rome: Salerno editrice, 2002), Vol. 1, 371-405, at 371 and Arnaldo Soldani, “L’ottava di Boccaccio e di alcuni cantari trecenteschi. Uno studio tipologico”, *Stilistica e metrica italiana* 15 (2015): 41-82, 43. I agree with Branca that – as well as the reference related without any doubt to *Teseida* (Seventh Day, Conclusion, 6: “Dioneo e la Fiammetta gran pezza cantarono insieme d’Arcita e di Palemone”) – the reference to Troilo and Criseida should be interpreted not only as relating to the story of the two characters – also present in other sources – but directly to the *Filostrato*.

9. From now on I will refer to the two characters, known in English as “Troilus” and “Cressida”, as Troilo and Criseida.

10. In the fourteenth century (but not exclusively), the verb “cantare” (here translated as “to sing”) was used to convey various meanings including a series of acts related to a sphere of declamation different from ordinary speech: its relationship to music and the act of singing is therefore a very ambiguous one. See the definitions 1-3 and 5 by Giulio Vaccaro, s.v. “Cantare (1)”, in *TLIO (Tesoro della Lingua Italiana Origini)*, <http://tlio.ovi.cnr.it/TLIO/>; last accessed March 15, 2020).

11. See Santorre Debenedetti, “Troilo cantore”, *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 66 (1915): 414-25, at 423-5. On *Filostrato*’s possible sources, still subject to debate, see Maria Gozzi, “Sulle fonti del ‘Filostrato’: le narrazioni di argomento Troiano”, *Studi sul Boccaccio* 5 (1969): 123-209; for the *Historia destructionis Troiae*, the reference edition is Guido de Columnis, *Historia destructionis Troiae*, ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1936); for Benoît de Sainte-Maure’s *Roman de Troie* see Léopold Constans, ed., *Le roman de Troie par Benoît de Sainte-Maure*, 6 vols. (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1904).

12. References to “cantare” in the sense of a poetical expression are made by the narrator, *Filostrato*, addressing to Giovanna, in *Proemio*, 16, 26, 29; see also III, 2, 8 and IV, 24, 2.

13. On this first occurrence, see below.

Ed oltre a questo, assai più altre cose,  
 qual da scoprire e qual da provocare  
 a sé la donna, con seco propose,  
**e quindi lieto si diede a cantare,**  
 bene sperando, e tutto si dispose  
 di voler sola Criseida amare,  
 nulla pregiando ogni altra che veduta  
 ne gli venisse, o fosse mai piaciuta.<sup>14</sup>

2. Pandaro, reporting Troiolo's behaviour to Criseida, actuates a differentiation between Troiolo's "ragionar meco" ("reasoning") and "cantar seco" ("singing"), in which the latter appears as an action addressed to itself, while the former is directed towards Pandaro.

Sorrise allora Pandaro e rispose:  
 – Io 'l ti dirò da poi che 'l vuoi sapere.  
 L'altrieri, essendo in quiete le cose  
 per la triegua allor fatta, fu 'n calere  
 a Troiol ch'io con lui per selve ombrose  
 m'andassi diportando; ivi a sedere  
 postici, a **ragionar** cominciò **meco**  
 d'amore, e poi di lui a **cantar seco**.<sup>15</sup>

Shortly thereafter, Pandaro labels Troiolo's lament towards Love as a "canzone" (II, 61, 7), hence it becomes clear that the verb "cantare" is used in the context of Troiolo's action to denote a lyrical declamation.<sup>16</sup> This does not mean, though, that Troiolo's "canzone" loses its musical potentiality nor its capacity to allude to a musical sphere.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the lyrical object called

14. *Filostrato*, I, 37. The text is quoted from Giovanni Boccaccio, *Filostrato*, ed. Vittore Branca, in Id., *Tutte le opere*, ed. Vittore Branca, Vol. 2 (Milan: Mondadori, 1964). From here on, translations of the *Filostrato* are taken from Nathaniel Edward Griffin and Arthur Beckwith Myrick, *The Filostrato of Boccaccio: A Translation with Parallel Text* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929); italics and boldface are mine. "And beyond these he took thought upon many other matters, how to discover himself to the lady, and how to attract to himself her attention, and then he began joyfully to sing, high in hope and all-disposed to love Cressida alone, naught esteeming any other lady he might see or who had ever pleased him".

15. *Filostrato*, II, 56. "Pandaros then smiled and replied: 'I will tell it thee, since thou wishest to know it. The day before yesterday, while things were quiet because of the truce then made, Troilus desired that I should go with him for amusement through the shady woods. When we were seated there, he began to **talk** with me of love and then to **sing** to himself".

16. The other terms used by Pandaro to describe Troiolo's action are "mormorare" ("to murmur") (II, 57, 1) and "dire" (II, 57, 5; II, 61, 1).

17. Note also that at the end of the work Boccaccio refers to the entire *Filostrato* with "canzon mia pietosa" (IX, 1, 2).

“canzone” by Pandaro – filtered by Troiolo’s memory (II, 57, 3: “per quel ch’io mi possa ricordare”; “as far as I can remember”) – is only a fictitious one. The space for the song is obtained within the supporting structure of the poem (the *ottava rima*) by filling a half-octave and three further octaves (II, 57, 5-8; and II, 58-60). The anomaly of its form – when considered a canzone – is not surprising, precisely because of its fictitious nature. However, a closer look at its structural points shows that it alludes to a genre typically linked to music: the ballata form. A four-verse *ripresa* – first four verses sung by Troiolo (II, 57, 5-8) introduced by “dicendo” – is followed by two identical *pedi* (II, 58, 1-4) and a four-verse *volta*, thus alluding to a *ballata grande* positioned inside the rigid structure of the *ottava rima*. The *volta*, not rhyming with the *ripresa* and having a two-rhyme *concatenatio* with the *pedi* (AB), is anomalous in terms of a regular ballata.

However, these anomalous modifications of the typical ballata structure – present, albeit rarely, in the repertoire and particularly in the so-called *poesia per musica*<sup>18</sup> – are entirely consistent within the context of structural allusion.

57

[...]

dicendo: «Signor mio, già mi si pare	X
nel viso e ne’ sospiri ciò ch’io sento	Y
dentro dal cor per leggiadra vaghezza,	Z
la qual m’ha preso con la sua bellezza.	Z

58

Tu stai colà dov’io porto dipinta	A
l’immagine che più d’altro mi piace,	B
e quivi vedi l’anima che vinta	A
dalla folgore tua pensosa giace;	B
la qual la tiene intorno stretta cinta,	A
chiamando sempre quella dolce pace,	B
che gli occhi belli e vaghi di costei	C
sol posson dare, car signore, a lei.	C

59

Dunque, per Dio, se ’l mio morir ti noia,  
fallo sentire a questa vaga cosa,

18. A few ballatas with no connection between *volta* and *ripresa* are listed in Pagnotta, *Repertorio*, 288-9. Among them, at least four have links with the Ars Nova repertoire: two by Niccolò Soldanieri, one by Franco Sacchetti, and one set to music by Paolo da Firenze.

e lei pregando, impetra quella gioia  
 che suole a' tuoi soggetti donar posa.  
 Deh, non voler, signor mio, che io moia,  
 deh, fal, per Dio, tu ve' che l'angosciosa  
 anima giorno e notte sempre grida,  
 tale ha paura ch'ella non l'uccida.

60

Dubiti tu sotto la bruna vesta  
 d'accender le tue fiamme, signor mio?  
 Nulla ti fia maggior gloria che questa;  
 entra nel petto suo con quel disio  
 che dimora nel mio e mi molesta;  
 deh, fallo, i' te ne priego, signor pio,  
 sì che per te li suoi dolci sospiri,  
 conforto portino alli miei disiri». <sup>19</sup>

3. The narrator portrays Troiolo's reaction after seeing Criseida at the window. In this case his "singing" is joyful:

Troiolo *canta* e fa mirabil festa,  
 armeggia e dona e spende lietamente,  
 e spesso si rinnova e cangia vesta,  
 ogni ora amando più ferventemente;  
 e per piacer non gli è cosa molesta  
 ancor seguir, mirar discretamente  
 Criseida, la qual, non men discreta,  
 gli si mostrava a' tempi vaga e lieta. <sup>20</sup>

19. *Filostrato*, II, 57, 5-8; 58-60: "[...] saying: 'My lord, already in my visage and in my sighs appeareth that which I feel in my heart by reason of the gentle longing which hath seized me because of her beauty. [58] Thou takest thy station in that place where I bear pictured the image which pleaseth me more than aught else. There behold the soul which lieth pensive, conquered by the radiance, which holdeth it bound about and engirded, whilst it calleth ever for that sweet peace which the fair and lovely eyes of this lady, dear lord, can alone give it. [59] Then by the gods, if my dying distresseth thee, make this fair creature sensible of it, and by supplicating her, obtain that joy which is wont to give relief to thy subjects. Ah, do not sedire, my lord, that I die. Behold how my vanquished soul doth ever cry out day and night, such fear hath it lest she slay it. [60] Dost thou hesitate to kindle thy flames beneath her dark mantle, my lord? No greater glory will be thine than this. Enter into her heart with that desire which dwelleth in mine and tormenteth me. Ah, bring it to pass, I pray thee, merciful lord, that by thy mediation her sweet sighs may bring comfort to my desires.' "

20. *Filostrato*, II, 84. "Troilus *singeth* and maketh joyful, jousteth, spendeth, and giveth freely, and often reneweth and changeth his apparel, loving more fervently every hour. And for diversion's sake he findeth it not an irksome task to pursue love, to eye discreetly, and she, no less discreet, showed herself to him from time to time lovely and light-hearted." As it has been already pointed out by scholars (see Boccaccio, *Filostrato*, ed. Surdich, 142), the first verse is very similar to *Teseida*, IV, 62, 1.

After the second nocturnal encounter with Criseida, Troilo's behaviour is described in a similar way, where the "canti" are associated with a state of happiness: «Era contento Troilo, ed in **canti** / menava la sua vita e 'n allegrezza» (III, 72, 1-2).<sup>21</sup>

4. After having spent the night with Criseida, at the moment of leaving, Troilo "started towards her saying" ("Poi cominciò in verso lei dicendo") some verses on the theme of the two lovers' separation (III, 44, 6-8; 45-47 with a short intervention from the narrator at vv. 46, 7-8), to which Criseida responds with a commitment of faithfulness (octaves 48-50). As has already been noted by Debenedetti,<sup>22</sup> the verses in Troilo's voice correspond, in the opening part (excluding the first verse), to the first stanza of the ballata *Como partir da ti me deb'io mai*.<sup>23</sup> The question remains open as to whether we are dealing with a quotation of the ballata by Boccaccio (and therefore an operation similar to that of Cino da Pistoia's canzone discussed below) or vice versa – i.e., a reworking of Boccaccio's octaves into a ballata. This difference in the "intertextual directionality"<sup>24</sup> between these two potential scenarios is not insignificant. In fact, two handwritten witnesses of the ballata, discovered quite recently,<sup>25</sup> are dated to the years 1337-1378. The dating of these newly discovered witnesses, in the instance of Boccaccio quoting the ballata, would constitute a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the *Filostrato*, confirming the most accredited hypothesis that assigns the poem a date closer to 1335 than to the end of the decade. Leaving aside the issue of the dating of the *Filostrato*, it is significant that the work was almost certainly a well-known musical bal-

21. "Troilus was light-hearted and led a life of song and gaiety" (Griffin and Myrick, *The Filostrato of Boccaccio*, 273); a more literal translation of "in canti menava la sua vita" is "he led his life in songs" or "in singing".

22. Debenedetti, "Troilo cantore".

23. The ballata, transmitted in Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1071 (Magl1071), f. 23v, is edited in Tommaso Casini, "Due antichi repertori poetici", *Il Propugnatore*, n. s. 2 (1889): 1, 197-271; 2, 356-405, and then in Id., *Studi di poesia antica* (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1913), 200-1. On Magl1071 (first half of the fifteenth century), see Lauren McGuire Jennings, "Senza vestimenta": *The Literary Tradition of Trecento Song* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 109-31, esp. 111-6. On the manuscript, see also TraLiRo ([http://www.mirabileweb.it/manuscriptrom/firenze-biblioteca-nazionale-centrale-magl-vii-107-manoscript/TRALIRO\\_42740](http://www.mirabileweb.it/manuscriptrom/firenze-biblioteca-nazionale-centrale-magl-vii-107-manoscript/TRALIRO_42740)); last accessed March 15, 2020).

24. With "intertextual directionality", I mean the directionality of the intertextual relationship between the two texts: from the *Filostrato* to the ballata, or vice versa from the ballata to the *Filostrato*.

25. See Armando Antonelli, "Tracce di ballate e madrigali a Bologna tra XIV e XV secolo (con una nota sul meccanismo di copia delle ballate estemporanee)", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento VII: "Dolci e nuove note"*. *Atti del Quinto Convegno internazionale (Certaldo, 17-18 dicembre 2005)*, ed. Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2009), 19-44, at 30-1.

lata, even if today the music has been lost: it has been entered in Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabechiano VII.1078 (Magl1078) within a section dedicated to musical compositions<sup>26</sup> and is mentioned in Simone de' Prodenzani's *Saporetto*, sonnet 35, along with other songs set to music by the most prominent composers of the fourteenth century.<sup>27</sup>

5. In the following octave – which describes a non-specific encounter between Troiolo and Pandaro (Pandarus) – a differentiation between “parlare” and “cantare” is made:

Esso talvolta Pandaro pigliava  
per mano, e 'n un giardin con lui ne gia,  
e con el pria di Criseida **parlava**,  
del suo valore e della cortesia,  
poi lietamente *con lui cominciava*,  
rimoto tutto da malinconia,  
*dolcemente a cantare* in cotal guisa,  
qual qui sanz'alcun mezzo si divisa:<sup>28</sup>

6. Waiting for the ten days of separation from Criseida to pass, Troiolo and Pandaro, outside Troy, are guests of Sarpidone (Sarpedon), who is celebrating

26. See Jennings, “*Senza vestimenta*”, 112, Table 4.1. The ff. 23r-24v of Magl1078 contain eleven ballatas set to music (Francesco Landini, Guglielmo di Francia, Antonello da Caserta, and anonymous of the Reina Codex, ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 [R]) out of a total of twenty-one works; see the list in TraLiRo. One of the other ten ballatas with no musical concordances, *Donna, sperar poss'io?*, is linked to a ballata set to music by Antonio Zacara da Teramo, *Donna, posso io sperare?*; see Antonio Calvia, “Nuove osservazioni su ‘Donna, posso io sperare?’ e sulla ballata dialogata polifonica nel Trecento italiano”, *Philomusica-online* 16 (2017): 43-85, at 59-60; and Antonio Calvia and Davide Checchi, “L’edizione dei testi intonati dell’Ars Nova: alcune questioni di metodo”, *Cultura Neolatina* 80 (2020): 245-81, at 262-3.

27. The other songs quoted in sonnet 35 are by Antonio Zacara da Teramo, Johannes Ciconia, Francesco Landini, and Johannes ser Gherardelli. See John Nádas, “A Cautious Reading of Simone Prodenzani’s *Il Saporetto*”, in *Arte Psallentes. John Nádas: Studies in Music of the Tre- and Quattrocento*, ed. Andreas Janke and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2017), 145-65, at 158 and 162-3. The ed. of the sonnet 35, *Co-lla vivola fé cançon di maio*, can be read in Simone De’ Prodenzani, *Rime*, ed. Fabio Carboni, Dal codice al libro, 25 (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 2003), 260-3; for the *Saporetto*, see also Simone de’ Prodenzani, *Sollazzo e Saporetto*, ed. Luigi M. Reale (Perugia: Fabrizio Fabbri Editore, 1998).

28. *Filostrato*, III, 73; follows a fifteen-octave song addressed mostly to Venus (III, 74-89 “Many a time he took Pandarus by the hand and went off with him into a garden and first **spake** with him of Cressida, of her worth and courtesy, then joyfully, **with him as auditor**, began, wholly free from sadness, to **sing** in joyful strains in such fashion as is here set forth *without any alteration*”. Please note that “sanz’alcun mezzo” does not mean “without any alteration” – as translated by Griffin and Myrick – but “immediately”, “at once”; see Boccaccio, *Filostrato*, ed. Surdich, 204-5. Debenedetti, “Troilo cantore”, 417, claims that the two friends are depicted as singing together, but “con lui”, here, might also mean “in his presence”. In Griffin and Myrick’s free translation this second interpretation is suggested.

their arrival (V, 40-43) with “canti e suoni” (V, 41, 6). For Troiolo, however, every amusement (“sollazzo”), every suave “canto”, is sorrowful (“noioso”):

Ogni altra donna a veder gli era grave,  
 quantunque fosse valorosa e bella;  
**ogni sollazzo, ogni canto soave,**  
**noioso gli era** non vedendo quella,  
 nelle cui mani Amor posto la chiave  
 avea della sua vita tapinella;<sup>29</sup>

7. In what is probably the most famous passage of Boccaccio’s *Filostrato* – when Troiolo “sings” a remaniement of the canzone *La dolce vista e ’l bel guardo soave* by Cino da Pistoia (V, 62-66) – the verb “cantare” appears twice, immediately before and after the canzone (V, 61, 6: “con bassa voce **si giva cantando**”; V, 67, 1-2: “Poi ch’egli **avea cantando** così detto, / al sospirare antico si tornava [...]”).<sup>30</sup>

8. In a letter addressed to Criseida, Troiolo remembers: “Li dolci canti e le brigate oneste, / gli uccelli, e cani e l’andar sollazzando, / le vaghe donne, i templi e le gran feste / che per addietro soleva ir cercando, / fuggo ora tutte, e sonmi, oh me, moleste [...]”.<sup>31</sup>

9. In VII, 83-85, Deifobo (Deiphobus), another son of Priamo (Priam), discovers Troiolo’s love without him being aware of it, he confesses it to his brothers, and they send their ladies to comfort him “con suoni e cantator”:

[...]  
 per c’alle donne loro incontanente  
 fer dir ch’ognuna fosse a visitarlo

29. *Filostrato*, V, 43, 1-6. “However worthy and fair she might be, every other lady was tiresome in his sight. All diversions, every sweet song, were vexatious to him, since he saw not her in whose hands love had placed the key to his piteous life”.

30. “[...] he went his way with a low-voiced song”; “When he had uttered these words in his song, he turned again to his former sighing”. In the latter instance, Boccaccio uses the synonymic dittology “dire (in) cantando”. For “dire in cantando” in the Italian Duecento, see Aurelio Roncaglia, “Sul ‘divorzio tra musica e poesia’ nel Duecento italiano”, in *L’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento IV*, ed. Agostino Ziino (Certaldo, Centro di studi sull’Ars Nova italiana del Trecento, 1978), 365-97, at 380-3, and Nino Pirrotta, “I poeti della scuola siciliana e la musica”, in *Poesia e musica e altri saggi* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1994), 13-21, at 18.

31. *Filostrato*, VII, 62, 1-5: “Sweet songs and honest gatherings, birds and dogs and going about taking my pleasure, lovely ladies, temples, and great feasts, in search of which I once was wont to go, one and all I now avoid”.

con suoni e cantator, e fargli festa  
sì ch'obliasse la vista molesta.<sup>32</sup>

The result was that “In poco d'or la sua camera piena / di donne fu e di suoni e di canti” (VII, 84, 1-2), without much effect on Troiolo's mood, if not that the “[...] pur sentiva alquanto di dolcezza, / e per li suoni e per la lor bellezza” (85, 7-8).<sup>33</sup>

The instances detected and collected above can be grouped in two categories: a) singing as a lyrical expression (e.g. singing a canzone), not of a musical nature *per se*, but which makes reference to the musical potentialities of poetry: 1, 4, 5, 7, 2; b) musical singing as an expression of joy or in festivity (associated with delight or happiness): 3, 6, 8, 9. The protagonist's aptitude to “sing” – particularly evident in the first type passages – can be considered, in a broad sense, pseudo-autobiographical. During the proemial speech, in fact, the author/Filostrato anticipates that Troiolo's pains are the same as his own (as a result of the absence of his beloved Giovanna/Filomena) and that singing them was helpful to him as a form of relief:

[...] della persona di lui [Troiolo] e dei suoi accidenti ottimamente presi forma alla mia intenzione, e susseguentemente in leggiere rima e nel mio fiorentino idioma, con stilo assai pietoso, li suoi e i miei dolori parimente compusosi; li quali e una e altra volta cantando, assai gli ho utili trovati secondo che fu nel principio l'avviso.<sup>34</sup>

The various references to singing throughout the poem are used to establish Troiolo's character as a poet. Surdich has perfectly portrayed his characterisation: “love highlights Troiolo's true vocation, that it is not action, but inner withdrawal resolved in poetic expression. [...] He is a lover who discovers himself as a poet”.<sup>35</sup> Ultimately, we do not know if Boccaccio chose to thematise the main character's musical inclination autobiographically, as Debenedetti

32. *Filostrato*, VII, 83, 5-8 “[...] they immediately sent messages to their ladies that each of them should go and visit him with melodies and singers, so that he could forget his irksome life”.

33. “In but a little time the chamber was filled with ladies, and music, and song”. [...] “Nor more than with sighs did he disclose this, and yet some measure of delight did he feel both because of the singing and their beauty”.

34. *Filostrato*, *Proemio*, 29. “[...] from his person and from what happened to him I obtained in excellent wise a form for my conceit and subsequently composed in light rhyme and in my Florentine idiom and in a very appealing style his sorrows as well as my own, which, as I sang from time to time, I found very useful, according to what was my expectation at the beginning”.

35. Translation mine; see Boccaccio, *Filostrato*, ed. Surdich, 15: “L'amore mette in luce la vera vocazione di Troiolo: che non è l'azione, ma il ripiegamento interiore che si risolve in espressione poetica. [...] Troiolo è un innamorato che si scopre poeta”.

claimed.<sup>36</sup> What is noteworthy is that the story of Troilo and Criseida had immediate musical reception probably also because of the musical potential of Troilo's aptitude for "singing". It is not by chance that – as Debedenetti has already observed<sup>37</sup> – the octaves of *Filostrato* transmitted in isolated form, separate to the poem, are those in Troilo's voice, as we will see below.

## 2. THE «FILOSTRATO» IN TRECENTO POLYPHONY

I will now provide a general overview of the musical works that contain references to the subject matter of the *Filostrato* in fourteenth-century Italy (see Table 1). First of all, it should be noted that the composers of these seven works – Gherardello (ca. 1320/1325 - 1362/1363), Vincenzo (d. 1365?), Nicolò (*fl.* ca. 1355-1375), Francesco (ca. 1335 - 1397) – were all active in Florence during the same years<sup>38</sup>. Even though this chronology is only hypothetical and based on scarce biographical data, we can argue that it is highly likely that these composers' paths crossed in Florence during the 1350s. Secondly, the most prominent quotations of and intertextual relationships with *Filostrato* are found in madrigals. Moreover, Table 1 shows that various kinds of intertextuality are evident between the *Filostrato* and the musical compositions of the Italian Trecento:

1) explicit quotation in a composition that thematises one or more *topoi* of the *Filostrato* or key passages of the poem: the falling in love with a widow;<sup>39</sup> the power of sight. These *topoi* were widespread from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, but a direct link to the *Filostrato* is confirmed by the explicit quotation of an entire verse (see the madrigal *Vidi, com'[a] Amor piacque di mostrarmi*);

2) secondary intertextuality. *It'a veder ciascun, per meraviglia* shares an intertextual link with the *Filostrato* that derives from the allusion to another musical composition connected to the poem and could not be ascertained through

36. Debedenetti, "Troilo cantore", 425.

37. Ibid.

38. For Gherardello, see Kurt von Fischer and Gianluca D'Agostino, s.v. "Gherardello da Firenze", in *Grove Music Online* (<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/> [last accessed May 3, 2021]); for Vincenzo, see Michael Long, "Ita se n'era a star nel paradiso: The Metamorphoses of an Ovidian Madrigal in Trecento Italy", in *L'Arts Nova Italiana del Trecento VI* (Certaldo: Polis, 1992), 257-67, at 263-4; for Nicolò, see Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera completa*, XI-XVII; for Francesco, see Alessandra Fiori, s.v. "Francesco Landini", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 63 (2004), available online at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-landini\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-landini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/) (last accessed May 3, 2021).

39. Criseida (Briseida) is not a widow in Benoît's *Roman de Troie*; see the character's description in vv. 5257-5288 (Constans, *Le roman de Troie*, Vol. 1, 274-5).

Table 1: Musical works of the Italian Trecento related to Giovanni Boccaccio's *Filostrato* or to its themes

Composer, incipit	Connections to the <i>Filostrato</i>
Gherardello, <i>A lo spirar de l'arie brun m'a-parve</i> (mad.) <sup>a</sup>	v. 9 “da' più begli occhi che si vider mai” quotation of v. 2 of Cino da Pistoia's canzone <i>La dolce vista e 'l bel guardo soave</i> , through the reworking of <i>Fil.</i> V, 62-66 (Troilo's voice)
Vincenzo da Rimini, <i>Abi sconsolato e amoro-roso Troiolo</i> (mad.) <sup>b</sup>	general reference to Briseida's adultery (Briseida is another form for Criseida)
Nicolò del Preposto, <i>Vidi, com'[a] Amor piacque di mostrarmi</i> (mad.)	v. 3: quotation of <i>Fil.</i> I, 26, 7 (narrator) and I, 38, 7 (Troilo's voice): “sotto un candido velo in bruna vesta”
Nicolò del Preposto, <i>It'a veder ciascun, per maraviglia</i> (mad.)	indirect link to the <i>Fil.</i> via musical and literary intertextuality to <i>Vidi, com'[a] Amor piacque di mostrarmi</i>
Landini, <i>Lucea nel prato d'amorosi fiori</i> (mad.) <sup>c</sup>	v. 7 “di bruna vesta in un bel velo involta” (link to the first time Troiolo saw Criseida)
Landini, <i>Ne la mia vita sento men venire</i> (ball.) <sup>d</sup>	<i>Fil.</i> , II, 2 (Troilo's voice), quotation of rhyming words; <sup>e</sup>
Landini, <i>Né 'n ciascun mie pensiero</i> (ball.) <sup>f</sup>	<i>Fil.</i> , II, 101 (Troilo's voice); quotation of words and rhyming words; <sup>g</sup>

a. Giuseppe Corsi, ed., *Poesie musicali del Trecento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970), 61.

b. *Ibid.*, 81.

c. *Ibid.*, 128.

d. *Ibid.*, 194.

e. See Michele Epifani, “Le ballate a tre voci di Francesco Landini: edizione critica e commentata dei testi e delle musiche” (PhD Diss., Università degli Studi di Pavia, 2013/2014), 186.

f. Corsi, *Poesia musicali*, 196.

g. According to Epifani, “Le ballate a tre voci”, 186, the dependence of *Nella mia vita sento men venire* and *Né 'n ciascun mie pensiero* on the *Filostrato* could indicate that the same author wrote the two texts.

examination of the madrigal alone. This intertextual connection therefore involves a pair of madrigals, rather than a single composition;<sup>40</sup>

40. With a slightly different meaning, the expression “intertestualità secondaria” has been used by Lannutti to refer to connections among texts established, within the manuscripts, by the compilers, i.e., intertextuality found at the level of the transmission and reception of the text; see

3) the two ballatas set to music by Landini present quotations of rhyming words from two octaves of the *Filostrato*. The theme of separation in *Nella mi' vita sento men venire* is certainly connected to the main theme of the *Filostrato*, however the intertextual link is in some way inconsistent in relation to the ballata's theme, since the quotation is taken from an octave in which Troiolo discloses to Pandaro his love for Criseida for the first time (beginning of the second part). A link to the section of the poem where the two lovers are separated is missing. With regard to *Né'n ciascun mie pensiero*, it is interesting to note how, in addition to the elements already pointed out by Epifani, one aspect in particular acts as a catalyst for intertextual connections: the anaphora "tu sola puoi" of *Filostrato* II, 101, where it appears four times. In the ballata, the anaphora links the beginning of the first *piede* ("tu puo' ") to the beginning of the *volta* ("tu sola"), respectively, at vv. 4 and 10.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to the aforementioned examples, there are a few poems that have been set to music and which are connected to Cino da Pistoia's canzone *La dolce vista e 'l bel guardo soave*:<sup>42</sup> Gherardello, *Allo spirar de l'arie brun m'a-*

Maria Sofia Lannutti, "Intertestualità, imitazione metrica e melodia nella lirica romanza delle Origini", *Medioevo romanzo* 32 (2008), 3-28, repr. in Maria Caraci Vela, *La filologia musicale. Istituzioni, storia, strumenti critici*, vol. III, *Antologia di contributi filologici*, Lucca, LIM, 2013, 175-200, at 192.

41. Similar anaphoric figures are often found in texts addressed to the Virgin; see for example Jacopone's lauda *O Vergen più che femena*, vv. 11, 35, 37; cf. Jacopone da Todi, *Laudi Trattato e Detti*, ed. Franca Agno (Florence: Le Monnier, 1953), 5-397. The threefold anaphora "tu solus [...] tu solus [...] tu solus [...]", which was widely disseminated as part of the *Gloria*, might have had an indemonstrable influence (plausibly an involuntary one on the part of the recipient) on the anaphora that we are discussing. In another ballata set to music by Landini, we find a very similar anaphoric sequence, with almost identical words; see *Da poi che vedi* (Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 151): "Tu puo'" (beginning of the first *piede*), "Tu sola se'" (beginning of v. 5), "Tu sola se'" (beginning of v. 6). Among Landini's ballatas, cf. also *Ama, donna chi t'ama* ("i' son che solo" [...] "tu sola [...] puoi") and *Fior di dolcezza* ("in te sola" [...] "tu sola"). Boccaccio himself uses the last two verses of octave II, 101 in the sonnet LVII, vv. 13-14 (or vice versa): "Tu sola puoi il mio dolor amaro / finire et pormi forse in lieta pace" (cf. *Filostrato*, II, 101, 1-2: TU SOLA PUOI queste pene noiose, / quando tu vuogli, PORRE IN dolce PACE"); ed. in Giovanni Boccaccio, *Rime*, ed. Roberto Loporatti, *Archivio Romanzo*, 26 (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013).

42. Gianfranco Contini, ed., *Poeti del Duecento*, 2 vols. (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1960), Vol. 2, 631-2. The incipit of Cino's canzone is well known also because of Petrarca's quotation in *RVF* LXX, v. 40; however, it is not considered among Cino's most famous works (see Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, 355). For a more general discussion of Cino's presence in fourteenth-century Italian polyphony, see Guido Capovilla, "Dante, Cino e Petrarca nel repertorio musicale profano del Trecento", in *La parola ritrovata. Fonti e analisi letteraria*, ed. Costanzo Di Girolamo and Ivano Paccagnella (Palermo: Sellerio, 1982), 118-36. According to Capovilla's estimates, Cino's presence in fourteenth-century music (and "forse in tutto il Trecento") is greater than that of all the "canonic" *stilnovisti*, including the lyrical Dante; however this remark is softened by the following doubt: "in che misura l'attuale impossibilità di verificare filiazioni da matrici perdute ci induce a sopravvalutare le fonti invece identificabili, e, di conseguenza, ad attribuire originalità a ciò che pure procede da una tradizione?"; cf. *ibid.*, 126-8 and the relative references. A quotation of the first line of

*parve* (madrigal), Landini, *La dolce vista che dagli occhi move* (ballata), Andrea de' Servi, *E più begli occhi che lucessor mai* (ballata).<sup>43</sup> Of these, at least one work, the madrigal set to music by Gherardello, *Allo spirar de l'arie brun m'aparve*, is particularly interesting for the purposes of this study. Indeed, Gherardello's madrigal contains a quotation from Cino at v. 9 ("da' più begli occhi che si vider mai") which includes – as Corsi has already pointed out<sup>44</sup> – a variant reading ("si vider" instead of "lucessor"), considered by scholars as a *lectio faciliior*,<sup>45</sup> which is only found in Boccaccio's reworking of the song in the *Filostrato* (V, 62-66).<sup>46</sup>

It is plausible, as Corsi claims, that the variant reading was already present in the source used by Boccaccio; therefore it is also possible that the "si vider" variant was disseminated to *Allo spirar de l'arie brun m'aparve*, independently of the *Filostrato*, through a line of transmission starting from Boccaccio's source (or one of its antigraphs). Another hypothesis is that the variant reading "si vider" was part of Boccaccio's reworking of Cino's canzone, and therefore introduced by him. Finally, it is interesting to note that *E' più begli occhi che lucessor mai*, a ballata set to music by Andrea de' Servi, a composer at least one generation younger than Gherardello, quotes the second verse of Cino's song, including the reading "lucessor".<sup>47</sup> It is also remarkable that most of these intertextual references are inspired by passages from *Filostrato* in Troiolo's voice. As already mentioned, the octaves that circulate in isolation from the poem are in Troiolo's voice as well.

Landini's madrigal *Lucea nel prato d'amorosi fiori* has a less certain connection to the *Filostrato*, but it is grounded exclusively on the presence of a lady figure dressed as a widow, like Criseida.<sup>48</sup> In a similar way, there are four musical works that do not share direct intertextual links with the *Filostrato*,

Cino's ballata *Io guardo per li prati ogni fior bianco* can also be found in the madrigal *Cogliendo per un prat'ogni fior bianco* set to music by Nicolò del Preposto; see Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera Completa*, 89.

43. Later examples of pieces also connected to Cino da Pistoia's canzone *La dolce vista e 'l bel guardo soave* include Dufay's *La dolce vista del tuo viso pio*.

44. Giuseppe Corsi, *Rimatori del Trecento* (Turin: UTET, 1969), 1027.

45. See Domenico De Robertis, "Per la storia del testo della canzone 'La dolce vista e 'l bel guardo soave'", *Studi di filologia italiana*, 10 (1952), 5-24, at 9-20. For an accurate comparison between Cino's canzone and Boccaccio's reworking, see also Susanna Barsella, "Boccaccio e Cino da Pistoia: Critica alla poetica dell'amore nella parodia di 'Filostrato' V e 'Decameron' III 5, X 7", *Italianistica: Rivista di letteratura italiana* 29/1 (2000), 55-73, at 64-5.

46. According to Corsi, *Rimatori*, 1027, "la reminescenza è dovuta al fatto che la canzone di Cino era stata musicata e diffusa col canto" (see also Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 71).

47. The connections between *E più begli occhi che lucessor mai* set to music by Andrea de' Servi and Cino's canzone are not limited to the second verse; see also the rhyming word "guai" and the rhymes in -ia, -ore and -iso.

48. On this madrigal, see Calvia, "Un dittico visionario", 1042-3 and 1055-7.

but which include the presence of a female figure dressed in black.<sup>49</sup> I have provided, in the following table (Table 2)<sup>50</sup> a list of compositions that can be considered according to a more general type of intertextuality, which we might discuss in terms of Segre's concept of "interdiscursivity",<sup>51</sup> defined as a non-intentional intertextuality mainly due, as regards our *corpus*, to the occurrence of shared *topoi* in a certain period, ambience or culture.

Table 2: Darkly dressed ladies in musical works of the Trecento

Incipit (genre)	Composer	Verses
<i>Bella granata fra le fiore sete</i> (madr.)	Anon.	vv. 4 e 6: "vedoete" [...] "çgentil vesta"
<i>Lucea nel prato d'amorosi fiori</i> (madr.)	Francesco Landini	v. 7: "di bruna vesta in un bel vel involta"
<i>Checch'a te piaccia, di me son contento</i> (ball.)	Anon. (Paolo da Firenze?)	v. 4: "sotto 'l brun manto più risplende"
<i>Po' c'hanno di mirar gli ochi miei stanchi</i> (ball.)	Paolo da Firenze	vv. 5 e 7: "poi sotto 'l brun s'asconde: ond'io conquiso" [...] "ma se l'usata vesta si raquista"

### 3. COMPOSITIONAL STRATEGIES IN SHAPING A MUSICAL DIPTYCH

As stated above, the first mention of Troiolo's "singing" in the *Filostrato* is: "e quindi lieto si diede a cantare" (I, 37, 4).<sup>52</sup> This passage is found in the

49. The widow as an object of love is a fairly common topic in fourteenth-century Italy, and can be found in works by Cino da Pistoia, Giovanni Boccaccio, Matteo Frescobaldi, Franco Sacchetti, Niccolò Soldanieri, Antonio Pucci, Francesco Petrarca, and Antonio da Firenze; see Calvia, "Un ditico visionario", 1035-8 and related references.

50. The songs in Table 2 can be read in Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 128, 343, 327, and 282; for *Bella granata fra le fiore sete*, see also Tiziana Sucato, ed., *Il codice rossiano 215. Madrigali, ballate, una caccia, un rotondello*, *Diverse voci*, 1 (Pisa: ETS, 2003), 71; for *Po' c'hanno di mirar gli ochi miei stanchi*, see Guido Carsaniga, "I testi di Paolo Tenorista (nuove proposte di lettura)", *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 40 (1990), 5-22, at 15; for *Checch'a te piaccia, di me son contento*, see Jeannie Ma. Guerrero, "Musical Analysis and the Characterization of Compositional Identity: New Evidence for the Anonymous 'Checc'a tte piaccia'", in *L'ars Nova Italiana del Trecento, VIII. Beyond 50 Years of Ars Nova Studies at Certaldo (1959-2009)*, ed. Marco Gozzi, Agostino Ziino and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2014), 325-52.

51. See Cesare Segre, "Intertestuale – interdiscorsivo. Appunti per una fenomenologia delle fonti", in *La parola ritrovata. Fonti e analisi*, ed. Costanzo Di Girolamo and Ivano Paccagnella (Palermo: Sellerio, 1982), 15-28; repr. as "Intertestualità e interdiscorsività nel romanzo e nella poesia", in Id., *Opera critica* (Milan: Mondadori, 2014), 573-91, at 582 and *passim*.

52. "[...] and then he began joyfully to sing".

octave that immediately precedes the second occurrence of the verse “sotto candido velo in bruna vesta” (I, 38, 7) quoted in its entirety in the madrigal *Vidi, com'[a] Amor piacque di mostrarmi* set to music by Nicolò del Preposto:

Ed oltre a questo, assai più altre cose,  
 qual da scoprire e qual da provocare  
 a sé la donna, con seco propose,  
**e quindi lieto si diede a cantare,**  
 bene sperando, e tutto si dispose  
 di voler sola Criseida amare,  
 nulla pregiando ogni altra che veduta  
 ne gli venisse, o fosse mai piaciuta.

