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## NEW BIOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTATION OF PAOLO DA FIRENZE'S EARLY CAREER

Over the past three-quarters of a century, the late-medieval Italian composer Paolo da Firenze (ca. 1355-1436, also known as Don Paulus Abbas and Paolo Tenorista) and his compositions have come increasingly into view in our musical assessment of the early Quattrocento in Florence, beginning with the seminal studies of Nino Pirrotta and the first critical editions of the music of Trecento Italy.<sup>1</sup> With these studies and editions the composer has emerged as a prominent figure in Florentine culture, one whose long career began in the mid fourteenth century and continued well into the fifteenth – rivaling that of the famous Francesco Landini (d. 1397) – adding to the established repertory while apparently engaged in efforts to keep the glories of past literary and musical traditions alive. As new documentation of Paolo's biography emerged, joined with new source discoveries announced and studied, we came to more clearly define the totality of his *oeuvre* and know more of his whereabouts and the positions he held in ecclesiastical institutions. We can now identify an output of a total of some thirteen madrigals and over fifty ballatas, as well as two liturgical settings, and his known positions include the commendatory abbacy of San Martino al Pino, membership in the Florentine

1. Nino Pirrotta and Ettore Li Gotti, "Paolo Tenorista, fiorentino 'extra moenia'", *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, Vol. 3 (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1952), 577-606; Nino Pirrotta, "Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento dell'ars nova", *Musica Disciplina* 10 (1956): 61-6; Francesco Termini, "The Music of Dom Paolo (M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1956); Nino Pirrotta, *Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova* (Palm Springs: E. E. Gottlieb, 1961); Albert Seay, "Paolo Tenorista: A Trecento Theorist", in *L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento I*, ed. Bianca Becherini (Certaldo: Centro di Studi sull'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento, 1962), 118-40; W. Thomas Marrocco, ed., *Italian Secular Music*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 6-11 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1967-1978), Vol. 9; Bartolino da Padova, Egidius de Francia, Guilielmus de Francia, and Don Paolo da Firenze.

*The End of the Ars Nova in Italy. The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories*, ed. A. Calvia, S. Campagnolo, A. Janke, M. S. Lannutti, J. Nádas (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2020), 13-42. (ISBN 978-88-9290-046-2 © SISMELE - Edizioni del Galluzzo e Fondazione Ezio Franceschini ONLUS)

archbishop's council, and the rectorship of the church of Santa Maria Annunziata in the Florentine hospice of Orbatello.<sup>2</sup> Past research has largely covered, and thus concentrated on, Paolo's career from the Council of Pisa, in 1409, to his death. What we knew of him prior to this period, especially in the two decades surrounding the year 1400, has remained scanty and largely shrouded in mystery.

The present contribution aims to fill the gaps in Paolo's career in the decades up to and surrounding the great church council of 1409. It can do so largely through access to documents now available at the Florence Archivio di Stato (ASF) and recent study of an illuminated liturgical manuscript at Cambridge University. I can now demonstrate that Paolo da Firenze was closely tied to the most important Benedictine institution in Florence and to its commendatory abbot, Bishop, then Cardinal, Angelo Acciaiuoli, and, as such, found himself at one of the centers of Florentine manuscript production and contemporaneously immersed in the activities of church history, in Florence, Rome, travels of the papal court in Tuscany, and events leading up to the Council of Pisa. The present study begins with the creation, at the Badia Fiorentina, of Cardinal Acciaiuoli's Missal now housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge University, continues with an outline of Paolo's career with consistent membership in that Florentine Benedictine monastery – in whose workshops the Missal was produced – and his privileged presence in the cardinal's entourage up to the eve of the Pisan council. On the basis of this evidence, it is possible to speculate further on Paolo's role in Florentine musical culture, including his probable initiatives and collaboration in the preservation and copying of the Florentine Ars Nova musical tradition as we know it in the late Trecento and early decades of the Quattrocento.

2. John Nádas, "The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript Tradition", in *In cantu et in sermone. A Nino Pirrotta nel suo 80° compleanno*, ed. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1989), 41-64 (reprinted in *Arte Psallentes: John Nádas, Studies in Music of the Tre- and Quattrocento* [Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2017]); Ursula Günther, John Nádas, and John Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia: New Documentary Evidence", *Musica Disciplina* 41 (1987): 203-46. Relevant manuscripts and fragments cited in the present study include the following: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, it. 568 (Pit); Chicago, MS fragment formerly in the library of Edward Lowinsky, now Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS MLo96.P36 (Lw); Firenze, Archivio capitolare di San Lorenzo, 2211 (SL); Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Incunab. F.5.5 (F.5.5); Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 "Codice Squarcialupi" (Sq); Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 184 and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, MS 3065 (Man, also known as the Lucca Codex or the Mancini Codex); Perugia, MS fragment in the library of Galliano Ciliberti and Biancamaria Brumana (Cil).

## MS 30 OF THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

We begin with an exquisitely beautiful representative of the best of Florentine illuminated manuscripts from the early fifteenth century, one that has recently been studied for its intriguing genesis and the quality of its craftsmanship: a Missal housed for over two hundred years as MS 30 in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge University and featuring 66 historiated initials filled with striking figures and narrative scenes, set against gold backgrounds and immersed in lush acanthus leaf borders with hundreds of ornamental initials in brilliant colors scattered throughout.<sup>3</sup> The scholarly attention that has recently been paid to the Missal provided the initial stimulus for the present study. Indeed, the volume preserves on several folios the arms and portrait of its original owner, Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli, member of a prominent Florentine family, and it has been shown to have been created between 1402 and 1405 in the workshops leased at the great Benedictine monastery in Florence normally referred to as the Badia Fiorentina (see the manuscript's opening folio in Figure 1 for the cardinal's depiction in the lower left margin, and his *bas-de-page* heraldic arms).

The artists responsible for the Missal's illumination were Bartolomeo di Fruosino; Matteo di Filippo Torelli and his brother Bartolomeo di Filippo Torelli; and Bastiano di Niccolò di Monte; their work is documented in the Badia's account books, a topic to which I will return. Three of the illuminators who produced the Acciaiuoli Missal show regular occupancy in the Badia's workshops, where they rented *botteghe*, spaces annexed to the Badia's exterior walls that served primarily illuminators and *cartolai* (stationers), as well as bookbinders, all heavily engaged in manuscript production (see Figure 2 on page 17).<sup>4</sup>

3. Richard, VII Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion (1745-1816), acquired the Missal in 1814 and donated it to the museum in 1816. The Fitzwilliam Museum's volume was identified as the Acciaiuoli Missal recorded in the Badia's accounts by Miklos Boskovits in 1972 ("Su Don Silvestro, Don Simone e la 'Scuola degli Angeli'", *Paragone* 23n265 (1972): 35-61, at 44-6), but it had received little attention until recently. Principal new studies of the Missal are: Ada Labriola, Paola Ricciardi, and Stella Panayotova in *Colour – The Art and Science of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Stella Panayotova (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2016), 142-54; Éowyn Kerr-Di Carlo's study, "Making the Cardinal's Missal: Looking Anew at the Circle of Lorenzo Monaco and the Illuminators of Fitzwilliam MS 30", in *Manuscripts in the Making: Art and Science I*, ed. Stella Panayotova and Paola Ricciardi (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2017), 87-95.

4. Anne Leader, *The Badia of Florence: Art and Observance in a Renaissance Monastery* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), chap. 4. The design of the monastery, diagramming all of its rented workshops, is on 101.



Figure 1. Cambridge University, The Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 30, f. 1r  
 © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



Figure 2. Giuseppe Zocchi (1711-1767) engraving after an original pen and ink drawing preparatory for inclusion in “Scelta di XXIV vedute delle principali contrade, piazze, chiese, e palazzi della città di Firenze”, Florence, 1744, Plate 18, with a view of the Florentine Badia with its street-level commercial workshops and the facing Palazzo del Podestà, today the Bargello Museum, looking north from Piazza Sant’Apollinare (today the Piazza San Firenze). Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Uffizi, Florence, Italy; Photo Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY Image Reference: ART134655. Reproduced with the permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il Turismo; all further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited.

The unusual iconography of some of the Missal’s historiated initials and the opulent borders populated by fantastic birds derive from manuscripts produced at the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli, the leading Florentine scriptorium of the time. Two of the Missal’s documented artists enjoyed close links with the Camaldolese community: Bartolomeo di Fruosino collaborated with the head of the scriptorium, with Lorenzo Monaco, and by 1400 Matteo Torelli was renting a house from the Camaldolese monks; in 1407 he was described as their “friend”. On stylistic grounds, Matteo Torelli is considered the Acciaiuoli Missal’s principal artist. He was one of the few laymen regularly engaged to work with the monastic artists at Santa Maria degli Angeli. Bartolomeo di Fruosino, however, never appears as a tenant at the Badia, and during this period he rented his house and workshop from the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. He may in fact have operated independently from the other three artists, as he was only engaged in completing the Missal’s commission. As we shall see, this miniaturist will emerge later in this study as significant in our assessment of an important relevant volume produced in 1417: the Gradual/Antiphoner for Orbatello (MS Douai 1171).<sup>5</sup>

5. Ada Labriola, “Il Graduale-Antiphonario della chiesa di Orbatello miniato da Bartolomeo di Fruosino”, in *L’Ospedale di Orbatello: Carità e Arte a Firenze*, ed. Cristina De Benedictis and Carla Milloschi (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2015), 208-19.

Although a full exploration of this subject would take us beyond the scope of the present study, we should pause here for a moment to realize the significance of the evidence of an artistic network connecting Santa Maria degli Angeli to the *botteghe* at the Benedictine abbey of Santa Maria Assunta di Firenze (the Badia Fiorentina). While Acciaiuoli's Missal is stylistically consistent with other manuscripts produced at Santa Maria degli Angeli, Di Carlo's study suggests it was created at the Badia's workshops.<sup>6</sup> In light of new findings, this Missal and perhaps many of the illuminated manuscripts currently connected with Santa Maria degli Angeli were made (or partially completed) at the Badia instead.<sup>7</sup> The newly discovered archival documents, to be discussed below, place this group of illuminators – traditionally associated with Santa Maria degli Angeli – at the Badia during the first twenty-five years of the fifteenth century. And while both institutions have been well-established as centers for manuscript production, what is new is that there had been few suggestions until recently that their activities could have been inter-related.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, there is no record of an in-house scriptorium at the Badia, as it in fact was only surrounded by commercial stationers and illuminators. Records from the two monastic institutions show that the artists of the cardinal's Missal paid rents on residences and workspaces owned by both Santa Maria degli Angeli and the Badia, and this now strongly suggests a model of Florentine manuscript production not previously fully considered.

6. Di Carlo, "Making the Cardinal's Missal", 87.

7. George Bent subscribed to the idea (first put forward by Boskovits, "Su Don Silvestro") that we must temper our views of a "school" at Santa Maria degli Angeli, stating that, while the scriptorium there might have been responsible for the copying of texts, their decoration was likely subcontracted to professional secular painters and illuminators (George Bent, "The Scriptorium at S. Maria degli Angeli and Fourteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination: Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, Don Lorenzo Monaco, and Giovanni del Biondo", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 55 [1992]: 507-23, esp. 516ff; George Bent, "S. Maria degli Angeli and the Arts: Patronage, Production, and Practice in a Trecento Florentine Monastery" [Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1993], 276ff; George Bent, *Monastic Art in Lorenzo Monaco's Florence: Painting and Patronage in Santa Maria degli Angeli, 1300-1415* [Lewiston, NY, 2006], 194). Di Carlo has further explored this idea, offering significant new information on where the activities of these professional painters and illuminators might have taken place. More recently, Ada Labriola ("Il Graduale-Antifonario della chiesa di Orbatello", 216) has strongly suggested that Santa Maria degli Angeli was generally responsible for texts and music, but not always the decoration of manuscripts, depending on their commission. In this regard, a related question remains for musicologists: could the copyists of texts and musical square note notation in liturgical books of the period, for which Santa Maria degli Angeli is well known, have been capable of copying mensurally notated music in sources such as Pit and Sq?