E verso Amore tal fiata dicea  
**con pietoso parlar:** – *Signor, omai*  
*l'anima è tua che mia esser solea;*  
*il che mi piace, però che tu m'hai,*  
*non so s'io dica a donna ovvero a dea,*  
*a servir dato, ché non fu giammai,*  
**sotto candido velo in bruna vesta,**  
*sì bella donna come mi par questa.*

*Tu stai negli occhi suoi, signor verace,*  
*sì come in loco degno a tua virtute;*  
*per che, se 'l mio servir punto ti piace,*  
*da quei ti priego impetri la salute*  
*dell'anima, la qual prostrata giace*  
*sotto i tuoi piè, sì la ferir l'acute*  
*saette che allora le gittasti,*  
*che di costei 'l bel viso mi mostrasti.* —<sup>53</sup>

The verse I, 38, 7, “sotto candido velo in bruna vesta”, is the exact repetition of a verse found just a few octaves before (I, 26, 7) in the same position within the octave. It describes the image Troiolo is met with when he first lays eyes

53. *Filostrato*, I, 37-39; italics are mine. “And beyond these he took thought upon many other matters, how to discover himself to the lady, and how to attract to himself her attention, and then he began joyfully to sing, high in hope and all-disposed to love Cressida alone, naught esteeming any other lady he might see or who had ever pleased him. [38] And to Love at times he said with reverential words: ‘Lord, thine henceforth is the soul which used to be mine. This pleaseth me, for thou hast given me to serve I know not whether to say a lady or a goddess, for never was there under white veil in dark habit a lady so beautiful as this appeareth to me. [39] Thou takest thy station in her eyes, true lord, as in a place worthy of thy power. Therefore if my service at all pleaseth thee, I beseech thee obtain from them the healing of my soul, which lieth prostrate at thy feet, so wounded it the sharp arrows which thou didst hurl at it when thou didst show me the lovely face of this lady.’”

on Criseida, dressed in a dark vest indicative of her status as a widow. The reason for this exact repetition has not been addressed by any scholar, but it is easy to understand: the image of Criseida “under white veil and in black habit” is stuck in Troiolo’s mind and when he is finally alone in his chamber, his memory (I, 33, 4) recalls that image to his mind. A sort of overlapping between the narrator and Troiolo occurs here. In fact, Troiolo’s description – filtered by his memory – uses the precise words anticipated by the narrator, and Boccaccio highlights this relationship between the “first sight of the loved one” (as described by the narrator) and the “remembrance of it” (in Troiolo’s direct voice) by placing it in both instances as the first verse of the final distich:

Così adunque andandosi gabbando  
 or d'uno or d'altro Troiolo, e sovente  
 or questa donna or quella rimirando,  
 per caso avvenne che in fra la gente  
 l'occhio suo vago giunse penetrando  
 colà dov'era Criseida piacente,  
**sotto candido velo in bruna vesta**  
 tra l'altre donne in sì solenne festa.<sup>54</sup>

[...]

E partitosi ognun, tutto soletto  
 in camera n'andò ed a sedere  
 si pose, sospirando, a piè del letto,  
 e **seco rammentarsi del piacere**  
 avuto la mattina **dello aspetto**  
**di Criseida cominciò**, e delle vere  
 bellezze del suo viso, annoverando  
 a parte a parte, e quelle commendando.<sup>55</sup>

The first word of the madrigal, “vidi”, immediately implies that we are dealing with the memory of a vision (see Table 3).<sup>56</sup> The connection with the

54. *Filostrato*, I, 26. “While Troilus was thus strolling about, making mock now at one now at another, and oft gazing intently now upon this lady again upon that, it chanced that **his wandering eyes**, glancing amongst the crowd, lighted where stood the charming Cressida, **under white veil in black habit**, among other ladies at this so solemn festival”.

55. *Filostrato*, I, 33. “And after everyone had left, he went all alone into his chamber, and there sat down sighing at the foot of his couch. And **he began to go over again in his mind the pleasure** he had felt that morning **at the sight of Cressida**, enumerating the true beauties of her face and praising them one by one”.

56. The accumulation of *v* in alliterative series (“vidi”, “venir”, “virtù”, “velo”, “vesta”, “vaga”, “miravan”, “ver”) has the effect of amplifying the opening verb “vidi”. That the madrigal indeed describes a vision is clear from the number of terms related to the act of seeing: “vidi”, “mostrarmi”,

*Filostrato* found in v. 3 (“sott’un candido velo in bruna vesta”)<sup>57</sup> is confirmed by two words placed in prominent positions: 1) the rhyming word “dicea” of the first verse of octave I, 38 is placed at the end of the first verse of the second tercet; 2) “mostrarmi” with reference to Love at the end of v. 1 echoes the end of the octave I, 39.

Table 3: Comparison between *Filostrato*, I, 38-39 and Nicolò del Preposto, Madrigal XXX

*Filostrato*, I, 38-39: Troiolo speaks to Love

*E verso Amore tal fiata dicea*  
*con pietoso parlar:* – Signor, omai  
 l’anima è tua che mia esser solea;  
 il che mi piace, però che tu m’hai,  
 non so s’io dica a donna ovvero a dea,  
 a servir dato, ché non fu giammai,  
**sotto candido velo in bruna vesta,**  
 sì bella donna come mi par questa.

Tu stai negli occhi suoi, signor verace,  
 sì come in loco degno a tua virtute;  
 per che, se ’l mio servir punto ti piace,  
 da quei ti priego impetri la salute  
 dell’anima, la qual prostrata giace  
 sotto i tuoi piè, sì la ferir l’acute  
 saette che allora le gittasti,  
 che di costei ’l bel viso mi **mostrasti**.

Nicolò del Preposto, Madrigal XXX

**Vidi, com’[a] Amor** piacque di **mostrarmi**,  
 venir da lungi la virtù celesta  
**sott’un candido velo in bruna vesta.**  
 O quanta sua honestà donna dicea,  
 vaga, negli ochi che miravan lei,  
 ma pur chi fosse non scorgeano e’ miei.  
 In tanto riguardai che ’l ver mostrommi  
 ch’ell’era quella che, in bianco, legommi.

The link between the two madrigals set to music by Nicolò del Preposto can be summarised as follows (see Table 4):<sup>58</sup>

1) v. 3 is the key verse – where the dress and the veil are introduced – in both madrigals; the differences between the two descriptions lie in the colour of the dress, light in XXVII and dark in XXX, and the presence of the veil, whose absence is expressly indicated in the former; moreover, in XXX, the dress takes the exact position that the veil has in XXVII;

“ochi”, “miravan”, “scorgeano e’ miei” (my eyes), “riguardai”, “mostrommi”. The adjectives pertain mostly to colours or qualities perceivable through sight: “candido”, “bruna”, “bianco”, “vaga”. The texts are quoted as in Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera Completa*, 78, 81, and 86. I thank John Nadas for helping with the English translation of my paraphrase of the two madrigals.

57. Several quotations of this verse can be found in Trecento and Quattrocento poetry; for references, see Calvia, “Un dittico visionario”, 1035n24.

58. All these features are analysed in detail in Calvia, “Un dittico visionario”, *passim*.

2) the musical settings of the two madrigals have strong structural analogies: they are respectively of 97 and 98 *breves*, alternating between *senaria imperfecta* and *octonaria* in the *terzetti* and *senaria perfecta* in the *ritornello* (in XXVII the entrance of the *senaria perfecta* is anticipated at the end of the *terzetti* section for a precise reason, as I shall explain below).<sup>59</sup> The first verse consists of 25 (XXVII) and 26 *breves* (XXX); the second consists of 14 *breves* in both cases. Finally, in both madrigals, the key verse (v. 3) is provided with an oversized structural weight highlighting its importance (26 *breves* in XXVII and 30 *breves* in XXX);

3) the last word of v. 3, in one case “velo” (XXVII) and in the other “vesta” (XXX), is set to music in both cases with a change of *divisio* from *octonaria* to *senaria imperfecta* inserted on the first syllable “ve-” (identical for both words);

4) the final verse of XXX alludes to the white figure who bound the subject (“legommi”) in XXVII;

5) other connections – such as the reference to the lady’s eyes and her descending motion from the sky – are topical but they acquire importance because they are positioned in the same verses in the two madrigals;

6) the beginning of XXX is linked to the final distich of XXVII via a *cap-finida* connection (“Così com’i la vid’Amor mi giunse / col suo piacer legommi e ’l cor mi punse”; “Vidi, com’[a] Amor piacque di mostrarmi”);

7) in the two madrigals, the first verse (already similar in terms of the number of *breves* – 25 and 26) contains an ending cadence in which the last 13 figures of the cantus voice and the last 4 figures of the tenor voice (corresponding overall to the last four and a half measures) are completely identical;

8) the alliterative series of *vs*, already outlined in madrigal XXX, can also be found in XXVII.

Table 4: Comparison between Nicolò del Preposto’s Madrigal XXVII and Madrigal XXX

Nicolò del Preposto, Madrigal XXVII

It’a veder ciascun, per maraviglia,  
costei, che mostra di venir da-ccielo  
con bianca vesta vaga sança velo,

Nicolò del Preposto, Madrigal XXX

Vidi, com’[a] Amor piacque di mostrarmi,  
venir da lungi la virtù celesta  
sott’un candido velo in bruna vesta.

59. The *brevis* of the *senaria perfecta* should be intended, here, as equivalent to the *brevis* of the *senaria imperfecta* (and of course of the *octonaria*), therefore unlike Marchetto’s system, the equivalence of the *minima* between the two *senariae* applies here. This becomes evident in two passages in *mutatio qualitatis* (XXX, Cantus, mm. 80-81 and 94-96; XXVII, Cantus, mm. 61-63; Cantus-Tenor, m. 73), where the grouping of the figures alludes to that of the *senaria imperfecta* shown in other passages of the *terzetti* section of both madrigals.

luce di raçi, che d'intorno spande  
co' gli ochi et co' capelli a mo' d'oro,  
legar chi guarda per la virtù loro.

Così com'i' la vid' Amor mi giunse:  
col suo piacer legommi e 'l cor mi punse.

*Translation:*

*For the marvel [she elicits], go and admire this woman who shows she comes from the sky with a beautiful white vest without a veil; [admire] the rays' light – which, like gold, she emanates with her eyes and hair – binding through their virtue [i.e., the rays' virtue] those who gaze. As soon as I saw her, Love reached me: he held me fast through her beauty and punctured my heart.*

O quanta sua honestà donna dicea,  
vaga, negli ochi che miravan lei,  
ma pur chi fosse non scorgeano e' miei.

In tanto riguardai che 'l ver mostrommi  
ch'ell'era quella che, in bianco, legommi.

*Translation:*

*As Love wished to disclose [it] to me, I saw the celestial virtue coming from afar in a dark vest covered by a white veil. Ah, how much honesty the beautiful woman instilled in the eyes that gaze upon her, and yet [my eyes] could not discern who she was. I continued to gaze upon her until truth showed me that she was the one who, dressed in white, had bound me.*

An observation regarding the tenor voice should be added to the above remarks. Example 1 shows the tenor voices of the two madrigals in a synoptic transcription, highlighting some structural characteristics and some analogies of varying nature. The analogies detected almost always concern the syllables of the same verse within the formal scheme of the madrigal, and often those syllables that share the same position within the verse:

a) internal syllables of v. 1: same rhythmic module and melodic similarity (mm. 6-11);

b) ending of v. 1: identical cadence (XXX, mm. 23-26; XXVII, 22-25);

c) syllables 6-10 of v. 2 are set to music on the same rhythmic module and with inversion of pitch directionality (XXX, mm. 34-36; XXVII, mm. 32-34);

d) the melodic apex of the tenor voice is reached in both madrigals on the two key-words within the third verse by means of a *ribattuto* on *c* (XXX, m. 55: “velo”; XXVII, mm. 52-53: “vesta”);

e) melodic-rhythmic identity between the end of the *terzetti* section of XXVII (mm. 61-65) and the end of the *ritornello* of XXX (mm. 94-98).<sup>60</sup> In order to achieve a rhyme that serves to connect v. 3 of XXVII to the final verse of XXX, the change to the *senaria perfecta* in the *ritornello* in XXVII has been anticipated at the end of the *terzetti* section (m. 60), so as to have an identity of *divisio*. This sort of “musical rhyme” between the two madrigals clearly highlights that the lady dressed in white of XXVII, v. 3 (“con bianca vesta

60. Note that this analogy cannot be considered a coincidence. In fact, there are no other occurrences of this identical melodic sequence (F-D-F-G-a) in these two works. Moreover, the identity here concerns the rhythm as well, so the certainty of the quotation cannot easily be questioned.

XXX, Vidi, com'[a] Amor  
piacque di mostrarmi

U I Vi - - - di, co -  
O quan - ta

XXVII, It'a veder  
ciascun, per meraviglia

I T ta I - - -  
lu - - -

9 [Cantus: i.i.]  
m'[a]\_A-mor piac-que di mo - strar - - -  
sua\_o - ne - stà don - na di - ce - - -  
t'a ve - der cia - scun, per ma - ra - vi - - -  
ce di raz - zi, che d'in - tor - no span - - -

20 *b* *v. 2*  
mi, ve - - -  
a, va - - -  
glia, co - - - stei, che mo - stra  
de co' gli\_ochi\_e co' ca -

32 *6* *7* *8* *9* *10* *c* *v. 3*  
nir da lun - gi la vir - tù ce - le - - sta  
ga, ne - gli\_o - chi che mi - ra - van le - - i,  
di ve - nir da ccie - - - lo con  
pel - li a mo' d'o - - - ro, le -

*6* *7* *8* *9* *10*

Example 1: Tenores of Nicolò del Preposto's Madrigal XXVII and Madrigal XXX

42

sot  
ma

bian - ca  
gar - chi

52

[Cantus: .o.] (d)

t'un can - di - do ve - lo, in bru - na ve  
pur chi fos - se non scor ge - no, e' mic

[Cantus: .i.] (e)

ve - sta va - ga san - za ve  
guar - da per la vir - tù lo

= XXX, mm. 94-98  
(end of ritornello)

63

v. 7 (f)

sta. In tan - to ri - guar  
lo, Co - si com'i' la vi - d'A - mor  
ro.

76

v. 8 (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (g)

dai che'l ver mo - strom - mi ch'el - l'e - ra quel - la che, inbian - co,  
mi giun - se: col suo pia - cer le - gommi, e' l cor - mi

(4) (5) (6) (7) (8)

88

= XXVII, mm. 66-70 (end of terzetti) (e)

le - gom - mi.  
pun - se.

The image displays a musical score for a vocal line, likely a bass or tenor part, in Italian. It consists of several systems of music, each with a vocal line and a corresponding line of lyrics. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings. Key annotations include circled letters (d, e, f, g) and numbered circles (4, 5, 6, 7, 8) indicating specific points of interest or structural divisions. The lyrics are in Italian and describe a scene of love and desire. The score is divided into sections, with some sections marked as 'end of ritornello' or 'end of terzetti'. The overall structure is that of a continuous vocal piece with multiple systems of music and lyrics.

Example 1 (continued)

vaga sança velo”) is the same as that found in XXX, v. 8 (“ch’ell’era quella che, in bianco, legommi”);

f) identity of the melodic profile in the same measures (XXX and XXVII, mm. 72-74); i.e., in both madrigals we find the same horizontal succession of pitches in *tempora* 72-74;

g) internal syllables of v. 8 (syllables 2-8, but in particular 4-8): in *tempora* 85-87 the melody and rhythm is completely identical (XXX and XXVII, mm. 85-87); only the rhythm is the same in m. 84. Through this artifice of integral identity between the two tenor voices, singing respectively “era QUELLA CHE, IN BIANCO” and “suo piacER LEGOMMI E ’L COR”, the profound sameness between the two ladies is revealed, further confirmed by the “musical rhyming” effect between the two madrigals described above (cf. e).

## CONCLUSION

Nicolò del Preposto used compositional strategies to highlight the thematic link between the texts of these two madrigals. It would be better to speak of musical “consistency”, here, rather than quotation or intertextuality (and in this case auto-intertextuality), between two madrigals that were most likely composed or designed together or at a very short distance from each other.<sup>61</sup> There are no elements to date these two madrigals more precisely than to say that they were written during the two decades usually associated with Nicolò del Preposto’s *floruit* (ca. 1355-1375),<sup>62</sup> but it is clear that during these two decades the *Filostrato* must have been well known in Florence. The musical reception of the poem shown in Table 1 involves, as we have seen, composers active at the same time, at least in the 1350s. The dating of the *Filostrato* (from 1335 to 1340, but more likely nearer to 1335) is still the subject of debate<sup>63</sup> and the first evidence of its reception in fourteenth-century Italy is not easy to reconstruct, because, as we have seen in the case of

61. Interestingly, another pair of compositions linked to the story of Troiolo and Criseida can be considered a cycle because of their close musical intertextuality: Vincenzo’s madrigals *Ita se n’era a star nel Paradiso* and *Abi sconsolato ed amoroso Troiolo*; see Long, “*Ita se n’era a star nel Paradiso*”, 262-3 and 266-7. The *senbal* of a lady called Itta, which could be hidden in *It’a veder ciascun*, appears in the same position at the beginning of the madrigal *Ita se n’era a star* set to music by Lorenzo and Vincenzo (see Calvia, “Un dittico visionario”, 1032-3). Since it is not uncommon for a text set to music by several composers to contain a *senbal* (as in the case of Anna in the well-known “*ciclo del perlaro*”), I wonder if we are dealing here with several compositions linked to Boccaccio’s *Filostrato* and with the *senbal* Itta.

62. See Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera completa*, XLII-XLIII.

63. See Battaglia Ricci, *Boccaccio*, 7-79; Luigi Surdich, *Boccaccio* (Bologna: il Mulino, 2008).

Petrarch's sonnet and the ballata *Come partir da ti me deb'io mai*, the directionality of the quotation cannot always be ascertained.

In conclusion, it is remarkable that the manuscript tradition of the *Filostrato* in some cases intersects that of poetry set to music. In particular, two manuscripts are interesting from this point of view: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 105 (Pal105) and Firenze, Biblioteca Marucelliana, C. 155 (Mar155),<sup>64</sup> both of which open with Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. Mar155 contains a section of various items of poetry, including seven works set to music (by Lorenzo Masini, Gherardello, Francesco Landini, Nicolò and Jacopo Pianellaio)<sup>65</sup> and a little further on, on f. 63ra-b, six octaves of the *Filostrato* taken from the first letter from Troilo to Criseida, reassembled in a different order (II, 93, 101, 97, 98, 102, 106) and preceded by the rubric "canzona";<sup>66</sup> it is noteworthy that one of these octaves (II, 101) is linked to Landini's ballata *Né'n ciascun mie pensiero* (see above, Table 2). In Pal105 only one text set to music by a Trecento composer is entered: Jacopo da Bologna, *O cieco mondo* (c. 123v). Further evidence of the common circulation of the *Filostrato* and poetry set to music can also be found in an octave of the *Filostrato* (the aforementioned VII, 62: "Li dolci canti e le brigate oneste" [...]) transcribed as an isolated stanza on the *recto* of the wooden board of a book held at the Archivio di Stato in Florence,<sup>67</sup> a ballata of wide dissemination, *Ciascun faccia per sé*, set to music by Nicolò del Preposto, was entered on the *verso*.<sup>68</sup>

64. For the poetry set to music transmitted in Mar155, see Jennings, "Senza vestimenta", 219; the manuscript bears two dated inscriptions (1417 and 1439), see Benedetta Aldinucci's description in LIO: <http://www.mirabileweb.it/manuscript/firenze-biblioteca-marucelliana-c-155-manuscript/195849> (last accessed March 31, 2020). For Pal105, see Jennings, "Senza vestimenta", 217. For Boccaccio's *Filostrato* there is not yet a critical edition that takes into consideration all of the surviving manuscript witnesses; in addition to the essential studies by Vincenzo Pernicone and Vittore Branca, see, most recently, Francesco Colussi, "Indagini codicologiche e testuali sui manoscritti trecenteschi del *Filostrato* di Giovanni Boccaccio" (PhD Diss., Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia, 2003).

65. Mar155, ff. 53v-61v.

66. The first to identify these octaves was Debenedetti, "Troilo cantore", 421.

67. Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Statuti del Comune di Firenze, 34, wooden board, *recto*; incipit "Li dolci canti e le brigate honeste"; explicit: "dolce mio bene e speme mia sovrana". The codex carries the title "1388 [corrected in 1384 by modern hand]. Pragmatica del vestire"; see the description in Luca Azzetta, "Frammenti di storia e di poesia nell'Archivio di Stato di Firenze: Rufio Festo, Dante, Antonio Pucci", *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 46 (2005), 385-96, at 391-2. Debenedetti (Id., "Troilo Cantore", 420-1) has already pointed out this fragmentary witness of Boccaccio's *Filostrato*; however the text is quoted as an anonymous octave in Azzetta, "Frammenti di storia", 395-6.

68. On the transmission of *Ciascun faccia per sé*, see Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera Completa*, LII-LIII and 65-9. According to Debenedetti, the proximity of the ballata to the octave, both of which were later additions to the codex, would indicate that the octaves of the *Filostrato* were transmitted as single stanzas thanks to the fact that they were set to music; see Debenedetti, "Troilo cantore", 424.

A useful research perspective would be to verify the incidences of poetry set to music in all of the surviving witnesses of the *Filostrato*. This could indicate whether the paths of transmission have sometimes crossed and hopefully provide new evidence for reconstructing a wider picture of the literary transmission of Trecento polyphony and its reception.

#### ABSTRACT

Scholars of secular Trecento music are often required to confront issues concerning the interpretation of verbal texts and musical settings. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the poetic texts that were set to music to uncover new evidence regarding the intentionality of intertextual allusions between musical works. At the same time, the analysis of musical intertextuality gives new meaning to the links found among poetic texts. By reconstructing the wider context of *Filostrato*'s musical links, this study sheds new light on its quotation in the madrigal *Vidi, com' (a) Amor piacque*, set to music by Nicolò del Preposto, and its relationship to another madrigal by Nicolò, *It'a veder ciascun*. I firstly focus on the musical references of the *Filostrato*, and I produce a survey of the overall presence of Boccaccio's poem in Trecento polyphony. In the second part of this study, I focus on the analogies between the musical settings of the two madrigals by Nicolò.

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THE BALLATAS DEDICATED TO SANDRA SET TO MUSIC  
BY FRANCESCO LANDINI\*

The poetic-musical repertory of the Italian Ars Nova is generally associated with large musical collections, among which the Squarcialupi codex is the best known and most representative. Understandably, it is on these manuscripts that scholars' attention has been focused, first in the literary field,<sup>1</sup> then in the musicological one. The literary tradition of the poetic texts of the Ars nova has only been the subject of investigation in relatively recent times.<sup>2</sup> Such a literary tradition, whose relevance is not limited to the strictly philological, constitutes the point of departure of the present paper, which will discuss the manuscript Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chigi L.IV.131 (Chigi 131), specifically. The manuscript is a very rich collection dating from the end of the sixteenth century and containing, among other items, several texts set to music, some of which are equipped with rubrics of great interest.<sup>3</sup> *Ma' non s'andrà per questa*

\* The research presented here is an integral part of the Advanced Grant project "European Ars Nova. Multilingual Poetry and Polyphonic Song in the Late Middle Ages". This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 786379).

1. See the fundamental studies by Giosuè Carducci, "Musica e poesia nel mondo elegante italiano del secolo XIV", *Nuova Antologia* XIV-XV (1870): 463-82; 5-30; Id., *Cantilene e ballate, strambotti e madrigali nei secoli XIII e XIV* (Pisa: Nistri, 1871); Id., *Cacce in rima dei secoli XIV e XV*, per nozze Morpurgo-Franchetti (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1896).

2. See F. Alberto Gallo, "The Musical and Literary Tradition of Fourteenth Century Poetry Set to Music", in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 55-76; Gianluca D'Agostino, "La tradizione letteraria dei testi poetico-musicali del Trecento. Una revisione per dati e problemi. (L'area toscana)", in «*Col dolce suon che da te piove*». *Studi su Francesco Landini e la musica del suo tempo in memoria di Nino Pirrotta*, ed. Antonio Delfino and Maria Teresa Rosa Barezani (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), 389-428; the most recent and comprehensive study on the subject is Lauren McGuire Jennings, «*Senza Vestimenta*»: *The Literary Tradition of Trecento Song*, Music and Material Culture (Burlington (Vt.): Ashgate, 2014).

3. Some rubrics in Chigi 131 have been the subject of fruitful investigations in Davide Checchi, "Per la datazione delle ballate landiniane 'Amar sì gli alti' e 'O fanciulla giulia': ricerche su due rubriche d'occasione del ms. Chigiano L.iv.131", in "*Cara scientia mia, musica*". *Studi per Maria Caracci Vela*, ed. Angela Romagnoli, Daniele Sabaino, Rodobaldo Tibaldi and Pietro Zappalà (Pisa: ETS, 2018), 1067-84, and Id., "I versi della musica: il problema dell'autorialità letteraria nel reper-

*donn' altera* is a ballata set to music by Landini in which scholars have easily recognised the presence of the *senhal* “Sandra” (“*s'andra*”).<sup>4</sup> This ballata, copied at f. 389r [p. 777], is introduced by the following rubric: “Ballata per Mo(n)na Sandra moglie del | Cauallaro de n(ost)ri Signori”. However, Chigi131 presents a markedly different incipit than that transmitted in the musical manuscripts: *Sempre è costei più bella e più altera*. As Giuseppe Corsi noted,<sup>5</sup> the information contained in the rubric therefore contradicts the alteration of the initial line: the *senhal* disappears, confirming nonetheless that the dedicatee of the ballata is a woman named Sandra or Alessandra.

#### THE DEDICATEE: «MONNA SANDRA»

While the *senhal* in the musical witnesses and the rubric in Chigi131 assert that *A·lle' s'andra* was dedicated to *monna* Sandra, it is unclear who exactly the Sandra dedication is for; moreover, the use of this name was widespread, as Corsi observed in the *excursus* to the texts set to music by Landini.<sup>6</sup> Apart from three anonymous ballatas set to music by Paolo and Andrea da Firenze, which we will consider later, the *senhal*, in the same form (*s'andra* / *s'andra'*), is otherwise mostly found in later poems of the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>7</sup> However, one such Sandra / Alessandra, who was particularly celebrated during Landini's lifetime, was undoubtedly Alessandra di Riccardo di

torio dell'«Ars Nova» italiana”, in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano. Verso una nuova edizione critica dell'Ars Nova*, ed. Maria Sofia Lannutti and Antonio Calvia (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), 19-43.

4. The artifice of the *senhal*, inherited from Provençal poetry, is found throughout the entire Ars Nova repertory; for Landini, see Julia Gehring, *Die Überlieferung der Kompositionen Francesco Landinis in Musikhandschriften des späten 14. und frühen 15. Jahrhunderts*, *Musica mensurabilis*, 5 (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Georg Olms, 2012), 171-82.

5. Giuseppe Corsi, ed., *Poesie musicali del Trecento*, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, 131 (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970), 193.

6. See Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 231-2.

7. I highlight and further examine what Corsi reported in *Poesie musicali*, 231-2. The *senhal* Sandra / Alessandra was employed in: (1) three anonymous ballatas, two set to music by Paolo da Firenze, *Doglia continua per la suo partita* and *Se già seguir altra che te non valli*, and one by Andrea da Firenze, *E' più begli occhi che lucessor mai* (see Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 276, 356 and 296). It should be noted that in the Corsi edition Paolo's ballata *Se già seguir* is listed among the anonymous compositions, since it is transmitted only in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568 (Pit) with an erased attributive rubric. Paolo's authorship, already proposed by Kurt von Fischer, has been confirmed by the Ciliberti Fragment (Perugia, Private Collection of Galliano Ciliberti and Biancamaria Brumana, fragment s.n. [Cil]), on which see Biancamaria Brumana and Galliano Ciliberti, “Nuove fonti per lo studio dell'opera di Paolo da Firenze”, *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 22 (1986): 3-33; (2) The ballata *S'a le' s'andra le lagrime e' sospiri* by Niccolò Tinucci, composed for Alessandra de' Bardi, the wife of Lorenzo di Palla Strozzi (see Niccolò Tinucci, *Rime*, ed. Clemente Mazzotta,

Piero de' Bardi, dedicatee of Jacopo da Montepulciano's *Fimerodia*,<sup>8</sup> which was written in prison probably between 1392 and 1397 and commissioned by the young Luigi di Manetto Davanzati. This Alessandra was the wife of Niccolò di Lorenzo Sassolini.<sup>9</sup> Besides the dedicatee's name and Jacopo da Montepulciano's mention of Landini among the Florentine's most famous citizens, there is no connection between Alessandra de' Bardi and the Landini's ballatas, though. Moreover, I would also be inclined to rule out that Niccolò Sassolini, a member of the Florentine elite, could have been addressed in Chigi 131's rubric as *cavallaro*, as we will see shortly.

The rubric's reference to a "moglie del cavallaro de' nostri signori" therefore remains the only available clue as to Sandra's identity. Apparently, at least for a reader close to the production environment of this text, the rubric

Collezione di opere inedite o rare, 134 (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1974), 25). On the basis of the rubrics in the fifteenth-century *laudario* compiled by Filippo di Lorenzo Benci (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiano L.VII.266 [Chigi266]), it transpires that the lauda *Se mai s'andrà con devoti sospiri* (no. 233, f. 107v) was modelled on the aforementioned ballata by Tinucci ("Insu Sallassandra le lagrime e sospiri"); (3) Three more laude in the same manuscript, *O madre pia, cagion de' ben miei* (no. 29, f. 29v), *Mai non resterò gridare omei* (no. 30, f. 29v) and *Ogni anima che vuol Dio l'amore* (no. 205, f. 98r), bear the rubric "In su Se mai sandra p(er) pieta costei", but as far as I know the model has not survived (see Blake Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence. The «cantasi come» Tradition (1375-1550)*, Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 9 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2009), 285-6); (4) Most of the poems in a *canzoniere* transmitted in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 446 (Ash446), now attributed to Mariotto Davanzati, include this *senhal* (see Guglielmo Gorni, "Un canzoniere adespoto di Mariotto Davanzati", *Studi di filologia italiana* 33 (1975): 189-219. Gorni also mentions an anonymous song transmitted with several lacunas in the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VII.1145 (Magl1145), bearing the acrostic "[Ales]andra bel[la], dé abbia piatae e misericordia d'amare chi-tt'ama: i' ti raccomando Martino che arde nel foco d'amore per la tua bità, Alessandramia", 190n1); (5) In Rosello Roselli's (mostly autograph) *canzoniere* transmitted in Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1098 (Ricc1098), the *senhal* device is often used, in particular to conceal the name Oretta, and in two cases also for Sandra: *Ove s'andrà omai per qualche aiuto* and *Prima s'andrà per mar senza alcun legno* (see Rosello Roselli, *Il Canzoniere Riccardiano*, ed. Giovanni Biancardi, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, 159 (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 2005), 23 and 31); (6) Antonio di Meglio, herald of the Florence Signoria, composed two *canzoni*, commissioned by someone unknown and dedicated to a Sandra / Alessandra, with the same use of the *senhal* as well as with the acrostic ALESSANDRA (ed. in Germano Pallini, "Dieci canzoni d'amore di Antonio di Matteo di Meglio", *Interpres* 21 (2002): 7-122, at 92 and 104); (7) Among the rhymes by Francesco d'Altobianco degli Alberti is the sonnet *A-ll'ei, che ' prieghi honesti ascolta e degna*, with the acrostic ALESSANDRA BELLA (ed. in Francesco d'Altobianco Alberti, *Rime*, ed. Alessio Decaria, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, 165 (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 2008), 44).

8. See Rodolfo Renier, "Un poema sconosciuto degli ultimi anni del secolo XIV", *Il Propugnatore* 15 (1882): 176-87; 325-79; 42-75, at 70-5; Jacopo da Montepulciano, *La fimerodia*, ed. Mauro Curciotti (Rome: Bulzoni, 1992), 10-2.

9. From the records of the *Tratte* it can be inferred that Niccolò di Lorenzo Sassolini (sometimes known as Gamba) held several public offices, and died as early as 1391. This date is particularly relevant, because it establishes that Alessandra de' Bardi was a widow when Luigi Davanzati commissioned Jacopo da Montepulciano to compose the *Fimerodia* (the *Tratte* database can be visited online: <http://cds.library.brown.edu/projects/tratte/main.php>; last accessed April 27, 2021).

transmitted in Chigi 131 was considered sufficient to identify the dedicatee.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, the spouse's name was omitted and only his occupation was specified: *cavallaro*. The chronicles of the time indicate unequivocally that the *cavallari* were messengers on horseback (*fanti* were the ones on foot), often used to send missives of political or military relevance,<sup>11</sup> and there are many attestations of this in Iacopo Salviati's *Cronica*,<sup>12</sup> as well as in the slightly later *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi* edited by Guasti.<sup>13</sup> However, these documents indicate that the *cavallaro* was a marginal figure, if not a completely irrelevant one. The letters, or rather their contents, seem much more important than those who delivered them, and it is in fact quite rare for the *cavallari* to be recorded by their names. In addition, I think it is likely that the Florentine governing bodies, considering the dense commercial network and political instability of the second half of the fourteenth century, required a large number of messengers on horseback, rendering identification even more problematic.<sup>14</sup> The *cavallaro* in question must have been a fairly well-known individual since this poem was dedicated to his wife Sandra and then set to music by Francesco Landini, a composer who was about to be, or was already recognised as the most important in Florence, and was apparently well positioned within the Florentine cultural elite (Salutati, Villani, Rinuccini, etc.). In my opinion, it is much more likely that the dedicatee of the poem and its musical setting was the wife of a socially elevated individual than of a *cavallaro*; and this casts a shadow of suspicion on the accuracy of the rubric, and on the term *cavallaro* in particular.

The suspicion that the rubric might be corrupted is supported by evidence from Chigi 131 itself. The section preceding the poetry set to music contains

10. In this case, it is the spouse and not the more usual patronymic that identifies the dedicatee; see for instance in the same manuscript the immediately following ballata *Amar sì li alti tuo genti-costumi*, dedicated to Manetto Davanzati's daughter, "Monna Marsilia di Manetto Davanzati".

11. See *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, s.v. "Cavallaio", 4, "Messo, corriere; staffetta" ('Messenger, courier; relays'); 5, "Messo che recapitava a cavallo le citazioni dei tribunali" ('Messenger on horseback who delivered the subpoenas of the courts').

12. See Ildefonso di San Luigi, ed., *Croniche fiorentine di ser Naddo da Montecatini e del cavaliere Iacopo Salviati*, *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, 18 (Florence: Gaetano Cambiagi, 1784): "di detto mese la sera alle 2. hore di notte io hebbi un Cavallaro con lettere de' nostri Signori [...]" (at 207); "[...] trovai un cavallaro che mi appresentò lettere de' nostri Signori Priori [...]" (at 224).

13. See Cesare Guasti, ed., *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi per il Comune di Firenze dal MCCCXCIX al MCCCCXXIII*, 3 vols., *Documenti di storia italiana pubblicati a cura della R. Deputazione sugli Studi di Storia Patria per le province di Toscana, dell'Umbria e delle Marche* (Florence: M. Cellini, 1867-73). The figure of the *cavallaro* is here almost ubiquitous and it is clear from these letters that the Comune had numerous *cavallari* at its service.

14. For example, in the *Catasto* of 1427-1430 there are more than 300 family units whose head of household was employed by the Municipality in various ways, including "messenger" and "courier"; the Registry database by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber and Nicolas Veysseyet is available for download online (<https://journals.openedition.org/acrh/4971>, last accessed April 27, 2021).

a small corpus of poems by Alberto di Pepo degli Albizzi, and includes two sonnets addressed to “m(esser) G(iovan)ni Cauallier de’ nostri signori”.<sup>15</sup> These rubrics are also found in the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Rediano 184 (Redi184),<sup>16</sup> which, as Barbi demonstrated, drew much of its content from the same exemplar from which, indirectly, Chigi131 derives.<sup>17</sup> That Chigi131 has several cases of erroneous or corrupted rubrics was strenuously argued by Barbi. Only among the rubrics related to the rhymes of Alberto degli Albizzi (25 poems) are there at least two cases of mistaken rubrics, transmitted correctly in manuscript Rediano 184: “ser Calvano” for “ser Coluccio” [Salutati]; “Liporio Mangani” for “Lippo Mangioni”. Given such precedents, it is reasonable to infer that *cavallaro de’ nostri Signori* is actually a mistake for *cavaliere de’ nostri Signori*, possibly pointing to the same Giovanni of the two sonnets by Alberto degli Albizzi.

Francesco Flamini showed no hesitation in identifying this knight, a literary correspondent of Alberto, with Giovanni (Nanni) di Giorgio da Trebbio.<sup>18</sup> The appellation *cavaliere de’ nostri Signori* seems to be a translation of *miles curialis*, an honorary title granted to an institutional figure called *sindacus et referendarius* in the official documents. Giovanni was indeed *sindacus et*

15. These are the sonnets *O felice mie donna a Dio accetta* and *Siami boramai Giove più turbato*, ff. 354r [p. 707] and 355r [p. 709].

16. At f. 118r, respectively, with their rubrics “Sonetto mando a messer Giouanni k. de nostri signori” and “Sonetto mando m(esser) Alberto a messer Giouanni chaualiere de nostri signori”. Part of the Alberto degli Albizzi *canzoniere*, which does not include the two sonnets in question, was also transmitted in Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VII 1040 (Magl1040), ff. 1-4.