8. See the work on the *cartolai* of the Badia in the period 1425-1450 in A. C. de la Mare, "The Shop of a Florentine 'Cartolaio' in 1426", in *Studi Offerti a Roberto Ridolfi Direttore de La Bibliofilia*, ed. Berta Maracchi Biagiarelli and Dennis E. Rhodes (Florence: Olschki, 1973), 237-48; Mirella Levi D'Ancona, *Miniatura e Miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI Secolo: Documenti per la Storia della Miniatura* (Florence: Olschki, 1962), 186-91.

The cardinal's Missal appears to have been actually produced in the Badia's commercial workshops by a group of people who were familiar with the Santa Maria degli Angeli style. It is possible that the text could have been done at Santa Maria degli Angeli, but not the decoration. The relationship between the two institutions demonstrates that we must alter the older, accepted, view of Santa Maria degli Angeli as *the* unique scriptorium where all elements of manuscript production were completed in-house. By outsourcing commissions to illuminators, and perhaps even the stationers and binders who had workshops at the Badia, Santa Maria degli Angeli was utilizing a well-known group of artists, many of them trained at the Camaldolese monastery or having professional connections with it.

# CARDINAL ANGELO ACCIAIUOLI (1349-1408)

In the early stages of studying the life and works of Paolo da Firenze, in the 1950s and 1960s, Nino Pirrotta had instinctively – and now demonstrably correctly – proposed a connection in 1404 between the composer and Angelo Acciaiuoli, by then a senior cardinal in the papal curia, in Rome (see Figure 3), and suggested that Paolo may have remained with him for a number of years.<sup>9</sup>

9. The earliest evidence of Paolo's career has been said to be contained in a Roman document dated 1404, first cited specifically in Pirrotta's early articles and book on Paolo (see note 1 above). The document in question is Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2664, ff. 253r-259v (dated Rome, July 16, 1404). Two drafts (one the first rough copy [*minuta*] of the document) are cited by Pirrotta, consisting of a *procura* from Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli drawn up in Rome at his titular church, San Lorenzo in Damaso, with "Dominus Paulus de Florentia abbas Pozzoli Aretine diocesis" (Abbot, of the monastery of S. Andrea al Pozzo [S. Andrea de Puteo] in the diocese of Arezzo) as one of the witnesses (see its first folio in Figure 3). See also Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia", note 6. In fact, on May 2, 1419 Paolo appointed Frate Angelo di Giovanni dei Tarlatini da Perugia rector of this very church, which had been under Paolo's administration. This same priest would later take over Paolo's duties at the monastery of San Martino al Pino (Florence, Archivio di Stato [ASF], Diplomatico, Vol. 14, f. 432v). Later documents attest to Acciaiuoli's position regarding the church, not monastery, of S. Andrea al Pozzo (see ASF, Notarile Ante Cosimiano 47 for a February 1438 document, f. 47r). It seems probable that Paolo had been rector of the church of Sant' Andrea, but the scribe in the Vatican document of 1404 used the superior title "abbas" honorifically, as Paolo was in fact already abbot of S. Martino al Pino. On the church of Sant' Andrea de Puteo, see Angelo Tafi, *La Chiesa Aretina dalle Origini al 1032* (Arezzo: Badiali, 1972), 368-75: "Elenco delle pievi ed altri enti ecclesiastici della diocesi di Arezzo alla fine del XIII secolo" [Under the pieve di San Pietro di Ficareto we find the dependent church of Sant' Andrea de Puteo]. The same honorific wording obtains, for example, in a notarial document (ASF, Notarile Ante Cosimiano 7454 [1386-1462], ff. 217r-v), in which a 1420s list of the Florentine archbishop's council members is headed by "D. Paulus Abbas [in] S. M[aria] de Orbatello de Flor[entia]"; of course, he was not abbot of the church in Orbatello! Throughout this notary's documents, Paolo is in fact always referred to as "D. Paulus Abbas" (see

Given the new strong Florentine basis for such a relationship in the context of Acciaiuoli's ties with the creation of his Missal at the Badia Fiorentina, and Paolo's representation as a Benedictine monk in a black habit in Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 "Codice Squarcialupi" (Sq, f. 55v), I thought it opportune to now explore the cardinal's career and any documentation of the Badia that could shed more than speculative light on this intriguing situation. The immediately significant elements to emerge in tracing his career are that Acciaiuoli, before his election to the cardinalate in 1384, had served as the bishop of Florence (1383-1385) and – most significantly – continued his connection with his native city as the abbot *in commendam* of the Badia Fiorentina (from 1385 until his death in 1408). We may outline his career as follows:

- Angelo Acciaiuoli was born in Florence on April 15, 1349 (son of Jacopo di Donato Acciaiuoli and Bartolomea di Bindaccio da Ricasoli);
- Appointed bishop of Rapolla on December 3, 1375;
- Transferred to become bishop of Florence on June 26, 1383 (until 1385) by Pope Urban VI;
- Abbot *in commendam* of the Badia Fiorentina from 1385 until his death in Pisa on May 31, 1408;
- On December 17, 1384 appointed cardinal-priest of the Roman titular church of San Lorenzo in Damaso; resident primarily in Rome starting in 1387;
- Legate to Boniface IX in the Kingdom of Naples in 1390 (and later in Hungary in 1403);
- Back in Florence for a brief period in 1395 (February 6 to May 11);
- Appointed Dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals on August 29, 1397. Travels as papal legate to Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Valacchia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Slovenia. He was one of the executors of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon's will, eventually succeeding him as cardinal-bishop of Ostia/Velletri;

also ASF, Notarile Ante Cosimiano 7452, ff. 73r-74v, where he is again cited as "Dns Paulus Abbas S. M. de Orbatello"). Arnold Esch, in his "Florentiner in Rom um 1400. Namensverzeichnis der ersten Quattrocento-Generation", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 52 (1972): 476-525, describes in some detail the presence of a substantial Florentine colony in Rome, starting in the last decade of the fourteenth century and extending well into the next century. The Florentines were mainly concentrated in the Rione Ponte, spreading into the Rione Parione (Piazza Navona and surroundings) and other areas, but especially in the parish of SS. Celso e Giuliano in the Rione Ponte (487ff). This is made evident in many of the protocols of MS Vat. Lat. 2664. Esch provides an extensive register of Florentines all living nearly continuously in Rome in that twenty-five-year period (ca. 1388-1413), from the return to Rome of Pope Urban VI to the flight from Rome by Pope John XXIII in 1413.



- Assisted in the coronation of King Ladislaus of Naples at Zara on August 5, 1403, then returned to Rome;
- In December 1404 he was elevated to the position of archpriest of the Vatican Basilica of Saint Peter; then, on June 12, 1405 he became cardinal-bishop of Ostia/Velletri;
- On August 29, 1405 (the year his Missal was completed) he became vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church;
- Presided over the papal conclave in November-December of 1406 culminating with the election of Gregory XII;
- Died in Pisa on May 31, 1408;
- On August 3, 1408, Gregory XII appointed Niccolò di Jacopo Guasconi to succeed him as commendatory abbot at the Badia Fiorentina; and
- He was buried in Pisa cathedral; his remains were moved to the Carthusian Monastery called “la Certosa” of Florence, probably on June 12, 1409 (*lastra tombale* done by Francesco da San Gallo in 1550).

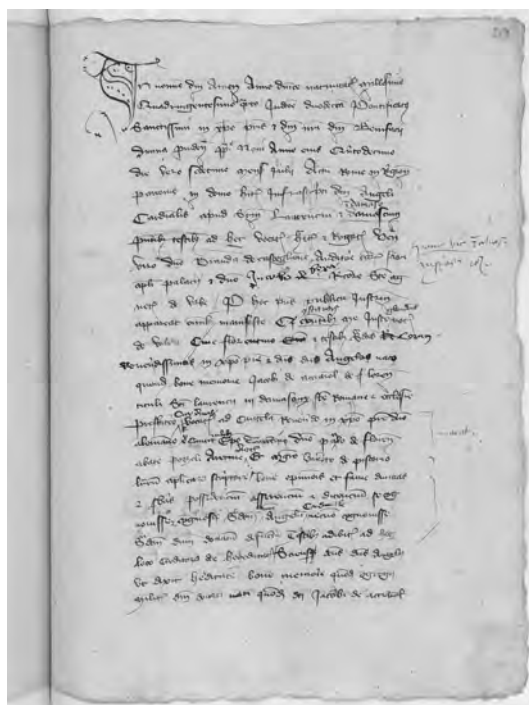


Figure 3. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2664, f. 253r

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The account books (*entrate e uscite*) of the Badia during the period of Acciaiuoli's abbacy – documenting all payments to members of the community and the rental of book-making workshops from the Badia, including the *miniatori* and *cartolai* of the workshops – were first mentioned in 1878 by Gaetano Milanesi (in his edition of Vasari's *Le Vite*) and then considered lost, only to have been recently transferred to the *fondo* of the Badia Fiorentina in the ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, 78, Vols. 300–302, with an earlier volume to be found in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashb. 1825; taken in their entirety, these volumes cover the last decade of the fourteenth and the first two decades of the fifteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

#### PAOLO DA FIRENZE AT THE BADIA FIORENTINA AND IN THE ENTOURAGE OF ANGELO ACCIAIUOLI

Although my examination of the documentation in the ASF volumes began with an interest in tracing the presence of, and payments to, the artists and craftsmen who created the cardinal's Missal (starting in volume 300 of the Badia's records), the repeated appearance of a monk named Paolo certainly raised suspicion of our Paolo's presence, until certainty was to be found in volume 301, f. 80r, in which the monk Paolo is further identified, in 1402–1403, not only as “Don Paolo di Marcho della detta badia” – and that his salary was in part to be set aside for him in Rome – but that, thanks to the interest of the cardinal (Commendatory Abbot Angelo Acciaiuoli) this Don Paolo had earlier been appointed abbot (*in commendam*) of the Monastery of S. Martino al Pino (in March 1401, a position associated with the composer; see Figure 4).<sup>11</sup>

10. See Annamaria Bernacchioni, “Riflessioni e proposte sulla committenza di Gherardo Starnina, pittore del guelfismo fiorentino”, in *Nuovi studi sulla pittura tardogotica: intorno a Lorenzo Monaco*, ed. Daniela Parenti and Angelo Tartuferi (Livorno: Sillabe, 2007), 44–55; at 49 and 54n29; see also Ada Labriola et al. in *Colour – The Art and Science of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 142–6.

11. An important point to be made is that there was in fact only one monk named Paolo at the Badia during this entire period. The entry reads as follows: “Don Paolo di Marcho monacho della detta badia dee avere per suo salario del sopradetto anno F. quatordici F. 14.