17. The rhymes by Alberto degli Albizzi, according to the rubrics of Chigi131 (at ff. 349v [p. 698] and 357r [p. 713]), were derived from a collection copied by Matteo di Piero di Banco degli Albizzi on October 12, 1394 (the time is even indicated: “Cominciai a scrivere ... alle 2 hore...”, “... a le 4 hore di notte si finirono di scrivere”); see Michele Barbi, *Studi sul Canzoniere di Dante, con nuove indagini sulle raccolte manoscritte e a stampa di antiche rime italiane* (Florence: Sansoni, 1915), 455-509, in particular 469-71. Recently, Claudio Giunta has discussed the relationships between Chigi131 and Redi184, pointing out that Barbi’s opinion on the greater authority of the Rediano, especially in terms of the rubrics, needs to be supported by an analysis of the variant readings (see Claudio Giunta, “Le rime di Alberto degli Albizzi”, in *Estravaganti, disperse, apocrifi petrarcheschi: Gargano del Garda (25-27 settembre 2006)*, ed. Claudia Berra and Paola Vecchi Galli (Milan: Cisalpino, 2007), 363-70). Giunta also noted that the dedications do not imply that all these sonnets have to be regarded as correspondence poetry, and that the rubrics seem rather to outline a circle culturally and politically close to the author. Alberto’s addressees / correspondents who can be identified with some certainty include: Giovanni Gehrardi da Prato; Jacopo Guasconi (quite probably the son of Niccolò di Jacopo Guasconi); Coluccio Salutati; Roberto de’ Rossi; Bertoldo Corsini (almost certainly the son of Filippo Corsini, brother of the Archbishop Piero); Vanni Castellani (probably the son of Michele di Lotto di Vanni Castellani); Antonio di Niccolò degli Alberti; Gino Capponi (presumably the father of Neri Capponi); Lippo Mangioni; Berto Frescobaldi (perhaps the Bertacchio Frescobaldi exiled after the Ciompi revolt), Benuccio barbiere (i.e. Benuccio da Orvieto, *canterino* and correspondent of Jacopo da Montepulciano and Franco Sacchetti).

18. Francesco Flamini, *La lirica toscana del Rinascimento anteriore ai tempi del Magnifico* (Pisa: Nistri, 1891), 203-4.

*referendarius* of the *Comune* from 1377 until his death in 1393, customarily also carrying out tasks that were similar to those of the heralds during the Medici era.<sup>19</sup> The title of *miles curialis* was purely honorific and had little to do with feudal cavalry. This distinction was not insignificant, since Lapo da Castiglionchio, at about the same time, made it clear that granting the title of *cavaliere* to the *buffoni* did not make them noble *de facto*.<sup>20</sup> This would explain the important addition *de' nostri signori* – a description that we find listed in the payments to *sindaci et referendarii*, and *buffoni*.<sup>21</sup> The *sindacus et referendarius* was apparently chosen on the basis of his oratorical skills, and such documents explicitly acknowledge Giovanni's rhetorical talent. Therefore, it is not surprising that Flamini attributed a moral canzone to him, *La division che 'n te, Fiorenza, è nata*, bearing the attribution in the sole codex in which it is transmitted.<sup>22</sup>

Hence, it is possible that the *cavallaro* of Chigi 131 was actually a *cavaliere*, one of the heralds *ante litteram* hired by the *Comune*. Among them, Giovanni di Giorgio is, also for chronological reasons, the most likely person with

19. A first detailed history of *sindaci et referendarii* and the following heralds is outlined in Francesco Novati, "Le poesie sulla natura delle frutta e i canterini del Comune di Firenze nel Trecento", *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 19 (1892): 55-79. Included here are excerpts of the documents relating to the election of Giovanni and that of his successor Antonio di Piero di Friano in 1393, where it is attested that "decessit dominus Johannes Georgii, miles curialis Communis Florentie qui erat tunc et multis annis prius fuerat *Sindicus et referendarius dicti Communis et recitator coram Dominis rerum moralium in vulgari et similibus*" (at 63-74, my italics). On the role of the *sindacus et referendarius* and on the establishment of the herald see Richard C. Trexler, *The Libro Cerimoniale of the Florentine Republic by Francesco Filarete and Angelo Manfredi* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1978), 33-46. The largest and most recent survey is in Suzanne Branciforte, "«Ars poetica rei publicae»: The Herald of the Florentine Signoria" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1990); see also Timothy J. McGee, *The Ceremonial Musicians of Late Medieval Florence* (Bloomington-Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009), 69-104, with biographical information about Giovanni di Giorgio at 99.

20. "Nel vero altro è essere de' grandi, altro è essere nobile (...), li cavalieri delle corti, come sono questi buffoni, non sono nobili, perocché non sono accettati come cavalieri: il simile è di coloro che sono chiamati cavalieri Gaudenti. Puossi adunque fare per gli statuti de' ignobili nobili, e de' nobili ignobili: e questo in molti luoghi si osserva"; Lorenzo Mehus, ed., *Epistola o sia ragionamento di messer Lapo da Castiglionchio* (Bologna: Girolamo Corciolani, 1763), 25. Similar grievances with respect to the degeneration of cavalry are vividly expressed in Franco Sacchetti, *Le Trecento Novelle*, ed. Michelangelo Zaccarello, Archivio Romano, 29 (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014), novella CLIII.

21. For Antonio di Piero Friani, Branciforte brings attention to a document that indicates he was "cavaliere e buffone dei nostri Signori di Firenze" (Branciforte, "«Ars poetica»", 122, n. 18); and other similar statements can be found later for Antonio di Meglio.

22. Flamini, *La lirica toscana*, 55. The codex in question is Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VIII 1282 (Magl 1282), f. 16r. The title "buffone" given to Antonio di Meglio is also attested in a document quoted in Guasti, *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi*, III, 214, n. 3: "Messer Antonio di Matteo, cavaliere di Palagio, o vero buffone (...)". For further information about Antonio di Meglio see Branciforte, "«Ars poetica»", 89-104; biographical information can also be found in Pallini, "Dieci canzoni".

whom this attribution might be identified.<sup>23</sup> The archival research conducted by Suzanne Branciforte on the Florentine heralds has not unearthed any new documents about Giovanni di Giorgio,<sup>24</sup> so it is not currently possible to verify whether he had a wife named Sandra or Alessandra. In any case, in light of almost perfect chronological compatibility, it is highly plausible that the dedicatee of a ballata set to music by Landini was indeed the wife of a “court knight”.<sup>25</sup>

However, I would like to propose a further hypothesis: assuming that Chigi 131's scribe plainly modelled the rubric upon the preceding ones of the two sonnets by Alberto degli Albizzi, it is possible that the rubric originally read *moglie di [G.] caval[iere]*. The scribe, apart from the erroneous *cavallaro*, might have added *de' nostri Signori* by attraction to the preceding rubrics and omitted the initial of the name. If things went this way, one could point to an even more plausible identification than the previous one: the *cavaliere* in question could be Giovanni di Francesco Rinuccini,<sup>26</sup> brother of Cino, a well-known writer and author of a ballata set to music by Landini (*Con gli occhi assai ne miro*).<sup>27</sup> There are two details about Rinuccini that are particularly relevant, here:

23. According to this reasoning, the two *sindaci et referendarii* mentioned prior to Giovanni may also be potential candidates for identification here: Jacopo Salimbeni [Jacopo delle parole] (1352-1375) and Geronimo di Meglio [called “Puchio”] (1376-1377); but the following name, Antonio di Piero Friani [Antonio Cavaliere, Antonio di Palagio] (1393; 1396-1417), seems an unlikely contender.

24. Branciforte, “«Ars poetica»”, 76-128.

25. Landini was held in good esteem by high-ranking figures, a fact which he likely confirms himself in the text of the famous polytextual madrigal *Musica son*, which he probably composed along with the music. Lines 11-12 (i.e. lines 1-2 of the third madrigal, underlaid to the tenor) read: “Già furon le dolcezze mie pregiate / da cavalier, baroni e gran signori” (ed. Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 129-30).

26. The majority of known information about Giovanni Rinuccini can be found in Giuseppe Aiazzi, *Ricordi storici di Filippo di Cino Rinuccini dal 1282 al 1460 preceduti dalla storia genealogica della di lui famiglia e dalla descrizione della Cappella Gentilizia in S. Croce con documenti ed illustrazioni* (Florence: Piatti, 1840), 121-2: “Giovanni di mess. Francesco nacque nel 1343, ed ebbe dal padre insieme cogli altri fratelli squisita educazione letteraria e politica; andò con esso in Avignone alla corte di Urbano V; e nel 1378 fu creato cavaliere del popolo e di parte guelfa (...) Nel 1387 fu ingiustamente ammonita tutta la famiglia de' Rinuccini, e solo nel 1391 fu riabilitata all'esercizio dei pubblici impieghi ad istanza de' migliori cittadini e per utilità del Comune; (...) Nel 31 Dicembre 1393 trovai matricolato di nuovo nell'arte de' Mercatanti; e nel 1395 prestò al Comune denari per le truppe levate onde andar contro gli Ordelaffi a Forlì. Nel 1378 [but 1361, according to Luigi Passerini, *Gli Alberti di Firenze. Genealogia, storia e documenti*, 2 vols. (Florence: Cellini, 1869), I, tav. 4; II, p. 94] avea sposato l'Alessandra del fu Bernardo di Nerozzo Alberti, dalla quale ebbe solo la figlia Lorenza, che si maritò con Segni di Francesco Tedaldi. Ebbe pure una figlia naturale chiamata Margherita, che sposò Iacopo di Ricco. Morì Giovanni circa il 1400”.

27. See Cino Rinuccini, *Rime*, ed. Giovanna Balbi, Filologia Testi e Studi, 4 (Florence: Le Lettere, 1995).

Giovanni was knighted by the Priori del Comune in 1378 and was himself Prior in 1380-1381;<sup>28</sup>

he was joined in marriage to Alessandra di Bernardo di Nerozzo Alberti,<sup>29</sup> the same Alessandra (and the only one with that name) mentioned in the *Battaglia delle belle donne* by Franco Sacchetti,<sup>30</sup> who addressed one of his letters to Giovanni Rinuccini to comfort him for the death of his only son.<sup>31</sup>

It should be noted that Giovanni was made a knight on 20 July 1378, amid the Ciompi revolt. Marchionne di Coppo Stefani (alias Baldassarre Bonaiuti)<sup>32</sup> recalls:

Tutti i detti arsi e picconati [‘che hanno avuto la casa data alle fiamme o demolita’] furono divietati degli uficj, eglino e’ fratelli e’ nipoti e parenti ch’egli avieno. Ed eglino presero certi cittadini, e per forza li faceano cavalieri, come che in quello fare dei cavalieri molti se ne facessero per paura di non essere arsi e rubati. [...] E chi ardeano, e chi levavano a dignità di cavalleria; e a tale era arsa la casa sua, che in quello stante era fatto cavaliere; e tale fatto cavaliere, che ivi a poco gli era arsa la casa. E fu il più nuovo e strano viluppo che mai si facesse.<sup>33</sup>

About half of the more than sixty knights proclaimed that day declined the nomination, on the grounds of the exceptional irregularity of the proclamation. A further ceremony was held on 18 October that same year, aimed at those who intended to retain the title.<sup>34</sup> Guido Monaldi’s *Diario* reads:

28. See Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, *Cronaca fiorentina*, ed. Niccolò Rodolico, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 30 (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1903), 391. Consider that Marchionne wrote: “Messer Giovanni di messer Francesco Rinuccini, cavaliere”; a title that is otherwise only employed for two other priors, Pazzino di Francesco Strozzi and Guido di Giovanni Machiavelli.

29. There is very little surviving information regarding Bernardo di Nerozzo and that which does survive relates to the political roles he took around 1360. Bernardo was the older brother of Benedetto, who later on had a leading political role and was on several occasions alongside Francesco Rinuccini, father of Giovanni, and with Giovanni himself during the Ciompi revolt (see Passerini, *Gli Alberti*, I, 107-8 and 113-27). This confirms that the marriage between Giovanni and Alessandra only sealed an already well-established partnership between the two families.

30. See Franco Sacchetti, *La battaglia delle belle donne. Le lettere. Le sposizioni di Vangeli*, ed. Alberto Chiari, *Scrittori d’Italia*, 166 (Bari: Laterza, 1938), cantare I, 31-33.

31. See Sacchetti, *Battaglia delle belle donne*, 89-91. The rubric of this letter reveals that Giovanni “avea fuggita la mortalità, anno 1391, con la sua famiglia e morigli uno suo figliuolo unico di 20 anni”. This information complements what was already reported by Aiazzi’s genealogy mentioned above, at note 26.

32. For information regarding the *Cronaca fiorentina* by Marchionne di Coppo Stefani see Amedeo De Vincentiis, “Scrittura e politica cittadina: la cronaca fiorentina di Marchionne di Coppo Stefani”, *Rivista storica italiana* 108 (1996): 230-97; Vieri Mazzoni, “Nuovi documenti sul cronista fiorentino Marchionne di Coppo Stefani”, *Archivio Storico Italiano* 156 (1998): 503-16.

33. Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, *Cronaca*, 323. Among the names of the knights present on that day is Benedetto di Nerozzo degli Alberti, father of Alessandra.

34. A clear summary of those events can be found in Gaetano Salvemini, *La dignità cavalleresca nel Comune di Firenze* (Florence: Ricci, 1896), 94-8.

“Lunedì, a dì 18 d’ottobre, la mattina, diedero desinare i Priori a i cavalieri novelli, che hanno voluto ritenere la cavalleria, che furono trentadue”.<sup>35</sup> Giovanni Rinuccini is also included in the list compiled by Monaldi. Also interesting is that both Giovanni and Antonio di Niccolò degli Alberti are listed at the July and October ceremonies of 1378.<sup>36</sup> Niccolò was another correspondent of Alberto degli Albizzi and a promoter of the meetings at the villa called *il Paradiso*, evoked by Giovanni Gherardi da Prato (to whom Alberto dedicated two sonnets) in his collection of unfinished tales now known as *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*. Landini is an active character within the narrative frame (reminiscent of Boccaccio’s *Decameron*) that holds the tales together.<sup>37</sup> If these identifications are correct, the Sandra in question could be identified with Alessandra di Bernardo degli Alberti, and this would make the network of connections between Landini, Sacchetti, the Alberti and the Rinuccini families even tighter. The dates pose no obstacle: if, as confirmed by Sacchetti’s letter, in 1391 Giovanni lost a twenty-year-old son, and Sacchetti himself was able to include Alessandra in the *Battaglia* (ca. 1355), she must have been born at the latest in the 1340s (and it is also evident that Passerini was right to date the marriage to 1361 and not to 1378, as Aiazzi did).<sup>38</sup>

## 1. THE POETIC TEXTS

One of the main obstacles in the study of *Ma’ non s’andrà*, is the fact that the *senhal* has been obscured in Chigi131. It is clear that this was not an intentional act, and the rubric itself rules out the hypothesis that the ballata was recycled and dedicated to somebody else.<sup>39</sup> In this regard, it must be noted that the two versions of the texts, that of Chigi131 and that transmitted in the musical manuscripts, differ considerably, not only in the first line,

35. *Istorie pistolesi ovvero delle cose avvenute in Toscana dall’anno MCCC al MCCCXLVIII e Diario del Monaldi*, ed. Antonio Maria Biscioni (Florence: Tartini e Franchi, 1733 [rist. Milan, G. Silvestri, 1845]), 457, including a list of all the knights who attended the ceremony.

36. Benedetto was a cousin of Niccolò (Niccolao); Niccolò’s son, Antonio, was the well-known poet and correspondent of Sacchetti, as well as the dedicatee of one of the sonnets by Alberto degli Albizi.

37. Giovanni da Prato, *Il paradiso degli Alberti. Ritrovi e ragionamenti del 1389*, ed. Alessandro Wesselofsky, 3 vols. (Bologna: Romagnoli, 1867); new edition, Giovanni da Prato, *Il paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. Antonio Lanza (Rome: Salerno, 1975).

38. See above, note 26.

39. It might have been a similar eventuality that generated the divergence between the *senhals* *PETRA* and *COSA*, in the ballata *Orsù, gentili spirti, ad amar pronti*, for which cf. Corsi, *Poesie musicali*, 204-5. It should be noted, however, that *petra* can also mean “precious stone”, or “gem”, so the use of this term does not necessarily obscure the intended *senhal*.

as shown in the following edition. Apart from Chigi131, the musical tradition consists of the following manuscripts:<sup>40</sup> Sq, f. 141r; Pit, ff. 109v-110r; Fp, ff. 66v-67r, Man, f. 49r. The text of the musical version below is based on the reading of Fp and I limited my annotations to errors and substantial variant readings; Chigi131's reading is given in synopsis.<sup>41</sup>

Fp	Chigi131		
Ma' non s'andrà per questa donn' altera	Sempre è costei più bella e più altera,	1	Y
se non al modo usato,	Amor, al modo usato,	2	Z
ond'io mi struggo, Amor, tutto 'nfiammato.	ond'io mi struggo, e tu ne sei biasmato.	3	Z
Esta crudel mi vuol pur tormentare,	=	4	A
non a un'octa, ma di giorno 'n giorno,	=	5	B
sol per tormi la vita.	=	6	c
Alcuna volta mi fa rallegrare,	=	7	A
mostrando lieto a me suo viso adorno,	=	8	B
e poi pare smarrita.	=	9	c
Dunque, per Dio, o alma sbigottita,	Dunque, per Dio, non mi dar tal àita,	10	C
dolce morte ti prendi,	onde morte mi prenda,	11	d
sì ch'a un'octa e non a stento pèra.	tal ch'a un'otta e non a stento pèra.	12	Y

3 struggo, Amor, tutto 'nfiammato] strugo damo(r) i(n)fia(m)mato Pit<sup>T</sup>, strugo | amor<sup>(\*)</sup>i(n) fia(m)mato *and at left margin*: tutto<sup>(\*)</sup> Pit<sup>C</sup>, strugho damor tutto/ i(n)fia(m)mato Man 7-12 *lacuna* Man 10 o alma] lanima Pit Sq

Translation: 1-3 With this disdainful woman there is no hope that the situation will change [*ma' non s'andrà se non nel modo usato*], and for this, Love, I despair, full of ardent desire. 4-9 This cruel woman wants to torment me, and not once, but from day to day, just to take my life away. Sometimes she gives me relief, showing me her beautiful serene face, and then she appears distressed (*smarrita* can also mean "annoyed", "of different notice"). 10-12 So, for God, o heartbroken soul, may a sweet death strike you [*ti prendi*], so that I die quickly [*a un'octa*] and not in slow agony [*a stento*].

Translation of Chigi131's text: 1-3 She, Love, is always more beautiful and more disdainful, as usual; so I suffer from it and you (Love) are to blame. (...) 10-12 So, for God, do not give me such help, so that I may catch such a death that I die quickly and not in slow agony.

40. The manuscripts sigla adopted are as follows: Sq = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 ("Squarcialupi Codex"); Pit = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568; Fp = Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Paciatichiano 26; SL = Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, 2211; Man = Lucca, Archivio di Stato, ms. 184.

41. The editorial criteria are as follows: *u* and *v* are distinguished according to modern use; *y* and *j* conform to *i*; *b* is omitted in the nexuses *cb* and *gb* in front of *a*, *o* and *u*; *i* is omitted in front of *e* in the nexuses *cie* and *scie*; the lateral and nasal palatals are drawn according to modern use; abbreviations are tacitly dissolved; diacritics necessary to understand the text are introduced.

Two phenomena related to the musical version call for further consideration. Firstly, we can observe the following relationships between the variant versions of line 3, for which we can possibly infer the following chain of developments: *ond'io mi struggo, Amor, tutto infiammato* (Fp Sq Pit<sup>C</sup>) > *ond'io mi struggo d'amor, tutto infiammato* (Man) > *ond'io mi struggo d'amor, infiammato* (Pit<sup>T</sup>). The agreement between Man and Pit<sup>T</sup> (*d'amor*, which eliminates the vocative) is probably polygenetic. The resulting hypermeter is evident in the first case, while in the second, through the omission of *tutto*, the syllabic count – but not the rhythm – of the line is recovered. However, it is important to note the divergent readings in Pit between the text underlaid to the cantus and to the tenor.<sup>42</sup> Initially, the difference between the two voices is limited to *Amor / d'amor*. They produce, respectively, a hypometric line (cantus) and an accent on the seventh syllable that strongly contrasts with the music (tenor).<sup>43</sup> Subsequently, the scribe corrected the cantus,<sup>44</sup> filling the lacuna. It is difficult to determine where this material was taken from – whether from the antigraph witness, or from collation with another exemplar. If we assume, with Alphonse Dain, that “le copiste est en principe un honnête homme”,<sup>45</sup> then the resulting partial corruption, where the cantus part is corrected but the errors in the tenor remain, strongly contrasts with the scribal intention to enhance the piece that underlies this operation. Another interesting variant is evident at line 10: “*l'anima*” is in place of “*o alma*” in both Pit and Sq, which implies the reading “*dolce Morte, prenditi l'anima sbigottita*”, and is a reversal of the subject and object as they appear in Fp. While the overall sense is not compromised, this reading is problematic at the rhythmic level due to a 5<sup>th</sup> counter-accent that inevitably results in the unnatural accenting of *l'anima* in the musical setting.<sup>46</sup>

42. The phenomenon of divergent readings between voices, which is also of interest to Sq, can be found in at least three other ballatas by Landini: *Posto che dall'aspetto, Già non biasim'Amor, Né 'n ciascun mie pensiero*, for which I refer to Michele Epifani, “Su due ballate di Francesco Landini”, in «*Cara scientia mia, musica*». *Studi per Maria Caraci Vela*, ed. Angela Romagnoli and others (Pisa: ETS, 2018), 1085–119.

43. This is not the only case in which parallel verses show rhythmic divergences; following Pit's reading, which distributes *struggo amor / d'amor* in four metrical syllables (in the first case by means of dialepha), the performance of the ballata would imply an “artificial” accentuation with respect to the metrical grid imposed by the *divisio octonaria* of the composition, which is one of a very small group of Landini's songs transmitted (in all witnesses) in Italian notation. Such accentuation would not be impossible in itself, but would still constitute an anomaly in the context of the piece.

44. In my opinion, the correction was made by the same hand (scribe E according to John Nádas, “The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1986), 216–90); the problem is determining how long after the first copying initiative the correction was made.

45. Alphonse Dain, *Les manuscrits* (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1949, 1975), 17.

46. See Leo Schrade, ed., *The Works of Francesco Landini*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, IV (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1958), n. 49, mm. 6–7; here, lines 10–12 are inter-

What happens in the literary witness is more interesting: Chigi<sub>131</sub> presents an alternative version that diverges sharply from the musical tradition with respect to the *ripresa* (vv. 1-3) and the *volta* (lines 10-12). Of particular interest are the *topos* of the reproach to Love at line 3 (“tu ne sè biasmato”)<sup>47</sup> and the variant reading at line 11, “non mi dar tal àita”, which should be probably referred to as the second *mutazione* (“Alcuna volta mi fa rallegrare”). Although this version is only extant in one manuscript, it surely circulated regardless of and contemporary to Landini’s setting, and Chigi<sub>131</sub>’s rubric should be interpreted at face value: as evidence that the dedicatee of the poem was a woman named Sandra. The censorship of the *senhal* and the rubric are not contradictory *per se*, but appear as such only in light of the musical version. Therefore, it would be entirely arbitrary to consider it a decisive argument to prove the correctness of the musical version at the expense of the literary one. This situation can be explained in two ways:

1) The musical version was the original one, and Chigi<sub>131</sub> presents a later and novel version of the text, with a rubric that could only be explained as a kind of “fossil”, a residual trait of the original redaction, which for some reason remained attached to the poem.

2) Chigi<sub>131</sub>’s version was coeval with, if not earlier than the version set to music by Landini, and it assumed the *facies* with which it was transmitted in the musical manuscripts precisely as a consequence of the musical setting.

This second hypothesis can be further developed, whereas very little can be added to the first one, apart from pointing out that the *mutazioni* were actually left intact, despite the innovations introduced in the *ripresa* and in the *volta*.<sup>48</sup> While the available data does not offer any evidence, it is necessary to broaden our perspective and consider that *Ma’ non s’andrà* is not the only ballata by Landini’s that includes the *senhal* SANDRA. There are two other well-known examples: *S’andra’ sança merçé di tempo in tempo* and *A-lle’ s’andrà lo spírto e l’alma mia*. Both texts were transmitted only in musical manuscripts.

Mss.: Fp f. 14r, Sq f. 167v, Pit ff. 7v-8r, SL, f. 102v [= 100v]; I follow Sq.

S’andra’ sança merçé di tempo in tempo,	1	Y
donna che ’l mie cor ài,	2	Z
non so da cui piacer m’aspetti mai.	3	Z

preted: *Dunque, perd’io l’anima sbigottita. / Dolce morte ti prendi / Sì cb’a un’otta e non a stento pera*. From the *Comentary*, at 65, it is clear that Schrade considered Fp’s reading illegible.

47. Such a trait is not unusual in Landini’s works – see also, for example, the ballatas *Già non biasimo Amor, po’ che ’l mio petto* and *D’Amor mi biasmo, chi che se ne lodi*.

48. The fact that Chigi<sub>131</sub> presents another ballata by Landini, *Amar sì li alti tuo genti. costumi*, with the *senhal* MARSILIA obscured by the omission of *sì* (*Amare li alti tuoi gentil costumi*), does not establish a connection with our ballata, since the differences between the literary and musical traditions are very limited, and the text is essentially the same.

El ben ch'i' spero et ogni mie diletto	4	A
può darmi 'l tuo bel vis', ognor ch'i-l miro;	5	B
e se da te non ven, qual altro aspetto	6	A
sarà, se non mie pen'e mie martiro?	7	B
Dunque, da poi che sol per te sospiro,	8	B
donna, che-l vedi et sai,	9	Z
esser men dura pur conviensi omai.	10	Z

1 andrā] andray Fp andrāi Pit 5 ch'i-l] chi Fp 6 ven, qual altro] uiene quel tuo Fp 9 et sai] assaj Fp

Translation: 1-3 If you continue [*s'andra' di tempo 'n tempo*] to be merciless, woman who possesses my heart, I do not know from whom I will ever expect relief. 4-7 Every time I look at it, your beautiful face can give me the good I desire and every pleasure; but if it (such relief) does not come from you, what else could I expect [*qual altro aspetto sarà*], if not pain and suffering? 8-10 Therefore, woman, since only for you I sigh, and you see and know this, it's time for you [*conviensi omai*] to be less harsh.

*A-lle' s'andrà* was transmitted only in Fp f. 37v and Sq f. 135v; I follow Fp.

A-lle' s'andrà lo spirtō e l'alma mia,	1	Y
oma' che per amore 'l corpo privo	2	Z
lascia di vita e più non può star vivo.	3	(c <sub>3</sub> ) Z
Mostrò a me questa lucida stella,	4	A
che par figlia d'Apollō, sì risplende	5	B
co' suo begli ochi, amor con dolce vita.	6	C
Or è rivolta la sua vista bella,	7	A
sì ch'a me cresce pena e più s'accende	8	B
l'alma, che piange la dura partita.	9	C
Ma se Amor, il mio signor, m'aita,	10	C
ch'ella 'n vèr me si volga ançi che privo	11	Z
i' sia di vita, ancor tornerò vivo.	12	(c <sub>3</sub> ) Z

12 di] da Sq

Translation: 1-3 To her will go (my) spirit and my soul, now that, out of love, they leave the body lifeless [*privo di vita*] and without the possibility of remaining alive. 4-9 This bright star, who with her beautiful eyes shines so much that she appears (like) Apollō's daughter, giving me joy [*con dolce vita*], showed me love. Now her beautiful gaze is turned (elsewhere), and so the pain grows and the soul lights up (with desire), crying for this hard detachment. 10-12 But if Love, my lord, helps me, (by making sure) that she turns to me before it is too late [*ançi che privo i' sia di vita*], I will come back to life again.

*A·lle' s'andrà* is a more formally complex and refined poem than the other two – a trait that is also significantly reflected in the music, which will be analysed later. The *anima / spirito* pairing is very interesting, if only for its rarity within the corpus of the texts of the Italian Ars Nova. In the context outlined by the poem, the two terms should not be understood as a mere synonymic couple: while the soul represents consciousness and therefore the feeling of love, the spirit should be understood in a medical-physiological sense, with the intention of emphasising that love's suffering has tangible repercussions even on the physical level. It seems that the debt to the Stilnovo poetry is even more evident here than in the two previous ballatas. Most notably, reference is made to Dante's *Vita nova*, in which the first meeting with Beatrice is an occasion to talk widely on the doctrine of spirits.<sup>49</sup> Equally, the influence of Cino da Pistoia, whose sonnet *Giusto dolore a la morte m'invita* might have provided a direct model for this ballata, should also not be underestimated.<sup>50</sup>

The observations made for *A·lle' s'andrà* require a dutiful premise to the analysis that follows. Establishing the existence of intertextual nexuses in the Ars Nova repertory is generally complex, particularly for the vast Landini corpus. Despite the high quantity of surviving compositions, we have to acknowledge that the range of textual themes is noticeably limited, with inevitable repercussions at the stylistic and formal level. For example, the textual theme of the three ballatas for Sandra (i.e. the description of the mortal suffering of love due to the reluctance or distance of the beloved), is so exploited that the feedback of certain lexical or formal analogies, rather than demonstrating a direct nexus between the individual texts, could arise from

49. These excerpts from *Vita nova*, II, 4-7, should provide enough evidence: "(...) lo spirito de la vita, lo quale dimora ne la secretissima camera de lo cuore, cominciò a tremare sì fortemente che apparia ne li mènimi polsi orribilmente; (...) lo spirito animale, lo quale dimora ne l'alta camera ne la quale tutti li spiriti sensitivi portano le loro percezioni, si cominciò a maravigliare molto, (...) lo spirito naturale, lo quale dimora in quella parte ove si ministra lo nutrimento nostro, cominciò a piangere (...). D'allora innanzi dico che Amore segnoreggiò la mia anima (...)"

50. Note in particular the presence of the same rhymes (in two cases even the same words) in the incipit of the sonnet: "Giusto dolore a la morte m'invita, / ch'i' veggio, a mio rispetto, ogn'om giulivo / e non conforto alcuno, stando *privo* / di tutto ben, ch'ogni gio' m'è fallita. / Ma non so che mi far de la *finita*, / ch'al morir già volentier non *arrivo*. / Così 'n questo dolor, misero! *vivo* / infra 'l grave tormento di mia *vita*" (I follow Mario Marti, *Poeti del dolce stil nuovo* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1969), 655). On the relationships between Cino and the Ars Nova texts, see Guido Capovilla, "Dante, Cino e Petrarca nel repertorio musicale profano del Trecento", in *La parola ritrovata. Fonti e analisi letteraria*, ed. Costanzo Di Girolamo and Ivano Paccagnella (Palermo: Sellerio, 1982), 118-36. As a side note, I would add that the three ballatas set to music by Landini seem to have significant relationships with the older ballata, *Guato una donna dov'io la scontrai* by Gianni Alfani, in which includes, although it has not been noticed before, the presence of the *senhal* SANDRA at line 23: "... conven ch'i' moia / per forza d'un sospiro, / che per coste' i' debbo far sì grande, / che l'anima smarrita S'ANDRÀ via" (lines 20-23); ed. in Gianfranco Contini, ed., *Poeti del Duecento*, 2 vols. (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1960), Vol. 1, 606-7.

the inspiring stylistic modules, thus establishing a proper architextual nexus.<sup>51</sup> However, in the present examples there are two objective elements to consider: they are written by the same composer and include the same *senhal*. The conditions for an intertextual investigation therefore seem sufficiently solid.

The following table outlines the texts of the three ballatas: lexical analogies (including rhymes) are in **bold**, analogies rendered by synonym are in *italic*, analogies rendered by antonymy are in *underlined italics* (the order in which the texts are presented was suggested by their contents).

Table 1. Intertextual nexuses

<p>S'ANDRA' sança merçé <i>di tempo in tempo</i>,          donna che 'l mie cor ài,          non so da cui piacer m'aspetti mai.</p>	<p>Ma' non S'ANDRÀ per questa donn'          altera          se non al modo usato,          ond'io mi struggo, Amor, tutto          'nfiammato.</p>	<p>A-LLE' S'ANDRÀ lo spirtò e l'alma mia,          oma' che per amore 'l corpo privo          lascia di vita e più non può star          vivo.</p>
<p>El ben ch'i' spero et ogni mie diletto          può dar mi 'l tuo bel vis', ognor ch'i'l          miro;</p>	<p><i>Esta crudel</i> mi vuol pur tormentare,          non a un'octa, ma <i>di giorno 'n giorno</i>,          sol per tormi la <b>vita</b>.</p>	<p><b>Mostrò</b> a me <i>questa lucida stella</i>,          che par figlia d'Apollo, sì risplende          co' suo begli occhi, amor, <i>con dolce vita</i>.          Or è rivolta la sua vista bella,          sì ch'a me cresce pena e più s'accende          l'alma, che piange la dura partita.</p>
<p>e se da te non ven, qual altro aspetto          sarà, se non mie pen' e mie martiro?</p>	<p>Alcuna volta <i>mi fa rallegrare</i>,  <b>mostrando</b> lieto a me suo viso adorno          e poi pare smarrita.</p>	<p>Ma se Amor, il mio signor, m'aita,          ch'ella 'nvér me si volga, ançi che          privo  <i>i' sia di vita</i>, ancor <u><i>tornèrò vivo</i></u>.</p>
<p><b>Dunque</b>, da poi che sol per te          sospiro,          donna, che-l vedi et sai,          esser men dura pur conviensi omai.</p>	<p><b>Dunque</b>, per Dio, o alma sbigottita,          dolce morte ti prendi,          sì ch'a un'octa e non a stento <u><i>pèra</i></u>.</p>	

In terms of metrical structure, all three ballatas include a 3-verse *ripresa*, following a YZZ scheme, while regarding the stanza, *S'andra' sança merçé* differs from the other two in its two-line *mutazioni* instead of three. Following the *Repertorio metrico* by Linda Pagnotta,<sup>52</sup> the scheme of *S'andra' sança merçé* (scheme 115:80) recurs, in its exact form, in 36 ballatas, by poets such as Cino Rinuccini, Franco Sacchetti, Niccolò Soldanieri and Matteo Griffoni, as well as in several anonymous ballatas set to music by Landini,<sup>53</sup> Lorenzo, Andrea,

51. On architextuality see Gérard Genette, *Introduction à l'architexte* (Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 1979); see also the *Introduction* in Id., *Palimpsestes: la littérature au second degré* (Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 1983).

52. Linda Pagnotta, *Repertorio metrico della ballata italiana. Secoli XIII e XIV* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1995).

53. *Contempler le gran cose, Donna, i' priego Amor, Donna, l'animo tuo, Donna, per farmi guerra, Guarda un volta 'n cià, L'alma mie piange, Per seguir la sperança, Va pure, Amor*, in addition to *Nonn arà ma' pietà* by Bindo d'Alesso Donati.

Paolo and Zacara da Teramo. We can therefore infer that this scheme was particularly widespread throughout the whole fourteenth century. The other two schemes are less frequently used. *Ma' non s'andrà* scheme is a *unicum* (scheme 210:1); *A-lle' s'andrà* (scheme 223:5) is composed entirely of hendecasyllables, and six other extant ballatas employ an identical scheme: two of Petrarch's *Disperse* (*Amor che 'n cielo* and *Nova bellezza*),<sup>54</sup> one by Cino da Pistoia (*Amor, la dolce vista*), and two anonymous ballatas set to music respectively by Landini (*Orsù gentili spirti*) and Andrea (*Non già per mie fallir*). Actually, the difference between *Ma' non s'andrà* and *A-lle' s'andrà* resides only in the presence of the *settenario* and in the scheme of the *volta*, which in the first ballata exhibits an unrelated rhyme. It is also worth noting that *Ma' non s'andrà* is one of the few ballatas where the last rhyme in the *volta* diverges from the first rhyme in the *ripresa*.<sup>55</sup>

*S'andra' sança mercé* differs from the other two ballatas not only because of the two-line *mutazioni*, but also because it appears decidedly more isolated on an intertextual level, despite obvious nexuses in the other two texts, among which we can include identical positioning of the *-ita* rhyme, including the keyword *vita*. Not to mention, Chigi131's version presents the reading *non mi dar tal àita* at line 10, which would have increased the literal identity with line 10 of *A-lle' s'andrà*. The close connection between *Ma' non s'andrà* and *A-lle' s'andrà* is also evident in terms of the content, and in particular in the *mutazioni*, where the same alternation between opposite narratives takes place: on the one hand the torment of the beloved's rejection, and on the other a moment when the woman seems to consent to the lover's desire. Note, however, a significant difference: in *Ma' non s'andrà* this moment of consent is expressed in the present tense ("... mi fa rallegrare / mostrando lieto a me il suo viso adorno"), while in *A-lle' s'andrà* it is already in the past tense ("Mostrò a me questa lucida stella / ... amor, con dolce vita"), but at the time when the author was writing the situation had significantly worsened ("Or è rivolta la sua vista bella, / sì ch'a me cresce pena"). I am certainly not implying that the first two ballatas have nothing in common besides the *senhal* and the fact that they were set to music by the same composer: the *senhal* was used in both ballatas as a form of the verb *andare* ("to go"), which means "to continue", in order to express the persistence of a situation that causes suffering, respectively "sança mercé di tempo in tempo" and "al modo usato".

54. *Rime disperse di Francesco Petrarca o a lui attribuite*, ed. Angelo Solerti (Florence: Sansoni, 1909), 77-80. It is striking that both ballatas lament the suffering for a *donna altera* and are addressed to Love.

55. According to Pagnotta, *Repertorio metrico*, 288-9, there are only 23 other ballatas that exhibit this feature.

More generally, two observations can be made about these three texts and their potential to be considered as constituting a proper cycle. In the light of the aforementioned nexuses, it should be noted that, in terms of content, none of the texts is a “duplicate” of the others – they instead lend themselves to a consequential interpretation. First, in terms of the interlocutors: *S'andra' sança merçé* includes a direct plea to the woman; *Ma' non s'andrà* invokes the mediation of Love; and *A·lle' s'andrà* has no direct interlocutors and merely describes a factual situation. Secondly, taken as a whole, the texts outline a gradual deterioration of the lover's emotional state. The lover unravels, from exhortation to mercy (“*donna ... esser men dura conviensi omai*”), to the desire for an immediate death that would end his torment (“*... o alma sbi-gottita / dolce morte ti prendi*”), to a sense of resignation, just tempered by the hope expressed in the last lines (“*Ma, se Amor ... m'aïta*”), to, finally, the point that death is not invoked as a remedy for suffering, but is presented as a process that is already taking place. This can also be deduced from the lexicon, specifically from the epithets by which the woman is designated. While in the first two ballatas she is referred to as “*sança merçé*”, “*dura*”, and “*crudele*”, in the third one the connotations are only positive (“*lucida stella*”), since there is no room left for any sort of recrimination.