Anne avuto a dì 4 di gennaio 1401 [1402] F. uno S. diciotto D. quatro p. in una somma di F. 10, e' quali detto dì diedi alla tavola d'Antonio di Jacopo per danari che rimise(?) a Roma per Don Paolo F. 1 L. 0 S. 18 D. 4.

Anne avuto per infino a dì primo di gennaio 1402 [1403] F. ~~sei~~ [cancelled] cinque e lire tre per mesi sei per suo salario, diedi a lui proprio in più partite ebbe Don Paolo el salario per infino a tutto aprile 1402, disse di stare senza salario, per reverendia del cardinale, el quale el fece fare Abate del Pino [F] 6. [L] 3. [S] 18. [D] 4”.



Figure 4. ASF, Corporazioni religiose sopresse dal governo francese 78, Vol. 301, f. 8or (detail). Reproduced with the permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il Turismo; all further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited. / Archivio di Stato di Firenze

This is an extraordinary document in the context of Paolo's biography and the circles in Florence within which he was active: he is cited as a member of the Badia Fiorentina, and this entry further underscores the connections both with Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli and Paolo's evident residence in Rome in those years. As a listing of Paolo's citations in the account volumes demonstrates, the first documentation of him as a monk residing at the Badia now dates back to 1391 (see the Appendix at the end of this article listing the full Badia entries citing Paolo in the Acciaiuoli volumes and slightly beyond; other relevant entries have also been included).

The documentation implies that Paolo, born in 1355, may have entered the Badia as a professed Benedictine as early as 1380, although the extant accounts only begin in 1391. Before the end of the century, Paolo evidently stood out enough among the monks to have attracted the attention of Angelo Acciaiuoli, into whose entourage he was welcomed. Paolo appears to have left the Badia to be with the cardinal in Rome some time in 1403 (Figure 5), or perhaps slightly earlier, and to have remained with him – certainly absent from and replaced at the Badia by Don Guaspare abate di San Donato (Figure 6) – until the cardinal's death after which, in the autumn of 1408, we again find Paolo resident at the Badia serving the new Commendatory Abbot Niccolò Guasconi, but away temporarily in 1409 due to his attendance at the

Council of Pisa. Paolo disappears completely from the Badia's records after 1411, probably having moved to his new residence in the Florentine hospice known as Orbatello, assuming the position of rector of the church of Santa Maria Annunziata.



Figure 5. ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese 78, Vol. 302, f. 45v (detail). Reproduced with the permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il Turismo; all further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited. / Archivio di Stato di Firenze

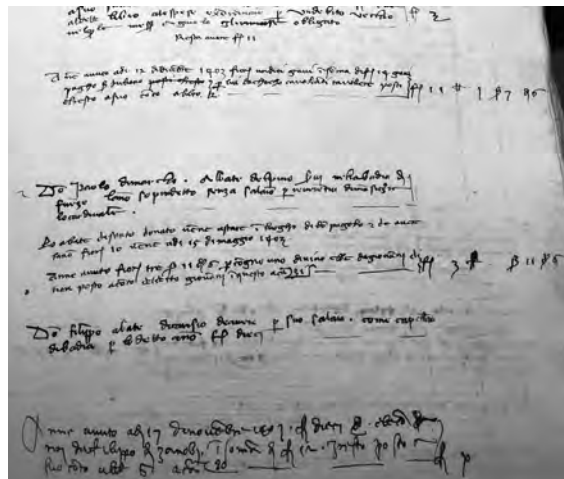


Figure 6. ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese 78, Vol. 302, f. 80r (detail). Reproduced with the permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il Turismo; all further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited. / Archivio di Stato di Firenze

The Badia documents allow us to observe that, when Paolo was resident at the monastery, he also served the commendatory abbots in administrative and routine capacities (see volume 300, section 4, f. 112v; volume 301, section 3, f. 80r; volume 307, section 2, ff. 79v, 80v, 87r, section 3, f. 89r, and section 4, f. 32v). These records include contacts with outside musicians who performed at the Badia, comprising the city's wind players (volume 301, section 2, f. 80r and volume 307, f. 84r) and, most importantly, the organist/composer Giovanni Mazzuoli ([ca. 1350/61-1426] volume 301, section 2, f. 149v; volume 307, section 2, f. 68v).

#### PAOLO DA FIRENZE DURING THE FINAL YEARS OF THE SCHISM PRIOR TO THE COUNCIL OF PISA

Given Paolo's close ties with, and evident presence in, the circle of Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli (at least from ca. 1401 to the cardinal's death in May 1408), the new documentation suggests that Paolo lived through, and experienced first-hand, the most decisive moments of the cardinal's later career, namely the years of great religious-political tensions during which a solution to the Great Schism – the calamity that had afflicted the Church for some thirty years – was sought. The critical moments of this experience were also surely felt by the composer as a Florentine citizen and cleric, and he would most likely have responded in sympathy with his city's reactions to the evolving developments that moved it toward subscribing to the Council of Pisa in 1409. That period of the cardinal's direct involvement would have dated from the conclave of November-December 1406 that elected and crowned Gregory XII as pope, overseen by Angelo Acciaiuoli as head of the College of Cardinals. The full weight of that election's significance lay in having made what was thought to be a decisive step toward resolving the destructive schism suffered by the Church. With former Pope Innocent VII's death, hope arose throughout Christendom that some end would finally come to the Schism. Angelo Corrado (who took the papal name Gregory XII), along with all the other cardinals in the conclave, had sworn a solemn vow that within three months he would send an embassy to his rival to find a mutually convenient time and place to meet, relinquish the papacy along with the concurrent abdication of his rival, the Avignon pope (and do so even if the other did not), and agree not to create more cardinals – each pope pledging to omit nothing necessary toward the attainment of these goals. At the conclave in Rome, all cardinals first unanimously vowed to unify the church, which was then reiterated

in writing with the oath taken by newly elected Pope Gregory XII in asserting his primary purpose of ending the Schism.<sup>12</sup>

The three years that passed between the election of Gregory XII and the convening of the Council of Pisa saw Florence take a central role in moving the Church toward some resolution of the Schism. For Angelo Acciaiuoli, the city's past bishop and now head of the College of Cardinals, this was especially significant. With an eye toward its own glory as well as its own security, the republic sought to act as mediator between the two papal obediences. The principal effort became the push to force the Roman pope to keep the oath he had made in the 1406 conclave to do all in his power to resolve the Schism.<sup>13</sup> Given Paolo's direct connection with his cardinal mentor and his native city, the final year that led to the Pisan council must have been particularly moving for the composer, and I believe we can further support here previous speculation that the relevant, fierce political-religious tensions of 1408-1409 were well depicted in his madrigal *Girand' un bel falcone*, which must date from this time.<sup>14</sup>

By early 1408, deep disappointment had been created by Gregory XII's lack of advancement toward unity. He had invented new reasons to avoid meeting with Benedict XIII in an agreed-upon Italian city; much of this was due to Gregory's inability to act – many claiming the root cause being his innate stubbornness and his own deliberate protective stance. At the beginning of 1408 – and into 1409 – the two popes sat less than thirty miles apart but moved nowhere closer to agreement, even regarding a meeting place. Matters finally drove his supporters to exasperation when, on May 4, Gregory,

12. Alison Lewin, "Florence and the Papacy During the Great Schism" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1991), 274, and her published version: *Negotiating Survival: Florence and the Great Schism, 1378-1417* (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), 136 and chap. 6, "Florence and the Council of Pisa (1407-1410)". See also Alison Lewin, "'Cum status ecclesie noster sit': Florence and the Council of Pisa (1409)", *Church History* 62 (1993): 178-89. A critical edition of the election capitulation is given by Martin Souchon, *Die Papstwahlen in der Zeit des großen Schismas: Entwicklung und Verfassungskämpfe des Kardinalats von 1378 bis 1417*, 2 vols. (Braunschweig: Benno Goeritz, 1898-1899), 285-95. The election vows are also cited in a letter from Acciaiuoli to the English King Henry IV in David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae ab anno MCCCCL ad annum MDXLV*, III (London: Sumptibus R. Gosling, 1737), 291; for Gregory XII's own letter quoting his oath, sent to various universities, see 287ff. Upon election as pope (November 30, 1406, crowned on December 19), Gregory confirmed his former promise to end the Schism, and he wrote to the pope and cardinals at Avignon in that regard. He also issued an encyclical apprising the whole of Christendom of his good intentions (Eustace Kitts, *In the Days of the Councils: A Sketch of the Life and Times of Baldassare Cossa (Afterward Pope John the Twenty-Third)* [London: Constable, 1908], 247-50).

13. Margaret Harvey, *Solutions to the Schism: A Study of Some English Attitudes 1378 to 1409*, *Kirchengeschichtliche Quellen und Studien* 12, ed. Walter Brandmüller (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1983), chap. 8.

14. Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia", 205.

sensing the growing disapproval of his cardinals, forbade them to leave Lucca or even to congregate without his explicit permission, fearing abandonment and treason.<sup>15</sup> On May 9, going against the articles of the original conclave's vows, he held a consistory in a most rebellious climate – in fact, the cardinals present refused to sit still and rose up against him. Gregory went ahead and promoted four prelates to the cardinalate, including Gabriele Condulmer, the future Pope Eugenius IV. On May 11, seven cardinals – joined by two others on May 13 – headed by Angelo Acciaiuoli (and with him surely Paolo the musician) and including Oddo Colonna (the future Pope Martin V) proposed rebellion and abandoned Pope Gregory in Lucca, leaving for Livorno to meet with Benedict's cardinals and begin planning for a council to be held in Pisa beginning in March of the following year. A quite generous amount of documentation testifies to the enraged stances of the Roman cardinals and important members of Christianity at large (including the universities of Paris and Bologna, and the leading role played by the papal legate of Bologna, Baldassare Cossa, the future Pope John XXIII), seen in exchanges of letters containing blistering accusations that Gregory was perjuring himself and falling into schism and heresy.<sup>16</sup> It is also true that heated anti-papal sentiments later

15. Graziano di Santa Teresa, "Contributi alla Libellistica dello Scisma Occidentale (1378-1417)", *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* 15 (1964): 387-424, at 394. Gregory imposed unacceptable conditions on his cardinals: "Precipimus omnibus et singulis Cardinalibus existentibus in Romana Curia, sub pena privationis Cardinalatus et omnium beneficiorum suorum, quam quilibet eorum incurrat ipso facto, ne ab ista die, quarta videlicet Maij inantea, aliquis eorum exeat de Luca, sine spetiali et expressa licentia nostra per nos oretenus sibi facta. Item sub pena periurij, quam incurrant ipso facto, precipimus et mandamus eisdem, ne ulterius congregentur in aliquo loco sine expresso mandato nostro. Item sub eadem pena periurij, quam incurrant ipso facto, precipimus et mandamus eisdem, ne aliquis eorum participet cum oratoribus Petri de Luna neque cum oratoribus Gallicis, sive per se sive per interpositam personam".