It is now possible to draw some partial conclusions in relation to the poetic texts. First, two certain facts:

1) the nexuses between *Ma' non s'andrà* and *A·lle' s'andrà* cannot be accidental. The two ballatas were influenced by each other, and analysis of the music, as you will see, suggests that the former provided the model for the latter;

2) *S'andra' sança merçé* has much more tenuous nexuses with the other two ballatas, and this places it in a marginal position, but it is certainly not entirely unrelated.

On this basis, it is possible to suggest the following further points:

3) *S'andra' sança merçé* may have been a sort of “prototype”, shaping up as the first case of the *senhal* Sandra / Alessandra in fourteenth-century poetry, which in Florence experienced considerable popularity in the fifty years that followed;

4) if that is correct, then when Landini first encountered the lyrics of *Ma' non s'andrà*, the first ballata for Sandra had already been set to music;

5) assuming that *Ma' non s'andrà* was known to Landini through Chigi 131's redaction, the author or even Landini himself may have modified the text, introducing the *senhal* to create a nexus with the previous ballata, and thus turning the first two ballatas into a cycle that was eventually completed with *A·lle' s'andrà*.

## 2. THE MUSIC

The following analysis will explore the above hypotheses regarding the ballatas' poetic texts. The music can offer relevant clues about the relative chronology of the three poetic texts, especially considering that Landini represents, even more than the *senbal*, the real *trait d'union* between these ballatas. Fourteenth-century musical language is highly codified and employs various formulas. This clearly represents a major obstacle to an investigation of intertextuality since, at least on a superficial level, it is possible to detect a large number of similarities among the more than 140 ballatas by Landini. In this particular case, however, we should talk about auto-intertextuality, because the intertextual nexuses at a music level involve three works by the same composer. It seems unlikely that Landini felt the need to reveal the nexuses among these ballatas by clear and extended quotations, like those found in the coeval French repertory.<sup>56</sup> The presence of the same *senbal* and the relationships already identified between the poetic texts were probably sufficiently explicit nexuses. However, as the following analysis will demonstrate, the features of the musical setting support the assertions made above in relation to the poetry.

2.1. *Tradition*

The musical witnesses include all those mentioned thus far in relation to the poetry, with the exception of Chigi 131; they are summarised in the following table, which also indicates the scribes hands according to the codicological analysis provided by John Nadas.<sup>57</sup>

Table 2. The musical manuscript tradition

<i>S'andra' sança merçé</i>	<i>Ma' non s'andra</i>	<i>A lle' s'andra</i>
Fp 14r [scribe B]	Fp 66v-67r [scribe C] page-filler in Jacopo's section	Fp 37v-38r [scribe C] 3 <sup>3</sup>
Sq 167v [scribe D]	Sq 141r [scribe D]	Sq 135v [scribe C] 2 <sup>2</sup>
Pit 7v-8r [scribe A] page-filler in Jacopo's section	Pit 109v-110r [scribe E] <sup>a</sup>	
SL 102v [= 100v]	Man 49r (only tenor)	

a. This hand has also been recognised in the fragment Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, incunabolo F.5.5 (F.5.5), on which cf. John Nadas and Mario Fabbri, "A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concordances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts", *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 67-81.

56. A reference point in this regard is Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song. Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

57. Nadas, "The Transmission".

Overall, the *varia lectio* does not include any notable feature, except for the oscillation of the *Textierung* of *A·lle' s'andrà* (2<sup>2</sup> Sq / 3<sup>3</sup> Fp). It is not possible to provide a definitive conclusion as to whether the contratenor was mistakenly omitted in Sq or it was added later to the version in Fp. The counterpoint offers no clues as to whether the piece was originally conceived as a three-voice composition. It is of no relevance, either, that the cantus-tenor dyad is entirely self-sufficient, nor that the contratenor sometimes produces dissonances with the cantus but works perfectly with the tenor. Even the declamation of the text, where the contratenor is often “late” compared to the mostly synchronous cantus and tenor parts, is not a determining factor.<sup>58</sup> *A·lle' s'andrà* should therefore be considered alongside a group of ballatas that circulated both with and without contratenor, including *El gran disio*, *I' priego Amor*, *Amor c'al tuo suggetto* and the virelai *Adiu, adiu*. It is also of some interest that in Fp the same scribe was responsible for copying both *A·lle' s'andrà* and *Ma' non s'andrà*. The latter piece was apparently not part of the original copying initiative, since in the second of the two gatherings of two-voice ballatas by Landini, as many as six openings were left blank (later filled in by other hands), and *Ma' non s'andrà* was then added as a space-filler in a section dedicated to Jacopo da Bologna.<sup>59</sup> A similar situation occurs in Pit, where *S'andra' sança mercé* was added (by scribe A) to a section dedicated to Jacopo. The copying tradition, therefore, shows no evidence in favour of reading these three ballatas as a unitary cycle. Nonetheless, it must be taken into account that these anthologies were arranged by various criteria (genre, number of voices and even alphabetical order), often showing traces of layered copy.

## 2.2. Chronology

Kurt von Fischer identified three main phases in his study of the chronology of Landini's works:

compositions in the style of the first Italian polyphonists (-1370);

58. We can compare the voice leading of *A·lle' s'andrà* with that of at least 4 other ballatas where there is no doubt that the original setting consisted of three-voices: *Muorti oramai* (with 2 cantus; there is a fourth between *primus* and tenor at m. 11, neutralised by the contratenor); *Che cosa è quest', Amor* (with 2 cantus; almost rigorous rhythmic canon among the higher voices); *I' priego Amor* (with 2 cantus; fourth between *primus* and tenor at m. 27, neutralised by the contratenor); *Perché di novo sdegno* (polytextual). The following three-voice madrigals are also useful for comparison: *Deb, dimmi tu* (canonic); *Musica son* (polytextual); *Sì dolce non sonò* (isorhythmic tenor), and the caccia *Così pensoso*.

59. This may indicate that scribe C did not have access to the first two gatherings, mainly copied by scribes A and B; scribe C also copied most of the works by Jacopo, Lorenzo, Gherardello and Donato, in addition to some three-voice ballatas, including *A·lle' s'andrà*; he therefore had material available to him that mostly dates to the first generation of Italian and specifically Florentine polyphonists.

compositions that were influenced by French compositional styles (1370-1385);

compositions in which Landini's compositional technique reached full maturity, characterised by the pursuit of euphony (*euphonischen Klanglichkeit*), thanks partly to the "filling" role (*Füllwirkung*) played by the contratenor (1385-).<sup>60</sup>

Fischer demonstrated on several occasions that he was well aware of the presumptive value and the margin of uncertainty of his historical indicators, especially taking into account that some stylistic traits can be abandoned for a certain period of time and then resumed later, thus being transversal in the production of a composer and therefore unsuitable without the help of other indicators. The parameters that I consider useful for chronology are: notation, form and counterpoint. Clearly, these indicators cannot provide absolute values, but only relative ones, allowing at their best to establish a chronological order among the three compositions.

### 2.2.1. Notation

The majority of compositions in the Landini corpus are transmitted in the French notational system, with a few pieces copied in the Italian system. Although the phenomenon of *Longanotation* was already in use within the Italian system,<sup>61</sup> on the strictly semiographic level the "translated" Landini compositions were unequivocally in the French system (both the *pontello* and *semi-breves* with downward and oblique *caudae*, having no place in the French system, disappeared). Being faced with apographs, all more-or-less removed from the originals, and taking into account Landini's blindness and the fact that the written transmission of his works was necessarily taken care of by others, the notational layout *per se* cannot in any way provide a reliable chronological indicator.<sup>62</sup> Instead, it is possible to observe carefully what happened inside the *mensura*, that is, how much the composer tested its limits, using anomalous groupings or extended *extra mensuram* syncopations. I report the data for the three ballatas in the table below.

60. Kurt von Fischer, "Ein Versuch zur Chronologie von Landinis Werken", *Musica Disciplina* 20 (1966): 31-46, at 45.

61. Marco Gozzi, "La cosiddetta «Longanotation»: nuove prospettive sulla notazione italiana del Trecento", *Musica Disciplina* 51 (1995): 121-49.

62. "Non si può stabilire un nesso cogente fra stili notazionali e altezze cronologiche precise, perché usi di tipo francese nella tradizione testuale di musica italiana possono essere comunque frutto di scelte consapevoli di un copista che le ritiene particolarmente funzionali o che desidera mostrarsi 'acculturato' in un ambiente saturo di influssi internazionali, o possono far parte di un progetto di riscrittura più ampio, che mira ad adeguare la composizione ai gusti e alle aspettative dei destinatari del codice; [...]"; Maria Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche de «La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba»: problemi di contestualizzazione e di esegesi", in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano*, 93-142, at 100.

Table 3. Notational features

	<i>S'andra' sança merçé</i>	<i>Ma' non s'andra</i>	<i>A·lle' s'andra</i>
System	<i>Longanotation</i> (French)	Italian	<i>Longanotation</i> (French)
<i>Tempus</i>	<i>perfectum</i> ( <i>duodenaria</i> )	<i>imperfectum</i> (almost entirely in <i>octonaria</i> , with some passages in <i>senaria</i> )	<i>perfectum</i> ( <i>duodenaria</i> ?)
<i>Modus</i>	<i>perfectus</i>	Absent	<i>perfectus</i>
<i>Litterae</i> or mensural signs	Absent	.o. T 16 (Sq)	Absent
<i>Semiminimae</i>	value of $\frac{2}{3}$ of a <i>minima</i> (Fp Pit); only $\frac{1}{2}$ (Sq); $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ (SL)	value of $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a <i>minima</i> (Fp); only $\frac{1}{2}$ (Sq Pit)	Absent
One-pitch ligatures	Absent	T 26, 27 (Man); T 46-47 (Man Pit)	Absent
Syncopation	Inside the <i>tempus</i>	Inside the <i>tempus</i> , except for T 46-47 ( <i>brevis</i> across the <i>divisiones</i> , correctly rendered in Pit Man through one-pitch ligature)	Extended (up to 3 <i>tempora</i> )
Notes	Oscillation between <i>duodenaria</i> (4+4+4) and groupings indicating implicit passages in double <i>senaria perfecta</i> (6+6) <sup>a</sup>	Oscillation between <i>octonaria</i> and <i>senaria imperfecta</i> . The <i>semibrevis</i> with oblique <i>cauda</i> (= 3 <i>minimae</i> ) is rendered in Fp as a <i>semibrevis maior</i> (with downward <i>cauda</i> ), which is perhaps the original notational trait.	Absence of groupings

a. It is a technique evident in the oldest compositions in Italian notation, for example the caccia *Con bracci assai* by Piero, bipartite with a first section in double *senaria perfecta* and a *ritornello* in *duodenaria*, with the *minimae* constantly disambiguated by the *cauda* in both sections. I refer to the following modern edition: Michele Epifani, *La caccia nell' Ars Nova italiana. Edizione critica commentata dei testi e delle intonazioni*, La tradizione musicale. Studi e testi, 20 (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2019).

According to the data in Table 3, it is clear that *A·lle' s'andra* has different notational characteristics to the other two ballatas. In particular, we may note the *extra mensuram* syncopation (C 9-10 and 34-36), the absence of *semiminimae*, which in practice indicates a lower propensity to the typical ornamental figurations of the *duodenaria*, and the absence of fluctuations between *duodenaria* and double *senaria*, which instead are frequent in *S'andra' sança merçé* as in numerous other ballatas composed in this *divisio*. We might suspect, therefore, that *A·lle' s'andra* was either conceived in French notation or in a

triple *quaternaria*. If we add to this the three-voice setting, then there is significant evidence to support our supposition about the later composition of this ballata in respect to the first two.

### 2.2.2. Form

On the formal level, all three songs were constructed by taking the single verse as a reference. Moreover, none of the three have *overt / clos* endings in the *mutazioni*. However, there are some differences between them. *S'andra' sança merçé* has a very rigid structure, so that each line corresponds to a clearly distinct subsection and incorporates the usual final *longa*. This separation is exacerbated in Fp by the addition of binary *longa* rests devoid of real mensural value (in Pit Sq SL such rests are of *brevis* value, and even if they were intended as part of the previous *longa*, they would still maintain their function, which is to sharply separate the musical phrases corresponding to the lines). This structural feature was undoubtedly inherited from earlier polyphonists. *Ma' non s'andrà* shows similar features, but limited to the *ripresa* and without the addition of rests. In the *mutazioni*, on the other hand, lines 6 and 8 start with an anacrusis. The separation between the lines is even more tenuous in *A·lle' s'andrà*, where the cadences at the end of the lines are sometimes almost indistinguishable from the cesurae within the lines themselves. The effect is that of an increase in fluidity, in favour of a truly bipartite form (*ripresa / mutazioni*) and not consisting of 5 or 6 distinct subsections.

This introduces another formal aspect to consider: the position of the melismas. *S'andra' sança merçé* confirms its structural rigidity through indiscriminate use of the melismatic-syllabic-melismatic scheme, a madrigalesque trait that was again inherited from the previous generation of composers. The structure of *Ma' non s'andrà* is more articulated and Landini relegates the initial melisma to only at the beginning of the two main sections – the *ripresa* and the *mutazioni*. These melismas are more structured, with internal cesurae barely sketched by evaded cadences, mostly through rests. The situation of *A·lle' s'andrà* is even more fluid. The final melismas of the two main sections are long and articulate, whereas melismas are almost absent from within the two sections themselves (especially for lines 4 and 5). In any case, the melismatic passages of this ballata present an internal articulation obtained by adding cadential formulas, foreshadowing the preference for semi-syllabic polyphony in the first decades of the fifteenth century. This analysis, therefore, implies that the chronology suggested above for the poetic texts is confirmed by the formal musical style and structure.

A final formal aspect to be taken into account, which would require a dedicated study on the entire Landini corpus, is the tendency to recycle musical

material within the same composition, a trend not to be confused with the preference for identical endings between the two musical sections (*ripresa / volta* and *mutazioni*), which is detectable in many other ballatas (a trait that Landini shared with Andrea and Paolo). Although I am not currently in a position to draw conclusions from this data, I am able to observe that *S'andra' sança merçé* presents a series of passages that are nothing more than variations of the same singular structure.<sup>63</sup> This structure bears no relation to the poetic text, and it can therefore affect both syllabic and melismatic passages. The following table highlights two structures (A and B), in which the cantus tends to include melodic variations, while the tenor is entrusted with the task of reinterpreting the melodic profile at the harmonic level, although this certainly does not occur in a systematic way (see Table 4).

Table 4. Reuse of musical material in *S'andra' sança merçé*

Structure A	Structure B
	
mm. 5-6	mm. 4-5
	
mm. 9-11	mm. 14-15
	
mm. 16-18	mm. 24-25
	
mm. 25-27	mm. 30-31

63. The economical use of musical material is not unusual in the Ars Nova repertory; for example, I noticed a similar phenomenon in the madrigal *La douce çere* by Bartolino da Padua, in which the *ritornello* consisted of the reworking of part of the first section. See *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano*, 327-8; other cases have been noticed by Antonio Calvia for some works by Nicolò del Preposto (see Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera Completa. Edizione critica commentata dei testi intonati e delle musiche*, La Tradizione Musicale, 18; Studi e testi, 10, ed. Antonio Calvia (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017), 263.

Since both structures (A and B) are repeated four times each, it is clear that this reuse of musical material constitutes a compositional device, which, although in need of further research, must be taken into account, especially since in the other two ballatas there are only pale traces of it. In *Ma' non s'andrà* an ascending melodic phrase occurs three times, but the extent of the variation is much greater than in *S'andra' sança merçé*. In *A·lle' s'andrà* two passages recur two times, either virtually identical (bb. 15-17 and 23-25) or slightly varied (bb. 6-9 and 12-15). The ratio of the recycling of internal material in the three ballatas is therefore 8:3:2. This decrease in repetition can be compared to the use of form and voice leading; something we will discuss now below.

Table 5. Reuse of musical material in *Ma' non s'andrà* and *A·lle' s'andrà*

<i>Ma' non s'andrà</i>	<i>A·lle' s'andrà</i>
 <p>mm. 9-13</p>	 <p>mm. 15-17</p>
 <p>mm. 28-31</p>	 <p>mm. 23-25</p>
 <p>mm. 48-53</p>	 <p>mm. 6-9</p>
	 <p>mm. 12-15</p>

### 2.2.3. Counterpoint

Voice leading is undoubtedly one of the most reliable indicators of chronology, not least due to the in-depth musicological attention it has received, and to the existence of a large extant fourteenth-century theoretical

corpus. In particular, the presence of perfect parallel consonances (fifths, octaves and unisons) has been recognised as more typical of the older corpus of works,<sup>64</sup> which would appear to accord with the suggested chronology above. There are five parallel perfect consonances in the three pieces in total, none of which are found in *A·lle' s'andrà*. Two fifths and two parallel octaves at mm. 13 and 14 and two more fifths at m. 30 are found in *S'andra' sança merçé*. In *Ma' non s'andrà*, there are two sets of parallel perfect consonances, but they are different in nature to the previous examples, since they are parallel unisons occurring at the cadences of the type 3→1 (mm. 14-15 and 47-48), which are unavoidable, given the specific ornamental figuration presented by the cantus (Example 1); therefore, I believe that in this case the parallel consonances should be considered here only provisionally.

The image contains four musical excerpts labeled a, b, c, and d. Each excerpt is written on a single staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat).  
 a) Shows two measures of music. The first measure has a treble clef and a B-flat key signature. The second measure has a sharp sign (#) above it. The notes are: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4.  
 b) Shows two measures of music. The first measure has a treble clef and a B-flat key signature. The second measure has a sharp sign (#) above it. The notes are: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4.  
 c) Shows two measures of music. The first measure has a treble clef and a B-flat key signature. The second measure has a sharp sign (#) above it. The notes are: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4.  
 d) Shows two measures of music. The first measure has a treble clef and a B-flat key signature. The second measure has a sharp sign (#) above it. The notes are: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4.

Example 1. a) *Ma' non s'andrà*, mm. 14-15; b) mm. 47-48;  
 c) *S'andra' sança merçé*, mm. 13-14; d) m. 30

The time gap between the composition of the first two ballatas, however, must have not been wide – or at least was certainly smaller than that between the second and third ballata. After an analysis of the counterpoint (see *infra*, Appendix II), it is evident that perfect parallel consonances, although largely interrupted by rests, passing notes or imperfect consonances, are much more numerous in these two ballatas than in *A·lle' s'andrà*, where the cantus and tenor almost systematically proceed by contrary motion, and thus avoid the problem altogether. This evidence further confirms that *A·lle' s'andrà* was composed later than the other two ballatas, although I do not think it can be counted among Landini's later works, since the three-voice writing, in my opinion, betrays some uncertainty uncharacteristic of his later style (Example 2).

64. *Status questionis* in Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche de «La fiera testa»", especially at 101-24.



Example 2. *A-lle' s'andrà*, mm. 24-25 and 34-37  
(the contratenor is indicated with rhomboid noteheads)

Note, in particular, the counterpoint at m. 24, with the seventh *a-g* between the cantus and contratenor, and especially at mm. 34-35, where at the intersection of the cantus and tenor, the contratenor momentarily absolves the tenor function to produce a fourth *F#-b* with the cantus<sup>65</sup> after which there is a brief fifth and sixth sonority (*G-d-e*) across mm. 35 and 36.<sup>66</sup>

### 2.3. *Intertextual Nexuses*

The central question of this investigation can now be addressed: if the analyses of the texts and music confirm a chronological order compatible with the reconstruction that has been proposed, what clues does the music offer as to the possibility that these three texts actually constitute a “cycle for Sandra”? There is no particular reason why Landini should have “connected” these three ballatas on a musical as well as a textual level. However, if Landini had wished to create such a musical connection, he would surely have chosen the point at which the voices declaim the *senhal*, which systematically occurs in the first hemistich of the first line (Example 3).

Two melodic elements are of immediate interest:

- 1) all three ballatas begin with a descending interval of a fourth;
- 2) in *Ma' non s'andrà* and *A-lle' s'andrà* the descending and ascending fourths are followed by a cadential profile (with explicit alteration or with the typical Landini cadence), confirming the initial sonority, while in *S'andra' sança mercé* this happens without the ascending fourth, and descending from *g* to *G*.

This discrepancy between *S'andra' sança mercé* and the other two ballatas aligns with the other discrepancies observed between the poetic texts. Fortu-

65. This interval would not be a fourth if we did not consider the *F* to be sharp, but I think the context does not leave any doubt (note, moreover, the explicit *f#* at the next measure).

66. This sonority can also have a structural value, especially in the works by Paolo da Firenze, but not in those by Landini, as explained in Jeannie M. Guerrero, “Musical Analysis and the Characterization of Compositional Identity: New Evidence for the Anonymous «Checc'a tte piaccia»”, in *L'Arts Nova Italiana del Trecento VIII. Beyond 50 Years of Arts Nova Studies at Certaldo*. 1959-2009, ed. Marco Gozzi, Agostino Ziino, and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: LIM, 2014), 325-52.

1. 5. S'an - - - - # - dra'

1. 5. Ma' non s'an - drà

1. 5. A lle' s'an - drà

Example 3. First bars of the three songs  
(the contratenor of *A lle' s'andrà* has been omitted to facilitate comparison)

nately, the large Landini corpus allows for further investigation in order to ascertain whether such features are of common occurrence across the repertory, and therefore whether they are intertextually relevant. The results of this investigation, with the exception of the three songs already discussed, are as follows:

1) there are only ten further ballatas beginning with a descending fourth interval out of 141 in total;<sup>67</sup>

2) of those ten ballatas with a descending fourth interval, only three cases also include a cadence that confirms the initial sonority (*D'Amor mi biasmo*, *Ognor mi trovo* and *Se la nimica mie*);

3) if we consider the melodic profile of *Ma' non s'andrà* and *A lle' s'andrà* (descending and ascending fourths followed by a cadence), the cases are reduced to zero.

In the light of the evidence thus far, this cannot be the result of pure coincidence.

67. The ballatas in question are (numbered according to Schrade's edition): *D'Amor mi biasmo*, *chi che se ne lodì* (n. 7); *Per allegrezza del parlar d'amore* (n. 11); *Vita non è più miser' né più ria* (n. 22); *Ognor mi trovo più d'amor costretto* (n. 51); *Giovine vaga, i' non senti' già mai* (n. 82); *Se la nimica mie Fortun'*, *Amore* (n. 87); *Nella più cara parte del mie core* (n. 88); *Né'n ciascun mie pensiero* (n. 126); *Nessun ponga speranza* (n. 129); *Contemprar le gran cose c'è onesto* (n. 131).

3. THE VIRELAI «ADIU, ADIU DOUS[E] DAME JOLIE» AND THE BALLATAS DEDICATED TO SANDRA BY ANDREA AND PAOLO DA FIRENZE

The case studies above only take ballatas into account; but when considering the entire Landini corpus, it transpires that there is another composition that weaves obvious connections with the ballatas for Sandra: the virelai *Adiu, adiu douse dame jolie*. The beginning of the *refrain* contains elements which have already been observed in *Ma' non s'andrà* and *A-lle' s'andrà*: descending and ascending fourths, followed by a cadence in the initial sonority (Example 4)



Example 4. *Adiu, adiu*, mm. 1-4 (the contratenor has been omitted)

This virelai, the only one that Landini set to music, poses many questions as yet unresolved, including the use of a French text, which is a unique case within the Landini's corpus, extensible even to the works of the Florentine composers of Gherardello and Lorenzo's generation. Textually, the piece shows several connections to *A-lle' s'andrà*. I use the edition by M. S. Lannutti.<sup>68</sup>

Adiu, adiu, dous[e] dame jolie,	1	Z	A-LLE' S'ANDRÀ lo spirito e l'alma mia,
kar da vous se depart lo cors <i>prorans</i> ,	2	Y	oma' che per amore 'l corpo <i>privo</i>
mes a vous las le sprit e l'arme mie.	3	Z	lascia di vita e più non può star <i>vivo</i> .
Lontayn da vous, ay las, dolant <i>viv[rai]</i> ,	4	A	Mostrò a me questa lucida stella,
bien che loyal tout[e] ma <i>vie ser[ai]</i> .	5	Z	che par figlia d'Apollò, sì risplende
Pour tant, aÿ!, clere stelle, vos prie,	6	Z	co' suo begli ochi, amor, con dolce <i>vita</i> .
com lermes e sospirs, tres dous[e]man[s],	7	Y	Or è rivolta la sua vista bella,
che Loyauté haies pour vestre amye.	8	Z	sì ch'a me cresce pena e più s'accende l'alma, che piange la dura partita. Ma se Amor, il mio signor, m'àita, ch'ella 'nvér me si volga, ançi che privo i' sia di <i>vita</i> , ancor tornerò <i>vivo</i> .

Translation: 1-3 Goodbye, goodbye, sweet and graceful lady, because from you my body is removed crying, but to you I leave the spirit and the soul (as) friend. 4-8

68. Maria Sofia Lannutti, "I testi in francese nelle antologie dell'Ars Nova: primo approccio complessivo", *Innovazione linguistica e storia della tradizione. Casi di studio romanzi medievali*, ed. Stefano Resconi, Davide Battagliola, and Silvia De Santis (Milan-Udine: Mimesis, 2020), 197-217, at 208-9.

Away from you, poor me, I will live sore, even though I will be loyal to you for the rest of my life. And so, alas, bright star, I beg you, with tears and sighs, very softly, to hold loyalty to your friend [the reference is to the soul, *l'arme*].

At line 3, *le spirt et l'arme mie* is a literal translation of the initial line of *A·lle' s'andrà* ("lo spirto e l'alma mia"), and I have already highlighted the rare importance of the *spirto / alma* couple.<sup>69</sup> The *cors prorans*, at line 2, reminds of the "corpo privo di vita" at lines 2-3. The woman is called *clere stelle* at line 6, which literally translates "lucida stella" of line 4. The biggest obstacle in connecting the virelai to the cycle for Sandra, however is the absence of the *senhal*, but the use of the French poem may explain this omission. Furthermore, if the Sandra in question were to be identified as Alessandra di Bernardo degli Alberti, the choice of the French language would not be so strange, because the Alberti family had close business relationships in France, and a branch of the family settled there definitively.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, the Chantilly codex (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château, 564 [Ch]), the most important source of the *Ars Subtilior* and containing only French songs, was owned before 1464 by Francesco d'Altobianco Alberti.<sup>71</sup> If we were to include *Adiu, adiu* in the cycle for Sandra, it should be placed in last position: while in the last lines of *A·lle' s'andrà* there is still hope for a positive solution for the lover, the tone of the virelai seems to indicate a definitive detachment, so much so that it could even be considered a portrayal of the death of the beloved.

We might also consider the surviving ballatas for Sandra set to music by Andrea and Paolo da Firenze, not least because, in the case of Andrea in particular, these poems were composed when Landini was in all likelihood still alive, and we cannot rule out *a priori* the possibility that the dedicatee was the same individual. Let's start by examining the ballata set to music by Andrea,

69. The locution *lasciare lo spirito e l'anima* ("to leave (to somebody) the spirit and the soul") may perhaps be understood as a farewell formula; I report the incipit of a letter sent by Giovanni Colombini, the founder of the order of the Gesuati, to the abbess and the nuns of the monastery of St. Bonda (SS. Abbondio and Abbondanzio), born Paola Foresi: "Carissime madri e suora in Jesù Cristo, Io mi so da voi partito corporalmente, ma lo spirito mio e l'anima mia sempre sarà con voi, e da voi desidero di mai non partire" (Adolfo Bartoli, ed., *Le lettere del Beato Giovanni Colombini da Siena* (Lucca: Balatresi, 1856), 97, my italics).

70. The Dukes of Luynes and Chevreuse; see Passerini, *Gli Alberti*, I, 42.

71. This is demonstrated by the following inscription on the title-page: "Adi XVIII di luglio 1461 francescho d'altobianco degli alberti Donò questo libro alle mie fanciulle e arehollo Lançalao suo figliolo A·m(m)e thom(m)aso Spinelly p(ro)p(ria) m(anu)". *Lançalao* was surely Ladislao, the natural son of Francesco d'Altobianco, who was executed in 1463 for unknown causes. On the manuscript and on the relationships between the Alberti and Spinelli families, see Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, eds., *Codex Chantilly. Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly*, Ms. 564, 2 vols., I. *Introduction*; II. *Facsimile*, Collection «Epitome musical» (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), in particular I, 173-8.

who famously had a close relationship with Landini.<sup>72</sup> Here is the text, transmitted as a *unicum* in Sq f. 186v:

E' più begli occhi che lucessor mai	1	Z
mi son nel cor, et ànnol sì conquiso,	2	Y
che certo son di non guarir giammai.	3	Z
O vaga luce et mie signore,	4	A
perché nonn-ài pietà d'esto tuo servo?	5	B
S'ANDRÀ sempre sì alto el tuo valore,	6	A
morir convienmi in questo duolo acerbo.	7	B
Ma-ssol un puncto a questo mi riserbo:	8	B
che se ti piace i' pèra in tanti guai,	9	Z
contento son morir po' che-ttu-l sai.	10	Z

Translation: 1-3 The most beautiful eyes that ever shone have (entered) my heart, and have conquered it in a way that I am sure means I will never get back to normal [*guarir*]. 4-10 O splendid light [emanating from the eyes] and my love [*signore*], why do you have no mercy for this servant of yours? If you continue to be so haughty (unattainable), I should die of this bitter suffering. But (in respect) to this I reserve (to request) only one thing [*un puncto*]: that if you like that I die in such suffering, I will be glad to die (only) after you have known it.

I think it is very likely that *E' più begli occhi* was composed by taking *S'andra' sança merçé* as a model: it employs an almost identical metrical scheme, and above all presents nexuses in the *ripresa* and in the *volta*, which are outlined in the following synoptic table.

Table 6. Intertextual nexuses between *S'andra' sança merçé* and Andrea's *E' più begli occhi*

S'ANDRA' <i>sança merçé</i> di tempo in tempo, donna che 'l mie cor ài, <i>non so da cui piacer m'aspetti mai.</i>	E' più begli occhi che lucessor mai mi son nel cor, et ànnol sì conquiso, <i>che certo son di non guarir</i> giammai.
El ben ch'i' spero et ogni mie diletto può darmi 'l tuo bel vis', ognor ch'i-l miro; e se da te non ven, qual altro aspetto sarà, se non <i>mie pen'e mie martiro?</i>	O vaga luce et mie signore, perché <i>non ài pietà</i> d'esto tuo servo? S'ANDRÀ sempre sì alto el tuo valore, morir convienmi in questo <i>duolo acervo.</i>

72. The relationship between Andrea and Landini is well documented: in September 1379 Andrea gave money and a supply of wine to Landini for the testing of the new organ in SS. Annunziata and for the composition of five motets, of which unfortunately nothing is known. See Raffaele Taucci, "Fra Andrea de' Servi, organista e compositore del Trecento", *Studi Storici sull'Ordine dei Servi di Maria* 2 (1934-5): 78-108.

Dunque, da poi che sol per te sospiro,  
 donna, **che-l** vedi et sai,  
 esser men dura pur conviensi omai.

Ma-sol un puncto a questo mi riservo:  
 che se ti piace i' pèra in tanti guai,  
 contento son morir, po' **che-ttu-l** sai.

It is interesting, however, that the invocation of death as a remedy to the suffering of love, absent in *S'andra' sança merçé*, is introduced in Andrea's ballata.<sup>73</sup> Concepts expressed precisely in Landini's ballata are employed in the second *mutazione* and in the *volta*: if the woman is irreversibly *altera* [haughty] and *sança merçé* [merciless], the lover has no choice but to desire death. Line 6, *S'andra' sempre sì alto el tuo valore*, is a fundamental line since it contains the *senhal*. This line reworks the meaning expressed in the *ripresa* of Landini's ballata (also containing the *senhal*): *sempre* matches *Ma' ... se non al modo usato*, while *donn'altera* is reworked as *S'andra' ... sì alto el tuo valore* (where the term *andare alto* ["to go high"] means the same as to be *altero* ["haughty"]). Similarly, expressions like "morir convienmi" and "se ti piace i' pèra", seem to allude to the last lines of *Ma' non s'andra'*: "dolce morte ti prendi, / sì ch'a un'octa e non a stento pèra".

Musically speaking, there are no common features between *E' più begli occhi* and the Landini cycle. Andrea's setting, compared to the average Landini ballata, reveals in my opinion a shift in style. The counterpoint demonstrates remarkable mastery of three-voice writing, the presence of several passages in imitation, and there is significant rhythmic elaboration, because of the numerous changes of *divisio*.<sup>74</sup> For example, consider the passage where the *senhal* is declaimed, at the beginning of the *mutazioni* (Example 5).

2. O va - ga lu - ce\_e dol - ce mie  
 3. S'an - drà sem - pre sì al - to\_el tuo

2. O va - ga lu - ce\_e dol - ce mie  
 3. S'an - drà sem - pre sì al - to\_el tuo

2. O va - ga lu - ce\_e dol - ce mie  
 3. S'an - drà sem - pre sì al - to\_el tuo

Example 5. Andrea, *E' più begli occhi*, mm. 26-38

73. *E' più begli occhi* establishes a clear intertextual nexus with *La dolce vista e 'l bel guardo soave* by Cino da Pistoia; see Cino da Pistoia, *Rime*, CXI, in Mario Marti (ed.), *Poeti del dolce stil novo* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1969). The invocation of Death comes directly from Cino's model; for further details see Antonio Calvia's contribution in this volume.

74. Modern edition in Thomas Marrocco, ed., *Italian Secular Music by Andreas de Florentia, Andrea Stefani, Antonello da Caserta etc.*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, X (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1976).

There are two ballatas by Paolo that contain the Sandra *senbal*: *Doglia continua per la suo partita* and *Se già seguir altra che te non volli*. *Doglia continua* shows clear textual points of contact with *Ma' non s'andrà*, while *Se già seguir* would seem independent, employing a theme that is entirely unrelated to the Landini cycle: the removal of the lover due to the presence of a rival. The text provided below accords with the Pit manuscript (*Doglia continua* at f. 50v, *Se già seguir* at f. 105v).<sup>75</sup>

Doglia continua per la suo partita,	1	Y
Amor, turba la mente,	2	z
onde far piant'agli ochi 'l cor consente.	3	Z
L'alma angosciosa, con fermo pensiero,	4	A
sempre di porto in porto	5	b
A·LLE'·SS'·ANDRÀ, cercando 'l suo disio:	6	C
così, seguendo quella donna, spero	7	A
trovar qualche conforto	8	b
a la mie vita cruda e tempo rio.	9	C
Dunque, pietà: el viso per cu' io	10	C
sospiro sì sovente	11	z
mov'a merzéde, ché 'l dover consente.	12	Z

Translation: 1-3 Love, the constant pain for her remoteness disturbs the mind, so that the heart makes [*consente*] the eyes cry. 4-12 The anguished soul, with a fixed [*fermo*] thought, from port to port, will always go to her, pursuing its desire: so, by following that woman, I hope to find some comfort to my hard life and to the adverse situation [*tempo rio*]. Thus, have mercy: move to compassion [*mercéde*] the face for which I sigh so often, for it is dutiful [*'l dover consente*].

Se già seguir altra che-tte non volli	1	Y
tu ben seguist'altrui	2	z
donna non tanto <i>mia</i> quant'io tuo fui.	3	Z
Ché se fedel i' fu' ferm'e costante	4	A
a-tte, com'a signor della mie vita,	5	B
dovevi non voler mai altro amante,	6	A
perché t'ò sempre con amor seguita.	7	B

75. *Doglia continua* was also transmitted, without the second *mutazione* and the *volta*, in the Lowinsky fragment (Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MLo96.P36 [Lw]). *Se già seguir* was transmitted, with lacunae in the *ripresa* and in the first *mutazione* due to the trimming of the leaves, but retaining the entire *residuum*, in the Ciliberti fragment (Perugia, Private Collection of Galliano Ciliberti and Biancamaria Brumana, fragment s.n. [Cil], on which see Brumana and Ciliberti, "Nuove fonti"). The two witnesses show no substantial variation from Pit, and in the only place where a comparison would have been useful (*Se già seguir* line 3) the Ciliberti fragment presents a lacuna.

E or da me per altrui sè fugita,	8	B
et io da te per lui;	9	Z
vedrai s'ANDRÀ fedel quant'io costui.	10	Z

3 mia] tuo (*likely an error of anticipation*) Pit

Translation: 1-3 Although I never wanted to follow anyone but you, you followed someone else, woman not as much mine as I was yours. 4-10 Because, if I have been faithful, firm, and constant toward you [*a-tte*], as the mistress [*signor*] of my life, you should not have wanted another lover (except for me), for I have always followed you with love. And now you have distanced yourself from me for someone else, like I (have distanced myself from you) because of him [*per lui*]; you will see if he will continue to be [*s'andrà*] faithful, as much as me (as I have been).

The presence of the *senbal* is certain in these two ballatas. Paolo has systematically highlighted it in the musical setting: in *Doglia continua* (2<sup>2</sup>) through a short phrase in imitation, while in *Se già seguir* (3<sup>1</sup>) there is a sudden and isolated interruption of the rhythmic articulation (Example 6).<sup>76</sup>

A lle' -ss'an - drà cer - can - do 'l suo di - si - [o]

A lle' -ss'an - drà cer - can-do 'l

[altru] i, don - na non tan - to mia quan - t'io  
[lu] i; ve - drai s'an - drà fe - del, quan - t'io

Example 6. Paolo, *Doglia continua*, mm. 40-43; *Se già seguir*, mm. 12-16

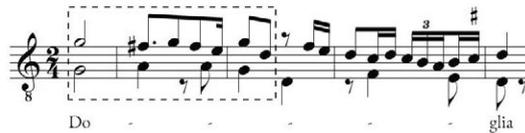
76. Modern editions of the two ballatas are found in Thomas Marrocco, ed., *Italian Secular Music by Bartolino da Padova, Egidius de Francia, Guilielmus de Francia, and Don Paolo da Firenze*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, IX (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1975), and Thomas Marrocco, ed., *Italian Secular Music. Anonymous Ballate*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, XI (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1978).