16. Aldo Landi, *Il Papa Deposto (Pisa 1409): L'Idea Conciliare nel Grande Scisma* (Turin: Claudiana, 1985), 129; Johannes Vincke, *Briefe zum Pisaner Konzil*, Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Rechtsgeschichte, 1 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1940), letter no. 19, 39-40; Giovan Domenico Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, cujus Johannes Dominicus Mansi et post ipsius mortem Florentius et Venetianus editores ab anno 1758 ad annum 1798 priores triginta unum tomos ediderunt, nunc autem continuat et absoluta* (Paris and Leipzig: Welter, 1903), Vol. 27, cols. 33-6. The Florentine Signoria had played a role in inviting the cardinals to abandon the pope (see the original letter in ASF, Signori, Missive, Cancelleria I, ff. 76r-77r). See also Ludovicus Antonius Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 3 (Milan: Societas Palatinae, 1738), 837-41; at 41; as well as Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, Vol. 26, cols. 1167-75, and Johannes Vincke, *Schriftstücke zum Pisaner Konzil*, Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Rechtsgeschichte, 3 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1942), 107-12 for the caustic accusations leveled against Gregory, spelling out the theological legality of abandoning him (dated sometime in June 1408). Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, Vol. 27, cols. 50-6, provides the letter from the cardinals to all members of the Church dated Livorno, June 24, 1408, plus an addendum, stating in so many words that they expected a solution and tranquility, and instead got turmoil and iniquity (citing scripture, Isaiah chap. 5): (col. 54) "Veberunt ad hauriendum aquam: et iterum illud: Expectabamus pacem, & ecce turbatio: & justitiam, & ecce iniquitas, & iudicium, & ecce clamor"

reached another critical point in February 1409, when the Florentine Signoria called for a representative group of 120 citizens – many specializing in law and theology – to debate the question of whether or not to continue to believe in and stand by the pope.<sup>17</sup>

... “Per ista quidem de electione vestra ad apicem summi apostolatus, gaudium in moerorem & luctum, & expectata consolatio unitatis in maius scandalum & labores fere intolerabiles sunt conversi, ut sic quilibet nostrum dicere possit illud Job: Conversa in luctum est cithara mea, & organum meum in vocem stentium: et iterum illud: Expectavit ut faceret uvas & fecit labruscas: labruscas, inquam, acerbissimas ...”; also provided in Jaques Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, II (Amsterdam: Pierre Humbert, 1724), 213-14; in Vol. I (235-6, chap. CXII) the cardinals, in a placard posted in Lucca, branded Gregory as: “... schismatique, d’heretique, de precursor de l’Antechrist, de fourbe, et de scelerat insigne, mais d’yvrogne, d’insensé, d’homme de fang, de lâche qui prodigue et prostituë son honneur, d’esclave de toutes les affection de la chair, de destructeur du public, tant par rapport au spirituel, que par rapport au temporel etc...”. Vous n’êtes pas venu, lui dit-on, “pour donner la paix, comme vous l’avez juré, mais pour metre le feu aux quatre coins de la Maison de Dieu, et en abbatre les colonnes, par la cruelle persécution que vous faites à ses Prélats...”. See also Vincke, *Briefe*, letters nos. 18-20 and 37-44, for the outrage expressed by the Florentines and Gregory’s cardinals who abandoned him on May 11: their accusations of deliberate rejection of unity and repeated lying on his part had at that point reached a new high – unacceptable, and a stimulus for preparations to depose him. Angelo Acciaiuoli, as Dean of the College of cardinals, heads the list of signatures of the rebellious cardinals.

17. Cited in Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, “Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia”, 205; see Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 27, P. II: *Cronica Volgare di Anonimo Fiorentino, dall’anno 1385 al 1409, già attributa a Piero di Giovanni Minerbetti*, ed. Elina Bellondi (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1949), 377-8: “Capitolo XX. – Come li nostri Signori fiorentini raunaro molti dottori di leggi e decretali e maestri in teologia, e molti altri savi uomeni, e dissono loro come erano le cose di papa Ghirigoro e domadarono loro del loro parere: li quali tutti dissono ch’elli era eretico e nimico della fede cristiana, e che a lui non si dovea più credere.

Ancora li nostri Signori vollono e feciono raunare tutti li dottori di leggi civili e canoniche, e teologi e ministri di tutte le regole, e abati e priori e savi uomeni di scienza della città e contado e distretto di Firenze, o a loro in alcuno modo sottoposti, a dì sette di febraro nel vescovado di Firenze, e quivi andati li nostri Signori, e’ dissono tutto quello di che erano richiesti che facessero e da cui, e per quali ragioni lo dovessero fare, e a quello che obbligati erano, e per che le dette obbligazioni erano istate fatte dal Comune di Firenze e quando e’ dissono tutte le cagioni che a loro diceano tutti quelli che queste cose dimandavano loro che si facessero, mostrando per quelle ch’ellich’elli si doveano levare dalla ubbidienza di papa Ghirigoro; le quali cose tutte sono quelle che dette sono per li loro ambasciadori. In effetto di che seguì che tutti questi maestri di sopra nominati, e suti insieme tre dí, diligentemente disaminate tutte le parti, e dopo lunga pratica fatta tra loro d’ogni cosa, finalmente di concordia rapportarono a’ signori Priori e al Gonfaloniere della Iustizia, che elli teneano, che Ghirigoro fosse eretico e cismatico e non vero papa, e nimico della fede cristiana, e guastatore di quella, che niuno a lui dovea credere, né per papa tenerlo, né chiamarlo più papa Ghirigoro, ma doveasi chiamare Agnolo Col[rari]o, come avea nome; e molte altre cose dissono di lui di sua vergogna; e poi tutti questi savi uomeni, che furono in tutto centoventi, tutti si sottoscrissono di loro mano propria, e questo e’ suggellarono di loro suggello molto solennemente. Di che li Signori, avendo tutte queste cose, subito mandarono uno dottore in decretali a Rimino per lo ambasciadore al detto papa Ghirigoro a dirli tutte queste cose per più iscusa di loro, e a pregarlo che per bene della fede cristiana e per pace della Santa Chiesa di Roma e per levare la cisma del mondo gli piacesse di venire a Pisa a essere con gli altri cardinali a eleggere uno nuovo papa, acciò che uno solo papa fosse tra’ cristiani. E suto con lui il detto ambasciadore e detteli tutte queste cose e mostratoli ogni cosa, il detto Agnolo Coriario rispuose cosí, e disse cosí ch’elli volea tenere concilio per modo ragionevole e che a lui pareva che li cardinali dovessero venire a lui piuttosto ch’egli a loro; e che a Pisa non volea in