In terms of textual theme, *Doglia continua* is a typical ballata addressed to Love, in which the lover grieves for a distant beloved, and the points of contact with *Ma' non s'andrà* are similar to those already observed in the case of *E' più begli occhi*. A synoptic view of the 3 ballatas shows how the intertextual nexus extends also to *S'andra' sança mercé*.

Table 7. Intertextual nexuses between *Ma' non s'andrà*, *S'andra' sança mercé* and Paolo's *Doglia continua*

Landini	Paolo	Landini
Ma' non S'ANDRÀ per questa donn' altera se non al modo usato, ond'io mi struggo, Amor, tutto 'nfiammato.	Doglia continua per la suo partita, Amor, turba la mente, onde far pìant'agli ocbi 'l cor consente.	S'ANDRA' sança mercé <i>di tempo in tempo</i> , donna che 'l mie cor ài, non so da cui piacer m'aspetti mai.
Esta crudel mi vuol pur tormentare, non a un'octa, ma <i>di giorno 'n giorno</i> , sol per tormi la vita. Alcuna volta mi fa rallegrare, mostrando lieto a me suo viso adorno, e poi pare smarrita. Dunque, per Dio, o alma <i>sbigottita</i> , dolce morte ti prendi, sì ch'a un'octa e non a stea	L'alma <i>angosciosa</i> , con fermo pensiero, sempre <i>di porto in porto</i> A-LLE'SS'ANDRÀ, cercando 'l suo disio: così, seguendo quella donna, <b>spero</b> <i>trovar qualche conforto</i> a la mie vita cruda e tempo rio. Dunque, pietà: el <i>viso per cu' io</i> sospiro sì sovente mov'ia merzéde, ché 'l <i>dover consente</i> .	<i>El ben ch'i' spero</i> et ogni mie diletto può darmi 'l tuo bel vis', ognor ch'i-l miro;  e se da te non ven, qual altro aspetto sarà, se non <i>mie pen'e mie martiro?</i>  Dunque, da poi che <i>sol per te sospiro</i> , donna, che-l vedi et sai, esser men dura <i>pur conviensi</i> omai.

These nexuses are further confirmed by the music. If, as has been argued, the interval of fourth constitutes a kind of “musical mark” for this *senhal*, then it is relevant that the beginning of *Doglia continua* consists of elements we have already highlighted in Landini's ballatas, although in reverse order: a descending fourth and a cadence to the initial sonority (Example 7).



Example 7. Paolo, *Doglia continua*, mm. 1-5

It is unlikely that the ballatas by Andrea and Paolo were dedicated to the same Sandra as those of Landini (if we assume that all three of Landini's ballatas were dedicated to the same person). However, the intertextual nexuses, in particular those between *Doglia continua* and the Landini ballatas, are important for two reasons:

1) the first two ballatas of the Landini cycle provided a model for ballatas dedicated to a woman named Sandra / Alessandra;

2) there are multiple intertextual nexuses between *Ma' non s'andrà* and *S'andra' sança merçé*, especially in Paolo's case. On the one hand these nexuses provide relevant clues as to the reception of the ballatas for Sandra as a cycle, on the other hand they confirm both the later date and the lesser dissemination of *A·lle' s'andrà*, since both Andrea and Paolo (and the respective authors of the poems) did not seem to take it into account.

## CONCLUSIONS

It remains impossible to determine whether the dedicatees of the three Landini ballatas were indeed the same person, but this does not pose any obstacle to the possibility that Landini conceived of a cycle of ballatas characterised by the presence of the same *senbal*. Based on the collected data, the following points can be summarised:

1) the three poems present a narrative consequentiality, which is confirmed by the relative chronology of the music;

2) the songs have a kind of distinctive “musical mark” at the declamation of the *senbal*;

3) the intertextual nexuses between *Ma' non s'andrà* and *A·lle' s'andrà* are quite evident at both the textual and musical level, but they are not apparent for *S'andra' sança merçé*. The relationship between this ballata and *Ma' non s'andrà* is in fact indirectly confirmed by the multiple relationships with the ballatas for Sandra set to music by Andrea and especially by Paolo;

4) I believe that the connections between *A·lle' s'andrà* and the virelai *Adiu, adiu* are unquestionable, but they remain difficult to interpret.

We can now return to our initial question regarding *Ma' non s'andrà* in Chigi131's redaction. Since analysis of the music would appear to confirm that *S'andra' sança merçé* is of a later date than *Ma' non s'andrà*, it is entirely plausible that Chigi131 transmitted an alternative textual redaction, prior or parallel to the musical one, possibly altered or modified in order to accommodate the *senbal*. That particular incorporation, either due to the spread of the name Sandra / Alessandra or just because the sound of those specific verbal forms (*s'andrà* / *s'andra'*) was immediately intelligible in performance, became popular in Florence during the first half of the fifteenth century, starting with the works of Andrea and Paolo, the direct “heirs” of the *cieco degli organi*.

# APPENDIX I

## *S'andra' sança merçé di tempo in tempo*

1. 5. S'an  
4. Dun

dra' san - za mer - zé sol que, da poi che don - na, che 'l mio cor à sa - don don na, chel ve - di e non es da cu' pia - cer ma - ma ser men du - ra pur con - vien - s'Lo ma - ma ben ch'i' spe - ro, ed o - gni mie di - let qual al - tro, a - spet tu to può sa dar - mi 'l tuo bel vi - s' o - gnor ch'i' mi ra, se non mie pe - na, e mio mar - ti ro, no?

*Ma' non s'andrà per questa donn' altera*

1. s. Ma' non s'an - dirà per que - sta don - n'al - te - - - - - ra  
 4. Dun que, per Dio, o al - ma sibi - got - ti - - - - - ta,

16 se non al mo - do, u - sa - - - - - to,  
 dol - ze mor - te ti pren - - - - - di,

23 on - d'io mi strug - go, A - mor, tu - to, in - flam - ma - - - - - to.  
 sì ch'a u - n'ot - ta, e non a sten - to pe - - - - - ra.

34 2. F - - - - - sta cru - del mi vuol pur tor - men - ta - - - - - re non  
 3. Al - - - - - cu - na vol - ta mi fa ral - le - gra - - - - - re mo -

43 a u - n'ot - ta, ma di - - - - - no, in - - - - - no, sol  
 stran - do lie - to, a me suo - so, a - dor - - - - - no e

49 per tor - mi la vi - - - - - ta.  
 poi pa - re smar - ri - - - - - ta.

*A-llé' s'andrà lo spirto e l'alma mia*

1. 5. A lle' s'an dà lo spir - to, e l'al - ma mi - a, o - ma' che  
 4. Ma se A - mo, il mito si - gnor, ma - a, ta, ch'el - la h - ver

per a - - - - - mo - re l' cor - po pri - - - - - vo la -  
 me si - - - - - vol - ga - an - zi che pri - - - - - vo vo l'

2  
 scia di vi - ta e più non può star vi - - - - - vo, - - - - -  
 sia di vi - ta, an - cor tor - ne rò, vi - - - - - vo, - - - - -

1  
 2. Mo - - - - - strò a ri - - - - - me que - sta lu - ci - da stel  
 3. Or è ri - - - - - vol - ta la sua vi - sta bel la, che par fi -

7  
 ghia d'A - pol - lo, si ri - splen - co' l'al -  
 cre - sec pe - na, e più s'ac - cen - de, de

11  
 suo be - gli\_o - chi, a - mor con dol - - - - - vi - - - - - ta,  
 ma, che pian - ge la du - ra ce par - - - - - ti - - - - - ta.

## APPENDIX II

### Ripresa / Volta

<p>1 Sandra' Dunque,</p>	<p>2 che l' mie cor à, che l' vedi et sai,</p>	<p>3 so da cui piacer m'aspetti mai, men dura par conviensi omai.</p>
<p>1 Ma' Dunque,</p>	<p>2 se non al modo usato, dolce morte ti prendi,</p>	<p>3 ond' io mi struggo, Amor, tutto infiammato, si ch' a un' ota e non a stento pèra.</p>
<p>1 Alle s' andrà Ma se Amor,</p>	<p>2 oma', che per amore il corpo privo ch' ella m'èr me si voigia anq' che privo</p>	<p>3 lascia l' sai di vita e più non può star vivo, di vita, ancor tornerò vivo.</p>

### Mutazioni

<p>4 El e</p>	<p>5 mie diletto altro aspetto</p>	<p>5 può darmi l' tuo bel vis', ognor ch' i l' mio; sarà, se non mie pen' e mie martiro?</p>
<p>4 Esa Alcuna</p>	<p>5 ben ch' i spero et ogni se da te non ven, qual</p>	<p>6 sol per tormi la via, e poi pare smarrita.</p>
<p>4 Mosèb' Or è</p>	<p>5 a me rivolta</p>	<p>6 cò suo begli occhi, Amor, con dolce vita. l' alma, che piange la dura partita.</p>

che par figlia d' Apollo, si risplende  
si ch' a me cresce pena e più s' accende

questa lucida stella,  
la sua vista bella,

## ABSTRACT

The *senhal* Sandra / Alessandra appears in three of the ballatas set to music by Francesco Landini, one of which, *Ma' non s'andrà per questa donn' altera*, also has a literary tradition and a rubric that identifies the dedicatee as “monna Sandra moglie del cavallaro de' nostri Signori”. The present study addresses two issues: (1) the identification of the dedicatee and (2) the relationship between the three ballatas. With regard to the first point, several elements suggest that the husband of the dedicatee may be identified as either Giovanni da Trebbio, herald of the Comune, or Giovanni Rinuccini, knighted during the Ciompi revolt and united in a second marriage with Alessandra di Bernardo Alberti. Concerning the second point, the presence of numerous intertextual links, involving both the poetic texts and the music settings, suggests that the three ballatas were conceived by Landini as a coherent narrative cycle, and therefore the *senhal* may refer in all three cases to the same person. Finally, the study analyses Landini's virelai *Adiu, adiu* and other ballatas by Andrea and Paolo da Firenze, characterised by the same *senhal*, and their relationship with Landini's ballatas.

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JOHANNES CICONIA AND HIS POETS:  
TEXT, IMAGE AND BEYOND  
IN EARLY FIFTEENTH-CENTURY PADUA<sup>1</sup>

The name of Johannes Ciconia (ca. 1370-1412) has often resounded in discussions of intertextuality in medieval music. Music historians have directed much of their energy to exploring his extraordinary “Ars Subtilior essay” *Sus une fontayne* and its quotations of not one but three French-texted chansons by Philipoctus de Caserta.<sup>2</sup> Rather than dwelling on *Sus une fontayne*, in this essay I explore instances of intertextuality in some of Ciconia’s other songs. I will also broaden the scope of my investigation to Ciconia’s engagement with intellectual and visual culture during the final period of his life in Padua, 1401-1412. I begin with a discussion of layers of intertextuality in poetry by vernacular poets Domizio Brocardo (ca. 1380 - ca. 1457) and Leonardo Giustinian (ca. 1384? - ca. 1446) that Ciconia set to music, including textual evidence for their entanglement in a literary and cultural nexus that links their

1. I wish to thank Maria Sofia Lannutti and Maria Caraci Vela for their invitation to present my research at the VIII Seminario internazionale di musicologia «Clemente Terni», Florence, December 14-15, 2015, and its participants for their contributions and encouragement, especially Maria Sofia Lannutti for her comments on the day and for suggested improvements on subsequent versions of this paper. I am also most thankful to Anna Zayaruznaya, Henry Parkes and each of the members of the Yale Song Lab, who are too numerous to name here, for their valuable contributions to an earlier version of the third part of this paper delivered at New Haven, October 30, 2015, and to Thomas Morrissey who generously shared his unpublished research and thoughts on Zabarella with me in several email exchanges.

2. See, for example, Ursula Günther, “Zitate in französischen Liedsätzen der Ars Nova und Ars Subtilior”, *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972): 53-68; Anne Stone, “A Singer at the Fountain: Homage and Irony in Ciconia’s *Sus une fontayne*”, *Music & Letters* 83 (2001): 361-90; Yolanda Plumley, “Ciconia’s *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philipoctus de Caserta”, in *Johannes Ciconia, musician de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 131-68; Jason Stoessel, “The Interpretation of Unusual Mensuration Signs in the Ars subtilior”, in *A Late Medieval Songbook and its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, ed. Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 179-202.

poetic expression to earlier authors in Padua.<sup>3</sup> I then shift my attention to several anonymous texts set to music by Ciconia that can be linked to politically motivated literature and imagery around the court of the Carrara family in Padua. In the final section I focus on the humanist culture of Padua and discuss an example of Ciconia's participation in it. In this final section, I propose a new dating for Ciconia's motet *O Petre, Christi discipule*.

## I. TEXT: CICONIA'S LAST VERNACULAR POETS

In early fifteenth-century Padua, Ciconia seems to have had access to the early vernacular poetry of several young contemporaries, including Brocardo and Giustinian. Ciconia's settings of their ballatas *Con lagreme bagnandome el viso*, *Ligiadra donna che 'l mio cor contenti*, *Merçé, o morte, o vaga anima mia* and *O rosa bella, o dolçe anima mia* are distinguished by musical characteristics. These include frequent repetition of text and/or music, as well as figurative gestures that can be linked to broader concerns for new modes of expressiveness evidenced by humanism at Padua.<sup>4</sup> In terms of their musical transmission, this group of songs is not without complications (Table 1). *Con lagreme* and *Merçé, o morte* are found in musical sources that originated in Padua during the last years of Ciconia's life, while *Ligiadra donna* and *O rosa bella* survive in manuscripts compiled one or two decades after his death, some of them in the Veneto. That Ciconia composed each song seems now beyond doubt, especially following the discovery of an ascription to Ciconia on the previously lost leaf transmitting *Merçé, o morte*,<sup>5</sup> although the fact remains that each setting is ascribed to Ciconia in only one source; otherwise they are transmitted anonymously.

3. Giustinian's birth year remains unknown but the will of his father Bernardo indicates three sons, despite the fact that only two sons, Marco and Piero, are named; see Manlio Dazzi, "Documenti su Leonardo Giustinian", *Archivio Veneto*, Ser. 5, vol. 15, no. 12 (1934): 312-9. Given, however, that infants were not normally named in wills, the argument of Giuseppe Billanovich, "Per l'edizione critica della canzonette di Leonardo Giustinian", *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 110 (1937): 197-251, 248-9, that Giustinian was born sometime between the birth of his oldest brother in 1381 and 1386 (since Giustinian vouched in a public document dated 1416 that he was not yet thirty years old) still warrants consideration.

4. *O dolçe fortuna* may also belong to this group, although it lacks the same degree of musical or textual repetition that distinguishes the four songs discussed here. The musical characteristics of Ciconia's late songs will be discussed further in my book *Ciconia's Padua: Music, Rhetoric and Emotion in Early Humanist Padua*, developing on Jason Stoessel, "Con lagreme bagnandome el viso: Mourning and Music in Late Medieval Padua", *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 24 (2015): 71-89.

5. See John Nádas and Agostino Ziino, eds., *The Lucca Codex, Codice Mancini* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1990), 19.

Table 1: Ciconia's setting of the poetry of Leonardo Giustinian and Domizio Brocardo and their sources

SONG	SOURCES <sup>a</sup>	POET
<i>Con lagreme bagnandome el viso</i>	Q15 (detached fragment); Man ("Ciconia"); Paris4379; Pit; Pad656 (twice); <i>Il Fiore</i> ; Paris1069 (after <i>Il Fiore</i> ); B22.14; Ricc1764; Trev43; Trev1612; also <i>cantasi come lauda</i>	Leonardo Giustinian?
<i>Ligiadra donna che 'l mio cor contenti</i>	Paris4379; Pz; Parma75 ("Jo. Cyconia") with replacement Ct by Matteo da Perugia; Paris1084; Triv1018; Pes; Pad541; Sie; Venice346	Domizio Brocardo
<i>Merçé, o morte, o vaga anima mia</i>	Man ("Johanes Ciconia"); Pz; Pist; BU2216 (more florid)	Leonardo Giustinian?
<i>O rosa bella, o dolce anima mia</i>	Paris4379; Vat1411 ("Jo. Ciconia"); <i>Il Fiore</i> ; Paris1035; Paris1069; Magl1298; also <i>cantasi come lauda</i>	Leonardo Giustinian

<sup>a</sup> Textual sources italicised. Manuscript sigla: B22.14 = Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Notarile Filippo Formaglini, filza 22.14; BU2216 = Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216; Magl1298 = Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VII.1298; Man = Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184, Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065 ("Lucca Codex", "Mancini Codex"); Pad656 = Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 656; Pad541 = Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, 541; Paris1035 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 1035; Paris1069 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 1069; Paris1084 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 1084; Paris4379 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4379; Parma75 = Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26 (*olim* Armadio B, Busta 75, fasc. 2); Pes = Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, 666; Pist = Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, Bibliotheca musicalis B.3.5; Pit = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568; Pz = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4917; Q15 = Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.15; Ricc1764 = Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1764; Sie = Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, I.VII.15; Trev1612 = Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 1612; Trev43 = Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, 43; Triv1018 = Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 1018; Vat1411 = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1411; Venice346 = Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. IX. 346 (6323). *Il Fiore* = *Comincia el fiore de le elegantissime canzonete del nobile homo misier Lunardo Iustiniano*. Incunabula of poetry of Giustinian; see Pini, *Per l'edizione critica delle canzonette*, 419-22.

The degree to which Ciconia had access to Brocardo and Giustinian themselves is uncertain. Brocardo lived most of his life in or around Padua. *Ligiadra donna* is part of Brocardo's *Vulgaria fragmenta*.<sup>6</sup> As its title suggests, Brocardo's style, apart from a touching series of poems on the death of his daughter Rachel, is strongly influenced by Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (hereafter referred to as *Rvf*).<sup>7</sup> Petrarch's last years in Padua had ensured

6. See Davide Esposito, "Edizione critica e commentata del canzoniere di Domizio Brocardo (circa 1380 - circa 1457)" (PhD diss., Università degli Studi di Cagliari, 2014).

7. See the critical edition of Petrarch's own copy of his *Rvf*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3195 (Vat3195), in Francesco Petrarca, *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*, ed. Giuseppe Savoca (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2008).

that his legacy there was a strong one, particularly when it came to the collection and cultivation of his works by the next generation, including Brocardo, Giustinian and Pier Paolo Vergerio (1383?-1446). David Fallows has suggested that the Venetian Giustinian studied at Padua in the period 1403-1407,<sup>8</sup> but Remigio Sabbadini and R. G. G. Mercer place him as a student of Giovanni Conversini and then Gasparino Barzizza in Venice until the latter took up a chair of rhetoric at Padua University.<sup>9</sup> Yet, after 1405, Padua's increased political and social ties with nearby Venice are sufficient for understanding how Ciconia might have gained access to Giustinian's poetry, even if evidence for a more direct relationship has not yet emerged.

The survival of Ciconia's setting of Brocardo's *Ligiadra donna* with a replacement contratenor by Matteo Perugia (floruit ca. 1400 - ca. 1418) points to the immediate afterlife of this song. The scribe of a fragment now in Parma (Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Manoscritti, Busta 75, no. 26 [Parma75]) carefully placed the song's ascription to Ciconia at the top of the folio, also indicating Matteo's authorship of the contratenor with the initials "M.d'P". The coincidence of this uncontested ascription and unmistakable stylistic features, which strongly connect *Ligiadra donna* to another three songs, namely *Con lagreme bagnandome*, *O rosa bella* and *Merçe o morte*, provide the basis for accepting it as Ciconia's setting.

Only one musical source copied in the Veneto a decade or so after Ciconia's death, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 4917 (Pz), transmits the entire stanza of *Ligiadra donna*. Differences in the last line in Pz and Brocardo's *Vulgaria fragmenta* raise questions about whether the variant in question arose from scribal intervention or authorial revision. Whereas the last line in textual sources reads as in Example 1, the musical source has "qualche riposo ormay de mie' lamenti".<sup>10</sup> That both hendecasyllabic lines are acceptable in terms of versification may point to scribal innovation under the influence of the second line of the refrain (pace > riposo; de mie' tormenti > de mie' lamenti) either in the copying of Pz itself or in the exemplar used by Ciconia.<sup>11</sup>

8. David Fallows, "Leonardo Giustinian and Quattrocento Polyphonic Song", in *L'edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario: Atti del convegno internazionale (Cremona 4-8 Ottobre 1992)*, Studi e Testi Musicali Nuova Serie 3, ed. Renato Borghi and Pietro Zappalà (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995), 247-60, at 252.

9. Remigio Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna, insigne figura d'umanista (1343-1408) da documenti inediti* (Como: Tipografia editrice Ostinelli, 1924), 99; and R. G. G. Mercer, *The Teaching of Gasparino Barzizza: With Special Reference to his Place in Paduan Humanism* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1979), 27-8.

10. The text at this point in the edition in Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, eds., *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 24 (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985), 138-43, is problematic.

11. For a similar assessment in the case of variants in the troubadour tradition, see Gianluca

Ligiadra donna, che 'l mio cor contenti,  
rendime pace omai de' mei tormenti.

Tu sai che onesto amor e pura fede  
strinse 'l mio cor di doglia e de martiri,  
senza aver mai, per ben amar, mercede,  
men pianto agli occhi, al petto men sospiri.

Dimando, a consolare i mei desiri,  
qualche conforto ai miseri lamenti.<sup>12</sup>

Example 1. Brocardo, *Ligiadra donna. Vulgaria fragmenta*, V

The remainder of Ciconia's late songs listed in Table 1 threatens to embroil this chapter in controversy since Giustinian's authorship of these poems is not beyond question. Two decades ago, David Fallows brought this issue to the attention of the musicological community,<sup>13</sup> drawing on the authority of literary scholarship from the 1930s and earlier,<sup>14</sup> to affirm Giustinian's authorship of several texts set to music in the fifteenth century. Recently, Anna Carocci has questioned Fallows's acceptance of Billanovich's thesis that there existed two manuscripts of Giustinian's *canzoniere*,<sup>15</sup> particularly in light of the subsequent scholarship of Laura Pini on early prints<sup>16</sup> and that of Antonio Enzo Quaglio on manuscript sources of Giustinian's poetry.<sup>17</sup> The issue rests upon: 1) that *Con lagreme* and *O rosa bella* are transmitted in the early printed collections of Giustinian's poetry from the later fifteenth century, yet they are not found in the manuscripts of his *Canzonette*; 2) the view of Billanovich and Fallows that Giustinian wrote two types of *poesia per musica*: one for improvised performance and another for elaborate composed polyphony; and 3) evidence that poems like *Merçé, o morte* seem to circulate in the Veneto and elsewhere earlier than some of the manuscripts of the *Canzonette* and might therefore be attributable to Giustinian.

Valenti, *La liturgia del «trobar»: Assimilazione e riuso di elementi del rito cristiano nelle canzoni occitane medievali* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), at 121.

12. Esposito, "Edizione critica", 103.

13. See Fallows, "Leonardo Giustinian", 252-3.

14. See Bertold Wiese, ed., *Poesie edite ed inedite di Lionardo Giustiniani* (Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1883); and Billanovich, "Per l'edizione critica".

15. See Anna Carocci, ed., "*Non si odono altri canti*": *Leonardo Giustinian nella Venezia del Quattrocento, con l'edizione delle canzonette secondo il ms. Marciano It. IX 486* (Rome: Viella, 2014), 86.

16. Laura Pini, *Per l'edizione critica delle canzonette di Leonardo Giustinian* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1960).

17. Antonio Enzo Quaglio, "Leonardo Giustinian tra poeti padovani (e non) in nuovi frammenti veneti del Quattrocento, I. Tre canzonette", *Bollettino della Società Letteraria di Verona* 173/3-4 (1981): 86-115; and "Da Benedetto Biffoli a Leonardo Giustinian", *Filologia e Critica* 13 (1988): 157-83.

Instead of burdening the reader in the current debate about the existence of *un canzoniere originale*,<sup>18</sup> here I accept that Giustinian's poems needed not to have circulated as part of a larger collection during an earlier phase of his career and that some of the techniques observed in the longer poems of his *Canzonette* are also present in short poems. The related issue of the performance of his poetry in the tradition of *viniziane* or *giustiniane* lies outside the chronological scope of this study.<sup>19</sup> Setting aside the issue of extemporised performance also seems warranted since Ciconia himself was responsible for the polyphonic settings of these texts, and his complicity in their poetic authorship remains unknowable. Rather, I offer a way forward by considering how textual analysis might shed light on authorship, while also emphasising how certain textual characteristics, particularly intertextual ones, illustrate connections to a Paduan literary context.

The opening line of *Con lagreme* (see Example 2) draws upon a conventional image of weeping that can be traced back to antiquity, which takes on more recognisable linguistic forms in early Italian translations of Virgil's *Aeneid* VI 684-689, particularly in Andrea Lancia's translation from shortly before 1316.<sup>20</sup> A complaint against Fortune, *Tant'è 'l soverchio dei miei duri affanni* (A34\*), which is sometimes attributed to Boccaccio, contains the lines "però di gran tristizia mi sfiguro / di lagrime bagnando il volto e il dosso" (vv. 77-78).<sup>21</sup> Yet, the most poignant intertext would seem to reside in a passage on injustice and iniquity in *L'Acerba* by early fourteenth-century poet Cecco d'Ascoli, otherwise known as Francesco Stabili (1257-1327).<sup>22</sup> Although Cecco cannot be connected with Padua, one of the seventeen surviving fourteenth-century manuscripts of his works was copied in Padua in the 1360s and bears annotations that witness its close reading.<sup>23</sup> Despite Cecco's notoriety as a heretic, *L'Acerba* was evidently known in Padua. It is tempting to think that Giustinian had used Lady Justice's warning in *L'Acerba* that "[s]errano iusti oppressi da' tiranni, / bagnando el viso di lagrime acerbe, /

18. Carocci, "Non si odono altri canti", 86.

19. This matter is discussed in Carocci, "Non si odono altri canti", 73-94; more generally, see Elena Abramov-Van Rijk, *Parlar cantando: The Practice of Reciting verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009) and Blake Wilson, *Singing to the Lyre in Renaissance Italy: Memory, Performance, and Oral Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

20. See Stoessel, "Con lagreme", 82-3.

21. Branca places this *canzone* among Boccaccio's *opera dubia* (Giovanni Boccaccio, *Rime*, ed. Vitore Branca [Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1992], Vol. 2, no. 34) and it is excluded from the edition of Leporatti (Giovanni Boccaccio, *Rime*, ed. Roberto Leporatti [Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013], CCXXIII-CCXXIV). I thank Sofia Lannutti for this observation.

22. Contrary to my earlier assertion (Stoessel, "Con lagreme", 83), Cecco did not teach in Padua.

23. See John P. Rice, "Notes on the Oxford Manuscripts of Cecco d'Ascoli's *Acerba*", *Italica* 12/2 (1935): 136-138, at 137.

per la tristicia de l'impïi affani"<sup>24</sup> to refer his countrymen's poor treatment of the last lord of Padua, garrotted along with his two sons in a Venetian dungeon in January 1406. The annotation in a textual source, Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1764 (Ricci1764), that *Con lagreme* was "fatta per messer Francesco signior di padova" has been usually be read "per la morte di Franciesco". It could easily instead mean that the poem was written for Francesco Novello da Carrara in reference to his father's earlier unjust death at the hands of Giangaleazzo Visconti. On the other hand, the general sentiment of *Con lagreme* is not too distant from other poems by Giustinian, especially his *Ohimè dolente, ohimè, che diebo far?* (XXXII).

Con lagreme bagnandome el uiso,  
El mio segnor lassay,  
ond'io me strugò in guay,  
Quando io me penso esser da luy diuiso.

Ay me dolente, ay dura dispartita,  
Che may non fay ritorno in questo mondo!

Ay cruda morte, ay despietata uita,  
Cho' me partesti dal mio amor iocundo!

[Ay morte]<sup>25</sup> ingorda, maluasa, sença fondo,  
fuor d'ogni temperança!  
sgroppa omay toa balança,  
poy' che tolto m'ay ogni giocho e riso.

Example 2. Leonardo Giustinian?, *Con lagreme bagnandome el viso*.

Source: Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3065 (Man), f. LIVr. Diplomatic edition with editorial punctuation.

Ohimè dolente, ohimè, che diebo fare?  
Oh rea fortuna, oh morte sconoscente!  
Ahi, meschinel servente,  
Nasuto al mondo per lacrimare!

Che diebo far, hormai dove chiamare  
Deb'io secorso al mio novel tormento,  
A le pene ch'io sento?  
Chi darà paze a sti mie' azerbi guai?

24. Cecco d'Ascoli, *L'Acerba (Acerba età)*, ed. Marco Albertazzi (Trento: La Finestra, 2005), 79.

25. Nino Pirrotta and Ettore Li Gotti, "Il codice di Lucca II: Testi letterari", *Musica Disciplina* 4 (1950): 111-52, at 121.

Ahi, lasso mi, chi sugerà ormai  
 Ste lacrime <ch'> ognor li occhi risorze?  
 Misero mi, chi porze  
 Qualche sovegno a ste mie nuove pene?

La dona in cui ripossa ogni mio bene  
 Vedo a è fata, et or in negri pani  
 Pianze suo' gran affani,  
 E suo' belleze lacrimando afflize.<sup>26</sup>

Example 3. Giustinian, *Ohimè dolente*, *ohimè*, *che diebo fare*, vv. 1-16

Although *Con lagreme* and *Ohimè dolente* (see Example 3) mirror each other in their language and topic, they nonetheless embody opposite perspectives: the first is a personal expression of grief, the second despairs over another's grief. Yet, the lines "Bagnar da pianti sta faza fiorita" (v. 20) and "[e]l bel volto serato / hor de lacrime è bagnato" (vv. 34-35) in *Ohimè dolente* recall the opening imagery in *Con lagreme*, notwithstanding the fact that it is common in fourteenth-century Italian poetry.

Most telling, however, is Petrarch's influence upon the vocabulary and versification of *Con lagreme* and *Ohimè dolente*. The opening line of *Ohimè dolente* seems to reference Petrarch's *Che debb'io far? Che mi consigli amore?* (*Rvf* 266). Thematically, *Rvf* 266 provides a bridge from *Ohimè dolente* to *Con lagreme* as the poet's lament for the death of his beloved Laura. More broadly, the emotive exclamation "Ay cruda morte, ay despietata vita" in *Con lagreme* is also a clear nod to "Ai dispietata morte. Ai crudel vita" beginning the second strophe of Petrarch's ballata *Rvf* 324, v. 4. Like *Rvf* 266, *Rvf* 324 laments Laura's death. Although "Oh crudel morte, a la mia stanca vita" (v. 21) from *Ohimè dolente* similarly reveals Giustinian's debt to Petrarch, it nonetheless shares greater affinity (in terms of versification) with the Petrarchan-inspired line in *Con lagreme*. This affinity might be sufficient for further affirming Giustinian's authorship of *Con lagreme* during his youth under the influence of Petrarch's legacy.

A defence on the basis of distinctive vocabulary can be mounted for Giustinian's authorship of *O rosa bella*, which like *Con lagreme* is found in early incunabula of his poetry. Fallows has already emphasised the repeated use of the word "rosa" in Giustinian's poetry, particularly in the openings of several

26. Carocci, "Non si odono altri canti", 231-2. In this study, I have used Carocci's recent critical edition of Giustinian's *Canzonette* in Venice486 (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, it. IX. 486). Readers may also wish to consult selected *canzoni* edited in Armando Balduino, ed., *Rimatori veneti del quattrocento* (Padua: CLESP, 1980), at 18-68.

other poems from Giustinian's *Canzonette*.<sup>27</sup> Earlier, Don Harrán<sup>28</sup> speculated on the basis of an equally prolific number of references to a *zudea* in Giustinian's *Canzonette*, that Rosa was a Jewish woman with whom the poet was infatuated before he married in 1405. Giustinian clearly favoured the word/name "Rosa/rosa" in his poetry: it appears 52 times in the manuscript version of his *Canzonette*, compared, for example, to five times in Sacchetti's *Rime* and just twice in Petrarch's *Rvf*, and never in Cecco's *L'Acerba* and Brocardo's *Vulgaria fragmenta*. Even if the rose has a long history in poetic symbolic imagery, especially from the French *Roman de la Rose* tradition, Giustinian's predilection for it is undeniable.

Further grounds exist for substantiating Fallows's "guess" that the poem exclusively transmitted in musical sources, *Merçé, o morte* (see Example 4), is Giustinian's.<sup>29</sup> The first line of *Merçé, o morte* is related structurally to the first line of *O rosa bella, o dolçe anima mia*, a formula that is also found in the line "Ahimé, dolze anima mia" in Giustinian's *Amante, a sta fredura* (IX). Petrarch's influence seems likely, since Brocardo writes of "Morte e merzé, ch'io spero e temo equali" (CI. *Dolze parole, efetti aspri e mortali*, v. 8), recalling "Morte o mercé sia fine al mio dolore" (*Rvf* 153, v. 4) and perhaps "Gli occhi suoi da mercé, sì che di morte" (*Rvf* 183, v. 7).<sup>30</sup>

Merçé o morte, o vagha anima mia,  
oymè, ch'io moro, o graciosa e pia.

Pascho el cor de sospiri ch'altruy no 'l vede  
e de lagrime vivo amaramente.

Aymè, dolent' morirò per la merçede<sup>31</sup>  
del dolç' amor che 'l mio cor t'apresente

O Dio, che pena è quest' al mio cor dolente!  
Falsa çudea, almen me fai morir via.

27. Fallows, "Leonardo Giustinian", 253.

28. Don Harrán, "Nouvelles variations sur *O rosa bella*, cette fois avec un ricercare juif", in *Jobannes Ockeghem: Actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes*, ed. Philippe Vendrix, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 365-79.

29. Fallows, "Leonardo Giustinian", 253.

30. On further Petrarchisms in the poetry of Trecento composers, see Francesco Facchin, "La recezione del Petrarca nella poesia musicale della sua epoca: alcuni esempi", *Quaderns d'Italia* 11 (2006), 359-80.

31. Maria Sofia Lannutti suggested in a private correspondence, June 6, 2017, that this hypermetric line probably originally read: "Aymè, dolente morrò per mercede". Ciconia's setting of line 3 (avoiding elision between the first two words), which is witnessed in both music sources, nonetheless strengthens an argument for retaining the hypermetric reading of line 5 witnessed by BU2216.

1 Merçé] Merçe *Man* Merce *BU2216* vagha] vaga *BU2216* 2 ch'io] chi *BU2216*  
 3 sospiri *BU2216* ch'altruy no 'l ] che altrui no(n) uede *BU2216 vede* 5-8 *desunt*  
*Man* 6 tapresent *BU2216* 8 almen] alme no(n) *BU2216*

Example 4. *Merçé, o morte, o vagha anima mia*. Sources: Man, f. LIIv (copied Padua and Florence, ca. 1410); Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216 (BU2216), p. 101.

Finally, I take the opportunity to include a restored reading of *Poy che morir mi convien per to amore* (see Example 5), whose musical setting Ciconia's editors reluctantly consign to his *opera dubia*.<sup>32</sup>

Poy che morir mi conuien per to amore,  
 Lasso te, donna, el mio dolente chore.

Ay, lasso me, con pianti e con sospiri  
 Serà mia vita ormay e con dolore.

Aymè, i' moro *d'angosciosi* martiri  
 Veço *l'alma mia* fenir d'ore in hore.<sup>33</sup>

Merçé per Dio, o caro mio thesore,  
 Abi pietà de mi to servitore.

2 lasso te] Lassote *Pirrotta-Li Gotti* 3 con sospiri] *tenor; cum suspiri cantus* 5-8  
*residuum* 5 *d'angosciosi] deest, conj.* 6 *Veço l'alma mia] desunt, conj.*

Example 5. *Poy che morir mi convien per to' amore*. Unique source: Man, f. LXXXVv.  
 Diplomatic edition with editorial punctuation.

Vocabulary and idiom situate this poem in the context of love poetry from the late fourteenth century, particularly that of Petrarch and his followers, although some words – not particularly significant ones since they are common to this style's lexicon – like *sospiri* and *angoscioso* are rare or non-existent in Giustinian's *Canzonette*. Parallels with *Ligiadra donna* (see Example 1) are not sufficient to attribute this poem to Brocardo, though the poet of *Poy che morir* seems to have been working in a similar, post-Petrarch milieu as Brocardo. The parallel *sospiri/martiri* rhyme shared by Exx. 1 and 5 can be nothing more than coincidence.

Some of the uncertainties around anonymously transmitted texts in musical settings are not a disadvantage. Rather they offer the opportunity for

32. Bent and Hallmark, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*.

33. My reading of line 5 after the fourth syllable and line 6 before the sixth syllable is partly conjectural and is based on barely legible remnants of letters in this source. It nonetheless provides a viable restoration of this line for use in future musical performances.

expanding this study into the realm of cultural hypertexts, images and some of the historical conditions that motivated their composition. In the remainder of this study, my emphasis shifts from text critical matters to philological, cultural and political readings of anonymous or attributable texts that Ciconia set to music in early fifteenth-century Padua.

## 2. IMAGE: THE CULTIVATION OF CARRARA HERALDRY

The ruling Carrara family of Padua, especially during the time of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara and his son Francesco Novello da Carrara, intensely cultivated heraldic imagery as a potent tool of what we in the modern world would call political propaganda. Although the family emblem of the red oxcart was central to this program, images of individual and shared heraldic crests, devices and mottos formed part of this program of hegemonic self-promotion. Various crests and devices were painted in Carrara manuscripts not merely as signs of ownership, but to demonstrate the family's patronage of literature and learning.<sup>34</sup> The winged *saracen* and oxcart were stamped onto coins and medallions which referenced ancient Roman coins bearing the effigies of emperors.<sup>35</sup> Last but not least, Paduan authors and poets cultivated the same heraldic imagery in surprising ways that saw it connected with astrological lore, mythology and even sacred imagery.

One of the earliest examples of a literary treatment of Carrara imagery appears in Francesco Caronelli's moral treatise on the Carrara red oxcart, *De carru carrariensi*, completed in 1376.<sup>36</sup> The Franciscan recounts several forms of biblical *carri* in his prologue and dedicates his treatise to Francesco il Vecchio. Caronelli compares Francesco to the rays of the sun using Apollonian metaphors and credits him with a soul that shines like a glittering constellation.<sup>37</sup> In the following *Somnium*, the author sees three chariots illuminated by the rays of the sun, shining like the stars. The first is the biblical chariot

34. See Sarah R. Kyle, "A New Heraldry. Vision and Rhetoric in the Carrara Herbal", in *The Anthropomorphic Lens: Anthropomorphism, Microcosmism and Analogy in Early Modern Thought and Visual Arts*, ed. Walter Melion, Bret Rothstein and Michel Weemans (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 231-50.

35. See Catherine King, "The Arts of Carving and Casting", in *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion 1280-1400*, ed. Diana Norman, 2 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University in association with The Open University, 1995), Vol. 1, 97-121; and Giovanni Gorini, "Le medaglie carraresi: genesi e fortuna", in *Padova Carrarese: Atti del Convegno, Padova, Reggia dei Carraresi, 11-12 Dicembre 2003*, ed. Oddone Longo (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2005), 259-67.

36. Part of Caronelli's *De carru carrariensi* is published in Caterina Griffante, ed., *Il trattato de Curru Carrariensi di Francesco de Caronellis* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1983).

37. Griffante, *Il trattato de Curru Carrariensi*, 63: *Tu, similis illi qui igneus Phebo prestat habenas quibus celum et elementa refulgent, in te solo creatus animus ut sidus splendidum elucescit.*

of Elijah (Elias in Latin) that ascended to heaven (2 *Kings* 2.11). The second is the *carrus* envisioned by Saint Francis of Assisi as a metaphor for the church. The third and final chariot carries a prince, the embodiment of moral behaviour and virtue, accompanied by a handsome youth (Francesco Il Novello), and followed, most importantly, by a throng of powerful men, famous wives and beautiful children.

Giovanni Conversini's *Familie carrariensis natio* also demonstrates the cultivation of this type of imagery during the subsequent rule of Francesco Novello.<sup>38</sup> Although Conversini had begun the *Natio* between 1379 and 1382 during his period of service in the court of Francesco il Vecchio, he only published it in the early 1390s at the behest of Conte da Carrara while still a school master at Udine before he returned to the Carrara court in 1393. Benjamin Kohl has observed that Conversini's efforts to portray the Carrara family as descended from ancient stock probably relied upon anecdotes and lore circulating in the Carrara court during the rule of Francesco il Vecchio.<sup>39</sup> In Conversini's account, the family originated from a certain Landolfo who elopes with the emperor's daughter, Elisabetta.

Conversini's imagery is partly indebted to Carronelli's. The most colourful episode in Conversini's *Natio* is a description of yet another dream, Landolfo's prophetic vision after a long day's work. Landolfo imagines himself transported to the stars in a fiery oxcart "as Elijah testifies in the scripture that he was lifted up for contemplating the world", whereupon he is set before a being who is described only as an "ancient king in whom there was much sanctity and majesty". After this God figure counsels Landolfo that he and his descendants will rule the Euganean hills and Patavan plains, he bids Landolfo to take the red oxcart (this time described as a *rubens plaustrum*) that had carried him to heaven as his emblem and symbol of his virtuous character, to use in battle, triumphal processions, civic displays, so that the whole world might recognise the oxcart-bearing family.

Quo uero archanorum plenior certiorque animos erigas uidens hoc rubens plaustrum quo uectatus in celum, omnem terre molis conglobacionem oramque et hanc olim tuam conspicaris inuictissime glorie presagium est, cuius quidem auspicijs uelut [fol. 103v] cuncta ignis absumit sic hostes indefecta uirtute conminues. hoc

38. Source: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6494 (Paris6494). A critical edition of the *Natio*, ed. Letizia Leoncini, has been signalled to be published in Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna, *Le prose narrative*, ed. Gabriella Albanese and Letizia Leoncini, forthcoming.

39. Benjamin G. Kohl, "Chronicles into Legends and Lives: Two Humanist Accounts of the Carrara Dynasty in Padua", in *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sharon Dale, Alison Williams Lewin and Duane J. Osheim (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 223-48.

triumphalium ducum summa ad capitolia uehiculum indicium. hoc ratione perpetualium felicitatis indicium. hoc reges ducesque cum populus romanus premisit ad pompam. hoc magnificentie splendore clarorum animos uirorum remque ciuilem auxit et erexit, huius itaque simulacrum moneo successuris insigne nepotibus sacrum stet. hoc umbo, hoc uexilla uostra regantur, quo felicitatem successus admirantibus adque metuentibus populis ubiuis gentium plaustriferam orbis familiam personabit et colet. Ista tibi haud uanus assertor pacis euganee ac felicitatis sollicitus cano vite limus euganidum hactenus princeps ego.<sup>40</sup>

Despite being cast in the guise of prophesy, Conversini's vivid description of the use of the Carrara arms resembles the reality of Carrara Padua. The chronicle of Galeazzo and Bartolomeo Gatari<sup>41</sup> contains many references to the use of the Carrara emblems in processions, marriages and other civic events centred on the family. The funeral procession of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara on 20 November 1393, for example, not only illustrates the centrality of heraldic display in medieval ceremony, it also resonates with Caronelli's vision of a triumphal procession. Led by the clergy, there followed first 100 mounted pages carrying the Carrara arms ("*il cimiro dal saraxino con l'ale d'oro*"), next patricians carrying the banners of the church and empire, and then a parade of knights, most, except the captain of the *populo*, bearing Carrara arms and crests. After them came the men of the household, the coffin under a *baldacchino* bearing an image of the Carrara oxcart and finally Francesco Novello, his family and ambassadors of other Italian states. As Christoph Weber has recently observed:

In this spectacular funeral cortège, representatives of the deceased paraded with all the arms and insignia which defined his place in his capital and in Italy's political order. [...] The signorial family acted together with different groups: the members of their household, noble citizens, the clergy, members of the university, and the ambassadors of Venice, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, and other minor states. Their presence shows that the ceremony was intended not only for the people of Padua, but also for a wider public.<sup>42</sup>

Such displays of heraldic imagery occurred relatively frequently in the Carrara Padua. Take, for example, the triumphal entry ("*trionfo*") and reception of

40. Paris6494, f. 103r-v.

41. Galeazzo Gatari and Bartolomeo Gatari, *Cronaca carrarese, confrontata con la redazione di Andrea Gatari (aa. 1318-1407)*, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new ed., Vol. 17, part 1, ed. Antonio Medin and Guido Tolomei (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1909), 442.

42. Christoph Friedrich Weber, "Formation of Identity and Appearance of North Italian Signorial Families in the Fourteenth Century", in *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c. 850 - c. 1550*, ed. Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic and Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 53-77, at 74.

Rupert of Bavaria into Padua in 1401, or the wedding of Giacomo da Carrara and Bellafiore da le Marche in 1402, for which the bride wore a white wedding dress encrusted with pearls and coral with the Carrara arms.<sup>43</sup>

Music also played a central role in the sonic politics of Carrara power, and served as a vehicle for intertextual and paratextual references to its heraldic imagery. *Inperiale sedendo*'s descriptions of an imperial lord, sitting on an oxcart descended from the heavens, guided by the four cardinal virtues and guarded by a winged *saracen* securely connect this song to the Carrara heraldic and moral program (see Example 6). Whether Petrobelli's dating of 1401<sup>44</sup> or Carleton's more recent dating of 1376<sup>45</sup> for the composition of *Inperiale* is accepted, is a matter of debate. The matter cannot be solved, in my estimation, by using contrapuntal behaviours to date the song. The presence of archaic elements such as parallel perfect consonances and consonant fourths in Ciconia's Italian texted songs, including his setting of the Carrara heraldry text *Per quella strada lactea* (see Examples 6 and 7 respectively) surely precludes such conclusions. For this reason alone, I have been ambivalent in my recent examination of *Inperiale sedendo*'s text, not siding with either dating.<sup>46</sup> Although music historians are always trying – for very good reasons – to date compositions, such precision is not crucial to my argument here since the Carrara imagery is pervasive in Padua and its surrounding territories right up to and even beyond the end of the family's rule in late 1405.

**Per quella strada lactea.**

Man, ff. LXXXIVv-LXXXVr.

Diplomatic edition with editorial punctuation.

Per quella strada lactea del cielo  
Da belle stelle ou'è 'l seren fermato,  
Vedeuà vn carro andar tutto abrasato.

Coperto a drappi rossi de fin'oro,  
Tendeà el timon uerso ançoli cantando,  
El charro triumphal vien su montando.

**Inperiale sedendo.**

Man, ff. XCv-XCiv.

Diplomatic edition with editorial punctuation.

Inperiale sedendo fra più stelle,  
Dal ciel descese un carro d'onor degno  
Sotto un signor d'ogn'altro ma' benegno.

Le rote soe guidauan quattro done  
Iustitia e Temperantia con Fortezza  
Et anz' Prudentia con cotanta altezza.

43. Gatari and Gatari, *Cronaca carrarese*, 475 and 498.

44. Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Some Dates for Bartolino da Padova", in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton: Princeton University, 1968), 85-112, at 94-100.

45. Sarah M. Carleton, "Heraldry in the Trecento Madrigal" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2009), 273-304.

46. Jason Stoessel, "Arms, A Saint and *Inperiale sedendo fra più stelle*: The Illuminator of Mod A", *Journal of Musicology* 31 (2014): 1-42, at 20-3.

De uerdi lauri corone menaua  
Che d'alegreçça el mondo uerdeçaua.

Nel meço un saracin con l'ale d'oro  
Tene 'l fabricator de so thesoro.

NB. Dots below letters reproduce dots of elision found in Man.

R: T only (=R1), C & T (=R2) 1 Inperial] Inperial *ModA Sq* Inperialle 2 Dal] Del *Sq* | descese un] deseseun *ModA Sq* | degno] digno *ModA* 3 Sotto un] Socto *ModA* Sotto R1 Soto soto R2 Sotto in C & Sottun in T *Sq* | segnor] signor *ModA R Sq* | ma benegno] ma beningno *ModA* piu *Pit* piu benigno *Sq* 4-6 *desunt Sq* 4 soe] sue *ModA* soy R2 6 *deest ModA* | anz'] am *ModA* 7 meço un] meçun *ModA Sq* meço R | saracin] sara yn *ModA* | con] cum *T of R2* | l'ale] lalle R 8 thesoro] thexoro *C of ModA* tesoro *Sq R*

Example 6. Texts of *Per quella strada lactea* and *Inperial sedendo*

1. Per  
2. Co

Per quel-la stra-da la-cte-a del cie -  
co-perto a drap-pi ros-si de fi - no

lo do

Example 7. Johannes Ciconia, *Per quella stada lactea*, mm. 1-17  
(pseudo-diplomatic transcription)

Even if *Inperiale sedendo* had been composed for Francesco il Vecchio, the program of decoration in Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, *α.M.* 5.24 (ModA) witnesses the ongoing valency of this song beyond the demise of the last lords of Padua. As late as 1410 and in Bologna, the illuminator of the

inner gatherings of ModA, who was possibly the Olivetan monk Giacomo da Padova, chose to accompany this song with an initial depicting the constellation of Ursa minor as an astrological allusion to the Carrara emblem.<sup>47</sup> His reference to Paduan culture cannot be inconsequential to our understanding of this song and the contributors to ModA. Johannes Ciconia adopts the same astrological imagery in the text of his *O Padua, sidus preclarum*. Boötes, as the caretaker of the celestial bears, which are also known in vernacular astrology as the wains or oxcarts, symbolises a figure of support for the Carrara, possibly in the form of emperor-elect Rupert of Bavaria during his visit to Padua in November 1402.<sup>48</sup> Simply put, if *Inperiale sedendo* was set to music shortly after 1376, its transmission, which extends to seven sources, indicates that it remained part of the musical repertoire, reused in Carrara Padua and conserved by musicians in the subsequent years.

Ciconia's *Per quella strada lactea* (see Example 6) also refers to Carrara heraldry. Silvia Lombardi<sup>49</sup> has presented a detailed reading of *Per quella* that attempts to cast this madrigal in the context of broader Platonic and Biblical imagery and the history of ideas. She concludes that the imagery of an oxcart travelling along the Milky Way was a Platonic metaphor for the heavenwards ascent of the deceased Francesco il Vecchio's soul. Furthermore, it must therefore be connected to either the funeral obsequies of the old lord in 1393 or the transfer of his remains to a new marble casket in the Baptistry of Padua cathedral on Easter Day 1398.

Lombardi is seemingly unaware of the close parallels between Landolfo's dream in Conversini's *Natio* and *Per quella strada lactea*. Both describe a blazing and red oxcart in the heavens. Ciconia's oxcart travels (*andar*) *da belle stelle* through the Milky Way to its proper place, that is as Ursa minor near the northern celestial pole. The reference to *la strada lactea* (i.e. *la via lattea*) throws the imagery of this text into relief against a network of astrological allusions that corresponded to Carrara heraldry.

Lombardi's argument instead seems to rest on a loose synecdoche (*pars pro toto*) in which the oxcart, rather than the *plaustigerus*, becomes a metaphor for the ascent of the soul to the heavens. The reference in *Per quella strada lactea* to the laurel crown and the *allegrezza* it brings to the world when bestowed on virtuous men, has more in common with the tradition of early triumphs.

47. Stoessel, "Arms, A Saint and *Inperial sedendo*".

48. See Jason Stoessel, "Music and Moral Philosophy in Early Fifteenth-Century Padua", in *Identity and Locality in Early European Music 1028-1740*, ed. Jason Stoessel (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 107-27.

49. Silvia Lombardi, "«Per quella strada lactea del cielo»: Un madrigale per le esequie nella Padova carrarese", *Revista internazionale di musica sacra* 30/2 (2009): 137-64.

On this basis alone, it is difficult to see any need to go beyond the descriptions of triumphs found in Petrarch, either in his *Africa* (especially for Scipio Africanus), *De viris illustribus* or indeed *Triumphs*.<sup>50</sup> *Per quella* also draws on a long-standing parallel between the Carrara heraldic oxcart and the constellation of *Ursa minor*. Further, that the text states the oxcart is accompanied by angels does not necessarily indicate it is being spirited off to paradise. Rather the described scene is in the heavens and, like the four cardinal virtues in *Imperiale sedendo* that guide the oxcart after it has descended to earth, angels guide the oxcart (that is, the constellation of *Ursa minor*) of *Per quella* upwards (*vien su montando*) along the Milky Way in the night sky towards its proper place near the northern celestial pole.

Finally, I am not persuaded that the elaborate layers of proposed allusions to late antique texts on astronomy or from the Platonic tradition reflect any of the rituals around the obsequies or reinterment of Francesco il Vecchio. Rather contemporary Paduan culture must be kept in mind. I cannot discern overt references to Platonic concepts in the oratories that Pier Paolo Vergerio, Giovanni Lodovico Lambertazi and Francesco Zabarella delivered during the funeral rites or commemorations for the old lord.<sup>51</sup> Had such Platonic concepts been present, we might have expected references to the Christian Neoplatonic tradition, especially through the mediation of its most influential figure, Augustine of Hippo. Read against Conversini's *Natio*, Ciconia's *Per quella strada lactea* instead assumes a generic but nonetheless potent nature: it would have been suitable for reuse on various occasions celebrating the Carrara hegemony.<sup>52</sup> *Per quella*'s limited circulation suggests that it was a song kept close to the composer and only accessible to a small circle of musicians at Padua, as several other unica in the Lucca Codex similarly indicate. The same musicians seem to have been responsible for collecting Ciconia's motets – including those dedicated to the Carrara family – together in a large manuscript (Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, Q.15 [Q15]) that was completed more than a decade after his

50. An indication of the influence of Petrarch's classicising literature can be found in Bartolomeo Gatari's conclusion to the *Cronaca Carrarese* in which he compares Jacopo da Carrara to Scipio Africanus (Gatari and Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, 581-2).

51. See Pier Paolo Vergerio, *Oratio in funere Francisci Senioris de Carraria*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 16 (Milan: Societas Palatinae, 1730), cols. 194-8; the sermon of Giovanni Lodovico Lambertazi (Gatari and Gatari, *Cronaca Carrarese*, 443, note 3); and Francesco Zabarella, *Ad invictum principem dominum Franciscum Carrariensem ducem Patavii Oratio in obitu inclty domini Francisci eius genitoris obnixie plorans*, ed. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 16 (Milan: Societas Palatinae, 1730), cols. 243-8.

52. Lombardi's second dating of 1398 is untenable since Philippe D'Alençon, whom she proposes commissioned the work, died in the preceding year.

death.<sup>53</sup> These musicians also seem to have been chiefly canons and singers associated with Padua and then Vicenza cathedrals, some of whom might have plausibly sung *Per quella* with the composer.

### 3. AND BEYOND: ORATORY AND MUSIC IN CICONIA'S PADUA

For the final section of this essay, I wish to illustrate the existence of hypertexts linking Ciconia's motet, *O Petre, Christi discipule* with its probable model, a short piece of oratory by Francesco Zabarella. This reading provides new evidence for a revised dating of *O Petre, Christi discipule*. On March 6, 1406, Petros Philargos of Candia entered Padua as cardinal and papal nuncio. Just as Zabarella had spoken on behalf of Paduans on earlier occasions, including the recent surrender of Padua into Venetian hands, he once again stood before his fellow citizens to welcome Philargos, a *de facto* Venetian.<sup>54</sup> Charged with this onerous duty, Zabarella fears that in such a short address he might not be able to describe the "inestimable loftiness" and "incomparable character" of the addressee. He bids his audience to recognise Philargos' angelic countenance, for as a papal nuncio he might rightly be called in Greek an *angelos* (*aggelos*) or messenger. Zabarella then compares Philargos to the Apostle Peter: Just as the Redeemer had sent out St Peter, the first of the apostles, to convert and to save the Gentiles, so Pope Innocent VII (1404-1406) sends out his Peter, the foremost of his cardinals, to protect the faithful.<sup>55</sup> Philargos, as an apostolic messenger of the pope, was effectively an *alter Petrus*.

Sicuti vero in ecclesie primordiis redemptor noster Petrum apostolorum principem misit ad convertendas et salvandas gentes, sic et nunc in ipsius ecclesie successoribus variis ipsius nostri redemptoris vicarius dominus noster summus pontifex **te alterum Petrum summum inter sacrosancte Romane ecclesie cardinales** tanquam angelum nuncium et legatum fecit in has et in alias plurimas regiones ad catholicos heu nimium iam labentes instituendos et conservandos in fide. Nos itaque pars populi tibi crediti **salutem** nostram commendamus tue clementie

53. See Margaret Bent, *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript. Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition*, 2 vols. (Lucca: Libreria Musicale italiana, 2008); and "Some Singers of Polyphony in Padua and Vicenza around Pietro Emiliani and Francesco Malipiero", in *L'Arts Nova Italiana del Trecento VIII. Beyond 50 Years of Ars Nova Studies at Certaldo 1959-2009*, ed. Marco Gozzi, Agostino Ziino and Francesco Zimei (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2014), 287-303.

54. Zabarella's oration is critically edited and published in Thomas E. Morrissey, "Peter of Candia at Padua and Venice in March 1406", in *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Louis Pascoe, S.J.*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 96, ed. Thomas M. Izbicki and Christopher M. Bellitto (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 155-73, at 169-73.

55. Innocent VII (Cosimo Migliorati) is not named in Zabarella's speech.

dicentes cum egiptiis ad Ioseph illud quod est in genesi 'salus nostra in manu tua est', simul et allud Maronis in xii 'in te suprema salus'.<sup>56</sup>

Besides a passing reference to his fluency in Greek in the *angelos-nuncio* conceit, Zabarella acknowledges Philargos' character and learning by first quoting a passage from the Book of Genesis in which the Israelites in Egypt acknowledge that their salvation lies in Joseph's hands. He finishes with a quote from Virgil's *Aeneid* (xii, 653) in which Saces, wounded by an arrow in the face and rushing forth into the fray on a foaming horse, turns to Turnus and states "Our last hope is in you". Yet, that Zabarella truncates the quote from Virgil, which continues "have mercy on your people", and that Turnus was the tragic leader of the indigenous Latins whom Aeneas kills in the final battle, offers a potential hypertext to recent events. Just as Turnus' life had to be sacrificed so that Rome one day might be great, Zabarella seems to intimate that Philargos' sacrifice, perhaps in terms of service to the church, might similarly restore the greatness of a fragmented, schismatic church. Certainly, such matters must have been weighing heavily on Zabarella's mind at this time when he was writing his influential manifesto for ending the Great Schism, *De schismate*.

Zabarella rounds out his address by expressing his "joys" at the arrival of Philargos. He uses the plural *gaudia* perhaps to express the collective emotion of Padua's citizens. Zabarella asks what scholar or student has not heard Philargos' most distinguish name intoned (*insonuerit*) in schools, or how Philargos left teaching to take on the burden of advising princes in public matters of government, and now was the most outstanding beacon for his brother cardinals. Zabarella ends apologetically by noting that if his lords and fellow clerks and citizens seem more subdued than they should be at Filargo's "most pleasing arrival" (*iocundissima adventu*) it is because they are awed by Philargos' lofty character, and that he nonetheless should hold them in good stead. Again, a subtext pervades Zabarella's statement: Padua had been roundly defeated by the Venetians only months before, and its citizens were still coming to terms with their new Venetian lords.<sup>57</sup> All ranks of Padua would have been wearied by the events of the previous year. The siege of Padua, an outbreak of the plague, the near collapse of their university and the failure of their former lord, in whom they had invested so much of their identity and who had contributed substantially to art, culture and learning in ways that would never be seen again, had left them collectively traumatised.

56. Morrissey, "Peter of Candia", 170-1.

57. See Benjamin G. Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara, 1318-1405* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Pointedly, Zabarella acknowledges the diverse nature of his audience that includes citizens of Padua and officials appointed or sent by Padua's new Venetian overlords. He also alludes to the different intellectual strata in the audience, including the addressee Philargos, by employing Biblical and classical references. The Biblical quote is uncomplicated in inviting a comparison between Paduans and the exiled Israelites, and Philargos and Joseph. This quote and its meaning would have appealed to a wide and not necessarily learned audience. Yet, Zabarella's quote from Virgil has a sting in the tail for anyone who knows their *Aeneid* sufficiently well enough to recognise Zabarella's allusion to the sense of impending doom among Paduans, the uncertainty of their livelihoods and station that might disappear in an instant if the Venetians decided to proceed down a more pernicious path of reprisals and aggrandisement of their patriciate.

Zabarella's speech and Ciconia's motet contain sufficient parallels to conclude that they operate hypertextually, and that they therefore must have been heard on the very same occasion. Several dates and associations have been proposed for *O Petre*. Ciconia's first biographer, Suzanne Clercx, held that it celebrated the inauguration of Benedict XIII.<sup>58</sup> Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark proposed that it was instead a votive piece for St Peter that also honoured Pietro Marcello, bishop of Padua, 1409-1428.<sup>59</sup> Robert Nosow, Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nadas then proposed that it instead referenced Pietro Philargos (but only after he had been elected Alexander V at Pisa in 1409), a protector of bishop Peter (again Pietro Marcello), and St Peter.<sup>60</sup> Next, Bent proposed that since Marcello was appointed by the Roman pope, the text referenced St Peter, Philargos and Pietro Emiliani, whom Philargos appointed Bishop of Vicenza shortly after becoming pope in 1409.<sup>61</sup>

58. Suzanne Clercx, *Johannes Ciconia: Un musicien liégeois et son temps (vers 1335-1411)*, Académie Royale de Belgique: Classe de Beaux-Arts: Memoires X (Brussels: Palais des Academies, 1960), vol. 1, 88.

59. Bent and Hallmark, *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, 209.

60. Robert Michael Nosow, "The Florid and Equal-Discantus Motet Styles of Fifteenth-Century Italy" (PhD diss., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1992), 191-4; Giuliano Di Bacco and John Nadas, "Verso uno 'stile internazionale' della musica nelle cappelle papali e cardinalizie durante il Grande Scisma (1378-1417)", in *Collectanea I*, Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta 3, ed. Adalbert Roth (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 7-74, at 33, note 63.

61. Margaret Bent, "Early Papal Motets", in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 5-43, at 25. I warmly thank Margaret Bent for sharing (private communication, February 16, 2016) her thoughts and draft writings on my revival of her "two Peters" reading of *O Petre* and my new dating based upon evidence presented here, first outlined in my blog post "Ciconia's motet for Pietro Filargos" on *Jason Stoessel's Research Blog*, posted August 12, 2015 (<https://jstoessel.blog/>, last accessed January 27, 2021).

A close reading of the motet's text reveals some of its pitfalls (see Example 8). The first quatrain beseeches St Peter to pray for another Peter, who is described as a *presul*. Ciconia's text editor and translator, Holford-Strevens,<sup>62</sup> and others before him have understandably translated *presul* as "bishop". Yet the generic Latin term can indicate a number of elevated positions within the medieval church including bishops, archbishops, abbots and cardinals.<sup>63</sup> Referring to Philargos as "our prelate" is completely apt for a cardinal-nuncio and politic for a *de facto* representative of Padua's new masters in Venice.

O Petre, Christi discipule,  
prime pastor ecclesie,  
funde preces quotidie  
pro Petro nostro presule.

O Peter, Christ's disciple,  
shepherd of the *early* church,  
pour forth *daily* prayers  
for Peter our *prelate*.

O princeps apostolice,  
turbe Cephas dominice,  
pastorem nostrum dirige,  
quem omni malo protege.

O prince of the apostles,  
Cephas (= Peter, rock) of the Lord's multitude,  
guide our shepherd,  
protect him from all ill.

Da sit in cunttis providus,  
corpus et mentem candidus,  
omni virtute splendidus,  
in bono semper fervidus.

Grant that he be foresighted in all things,  
*pure* in body and mind,  
resplendent in every virtue,  
ever eager in what is good.

O Christi ductor ouium,  
perempne presta gaudium;  
pastorem, clerum, populum  
salva per omne seculum.

O leader of Christ's *flock*,  
grant eternal joy;  
save thy shepherd, clergy, and people  
throughout all ages.

Example 8. Text and translation of *O Petre, Christi discipule*, ed. and trans. Holford-Strevens<sup>64</sup> with minor changes to translation (indicated by italicised text)

The second verse exhorts St Peter, "the prince of the apostles", to guide "our shepherd", a term that need only mean any ecclesiastic charged with the spiritual guidance of their flock, used interchangeably to refer to parish priests, bishops and popes. It seems fair to accept the existing proposal that "candidus" in the third verse served as a reference to the origin of Philargos

62. Leofranc Holford-Strevens, "The Latin Poetry of Johannes Ciconia and 'Guilhermus'", in *Qui musicam in se habet: Essays in Honor of Alejandro Planchart*, ed. Stanley Boorman and Anna Zayaruznaya (Middleton, CT: American Institute of Musicology, 2015), 437-69.

63. See Charles Dufresne Du Cange, s.v. "Praesul", in *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinatis*, Vol. 6 (Niort: L. Favre, 1883-1887), col. 473b.

64. Holford-Strevens, "The Latin Poetry", 452.

from the island of Candia, otherwise known as Crete.<sup>65</sup> The fourth verse continues to implore St Peter, not another Peter, to look over his servants and congregation. The motet text is concerned with not three Peters, but only two: Saint Peter and another Peter, a prelate of the church. No one else is named.

The parallels between Zabarella's address and Ciconia's motet are clear. Zabarella calls St Peter "the prince of the apostles" in the "primordial church", and Philargos "foremost among the cardinals of the sacrosanct church of Rome". These turns of phrase are modified for the octosyllabic verse of *O Petre, Christi discipule*: St Peter is the "apostolic prince", "shepherd of the early church" and "leader of Christ's flock"; Philargos becomes "Peter our prelate", and "our shepherd". There is a similar conceit of Greek and Latin: Ciconia replaces Zabarella's *angelus/nuncio* pun with the biblical pun on Peter's Greek name, Cephas (*John* 1.42). Just as Zabarella expressed his "joys", the final quatrain of *O Petre* also bids St Peter to grant eternal joy to Philargos. Zabarella's references to salvation, punctuated by quotes from the Book of Genesis and Virgil, are similarly emphasised by the final line of Ciconia's motet, although St Peter, not Philargos, is the agent of salvation. Indeed, there is a subtle shift in emphasis between Zabarella's encomium and Ciconia's sung prayer. Whereas Zabarella portrays Philargos as an "angelus" of lofty and impeccable character, Ciconia is more modest in beseeching that Saint Peter pray for and guide their Peter, cardinal and papal nuncio. Finally, while Zabarella makes an oblique reference to Pope Innocent VII without naming him, it is difficult to discern any reference to a pope in Ciconia's text. Rather, Ciconia's prayerful text is addressed to St Peter on Philargos' behalf.

Holford-Strevens remarks that *O Petre* is more accomplished in its Latin versification than the texts in which Ciconia names himself, of which he was more than likely the author.<sup>66</sup> This raises the possibility that Zabarella himself might have penned the text of *O Petre* to complement his speech. It is amply clear that Zabarella's speech and the votive motet by Ciconia mark a notable but as to now neglected event in the history of Padua that brought together two of the most prominent early humanists from the post-Petrarch generation. Moreover, both men loved music and patronised leading composer-musicians of their day. Whether Ciconia had the opportunity to meet Philargos' singer, Matteo da Perugia, is unclear. March 1406 falls in the first period when Matteo is securely documented at Milan cathedral.<sup>67</sup> If Ciconia

65. Nosow, "The Florid and Equal-Discantus Motet Styles", 192-4; Bent, "Early Papal Motets", 25.

66. Holford-Strevens, "The Latin Poetry", 451-2.

67. See Fabio Fano and Gaetano Cesari, *La capella musicale del duomo di Milano: Le origini e il primo maestro di capella: Matteo da Perugia* (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).

had met Matteo, no musical evidence of this encounter survives unless musicologists have gravely misunderstood the nature of the outer gatherings of ModA that contain Matteo's complete works.<sup>68</sup>

Plausibly, Ciconia's motet could have been recycled to honour Bishops Marcello or Emiliani, especially since it occurs in Q15, which was started in the vicinity of the second Venetian bishop of Padua and possibly finished in Vicenza. Yet, in the context of its newly proposed origin alongside Zabarella's speech, *O Petre* represents a subtle reaching out from one humanist to another. Philargos could have scarcely been insensitive to this gesture, and indeed his welcome to Padua may represent one of the key moments in cementing a friendship and mutual respect between these two great minds. Although Zabarella paints a graver picture of Padua's circumstances to his fellow humanists of Padua, both he and Ciconia appeal to Filargo's character for support. This gesture was to prove beneficial for Zabarella in the years after his disputed and subsequently denied election by the cathedral chapter as bishop of Padua. Philargos, now Pope Alexander V, and his right-hand man Baldassarre Cossa, intervened so as to preserve Zabarella's reputation with a compromise that eventually resulted in Zabarella's departure from the Venetian sphere of influence as he embarked on the final phase of his distinguished career as a cardinal fully committed to healing the fractured church.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

Through the lenses of text, image and culture, I have attempted to demonstrate Ciconia's place in early fifteenth-century Padua. His complicity in a vernacular literary culture is passive in the sense that he set texts by poets like Brocardo and Giustinian, but active in the ways that he responded to these texts in his musical settings. What might be inferred from his choice of texts is that Ciconia understood how his poets were part of a nexus of style, convention and allusion that looked to figures like Petrarch, whose legacy remained central to Paduan literary culture. While some of these songs, like *Con lagreme*, touch upon broader issues of politics of state, Ciconia also endorses a type of cultural politics with the texts that he chooses. A gauge of his sensitivity to these politics might be measured posthumously: the poets he set

68. Further support for the dating of the outer gatherings of ModA and Parma75 to the 1420s appears in Anne Stone, "Lombard Patronage at the End of the Ars Nova: A Preliminary Panorama", in *The End of the Ars Nova in Italy: The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertoires*, La Tradizione Musicale 21, ed. Antonio Calvia, Stefano Campagnolo, Andreas Janke, Maria Sofia Lannutti and John Nádas (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2020), 217-52.

enjoyed long careers and afterlives in the Veneto, even after his music had been forgotten.

Ciconia's versatility as a participant in the social politics of early fifteenth-century Italy, like Zabarella, is best exemplified by the way that he was able to shift effortlessly as a composer who produced music to do the political work of first the Carrara then Venice, while also negotiating the shifting sands of factional loyalties during the Great Schism. His sensitivity to the special breed of humanism at Padua possibly lies behind the transformation of his musical style in his ceremonial motets and in several of the remarkable polyphonic song settings from this period. Adaptability might indeed be the story of Ciconia's life: there is a world of difference between the musical quotations in his *Sus une fontayne* and the more rhetorical approaches to musical composition in his other songs, including *Per quella*, especially settings of Giustinian's lyric poetry that are replete with musical repetition. This textual and melodic repetition is not symptomatic of a type of musical popularism, but enacts musically humanists' interest in classically inspired, rhetorical modes of expression. The pairing of his *O Petre, Christi discipule* and other motets with Zabarella's ceremonial speeches delivered at Padua and Venice, as well as his obsessive self-naming in motet texts probably penned by his own hand,<sup>69</sup> situates Ciconia within the early humanist culture of Padua where public expression of civic values was highly valued. Ciconia collaborated with Zabarella but was also inspired by the more accomplished oratory of Pier Paolo Vergerio. Far removed from the courtly allusions of *Sus une fontayne* and even *Per quella*, but closer to the expressiveness of the vernacular poetry of Brocardo and Giustinian, Ciconia found his own place among these new men, participating in his own way in their exploration of new modes of expression, in which intertexts, paratexts and hypertexts nonetheless assumed an even greater importance under the pressure of the distant past so admired by these men.

69. Stoessel, "Music and Moral Philosophy", 118-26.

## ABSTRACT

This essay examines the interplay of text, image and music in early fifteenth-century Padua for selected songs and a motet of Johannes Ciconia (ca. 1370-1412). An analysis of the texts that Ciconia set to music late in his career reveals the ongoing influence of leading humanist, Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) on subsequent poets active at Padua, particularly for Domizio Brocardo (ca. 1380 - ca. 1457) and Leonardo Giustinian (ca. 1384? - ca. 1446). It also affords several opportunities for affirming or questioning attributions of poetic texts set by Ciconia. More broadly, politically motivated literature and related imagery around the court of the Carrara family in Padua provide further historical insights into the heraldic texts *Imperiale sedendo* and *Per quella strada lactea*. The final section draws the reader's attention to a hitherto neglected historical event in early fifteenth-century Padua and proposes a new, earlier dating for Ciconia's votive motet *O Petre, Christi discipule*. Together, these pieces of evidence further point to Ciconia's participation in, and contribution to, early humanist culture at Padua.

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«SOFRIR M'ESTUET» «EN ATENDANT» «SUS LA FONTAYNE»  
FROM PAVIA TO FLORENCE AND ROME\*

Modern scholars have studied the lyrics of late medieval polyphonic works by named poets and produced high-quality editions of these poems, compiled independently from their musical settings. Such editions include lyrics by Machaut, Petrarca and Sacchetti, among others.<sup>1</sup> Unattributed lyrics have met a different fate, however, because they are exclusively preserved in musical manuscripts, which often indicate composer names but make no reference to poetic authors. Giuseppe Corsi compiled a meritorious edition of Italian anonymous lyrics (although it is not properly critical and now outdated),<sup>2</sup> and texts written in French have been partially gathered in the database of the *Archive of Late-Medieval French Lyrics* (University of Exeter) directed by Yolanda Plumley. A special section is dedicated to the critical edition and commentary of poetic texts in some more or less recent works, too: the Rossi Codex edition by Tiziana Sucato; Carla Vivarelli's edition of Filippotto and Antonello de Caserta's French compositions contained in the Modena manuscript; Nicolò del Preposto's complete works by Antonio Calvia; and Michele Epifani's edition of the complete caccia repertoire.<sup>3</sup>

\* The research presented here is an integral part of the Advanced Grant project "European Ars Nova. Multilingual Poetry and Polyphonic Song in the Late Middle Ages". This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 786379).

1. Guillaume de Machaut, *Poésies lyriques*, ed. V. Chichmarev, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1909); Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, ed. Gianfranco Contini (Turin: Einaudi, 1964); Franco Sacchetti, *Il libro delle rime*, ed. Franca Brambilla Ageno (Florence: Olschki, 1990); and Franco Sacchetti, *Il libro delle rime con le lettere*, ed. Davide Puccini (Turin: UTET, 2007).

2. Giuseppe Corsi, ed., *Poesie musicali del Trecento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970).

3. Tiziana Sucato, ed., *Il codice Rossiano 215. Madrigali, ballate, una caccia, un rotondello* (Pisa: ETS, 2003); C. Vivarelli, ed., *Le composizioni francesi di Filippotto e Antonello da Caserta tradite nel Codice Estense a.M. 5.24*, *Diverse voci*, 6 (Pisa: ETS, 2005); Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera completa. Edizione critica commentata dei testi intonati e delle musiche*, *La Tradizione Musicale*, 18; *Studi e testi*, 10, ed. Antonio Calvia (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017); Michele Epifani, ed., *La caccia nell'Ars Nova italiana. Edizione critica commentata dei testi e delle intonazioni*, *La Tradizione Musicale*, 20; *Studi e testi*, 11 (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2019).



1 soffrir m'istoyt e plu non pou soffri durer Ric 2 forse] fors Pit; le gram forz damors Ric  
 3 conjure] con ioye Pit; gy fort languis con joye in gran dolors Ric 4 raggi Ric 5 mondo] modo  
 Pit 7 il razo Ric 8 parole] parol Pit 9 doyl] doye Pit; en gram doye mon cors Ric 10 gy pur  
 port sperans in dolz amors Ric

It is my fate to suffer, and I cannot endure the great force of love. I languish deeply, and I implore in great pain. My mortal eyes saw the flaming of a glowing star, a sun to the world. My sight found no defense: a ray of light pierced the heart making it grieve. Sighs, faith and words are vain, my heart remains in great sorrow, I keep my hope upon sweet love.

Errors common to both manuscripts are: *con ioye / con joye* (v. 3) in which the presence of the Italian preposition *con* makes the construction meaningless (even assuming that the strong Italianism *con* is genuine, the juxtaposition of *con joye* “joyfully” and the phrase *en grant dolour* “in great pain” would in any case be inconsistent);<sup>4</sup> *fors/forz* instead of *forse* (v. 2); *esperans/sperans* instead of *esperance*, and *douls/dolz* in place of *doulse* (v. 10). The variant *fors/forz* renders the verse hypometric. This variant can be considered as a form derived from actual pronunciation, as is true of *esperans/sperans* and *douls/dolz* in the last verse, where elision is possible (similar forms are to be found, for instance, in Bartolino da Padova’s French madrigal *La douce çere*).<sup>5</sup>

The word *conjure* (v. 3) replaces the reading *con joye* in both extant witnesses. My conjectural emendation is based on a verse of Dante’s sonnet *O dolci rime che parlando andate*, from which *Sofrir m'estuet* takes the rhyme *parole : si dole* in reversed order. This is the first verse of the sonnet’s second quatrain: “Io vi scongiuro che non l’ascoltiate”. In his sonnet, Dante addresses *dolci rime* and implores them not to consider his earlier invitation to dismiss his beloved and honour another lady. He then invites the rhymes to return to his beloved with no delay, in order to let her know the grief that he suffers because of her absence. I will attempt to show below how the sonnet’s idea of an “after-thought” is related to the overall content of the ballata.

O dolci rime che parlando andate  
 de la donna gentil che l’altre onora,

4. See Maria Sofia Lannutti, “I testi in francese nelle antologie dell’Ars Nova: primo approccio complessivo”, in *Innovazione linguistica e storia della tradizione. Casi di studio romanzi medievali*, a cura di Davide Battagliola, Silvia De Santis, Stefano Resconi (Milan: Mimesis, 2020), 197-223.

5. Michele Epifani and Maria Sofia Lannutti, eds., “La douce çere d’un fier animal”, in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano. Verso una nuova edizione critica dell’“Ars nova”*, ed. Antonio Calvia and Maria Sofia Lannutti (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), 307-342, at 308; in this case, the variant forms are *signifians* in place of *signifianse* and *senblans* instead of *semblanse*.

a voi verrà, se non è giunto ancora,  
 un che direte: «Questi è nostro frate». 4  
**Io vi scongiuro** che non l'ascoltiate,  
 per quel signor che le donne innamora,  
 ché ne la sua sentenza non dimora  
 cosa che amica sia di veritate. 8  
 E se voi foste per le sue **parole**  
 mosse a venire inver' la donna vostra,  
 non v'arrestate, ma venite a lei. 11  
 Dite: «Madonna, la venuta nostra  
 è per raccomandarvi un che **si dole**,  
 dicendo: Ov'è 'l disio de li occhi miei?». <sup>6</sup> 14

O you sweet poems that go about speaking  
 of that noble lady who brings honour  
 to others, one is about to join you  
 (if he has not done so already) of whom  
 you will say: "He is our brother". I adjure  
 you, by that Lord who makes ladies love,  
 do not listen to him, for there is  
 nothing friendly to truth in what he says.

But if because of his words you have  
 set out to approach your lady, do not stop,  
 but go to her and say: "Lady,  
 the purpose of our coming is to commend  
 to you one who is sad and who says,  
 'Where is the desire of my eyes?'" <sup>7</sup>

At v. 2, I have given preference to Ric's variant *al mondo* against *al modo* (Pit and Corsi) based on another verse by Dante. As a matter of fact, *al mondo un sole* in rhyme with *parole* is also found in the first of the two *terzinas* of *Paradise XI*, in which the poet compares the birth of Francis of Assisi to the rising of the sun. The reading *al modo* is not syntactically satisfactory and can be explained by the omission of the abbreviation sign usually employed for nasal consonants.

*Par. XI, vv. 49-54*

Di questa costa, là dov' ella frange  
 più sua rattezza, nacque **al mondo un sole**,  
 come fa questo talvolta di Gange.

6. Dante Alighieri, *Rime*, ed. Domenico De Robertis, 3 vols. (Florence: Le Lettere, 2002), Vol. 3, 263-4.

7. Translation of Dante's texts are taken from the *Princeton Dante Project*, <http://etcweb.princeton.edu/dante/index.html>, last accessed February 22, 2021).

Però chi d'esso loco fa **parole**,  
non dica *Ascesi*, ché direbbe corto,  
ma Oriente, se proprio dir vuole.

From this slope, where it interrupts  
its steep descent, a sun rose on the world,  
as from the Ganges our sun sometimes does.  
Therefore, let anyone who would speak of this place  
not say *Ascesi*, which would convey too little,  
but call it *Orient*, to sound its proper worth.

The *Commedia*'s presence is noticeable in v. 6 as well: “la vista mia non poté far difesa” is strictly linked to the closing *terzinas* of *Paradise* III. There, Dante assists Piccarda Donati's disappearance and turns to Beatrice, whose luminous beauty dazzles the poet leaving him speechless for an instant. This link is demonstrated by the reuse of *La vista mia*, placed at the opening of Dante's passage.

*Par.* III, vv. 124-130

**La vista mia**, che tanto lei seguio  
quanto possibil fu, poi che la perse,  
volse al segno di maggior disio,  
e a Beatrice tutta si converse;  
**ma quella folgorò nel mio sguardo**  
sì che da prima il viso non sofferse;  
e ciò mi fece a dimandar più tardo.

My eyes, which watched her as long as they could,  
turned, once she was lost to view,  
to the goal of their greater desire  
and were wholly bent on Beatrice.  
But she so blazed upon my sight  
so that at first my gaze could not sustain her light  
and that delayed my plying her with questions.

The ballata also reveals the influence of sonnets 33 and 336 from Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. Sonnet 33 is placed in the middle of a group of three sonnets in Petrarch's work, which focus on the image of hope (*speranza*) as a key strength in a love relationship.<sup>8</sup> Venus is the star of love (*amorosa stella*) that blazes (*fiammeggia*) in the same fashion as the above ballata's star. And it is always

8. Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere. Rerum vulgariū fragmenta*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini, 2 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 2005), Vol. 1, 190.

Venus the star that, in the Petrarch's sonnet 336, illuminates (*accende*) the beloved (*donna*) with its rays (*raggi*) as soon as the lover gazes at her.

*Rvf* 33, vv. 1-4

Già fiammeggiava l'amorosa stella  
per l'oriente, et l'altra che Giunone  
suol far gelosa nel septentrione,  
rotava i **raggi** suoi lucente et bella...

Already Venus, the star of love, was blazing in the east, and that other northern constellation Callisto's Great Bear, that makes Juno jealous, was wheeling round its bright and lovely rays...<sup>9</sup>

*Rvf* 336, vv. 1-4

Tornami a mente, anzi v'è dentro, quella  
ch'indi per Lethe esser non pò sbandita,  
qual io la vidi in su l'età fiorita,  
**tutta accesa de' raggi di sua stella.**

She comes to mind, rather is already there, she who cannot even be banished by Lethe, such as I saw here in the flower of her years, all burning with the rays of her planet.

The allusions illustrated above can simply be interpreted as tributes to the two most representative Florentine poets of the fourteenth century. Notwithstanding, some elements contained in the French verses of the ballata reveal political and moral content that suggests a more complex interpretation.

Firstly, the quotation of Bernabò Visconti's motto *Sofrir m'estuet* at the opening of v. 1 denotes a political meaning, and it can also be found at the closing verse of *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba*, a heraldic madrigal set by Bartolino da Padova and Nicolò del Preposto.

La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba  
pennis auratis volitum perquirat:  
sovr'ogn'italian questa preliba.

Alba sub ventre palla decoratur, 4  
perché del mondo signoria richiede,  
velut eius aspectu demonstratur.

Cist fier cymiers et la flamma che m'art!  
**Sofrir m'estoyt, che son fier leopart.**<sup>10</sup> 8

9. Translation of Petrarch's texts by A. S. Kline from the website *Poetry in Translation*, [http://people.virginia.edu/~jdk3t/petrarchkline.htm#\\_Toc12014209](http://people.virginia.edu/~jdk3t/petrarchkline.htm#_Toc12014209), last accessed February 22, 2021.

The fierce head that eats the human, flaunting its golden wings, attempts (to satisfy) its urges. It foretastes its meal looming over the Italian people. It is adorned with a white cloth that covers the venter because it claims its right to dominate the world, as shown by its appearance. This fierce crest and the flame that consumes me! It is my fate to suffer (them), since they belong to a fierce leopard.

Whereas the ballata is bilingual, the madrigal transcribed above is written in three languages: Italian, Latin and French. Like the ballata, *La fiera testa* makes extensive use of citations and allusions that refer, on the one hand, to the *Commedia* (and to Dante's trilingual canzone *Ai faus ris*), and on the other hand, to some of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* sonnets. The madrigal is an anti-Visconti text attributed to Petrarch in the manuscript Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parm. 1081 (Par1081), and, as I have attempted to demonstrate elsewhere, it was probably composed around 1366 to correspond with Pope Urban V's return to Rome.<sup>11</sup> The dedicatee's name, Lopus – which I have suggested might be identified with Lapo da Castiglionchio il Vecchio – is revealed in the text three times through some word play. Lapo da Castiglionchio was a leading exponent of the Guelf-sided Florentine aristocracy and a prominent figure in a moment of open conflict and general concern for the Visconti's aggressive politics.<sup>12</sup>

The relationship between *Sofrir m'estuet* and *La fiera testa* is confirmed by the re-elaboration of a musical motive present in Bartolino da Padova's setting of the madrigal, named "motto B" by Maria Caraci Vela.<sup>13</sup> In *La fiera testa*, the motive is placed at the beginning of the refrain in conjunction with Bernabo's heraldic motto, whereas in *Sofrir m'estuet* it corresponds to the opening bars:

Example 1.

10. Text according to Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera completa*, 94. Cf. also *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano*, 289-306.

11. Maria Sofia Lannutti, "Polifonie verbali in un madrigale araldico trilingue attribuito e attribuito a Petrarca: 'La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba'", in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano*, 45-92, at 71-6.

12. Lannutti, "Polifonie verbali", 57-63.

13. Maria Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche de 'La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba': problemi di contestualizzazione e di esegesi", in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano*, 93-141, at 129.

It should also be noted that *Sofrir m'estuet* includes the word *esperance* in the middle of the last verse. This word opens the famous rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat*, which enjoyed popularity and wide circulation as demonstrated by a number of surviving manuscript witnesses (recently studied by Michael Scott Cuthbert),<sup>14</sup> and by many polyphonic compositions built upon its celebrated *incipit*.<sup>15</sup>

*Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat,*  
*sentir me fait d'amer la dolce vie;*  
 mais **Fauls Dangier** le refuse et debat,  
*Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat.* 4  
 Cheoir ne peut, se **Franc Cuer** ne le bat,  
 qui de **doulcour** tiengne la seignourie,  
*Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat,*  
*sentir me fait d'amer la douce vie.*<sup>16</sup> 8

In the rondeau, *Franc Cuer* sustains *Esperance*, the virtue that leads the subject to love sweet life (*dolce vie*), and *Esperance*, in turn, is hampered by *Faux Dangier*, “false rigour or power”. This last *senbal* is allusive of *Dangier*, the character opposed to *Bel acueil*, who guards the garden in the *Roman de la Rose* and prevents the protagonist from seeing the *rose*. The nexus *douce vie* recalls, instead, the ballade *En amer a douce vie* sung by *Esperance* for the lover’s comfort in Machaut’s *Remède de Fortune*,<sup>17</sup> and well known in Italy, as demonstrated by the fact that it is preserved in three Italian anthologies: Pit, which also contains the ballata *Sofrir m'estuet*, Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichi 26 (Fp) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 (R).

I believe, however, that the text of *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat* also allows for a symbolic interpretation – presupposing that the concepts of secular love and sacred love coexist and overlap. In the Bible, the Latin term *dulcedo*

14. Michael Scott Cuthbert, “‘Esperance’ and the French Song in Foreign Sources”, *Studi musicali* 36 (2007): 3-20. A textless version of the *rondeau* is found also in Pit, ff. 6v-7r. A further version has been found in a Graduale now in Rome, cf. Michael Scott Cuthbert and Nicola Tangari, “Identificazioni di composizioni vocali italiane e internazionali in alcuni manoscritti liturgici del tardo Trecento”, in *Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra* 37 (2017): 219-27.

15. Yolanda Plumley, “Citation and Allusion in the Late Ars nova: The Case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* Songs”, *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 287-363; Ead., “Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson: Crossing Borderlines and Borders”, *Music and Letters* 84 (2003): 355-77, at 369-77; Ead., “Playing the citation game in the late 14th-century chanson”, *Early Music* 31 (2003): 20-38, at 26-31. The *rondeau*’s refrain also opens the penultimate of the twelve *balades de Pasques* studied by Yolanda Plumley in the essay included in this volume (87-123).

16. Text according to Gent, Rijksarchief, Groenenbriel 133 (Gent133), in Cuthbert, “‘Esperance’ and the French Song”, 15-6.

17. Yolanda Plumley, “Citation and Allusion”, 295-7, at 347; Ead., *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 418.

(*doulcour*, v. 6) often represents divinity and divine love. For example, Psalm 30, *In te, Domine, speravi* – built upon the theme of hope – contains the verse “quam magna multitudo *dulcedinis* tuae, Domine; quam abscondisti timen-tibus te perfecisti eis qui *sperant* in te in conspectu filiorum hominum” (v. 20). In the writings of the Church Fathers, the authentic *dulcedo* (or *suavitas*) is given by God, and the true *vita dulcis* (*douce vie*) is a life led by sacred love (*caritas*) and therefore free from concupiscence. Augustine’s Sermon 153 (8 10) provides a good example:

O vita dulcis! Dulcis est quidem voluptas concupiscentiae: verum est, nec eam homines sequerentur, nisi dulcis esset. [...] Sed audi meliora: *Narraverunt mihi iniusti delectationes, sed non sicut lex tua, Domine*. Felix anima quae huiusmodi delectationibus oblectatur, ubi turpitudine nulla inquinatur, et veritatis serenitate purgatur. Quem autem delectat lex Dei, et sic delectat, ut omnes delectationes lasciviae vincat, non sibi arroget istam delectationem: *Dominus dabit suavitatem*.

O what an agreeable life! Pleasure of course is agreeable to lust; it’s true, and people wouldn’t pursue it unless it was agreeable. [...] But, *The unjust described delights to me, but not like your law, O Lord*. Happy is the soul which is entertained by delights of this sort, in which it is not sullied by anything vile, and is purified by the serenity of truth. But any of you whose delight is *in the law of God*, and who are delighted by it in such a way that it beats all the delights of loose living, must not claim credit for this delight for yourselves; *it is the Lord who will give delight*.<sup>18</sup>

In the *Remede de fortune*, the idea that the true *douce vie* is a life free from concupiscence is inferred by the relationship between the discourse that Hope (*Esperance*) addresses to the Lover (*l’Amant*) before singing the ballade *En amer a douce vie* and the ballade’s content. In the discourse, Hope recommends that the Lover free himself from concupiscence (*advarice*) and not forget the virtues of temperance and endurance (*Souffissance* and *Patience*). In the ballade, Love enriches lovers (*ami et amie*) with temperance (*souffissance*), making suffering tolerable and allowing them to live a *douce vie*.

vv. 2744-2778 and 2857-2892

Dont ont li roy plus grant deffaut  
 Que n’ont la povre gent menue,  
 D’or, d’argent et de joiaus nue,  
 Et par deffaut de souffissance,  
 Car en leur cuer se boute et lance

18. *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century. Sermons III/5 (148-183) on the New Testament*, ed. John Rotelle, transl. Edmund Hill (New York: New City Press, 1992), 63.

.I. ardant rain de **convoitise**  
 Qui si les ambrase et atise  
 Qu'il les art jusques es entrailles.  
 Et si sont tous leurs espois failles,  
 Tant comme il sont en telle ardure.  
 Je ne di mie que Nature  
 De po de chose n'ait assez.  
 Mais se li mondes entassez  
 Estoit dou ciel jusqu'à la terre  
 De quanque cuers porroit requerre,  
 Dire, et ymaginer d'avoir,  
 N'en y porroit il tant avoir  
 Qu'il peüst jamais, a droit dire,  
 A .i. cuer couvoiteus souffire,  
 Non certes .v<sup>c</sup>. mille mondes  
 Qui par .v<sup>c</sup>. mille fois combles  
 Fussent, si com je le devis!  
 Scez tu pour quoy? Il m'est avis  
 Que, selonc mon jugement nice,  
 Riens ne souffist a **Advarice**;  
 De quoy on voit tout en apert  
 Que qui tout couvoite tout pert,  
 Car on en pert l'ame et le corps,

Joie, honneur. Et c'est mes acors.  
 Encor te pri je trop de cuer  
 Que tu n'oublies a nul fuer  
 Les .ij. precieuses vertus  
 Que je t'ay nommé ci dessus:  
 L'une est **Souffissance** la belle;  
 L'autre est **Pacience**, s'encelle.  
 [...]

En amer ha **douce vie**  
 Et jolie,  
 Qui bien la scet maintenir,  
 Car tant plaist la maladie,  
 Quant norrie  
 Est en amoureux desir  
 Que l'amant fait esbaudir  
 Et querir  
 Comment elle monteplie.  
 C'est dous maus a soustenir,  
 Qu'esjoïr  
 Fait cuer d'ami et d'amie;

Qu'Amours par sa signourie  
 Humelie  
 L'amoureux cuer a souffrir,  
 Et par sa noble maistrie  
 Le maistrie,  
 Si qu'il ne puet riens sentir,  
 Que tout au goust de joïr  
 Par plaisir  
 Ne prengne, je n'en doubt mie.  
 Einsi saous de merir,  
 Sans merir,  
 Fait cuer d'ami et d'amie.

Si doit bien estre cherie  
 Et servie,  
 Quant elle puet assevir  
 Chascun qui li rueve et prie  
 De s'aïe,  
 Sans son tresor amenrir.  
 De la mort puet garentir  
 Et garir  
 Cuer qui de sante mendie;  
 De **souffissance** enrichir  
 Et franchir  
 Fait cuer d'ami et d'amie.<sup>19</sup>

From this perspective, the rondeau also acquires a moral significance: *Franc Cuer* fights against *Fauls Dangier* in order to allow the Christian heart to be filled with hope (*Esperance*) and to love the (true) sweet life (*amer la douce vie*). We know, on the other hand, that *Esperance* is a heraldic motto adopted by Louis de Bourbon and subsequently employed by other members of the French royal family, including Charles VI, and it is therefore very likely that this word was chosen to open the rondeau on account of its associated connotations.<sup>20</sup> We may therefore legitimately propose that the use of language and the topics of courtly love in this rondeau imply moral and political meanings.

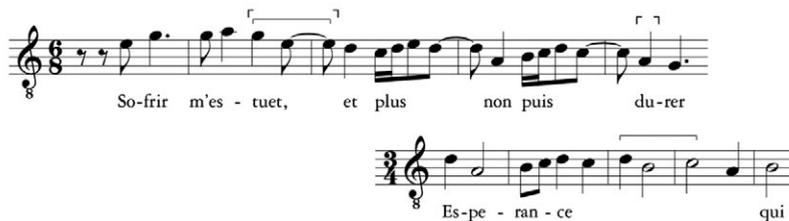
The use of love poetry to express moral and political allusions can be explained in light of a well-established astrological tradition, in which the plan-

19. Guillaume de Machaut, *The Complete Poetry and Music*, Vol. 2, *The Boethian Poems: Le remede de Fortune, Le confort d'ami*, ed. and trans. by R. Barton Palmer, music ed. by Uri Smilansky, with art historical commentary by Domenic Leo (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2019), 234, 236, 244.

20. Plumley, "Citation and Allusion", 346-52; Laurent Hablot, "La ceinture Espérance et les devises des ducs de Bourbon", in *Esperance: le mécénat religieux des ducs de Bourbon à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Françoise Perrot (Souvigny, Musée Municipal de Souvigny, 2001), 91-103, at 95-6. See also Plumley's essay in this book, 87-123.

et Venus – the blazing *stella* common to Petrarch's *sonnets* and *Soffrir m'estuet* – has a double influence, negative and positive, on individuals and on society. It can excite carnal passions or foster the exercise of *caritas*, the theological virtue which is crucial for good government.<sup>21</sup> This tradition explains why Venus' heaven hosts Charles Martel of Anjou in Dante's *Paradise* – a prince whose government had been inspired by *caritas*<sup>22</sup> – together with the penitent lovers Cunizza da Romano and Folquet de Marselha, the ex-troubadour and religious convert who was elected bishop of Toulouse in 1205.<sup>23</sup> The same doctrine explains Petrarch's use of the language of courtly love in the political poems of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, which in fact tells a love story.<sup>24</sup> And we might suppose that a similar ideology explains why Nature gives life to the protagonist of Machaut's *Prise d'Alixandre*, King Pierre of Cyprus, lover and defender of Christianity, through the union of the planets Venus and Mars.

*Soffrir m'estuet*'s textual link to the rondeau *Esperance* is confirmed once again by analysis of the music. In fact, Maria Caraci Vela has recently pointed out that in the first verse of the ballata the reformulated musical opening of *La fiera testa*'s ritornello ("motto B") is followed by the reformulated musical opening of the rondeau *Esperance* ("motto E").<sup>25</sup> Thus, we can finally say that Bernabo's heraldic motto (*Soffrir m'estuet*) and the music of the Italian madrigal coexist in our ballata alongside the motto of the French royal family (*Esperance*) and the music of the French rondeau.



Example 2.

21. Earl G. Schreiber, "Venus in the Medieval Mythographic Tradition", *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 74 (1975): 519-35.

22. In his *Monarchia*, Dante argues that *caritas* (or *recta dilectio*) exalts justice, whereas *cupiditas* obscures it: «Preterea, quemadmodum cupiditas habitualem iustitiam quodammodo, quantumcunque pauca, obnubilat, sic karitas seu recta dilectio illam acuit atque dilucidat» (Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia*, I XI 13, ed. Diego Quaglioni, in *Dante Alighieri. Opere. Vol. II: Convivio, Monarchia, Epistole, Ecloghe*, ed. Marco Santagata, Gianfranco Fioravanti, Claudio Giunta, Diego Quaglioni, Claudia Villa and Gabriella Albanese [Milan: Mondadori, 2014], 807-1415, at 994).

23. Edward Peters, "Human Diversity and Civil Society in Paradiso VIII", *Dante Studies* 109 (1991): 51-70, at 55-7.

24. Maria Sofia Lannutti, "'Ama chi t'ama'. Petrarca interprete di Guittone", in *Guittone morale. Tradizione e interpretazione*, ed. Lorenzo Geri, Marco Grimaldi, Niccolò Maldina, Maria Rita Traina (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2019), 327-56, at 331.

25. Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche", 137-8.

As a result of these clear and close intertextual relationships, we can conclude that the use of the language of love poetry in *Soufrir m'estuet* implies moral and political meanings, as in the French rondeau. The content of the ballata can be summarised as follows. The lover presents himself as a victim of an uncontrollable, passionate love (*force d'amour*), which is the source of his affliction and leads him to entreat his beloved (to forgive him). He is in pain as he has been stricken in the heart by the rays of a blazing star. Sighing, praying and giving voice to his grief will give no relief to his deeply wounded heart, and yet he hopes for a different form of love (*doulce amour* or *caritas*) to intervene and take the place of his passion. This is an example of the opposition between sinful and virtuous love (carnal love vs. *caritas*), one of the thematic pillars of medieval Italian poetry, that has been associated with the experience of conversion since Guittone d'Arezzo's poetic production. This experience of conversion is the same as that which allowed Cunizza da Romano and Folquet de Marselha access to Venus' heaven in Dante's paradise.

It is possible that we might infer further political meaning in these lyrical allusions, and I would like to suggest that the idea of a conversion from sinful to virtuous love is used in the ballata to depict a change in political alliances. In this context, the ballata's lover character could be identifiable with a political subject. Moreover, considering the Florentine origin of the composer Paolo da Firenze, we might deduce that this political subject is the Republic of Florence, which, in the context of these lyrics, is hoping to attain a more profitable and fair agreement in order to improve its current condition. If the theme of returning to a first love, present in Dante's sonnet, is also taken into account, then it is reasonable to assume that the political change in question refers to the restoration of an earlier relationship or alliance. It is possible, then, that the ballade refers to a precise historical circumstance, when, in 1396, Florence found itself in the position of having to demonstrate repentance for the violation of a previous political agreement and its will to re-establish that agreement. These circumstances recall the events of 29 September, when Florence allied itself with France against the Visconti, whose troops had by then reached the city gates. This alliance was vehemently opposed by the pope, as shown by a letter addressed to him on 13 January 1397. In this document, the Florentine authorities defended themselves from the accusation that they damaged Italy and the Church through their political choices.<sup>26</sup> Florence waited in vain for the arrival of

26. Giacinto Romano, "I Visconti e la Sicilia", *Archivio storico lombardo* 23 (1896): 5-56, at 33.

French support for two years. Once hope was lost, the city sought to re-establish its previous agreements.

It should also be observed that in those years, Paolo da Firenze occupied a significant position in Florentine cultural and political life. As attested by the important documents discovered by John Nádas and published in a very recent article, Paolo was in fact closely linked to the eminent figure of Angelo Acciaiuoli, who was in Rome in the service of Boniface IX while maintaining the role of Abbot *in commendam* of the Badia Fiorentina where Paolo resided during 1390s.<sup>27</sup>

If the historical scenario depicted above is accurate, then the heraldic motto *Souffrir m'estuet* and the “motto B” extracted from Bartolino’s setting of *La fiera testa* are consistent with the anti-Visconti literary works of Bernabò’s time, and form part of an actualisation strategy which also involves the text’s literary sources (Dante and Petrarch). The heraldic motto *Esperance* and the “motto E” deriving from the French rondeau instead evoke the disastrous agreement with France, an erroneous decision motivated by a temporary infatuation (*forse d’amour*), that Florence hoped to remedy by revoking the agreement with France and renewing the alliance with the Roman pope (*doulce amour*). We can extend this interpretation further, too: the image of the blazing star can be understood as an allusion to the *Oriflamme* (the military standard of the French kingdom that guided the royal troops), and the ballata’s ripresa may represent a plea to the Roman pope (the depositary of true *Esperance*) that he overlooks the fruitless alliance with France and accedes to a new deal. The three theological virtues in the second half of the stanza favour this interpretation: Faith (v. 8 *fé*), Hope (v. 10 *esperance*), and Charity (v. 10 *doulce amour*, the source of the rondeau’s *doulce vie*), according to a theological reformulation of the ideology of love.

Non val sospir, non fé, non dir parole,  
 en grant doyl est mon cuer:  
 je pour port *esperance* in *doulce amour*.

We may therefore conclude that all these allusions not only serve to convey the moral and political meanings hidden behind the language of courtly love, but also to evoke different poetic and musical traditions that function as a

27. John Nádas, “New Biographical Documentation of Paolo da Firenze’s Early Career”, in *The End of the Ars Nova in Italy: The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories*, ed. Antonio Calvia, Andreas Janke, Maria Sofia Lannutti and John Nádas (Florence: SISMELE - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2020), 13-42.

means of legitimising past and present political positions and in sustaining the request for a future alliance.

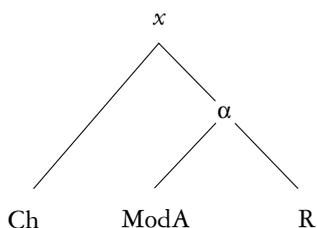
## 2. «ÈN ATENDANT, SOUFFRRIR M'ESTUET»

The ballade *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*, whose incipit contains Bernabò's heraldic motto, was set to music by Filippotto de Caserta. Although Filippotto's biography remains unknown due to the total absence of historical evidence, his political sympathies can be deduced from two of his ballades, *Par les bons Gedeon et Sanson delivré* (a celebration of Avignonese Pope Clement VII) and *Par le grant senz d'Adriane la sage*, whose *refrain* contains the *senbal Lois* ("qu'avoir ne puet sanz o couvert de lis"). It is plausible that this *senbal* alludes to a member of the French royal dynasty, perhaps to Louis I of Anjou, as asserted by Nigel Wilkins.<sup>28</sup> Even if we leave aside all controversial details of Filippotto's possible work environments,<sup>29</sup> the presence of Bernabò's motto in the opening of one of his compositions still remains undeniable evidence of his connection to Visconti circles. In *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*, Bernabò Visconti's motto occupies the middle of the first line, precisely placed with two words either side, whereas *espoir* is found in the penultimate line preceding the *refrain* between two groups of three words: "En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief payne"; "je vivroye en espoir de bone estance".

The ballade is preserved in a complete state in the Chantilly codex (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564 [Ch], f. 33v) and partially in the Modena manuscript (Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α. M 5. 24 [ModA], f. 21r) and the aforementioned Reina codex (f. 84v). ModA preserves the first two strophes, whereas R contains only the first. The *varia lectio* reveals the existence of an archetype (x) and a subarchetype (α) from which ModA and R derive. Identifying the relationships between the three witnesses is useful for reconstructing paths of transmission and the history of the manuscript tradition, even though this has no influence on the text's constitution. All discordant variants show that the ModA and R versions are less accurate than Ch, the only complete witness. My edition is therefore consistent with the Ch version depurated from its errors.

28. Nigel Wilkins, "Some Notes on Philipoctus de Caserta", *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 8 (1964): 82-99; Yolanda Plumley, "The Marriage of Words and Music: *Musique Naturele* and *Musique Artificiele* in Machaut's *Sans cuer, dolens* (Rondeau 4)", in *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations*, ed. Elisabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), 231-48, 122-3.

29. For a summary of the different hypotheses see Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 10-5.



The archetype is demonstrated by four errors (in vv. 4, 5, 6 and 7). In two cases (vv. 4 and 7), the archetype errors consist of the addition of superfluous monosyllables that generate hypermetry, and that have been therefore eliminated from my edition. At verse 4, the added monosyllable is the verbal form *est*. ModA transmits *en de* anticipating the following *de* and further corrupting the text. At v. 7, the added monosyllable is the possessive *sa*. It is possible that the reading *assouvir* at v. 6, which renders the verse hypermetric, was copied from the archetype, where it probably replaced the rare form *souvir*. This term can be considered a Latinism, given that the etymological root of *souvir* and *assouvir* is the Latin verb *SOPIRE*.<sup>30</sup> ModA's variant *a sofrir* and R's variant *a soumir* are subsequent banalisations. Vivarelli's edition proposes instead the equally plausible term *souplir*, although this term is more distant from the preserved reading than *souvir*.<sup>31</sup> Finally, v. 5 is hypometric in all manuscript versions.

The subarchetype is demonstrated by the following erroneous readings common to ModA and R, that also prove Ch's independence from them:

- *que venir* (v. 3) further corrupts the variant *qu'avenir* in Ch;
- *celle* (v. 5) and *elle* (v. 6) opposed to *telle* and *el* in Ch: the first word invalidates the consecutive phrase (*telle vertu ... qu'el puet*) and the second renders the verse hypermetric.

The independence of ModA and R from Ch is demonstrated by the variants *estruet* (v. 1), *ruissiu* and *avironne* (v. 4) in Ch, against *estuet*, *ruissiau* and *avironnee/environee* (v. 4) in ModA and R (R adds a third *-e*). We can consider these Ch variants as separative errors since the Italian copyist would have hardly been able to correct them. The reading *ontor* (v. 4) in R as opposed to *en tour* in Ch and ModA separates Ch and ModA from R. At v. 6 *a souffrir* (ModA) against *assouvir* (Ch) and *assoumir* (R) separates Ch and R from ModA.

30. The verb *souvir* is recorded in Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme*, v. 8268 (1355-1358; see Guillaume de Digulleville, *Le Pèlerinage de Jhesucrist*, ed. Johann Jacob Stürzinger [London: Nichols & Sons, 1897]).

31. Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 86.

En atendant, souffrir m'estuet grief payne,  
 en languor vivre, c'est ma destinee,  
 puisqu'avenir ne puis a la fontayne,  
 tant de ruissi[a]us en tour avironnee. 4  
 Telle vertu [a] li a Dieu dounee  
 qu'el puet souvir chascun a souffisance,  
*par dignité et tres noble puissance.*

1 souffrir] souffrir ModA R; estuet] estuet Ch 2 en] et en Ch ModA, ne R; languor] langour ModA, langor R; ma destinee] me e e R 3 qu'avenir] que venir ModA R; foyntaine Ch 4 de] est de Ch R, en de ModA; ruissius Ch, ruisiaus ModA; ontor R; avironne Ch, environnee R 5 celle ModA R; vertu ModA R; a li a Dieu dounee] li a (as ModA) Dieu (Dieus ModA) donee ModA R 6 quelle ModA R; souvir] assouvir Ch, a souffrir ModA, asounir R, a asoufissance R 7 sa dignité Ch ModA R; poussance ModA

As I reach out (or I wait), I must suffer great pain, it is my destiny to live in languor because I cannot reach the fountain surrounded by so many streams. God gave the fountain such a virtue that it can sufficiently satiate everyone thanks to its worthiness and very noble power.

Les grans ruissiauz, qu[e] la font leur demaine, 8  
 si ont leur condu[c]tour[e] estoupee,  
 si c'on n'i puet trouver la droite vaine.  
 Tant courumpue est l'iaue et troublee,  
 gouster n'en puis une seule halevee, 12  
 si Nobleté n'a de moy ramembrance,  
*par dignité et tres noble puissance.*

8 Li grant ModA; qui Ch; leuer ModA; amaine ModA 9 les conduis de la font Ch, leur conduis tour ModA 10 n'i] ne ModA; droit ModA 11 tant est courumpue (coronpue ModA) Ch ModA; l'iaue] liane Ch, lique ModA; tourblee ModA 12 guster e ModA 13 si Nobleté] si nuble pue Ch, sun ble pitie ModA; om. de ModA; ramembrance] remembrance ModA 14 *shortened refrain* par sa dignite etc Ch, per sa dignite etc ModA

The flowing streams that their fountain supplies have their course obstructed in such a way that it is impossible to find the right vein. So corrupted and polluted is the water (that) tasting a single draught of it will be impossible if Nobility does not take care of me, by virtue of its worthiness and very noble power.

Si pri a Dieu que a droit la ramaine  
 et purefie, sanz estre entamee, 16  
 qua[r] verement, c'est chose bien certaine,  
 n'en puis aprochier noit ne matinee.  
 S'a[vis] m'estoyt qu'a[in]si fust ordenee,  
 je vivroye en espoir [de] bone estance, 20

*par dignité et tres noble puissance.*

16 et] et la Ch 17 qua Ch 18 n'en] je nen Ch; noit] nō Ch 19 S'avis] et sa moy Ch; qu'ainsi] quam si Ch; ordenee] or ordenee Ch 20 de] davoyr Ch

I pray to God that he brings it [the fountain] back to the right way and purifies it from all corruption because truly (it is certain) I cannot access it anymore. Should I notice that (the fountain) has been thus recovered, I will live in the hope of a joyful outcome thanks to its worthiness and very noble power.

At v. 5, the addition of the preposition *a* corrects the hypometry caused by its omission, likely due to haplography. As is the case with *souvir*, *leur conductoure* (v. 6) and *Nobleté* (v. 13), taken from Vivarelli's edition,<sup>32</sup> are interpretable as Latinisms. The first (*leur conductoure*), which presupposes the med. Lat. CONDUCTURA, an unusual synonym of CONDUCTIO ('guide'), is supported by the rhyming feminine form *estopee*. It is derived from ModA's reading *leur condus tour*, probably already present in the archetype and later banalised in Ch. The second (*Nobleté*) is equivalent to the more frequent word *noblesse* and is derived from the reading *nuble pue* in Ch.

At v. 11, the inversion *est courompue* > *courompue est* restores the regular accent on the fourth syllable. At vv. 16 and 18 the expunction of the superfluous pronouns *la* and *je* is necessary in order to re-establish the regular measure of the verse. The reading *et s'a moy estoit* (v. 19) is syntactically inadmissible and renders the verse hypermetric. My emendations presuppose the addition of the conjunction *et* by the copyist at the beginning of the verse and the erroneous reading of an original *s'avis* as *samoy* (it may be the case that the letter *m* and diphthong *oy* of the subsequent *mestoyt* were anticipated). Verse 20 presents a syntactic explicitation (*de* > *d'avoyr*). From a linguistic point of view, it is worth noticing the form *noit* for *nuit* (v. 18). It can be regarded as an Italianism since it is frequently found in Franco-Italian literature.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, it is interesting to observe the presence of *décasyllabes* with *caesura* after the sixth syllable (vv. 9-11, 18, 20). This type of *décasyllable* mirrors the structure of the Italian *endecasillabo a maiori* and it is rather unusual in late-medieval French poetry, where a *caesura* after the fourth syllable is normally preferred.

The content of the ballade can be summarised as follows. The lover is forced to suffer because he cannot drink from the fountain, a fountain that can satiate everyone thanks to its worthiness and power. The streams that spread from the fountain are regrettably blocked and for this reason the water has

32. Ibid.

33. As shown by the *Repertorio informatizzato dell'antica letteratura franco-italiana* (RIALFrI, www.rialfri.eu, last accessed February 22, 2021), where *noit* is found 246 times.

become undrinkable. The lover remains hopeful that the water will be purified again.

Like *Sofrir m'estuet*, the setting of *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief payne* also contains the reformulated musical incipit of the rondeau *Esperance*. This melodic quotation corresponds to the two final words of the opening verse (immediately after Bernabo's motto), fully highlighted by the use of red notation in Ch and R, and partially coloured in ModA.<sup>34</sup>

Es-pe - ran - ce, qui en mon cuer  
grief pay - - - - ne, en lan - guor

Example 3.

While the text of *Sofrir m'estuet* reveals the presence of Dante's and Petrarca's poetry, the literary background of *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* is entirely French. The two opening verses are related to Thibaut de Champagne's chanson *En chantant vueil ma dolor découvrir* (n. 16, RS 1397).<sup>35</sup> The theme of the chanson is centred around the impossibility of seeing the beloved and obtaining her love (*bone amor*). The strophic structure is very close to that of *En attendant* and most of the ballades.

En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief payne,	A
en languor vivre, c'est ma destinee,	B
puisqu'avenir ne puis a la fontayne,	A
tant de ruissiaus en tour avironnee.	B
Telle vertu a li a Dieu dounee	B
qu'el puet souvir chascun a souffisance,	C
<i>par dignité et tres noble puissance.</i>	C
En chantant vueil ma dolor découvrir,	A
quant perdu ai ce que plus desirroie.	B
Las! si ne sai que puisse devenir,	A
que m'amors est ce dont g'espore joie;	B

34. Plumley, "Citation and Allusion", 317; Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, eds., *Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564*, Vol. 1: *Introduction* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 71.

35. Axel Wallensköld, ed., *Les chansons de Thibaut de Champagne, roi de Navarre* (Paris: Champion, 1925), 51-3.

si m'estouvra a tel dolor languir,	A
quant je ne puis ne veoir ne oïr	A
la bele riens a qui je m'atendoie.	B

The most definitive link between Thibaut's chanson and *En attendant* is in the fourth line of the third strophe: "Ensi m'estuet sousfrir ma destinee" (v. 18); and, in the first strophe, particularly in the second half: v. 5, *m'estouvra languir* "I will have to languish" and v. 7 *m'atendoie* "I reached out" (it should also be pointed out that this occurrence of the verb *attendre* underlines its double meaning: "to wait" and "to reach out"). The seemingly feeble connections between *espoire* (v. 4) and *espoir* (v. 20 of *En attendant*), *languir* (v. 5) and *langueur* (v. 2 of *En attendant*), *grief souspir* (v. 8) and *grief payne* (v. 1 of *En attendant*) become persuasive after a contextual reading of the text. Lastly, it is worth noticing the recurrence of the prepositional gerund that opens both texts (*En chantant* / *En attendant*).

<b>En chantant</b> vueil ma dolor descouvrir, Quant perdu ai ce que plus desirroie. Las! si ne sai que puisse devenir, Que m'amors est ce dont g'espoire joie;	4
Si <b>m'estouvra</b> a tel dolor <b>languir</b> , Quant je ne puis ne veoir ne oïr La bele riens a qui je <b>m'atendoie</b> .	
Quant m'en souvient, <b>grief</b> en sont li <b>souspir</b> , Et c'est toz jorz, ne ja n'en recerroie. Por li m'estuet mainte gent obeïr, Que je ne sai se nus va cele voie;	8
Mês, se nus puet a bone amor venir Par bien amer et loiaument servir, Ge sai de voir qu'encore en avrai joie.	12
Mi chant sont tuit plain d'ire et de dolor Por vos, dame, que je ai tant amee, Que je ne sai se je chant ou je plor;	16
<b>Ensi m'estuet sousfrir ma destinee</b> . Mês, se Deu plest, oncor verrai le jor Qu'Amors sera changiee en autre tor, Si vos donra vers moi meïllor pensee.	20
Souviengne vos, dame, de fine amor, Que loiautez ne vos ait oublïee, Que je me fi tant en vostre valor Qu'adès m'est vis que merci ai trouvee,	24

Et ne por quant je muir et nuit et jor!  
 Or vous doint Deus, pour oster ma dolor,  
 Que par vos soit m'ire reconfortee! 28

Dame, bien vueil que vous sachiez de voir  
 C'onques par moi ne fu mès dame amee,  
 Ne ja de vous ne me qier mès mouvoir;  
 Mon cuer i ai et m'entente atornee. 32  
 Je n'ai mestier, dame, de decevoir,  
 Que de tel mal ne me sueil pas doloir.  
 Ne m'esfreez, s'il vous plest, a l'entree!

Chançon, va t'en, garde ne remanoir! 36  
 Prie celi qui plus i a pooir  
 Que tu soies souvent par li chantee.

*En chantant vueil ma dolor découvrir* occupies a prominent position in Thibaut's *Liederbuch*, as found in the French lyric chansonniers.<sup>36</sup> The incipit of the chanson is a dysphoric rewriting of the incipit of Folquet de Marselha's song *Chantan volgra mon fin cor descobrir* (*BdT* 155,6),<sup>37</sup> that details how a lover can see his beloved and enjoy the vision of her. It was partially translated into Italian by the Sicilian poet Rinaldo d'Aquino in the song *Poi li piace c'avanzi suo valore* (*PSs* 7,3).<sup>38</sup> The second half of the incipit of Thibaut de Champagne's song (*ma dolor découvrir*) is mentioned in several compositions by Guillaume de Machaut. The intentionality of the citation is demonstrated by the fact that, as far as I am aware, the wording *ma dolor découvrir* is not attested elsewhere, neither in the old French lyric repertoire nor in the works of poets of Machaut's time and beyond. The closest correspondence in Machaut's works is to be found in his first ballade notée *S'Amours ne fait* (vv. 8-9).<sup>39</sup> The hemistich reappears in two ballades and one chanson royal in *La louange des dames* (Lo 3, 65, 117).<sup>40</sup>

*S'Amours ne fait par sa grace adoucir*, vv. 8-9

Car s'a vous puis **ma douleur découvrir**,  
 Espoir qu'en vous pour moy sera pités;

36. Luca Barbieri, "Note sul 'Liederbuch' di Thibaud de Champagne", *Medioevo romanzo* 23 (1999): 388-416.

37. Paolo Squillaciotti, ed., *Le poesie di Folchetto di Marsiglia* (Pisa: Pacini, 1999), 353.

38. Annalisa Comes, ed., "Rinaldo d'Aquino", in *I poeti della Scuola siciliana. II: Poeti della corte di Federico II*, ed. Costanzo Di Girolamo (Milan: Mondadori, 2008), 137-232, at 163-71.

39. Guillaume de Machaut, *Poésies lyriques*, Vol. 2, 537-8.

40. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 19-20, 78-9 and 116-7.

*Seur tous amans me doy pleindre et loer* (Lo 3), vv. 10-14

Car, quant je voy son dous viaire cler  
 Et je li vueil **descouvrir ma douleur**,  
 Honte m'assaut, paour me fait trambler,  
 Amour m'esprent, biauté et grant douçour  
 Me font perdre sens, manière et vigour.

*Douce dame, vo manière jolie* (Lo 65), vv. 17-18

Quérir ne l'os, pour ce qu'à m'anémie  
 Mie ne doy **ma douleur découvrir**.

*Se loyautés a vertus ne puissance* (Lo 117), vv. 46-48 (*envoi*)

Dame, en qui j'ai mis toute ma fiance,  
 A vous complein mes dous maus en chantant,  
 Car je ne puis mon mal ne ma pesence  
 Ne **ma douleur découvrir** autrement.

The image of the fountain, central to *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*, is a typical component of the *locus amoenus*. As argued by Anne Stone, it is possible to link the ballade to the *Livre de la fontaine amoureuse*, written by Machaut for Jean de Berry and inspired by the *Roman de la Rose*.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, while the *fontaine amoureuse's* waters are sweet, clear and pure (as is always the case in the *locus amoenus*) and available for everyone, in *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* the fountain's water is so troubled that the narrator cannot even taste a single draught.

According to Yolanda Plumley, in polyphonic songs ascribable to the French royal court the image of the fountain is used as an allusion to the House of Valois and/or to the French Crown.<sup>42</sup> In the case of *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* such an interpretation is supported by the connections with Thibaut de Champagne's chanson analysed above. In fact, in a famous historiographical work that constitutes a form of royal propaganda, *Les grandes chroniques de France* (1375-1380), Thibaut is the protagonist of a story of unattainable love with Louis IX's mother, Blanche of Castille, which can be interpreted as a metaphor for the difficult relationship between the nobility and the Crown.<sup>43</sup>

41. Anne Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain: Homage and Irony in Ciconia's 'Sus une fontayne'", *Music and Letters* 82 (2001), 361-90, at 376.

42. Plumley, "Citation and Allusion", 340-1.

43. Wallensköld, *Les chansons*, XVI-XVII.

But the fountain is also a synonym of wisdom and a Christological symbol, for example in Machaut's Marian *Lai de la fontainne* where it represents the Son of the Holy Trinity.

*Lai de la fonteinne*, vv. 119-136

De la duis le Pere nomme,  
**De la fonteinne le Fil**  
 Qui vient dou Pere et fu homme,  
 Dou ruissel cler et gentil  
 Saint Esperit; c'est la somme.  
 Dou Pere et dou Fil vien il.  
 Ces vj. sont iij., qui bien somme  
 A entendement sutil.<sup>44</sup>

The biblical source is a passage from the Gospel of John (7.37-38), in which Christ describes himself as a spring from which streams flow to satisfy the thirst of Christians:

In novissimo autem die magno festivitatis stabat Jesus, et clamabat dicens: Si quis sitit, veniat ad me et bibat. Qui credit in me, sicut dicit Scriptura, flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquae vivae.

This additional interpretive value suggests that the fountain in *En attendant* may also refer to the vicar of Christ, i.e., the (Avignonese) pope, head of the (Avignonese) Church, represented and endorsed by the king of France.

Yolanda Plumley has proposed a well-founded political interpretation of the ballade that explains the simultaneous presence of Bernabò Visconti's and the Valois' mottos in the text. According to Plumley, the piece could have been written for the occasion of Louis d'Anjou's campaign of 1382 that had the double purpose of conquering the Kingdom of Naples and enthroning the Avignonese Pope Clement VII. To achieve this goal, Louis made an alliance with Bernabò, who was expected to declare war on Charles of Durazzo.<sup>45</sup>

After the 1382 campaign, other political circumstances in the years of the Western Schism may explain the coexistence of Valois and Visconti mottos in Filippotto's ballade. Assuming that Bernabò's motto continued to represent the dynasty after his death – as is the case in Paolo's ballata – the historical frame of reference can be extended to Gian Galeazzo Visconti's reign (1378-1402). Gian Galeazzo, who had so far adopted an ambiguous political posi-

44. Guillaume de Machaut, *Poésies lyriques*, Vol. 2, 410.

45. Plumley, "Citation and Allusion", 353-4.

tion, openly aligned himself with Clement VII and Charles VI after the Roman election of Pope Boniface IX in 1389.

There was a moment of hesitation in the relations between the Visconti family and the French Crown that could further explain the overall meaning of the ballade; specifically, the fact that the lover, who cannot reach the fountain, leans towards his beloved (or lies in wait for her). I refer to the prolonged negotiation conducted by Niccolò Spinelli on behalf of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in order to obtain the endorsement of Charles VI and Clement VII for an ambitious political project. This project, doomed to failure, included the plan to introduce a strong French military contingent to Italy with the final goal of propelling Clement VII to the Roman papal throne and granting vast territories to Louis d'Orleans, which would have created a new Kingdom of Adria. In exchange, France would have conceded to Gian Galeazzo in the Veneto region and would have endorsed his plan to conquer Bologna. Negotiations began in 1392, during the two-year war that Gian Galeazzo maintained with Florence and its allies (Bologna, Pisa, Lucca and Perugia). However, political and financial difficulties, the death of Clement VII on September 16, 1394 and the Visconti's ambitions for Genoa (conquered by Louis d'Orleans in February of 1395) urged France to reject Gian Galeazzo's requests and to sign a pact with Florence; an agreement that, in my opinion, may be alluded to in the text of Paolo's ballata *Sofrir m'estuet*, where it is represented, in symbolic terms, as an unhealthy but already concluded relationship, originally determined by an uncontrollable and therefore regrettable passionate love or *force d'amour*.

In conclusion, *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* may contain references to Gian Galeazzo Visconti's fruitless request for military support from the French Crown, the guarantor and protector of the (Avignonese) Church, and his wait in vain for that assistance which never transpired, whereas *Sofrir m'estuet* may contain allusions to Florence's change of allegiance to the Roman Church after an alliance with France had failed. It is possible, then, that the author of *Sofrir m'estuet*'s poetic text, maybe Paolo da Firenze himself, knew Filippotto's ballade. The presence of Filippotto's ballade *Par le grant senz d'Adriane la sage* in the early fifteenth-century manuscript Pit, which contains a significant number of French pieces, is proof that his works were known in Florence. Furthermore, Filippotto's *Par le grant* and Paolo's ballata were copied by the same hand.<sup>46</sup>

46. John Nadas, "The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript Tradition", in *In cantu et in sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, ed. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Olschki - University of Western Australia Press, 1989), 41-64, at 57-8. Nadas proposes dating *Sofrir m'estuet* around the years 1397-1402. For further discussion about the circulation of French compositions in Florence cf. also Plumley and Stone, *Codex Chantilly*, 181.

## 3. «SUS LA FONTAINE»

The virelai *Sus la fontayne en remirant* set to music by Johannes Ciconia is preserved in ModA, ff. 26v-27r and partially (vv. 1-6) in the Paduan fragment Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. patr. lat. 229 (Ox299), f. 38v. The text opens with an image of the fountain, the central element in the above discussed ballade *En atendant, sofrir m'estuet*. Below I propose a new critical edition and a translation.

Sus [la] fontayne en remirant, oÿ chanter si douchement que mon cuer, corps et pensement remanent pris, en atendant	4
d'avoir merchi de ma douleur, qui me trepo[i]nt au cuer forment, seul de veoir [la] noble flour, qui tant cantoit suavement, que [rien] ne say, en recivant pavour, tremour, angos[e]ment, que fere doy certainement, de ly veoir [en] desirant.	8      12
Sus [la] fontayne [en remirant, oÿ chanter si douchement que mon cuer, corps et pensement remanent pris, en atendant].	16

1 la] un ModA, unne Ox229 2 oÿ] ouy Ox299, duochement Ox299 3 mon] moun Ox299  
4 remenant] remarent ModA 5 douleur] duolnor Ox229 6 trepoint] trepount ModA, trespuont  
Ox229; forment] fourment Ox299 7 la] ce ModA 9 rien] choise nulle ModA 10 angosement]  
et angosment ModA 11 fere doy] fer duis ModA 12 de ly] tant sus de ly ModA, en desirant]  
desirant ModA 13 *shortened refrain* Sus un fontayne ModA

As I was in contemplation leaning over the fountain, I heard the song of a so sweet voice that my heart, my body and my mind remained captive, waiting to obtain mercy for the sorrow that sharply pierces my heart, (waiting) only to see the noble flower whose song was so gentle that I do not know what to do anymore, because, in my desire to see it, I feel fear, tremors and distress.

ModA's version of the text, whose first eight verses mainly coincide with those in Ox229, contains multiple errors. At v. 1 the indeterminate article *un* (*une* in Ox229) probably replaced the determinative *la*, as is the case with the masculine *ce* at v. 7, which can be regarded as an Italianism (*flour* is feminine in French but *fiore* is masculine in Italian); at v. 9 the nexus *choise nulle* is prob-

ably adopted in place of *rien* (as intensifier of the negative particle *ne*); at v. 12 the reading *tant sus* was probably added in order to compensate for the dropping of *en* in the exemplar; hypometry is present in v. 11, generated by the form *fer* for the infinitive *ferre*.

The erroneous incipit proves the existence of an antigraph common to both manuscript witnesses, confirmed by ModA's reading of *trepount* (v. 6) that probably substituted the word *trepoint*, transcribed as *trespount* in Ox229. The inverted vowel order *ou* > *uo* should be compared with a similar, anticipated inversion in *duolnor* for *dolour* (Ox229, v. 5).

The incipit of the virelai recalls the verse "Sus la fontaine toz adenz" from the *Roman de la rose* (a poem also evoked through the adoption of the *octosyllable*), which supports the substitution of *la* for *une* in my edition. The verse is located in a key passage during which the protagonist is exploring the garden, just before falling in love with the *rose*, and he reaches the fountain where Narcissus died and tells Narcissus' story using the *mise en abyme* technique: having arrived at a fountain at the foot of a pine, Narcissus leans over the fountain (*sus la fontaine*) to drink and, fascinated by his image reflected in the water, falls deeply in love with it. As an extension of the *mise en abyme*, *Sus la fontaine*'s lover also leans over the fountain (*sus la foyntaine*) while contemplating (*en remirant*) the image of the *noble flour*, equivalent to the *rose* of the *Roman de la rose*, which enchants him with its song.

*Roman de la rose*, vv. 1476-1480

Et quant il vint a la fontaine  
que li pins de ses rains covroit,  
ilec pensa que il bevroit.  
**Sus la fontaine** toz adenz  
se mist lors por boivre dedenz...<sup>47</sup>

It is well known that *Sus la fontaine* borrows the musical and poetic incipits of three ballades by Filippotto de Caserta: *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*; *En remirant vo douce pourtraiture*; and *De ma dolour ne puis trouver confort*, the latter copied in ModA next to *Sus la fontayne*.<sup>48</sup> *En remirant vo douce pourtraiture*, which is similar to the incipit of Machaut's ballade *En remirant vo gracious viaire* (Lo 110), is

47. Felix Lecoy, ed., *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1962; repr., 1969), 32.

48. Intertextuality between the three ballades and Ciconia's virelai is discussed in Anne Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain" and Yolanda Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philippus de Caserta", in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Tournhout: Brepols, 2003), 131-68, where the virelai is interpreted as an "homage to Philipoctus not just as a talented composer, but as a master of citation" (133).

also the first verse of an anonymous ballade contained in the Cambrai fragments (Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, B 1328 [Ca1328]), f. 15r-v.<sup>49</sup>

I offer a new textual edition with a translation of Filippotto's *En remirant* and *De ma dolour*. *En remirant* and *De ma dolour* are only complete in Ch (ff. 39r and 32r), while ModA (f. 35r) preserves the first strophe of both compositions and R (f. 80v) only the first stanza of *En remirant*. My edition of these two ballades follows the text of Ch, which I have corrected from obvious errors, but at vv. 3 and 5 of *En remirant* I favour the following readings: *Amours* from ModA instead of *au cuer* (Ch R), which anticipates *mon cuer* at v. 4; *tres fort* instead of *cele* (Ch), which makes no sense; and *il* instead of *si*, which repeats *si* at v. 4. The lessons *au cuer* and *si* indicate a relationship between Ch and R.

Filippotto de Caserta, *En remirant vo douce pourtraiture*

En remirant vo douce pourtraiture,  
 en laquele est tout doulz ymaginer,  
 m'a point [Amours] d'une [tres fort] pointure  
 d'ardant desir, si que mon cuer durer, 4  
 las, [il] ne puet, doulce dame sans per,  
 se vo doulçour ne me va secourrant:  
*pour vostre amor, dame, vois languissant.*

1 douce] douche ModA; en laquelle R 2 ymaginier ModA 3 Amours] au cuer Ch R; tres fort] cele Ch, *om.* R 4 mon] mo ModA 5 las il] las si Ch R; puet] puez R; doulce] douche ModA; douce R 6 doulçour] douchour ModA, ducour R; ne me] mene R; secourrant] secourant ModA, secouait R 7 *om.* vois languissant R

As I was contemplating your sweet image, in which every sweet imagination dwells, Love pierced me with a strong wound of ardent desire, so much so that my heart, alas, cannot bear it, sweet unexcelled lady, unless your sweetness does give me relief: for your love, o lady, I languish.

Hé, Bel Acueil, ou je prens noureture, 8  
 vo cuer vueilliez de m'amor alumer!  
 Car se mon cuer devoit [en] grant ardure  
 ardre, brüir a touz jorns sans finer,  
 si ne lairay que ne vous doie amer; 12  
 mes vo [cuer] mey[me] me va trop detriant:  
*pour vostre amour, dame, vois languissant.*

8 acueil] acueillir Ch 10 en] er Ch 13 *om.* cuer Ch; meyme] mey Ch 14 *shortened refrain*  
 pour vostre amour etc Ch

49. I am grateful to Andrés Locatelli who pointed out the ballade to me.

Ah, Fair Welcome, where I take nourishment, please illuminate your heart with my love! Even if my heart glowed in ardent flames, burning endlessly, I would not restrain myself from loving you; but your heart keeps me in wait too long: for the love I have for you, lady, I languish.

A vous me plains, car sui en aventure  
de toust mourir pour loyalment amer, 16  
se Dieus e vous ne me prenez en cure.  
En face Amour le dur en doulz müer!  
Telz mauls ne puis longuement endurer!  
De triste cuer dire puis en plourant: 20  
*pour vostre amour, dame vois languissant.*

I express to you my grief because I risk death for my loyal love, unless God and you take me in care. Let Love transform harshness into sweetness! Such pains I cannot long endure! I am right to say with sorrow in my heart: for the love I have for you, lady, I languish.

Filippotto de Caserta, *De ma dolour ne puis trouver confort*

[D]e ma dolour ne puis trouver confort,  
car en tous cas m'est fortune contrayre.  
Languir m'estuet, car mis sui a tel port  
qu'a mon vouloir ne m'en puis pas retrayre. 4  
Mar vi le jor que vi le doulz viaire!  
Dont perdu ay la joieuse pasture,  
*quant ne la voy, la parfaite figure.*

1 De] e Ch 3 mis sui a tel] me sui a cel ModA 4 om. pas ModA 7 quant] quant quant ModA

I cannot find comfort for my grief because Fortune is in all ways against me. I must languish, since I am in such a state that I am not free to retire. For my disgrace, I met the day when I saw your sweet face! Since then, I lost my joyful nourishment because I do not see your perfect figure.

Hé, dous reguart, tu m'as mis a la mort, 8  
car contre moy sont tuit, mi adversaire,  
Deduit, Soulas, Playsance et Deport.  
Helas, ne sçay certes que doye fayre!  
Il m'est avis que me doye detrayre, 12  
car perdu ay ma douce nourreture,  
*quant ne la voy, la parfaite figure.*

8 m'as] ma Ch 9 contre] contrir Ch 12 que me] come Ch 14 *shortened refrain* quant ne la voy etc Ch

Ah, Sweet Looks, you have condemned me to death because enjoyment, pleasure and amusement are all against me, like enemies. Alas! I do not know what to do! I believe that I should retire, since I have lost my joyful nourishment, because I do not see your perfect figure.

Or n'est il nulz, [he]las, qui me confort  
 ne puist aussy, fors le douls exemplaire 16  
 de celle en qui so[n]t trestuit mi deport,  
 car il n'est riens, certes, qui me puist plaire.  
 Or me convient tous jours crier et brayre,  
 dout que pres suy mis a desconf[it]ure, 20  
*quant ne la voy, la parfayte figure.*

15 helas] las Ch 17 sont] sout Ch 20 desconfiture] desconfaure Ch

There is no one, alas, to comfort me, and no one will, except for the sweet portrait of her in which all my pleasure lies, since nothing else can please me. I must cry and scream all the time, I fear that I am close to my defeat, since I do not see your perfect figure.

Below is the poetic text of the anonymous ballade according to the edition in PMFC,<sup>50</sup> except for vv. 12 (*ame* instead of *amasse*), 15 (*m'ais* instead of *mais*) and 16 (*tien* instead of *sien*), where I follow Rosenberg's edition.<sup>51</sup> I have included a translation.

Anonymous, *En remirant vo douce pourtraiture*

En remirant vo douce pourtraiture,  
 Amours m'a fait si grant joie venir  
 que je sçay bien que humaine creature  
 n'en porroit plus avoir ne plus sentir 4  
 que mes cuers sent: car vo biauté fenir  
 fera les mauls, qui m'ont esté contraire,  
*merchi avoir de vous, cuer debonnaire.*

As I was contemplating your sweet image, Love brought me such joy that I know very well that no human creature could have or feel more joy than my heart, since your beauty will put an end to the pain which has made me suffer, will lead you to have mercy, noble heart.

50. Gordon Greene, ed., *French Secular Music. Ballades and Canons*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 20 (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1982), 123-6.

51. In Willi Apel and Samuel Rosenberg, eds., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century II. Anonymous Ballades* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1971), xxv-xxvi.

Ch'est Faus Dangiers qui mainte grief pointure      8  
 m'a fait sentir au cuer, sans repentir,  
 et Cruauté, qui me firent parture  
 de vivre en grief dolour ou de morir,  
 mais j'ame miex a vo voleir languir,      12  
 car j'espoir que Pités me fera faire<sup>52</sup>  
*merchi avoir de vous, cuer debonnaire*

It was Faus Dangier who made me feel many piercings in my heart, without hesitation, and also Cruaté, who gave me the destiny to live in deep pain or to die, but I prefer to languish according to your will, because I hope that Pités will ensure that I am rewarded by you, noble heart.

(Pour) chou qu'a mon pooir sans mespresure,  
 vous ai servi en espoir de joir,  
 m'ais vo tres douls regards outre mesure  
 guerredonne, dont tien suy sans partir,      16  
 et Espoirs dist que je puis par cremir,  
 par bien celer et servir sans retraire,  
*merchi avoir de vous, cuer debonnaire.*

By the virtue that, as far as I could, I have served you loyally in the hope of happiness, you have granted me your sweet looks beyond expectation, so that I am yours forever, and moreover Hope has assured me that through service based on fear, discretion, and loyalty I can have from you the reward, noble heart.

We can consider the text of the anonymous ballade as a variation of the content and lexical choices of Filippotto's *En remirant*, even if it is hard to establish which of the two ballades imitates the other. The opposition between *Bel Accueil*, which opens the second stanza in Filippotto's ballade, and *Faux Dangier*, in the same position in the anonymous ballade, alludes to the *Roman de la Rose* (*Faus Dangier* is also at v. 3 of the rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'enbat*). Instead, the opening of Filippotto's ballade ("vo douce pourtraiture ... m'a point au cuer d'une tres fort pointure") is similar to the opening of the anonymous ballade's second strophe ("C'est Faus Dangiers qui mainte griés pointure / m'a fait sentir au cuer").

Returning to Ciconia's virelai and its relationships with Filippotto's three ballades, we can note that the two prepositional gerunds *en remirant* and *en attendant* close the first and the last verse of the *refrain*, whereas the incipit *de*

52. *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (<http://www.atilf.fr/dmf>, last accessed February 22, 2021), s.v. *faire*, IV A. 2. a): "Avec redoublement de faire".

*ma douleur* is placed at the end of the opening verse of the strophe. The first verse of the ballade *De ma douleur ne puis trouver confort* corresponds in turn almost exactly to Machaut's ballade *De ma douleur ne puis avoir confort* (Lo 210).<sup>53</sup> Verse 17 of *En remirant* "se Dieus e vous ne me prenez en cure" is identical to the refrain of another of Machaut's ballades, *Plourez, dames, plourez vostre servant* (Lo 229, with music).<sup>54</sup> Moreover, *En remirant* and *De ma douleur* have at least three elements in common: the central image of absent love («En remirant vo douce portraiture»; *De ma douleur*, v. 16 «ne puist aussy, fors le douls exemplaire»); the rhyme -URE (also in the anonymous ballade); and the word *nourreture* (*En remirant*, v. 4 "Hé, Bel Accueil, ou je prens *nourreture*"; *De ma douleur*, v. 13 "car perdu ay ma douce *nourreture*"). Finally, v. 3 of *De ma douleur* "*Languir m'estuet, car mis sui a tel port*" resembles both the incipit of *En attendant* "*souffrir m'estuet*" and v. 5 of Thibaut de Champagne's *En chantant vueil ma dolor descouvrir* ("*Si m'estouvra a tel dolor languir*").

References to Filippotto's three ballade texts in *Sus la fontayne* can be found beyond the incipit, too. Firstly, the virelai makes use of *enjambement*, a feature that is employed frequently in *En remirant* (vv. 4-5, 5-6, 10-11, 13-14, 15-16):

Filippotto de Caserta, *En remirant*  
 vv. 3-4 *pointure* / *d'ardant desir*;  
 vv. 10-11 *mon cuer devoit en grant ardure* / *ardre*;  
 vv. 15-16 *en aventure* / *de toust mourir*.

Johannes Ciconia, *Sus la fontayne*  
 vv. 4-5 *en attendant* / *d'avoir merchi*;  
 vv. 10-11 *en recivant* / *pavour, tremour, angosement*.

*Sus la fontayne*'s v. 6 («qui me trepoint au cuer forment») reinterprets v. 3 of Filippotto's *En remirant* («m'a point au cuer d'une tres fort pointure»). Here, the adverb *forment* recalls ModA's reading *tres fort*. But the most important connection between these two verses is demonstrated on the one hand by the words *point-pointure* (*pointure* is also present in the anonymous ballade, v. 8), and on the other hand by the word *trepoint*. *Trepoint* is a hapax, transcribed erroneously in both manuscript witnesses (*trepoint* ModA and *trespuont* Ox229, a mistake that may have been influenced by the Italian word *trapunto*), and it is the result of the combination of the adverb *tres* (intensive prefix) with the verb *point* (*tres-point*). It may have been created *ad hoc*, here, in order

53. Wilkins, "Some Notes", 82; Plumley, "The Marriage of Words and Music", 144-6.

54. Plumley, "The Marriage of Words and Music", 147.

to emphasise the motif of the pierced heart, on which the verse of *En remirant* insists (*point ... tres fort pointure*).

The principal connections between *En attendant* and *Sus la fontayne* are the use of the ballade's *la fontayne* in the virelai's incipit (*En attendant*, v. 3 "puisqu'avenir ne puis a *la fontayne*"), and the adjective *noble* which is related to the *flour* at v. 8 (*En attendant*, refrain: "par dignité et tres *noble* puissance"; v. 13: "si *Nobleté* n'a de moy remembrance"). We could therefore say that the theme of nobility is transferred from the *fountain* to the *flour*, from the first to a second different object of desire, which acts as a metaphor for the *rose*. Furthermore, vv. 9-11 of the virelai ("que rien *ne say*, en recivant / pavour, tremour, angusement, / *que fere doy certainement*") are related to vv. 9-11 of *De ma dolour* ("car contre moy sont tuit, mi adversaire, / deduit, soulas, playsance et deport. / Helas, *ne sçay certes que doye fayre!*"). Finally, *voy* in *De ma dolour*'s refrain ("quant ne la *voy*, la parfaite figure") is the source of the recurrent verb *veoir* at vv. 7 ("seul de *veoir* la noble flour") and 12 ("de ly *veoir* en desirant") of *Sus la fontayne*.

As illustrated above, the virelai is the result of a carefully prepared poetic (and musical) inlay. The material and stylistic features derived from Filippotto's ballades are inserted into a complex syntactic texture. A single principal clause (*oï chanter*) supports a long series of subordinate clauses. The two prepositional gerunds *en remirant* and *en attendant* and the two consecutive clauses introduced by *si douchement* (*que... remanent pris... que rien ne say*) depend directly on the principal clause. At the same time, *En attendant* governs the object clauses *d'avoir merci de ma dolour* and *seul de veoir la noble flour*, on which the relative clauses *qui me trepoint au cuer forment e qui tant cantoit suavement* depend. The second relative clause introduces the consecutive clause *tant ... suavement ... que rien ne say* that governs the object clause *que fere doy*, on which the two remaining gerunds depend (*en recivant* and *en desirant*). The syntax is consistent with the metrical structure: the four prepositional gerunds determine the refrain's boundaries and the second part of the strophe; refrain and strophe both contain consecutive clauses in the central verses (vv. 3-4 and 9-10), whereas the first part of the strophe is constituted by two clauses, one completive and one relative, which correspond to the two couples of verses set to the same music (text: ab ab; music: A A).

Sus la fontayne **en remirant**,  
 oï chanter **si douchement**  
**que** mon cuer, corps et pensement  
 remanent pris, **en attendant**

d'avoir merchi de ma dolour,  
 qui me trepoint au cuer forment,  
 seul de veoir la noble flour, 8  
 qui tant cantoit suavement,  
 que rien ne say, en recivant  
 pavour, tremour, angosement,  
 que fere doy certainnement,  
 de ly veoir en desirant. 12

Sus la fontayne en remirant,  
 oÿ chanter si douchement  
 que mon cuer, corps et pensement  
 remanent pris, en attendant. 16

The *Sus la fontaine's* combined virtuosity greatly emphasises the language and the content of the texts alluded to (the three ballades), generating an effect of accumulation, which is mirrored by the syntactic accumulation. The lover is unable to drink from the fountain like *En attendant's* lover, he feels frightened and lost like *De ma dolour's* lover, and his heart is pierced like the heart of *En remirant's* lover.

The musical opening shared by *En remirant* and *En attendant* is repeated at the beginning and the end of the second part of the strophe, as dictated by the virelai form, marking a link between the contemplation of the *noble flour* (*en remirant*) and the effects of its singing on the lover (*en recivant*), between expectation (*en attendant*) and desire (*en desirant*). The formal circularity of the strophic structure leads desire (*en desirant*) back to the starting point, i.e. to contemplation (*en remirant*), creating a situation without escape, i. e. the fruitless waiting on which the virelai ends (*en attendant*).

The sequence of quotations in *Sus la fontayne* (*En remirant*, *En attendant*, *De ma dolour*) is anything but coincidental. The three ballades narrate three moments of an ill-fated love story: falling in love through the contemplation of an image representing the object of desire (*En remirant vo douce pourtraiture*), the grief caused by the desire to meet the beloved again (*En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*), and the disconsolate pain caused by distance and lack of hope (*De ma dolour ne puis trouver confort*).

Turning from a literary meaning to a symbolic (political) one, *En remirant* and *De ma dolour* likely refer to the same historical frame in which I have placed *En attendant*. The two ballades could allude to Gian Galeazzo's requests for intervention from the king of France and his discouragement when those long-desired requests were not granted. If this interpretation is correct, then *Sus la fontayne* can be seen as a relentless description of the Visconti's political

failure. The complex structure of the virelai suggests a parody that subtly alludes to Gian Galeazzo Visconti's problematic situation. The lover (Gian Galeazzo Visconti) is longing to see the *noble flour* (the French Crown) and to drink from the *fontayne* (a Church reunited, at last). The chant of the *noble flour* could instead be representative of Filippotto's artistic skills, and he is therefore seen as a supporter of the Visconti's ruinous politics. The idea that *Sus la fontayne* is a parody would also explain why it is the only of Ciconia's works written in the *subtilior* style; a musical language that characterises Filippotto's works. Anne Stone's ironic reading of the virelai would thus be confirmed, albeit from a different point of view.<sup>55</sup>

If *Sus la fontayne* was conceived as a parody of the three ballades supporting the Visconti politics of the 1390s, then it is plausible that it was composed during Ciconia's sojourn at the Roman papal court, attested to in a letter to Boniface IX dated 27 April 1391. Ciconia may have stayed in Rome – at least until his patron Philippe d'Alençon died in 1397 – while Gian Galeazzo Visconti attempted to realise his ambitious political project. This virelai could, in fact, be Ciconia's ironic partisan reply to Filippotto's three ballades.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

This study outlines an intertextual dialogue that can be considered an integral part of the political propaganda in Italian territories during the years that followed Boniface IX's election (post 1389). During these years, the Visconti and Florence independently requested support from France: while the Viscontis attempted a strategy of expansion, Florence sought to strengthen its own defenses. The lyrics discussed in this essay exemplify a very complex and refined allusive art where the conventions of courtly love overlap with moral and political meanings. In Paolo's ballata, Italian-French bilingualism is used to depict the complex and unstable Italian historical frame during the continuous wars instigated by the Schism. It tells of a past concord with France and a future return to an alliance with the Roman pope. In *Sus la fontayne*, Ciconia's exceptional choice of French language and *subtilior* style is explainable in terms of parody and irony. The literary background – the poetry of the great French and Italian authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – is drawn into this intertextual game. Thibaut de Champagne, the *Roman de la rose* and Guillaume de Machaut are evoked in homage to the crown of France and the Avignonese papacy, while Dante Alighieri and Francesco Petrarca are

55. Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain".

recalled as the greatest exponents of the strand of Italian lyric poetry that sees *caritas* as the only true form of love, according to an ideology that is present in the widespread rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'enbat*. It should not be forgotten that the two Italian authors demonstrate in their works a position contrary to the Avignonese papacy and the conviction that the city of Rome is the only legitimate seat of the Vicar of Christ, and the Church, restored to its original values, the only true witness and depository of *caritas*.

I have proposed an interpretation and a later historical context for the ballade *En atendant, souffrir m'estuet* that invites us to re-examine the rest of the *En atendant* compositions (the ballade *En atendant d'avoir la douce vie* and the rondeau *En atendant, esperance conforté*) together with other texts containing the image of the fountain (the anonymous ballade *Comme le cerf la fontaine desire* and Galiot's *Le saut perilleux a l'aventure prins*). Moreover, the allusion to the French rondeau *Esperance* in the Italian ballata *Sofrir m'estuet* paves the way for future discoveries of similar relationships between other French and Italian *Ars Nova* and *Ars Subtilior* compositions.

The majority of manuscript witnesses to this tradition are anthologies copied in Italy, or, in any case, by Italian copyists, between the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, i. e. approximately between Boniface IX's election and Martin V's appointment in 1417, which brought the Schism to an end. Although several authoritative studies have been published on many of these manuscript witnesses, many questions remain unanswered, especially regarding the commission and function of single editorial projects. In particular, we lack a comprehensive study capable, as far as possible, of clarifying the relationships between witnesses and to reconstruct the formation and history of the *Ars Nova* manuscript tradition; a study which would allow for a better understanding of whether Italian anthologies containing sections devoted to French compositions – all of them except for the Squarcialupi codex (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 [Sq]) – aim to promote a united polyphonic repertoire as part of a strategy of cultural centralisation in the name of an undivided Roman Church.

## ABSTRACT

The poetic texts of the Ars Nova repertoire are mainly transmitted in musical manuscripts, whose primary purpose is the preservation of music. For this reason, those texts are particularly subject to innovations and errors that compromise their metrical structure and linguistic and conceptual coherence, making it difficult in many cases to accurately and completely identify the quotations and allusions they contain and to formulate well-founded hypotheses on the motivations that led the authors to use them. At the same time, intertextual relations can make a decisive contribution both to philological work – in particular to the choice of variants and the correction of corrupt passages – and to the literal and symbolic interpretation of texts. This essay aims to highlight the importance of intertextuality in the fundamental interactions between philology and interpretation through three case studies: the ballata *Sofrir m'estuet et plus non puis durer* set to music by Paolo da Firenze; the ballade *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*, set to music by Filippotto da Caserta; and the virelai *Sus la fontaine, en remirant*, set to music by Johannes Ciconia. The analysis also reveals that the three texts are examples of a very complex and refined allusive art that is functioned as political propaganda in Italian territories during the years that followed Boniface IX's election (1389).

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by Lorenzo Giustozzi



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