Thus the documents from early May 1408 – from the Florentine Signoria and especially the May 11-14 expressions of scorn from the cardinals at Livorno and Pisa who had abandoned their standing popes<sup>18</sup> – together with the summer/fall 1408 preparations for the council in March-June 1409<sup>19</sup> – mark the clearest period during which the scathing terms denouncing Gregory as a heretic and schismatic might have given rise to the poetic/lyrical perspective of a falcon turning into a crow depicted in Paolo's madrigal *Girand' un bel falcon*. We can easily imagine this, given the context of what the Schism meant to Paolo, who had been with Cardinal Acciaiuoli for many years, living day-to-day with the gravity of the ongoing turbulence and his mentor's tireless efforts to bring it to an end. Paolo surely came to feel, especially after the unexpected death of his cardinal-mentor at the end of May 1408, that Acciaiuoli had not died in vain; on the contrary, Paolo must have attended the Council of Pisa with great interest – not as a simple participant but, rather, as someone deeply invested politically, historically, and emotionally.<sup>20</sup>

niuno modo tenere concilio, né quivi andare, ma sí altrove: e poi disse che più distesamente risponderebbe alli Signori fiorentini, e direbbe le cagioni e le ragioni perché questo facea”.

18. Vincke, *Briefe*, 37-46; Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, Vol. 27, cols. 29-36.

19. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, Vol. 27, cols. 50-56.

20. In these documents Gregory is referred to in many despicable ways, in addition to his usual *sopranome* of “Errorius”: “Angelus maledictus, fermentum schismatice perversitatis. Qui tyrannorum furore collisus domini tunicam inconsulitem de super textam per frusta decerpit” (Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, Vol. 27, col. 458); “Angelus, errorius dignissime vocatus” (col. 484); see also cols. 485-6, and Edmond Martène, *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Historicorum, Dogmaticorum, Moralium, Amplissima Collectio* (Paris: Montalant, 1723), Vol. 7, 850-1: “Tu autem, Angele Mi Corrario, qui a paucis Gregorius, et a multis Errorius appellaris”; also quoted in Martene's Preface, LXXIX-LXXX. See also Santa Teresa, “Contributi alla libellistica”, 387-424, which treats the historical context – and offers modern editions – of two writings denouncing Pope Gregory XII dating from 1409 and transmitted in the manuscript Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3477: the *Satira* (ff. 142r-146v) and the *Litera Cocorum* (ff. 147r-148r; also known as the *Epistola delusoria*). The latter of these contains the following violent accusatory attack directed at Gregory: “Item ad videndum declarari, te fore ebriosum, delirum, hereticum, publicum Ecclesie Dei destructorem et ypocritam maledictum”.

Specifically, reference to the historical/theological attributes of crows, as opposed to falcons – when assessing the nature of Pope Gregory XII (named, and, later, Benedict XIII) in ultimately revealing his falsehood – is made in Giovanni Stefano Menochio, *Trattenimenti eruditi del P. Gio. Stefano Menochio della Compagnia di Gesù, Stuore del padre Giovanni Stefano Menochio della Compagnia di Gesù: tessute di varie eruditioni sacre, morali, e profane* (Padova: Giovanni Manfrè, 1701), in his Centuria Terza, chap. 54; on the negative characteristics of crows, see 434-7, at 437, where Pope Gregory XII is specifically cited. Other sources for the meaning of falcons and crows include: Linda A. Koch, “Power, Prophecy, and Dynastic Succession in Early Medici Florence: The Falcon Impresa of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 73 (2010): 507-38, making a case for falcons representing qualities of faithfulness, renewal, and moral fortitude, and, citing Francis Ames-Lewis (“Early Medicean Devices”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courland Institutes* 42 [1979]: 122-43), she attaches Christian fidelity and strength to the symbol of the falcon, as well as widespread associations of falcon emblems with status, authority, and legitimacy. See also Michel Pas-

## PAOLO AND FLORENTINE MUSIC SOURCES OF THE EARLY QUATTROCENTO

The final section of this article is devoted to a brief discussion positioning Paolo at the center of manuscript production in Florence – especially music manuscripts – based on his residence at the Badia, surrounded by its workshops for miniaturists, *cartolai*, and *legatori*, and his familiarity with its artists, particularly those who worked on Cardinal Acciaiuoli's Missal. Among them was Bartolomeo di Fruosino, the artist whom Paolo contracted quite likely on the basis of ongoing collegiality, if not past collaboration, in Badia circles, and who is now thought to have been responsible for the illumination of the Gradual-Antiphonal created for the hospice church at Orbatello in 1417 (MS Douai 1171), and who may have participated in the creation of the Sq miniatures around the same time.<sup>21</sup> It is also important to realize that the composer's entire extant *oeuvre* of secular and sacred compositions was transmitted by a well-circumscribed group of only four or five scribes in the extant sources –

tureau, *Bestiari del Medioevo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2012), 179, in which the falcon is assigned the following attributes: it is the chosen bird of aristocracy; forms part of courtly education; has splendid plumage; is quick, intelligent, and obedient; is the enemy of the serpent and all demonic creatures. It was the church that saw the crow in a bad light; the episode recounted of the crow in Noah's ark painted the bird as unfaithful, an egoist, and consumer of "carogne" (scum, low-life, human remains [eyes]). The crow is part of the Devil's bestiary, the image of man the sinner, rendered black through his sins, the incarnation of a demon with black power. It was St. Augustine who associated "cras, cras" with men full of vices putting off repentance until "tomorrow". See also Silvia Berrica, "Animali simbolici del cristianesimo: i volatili" (Laurea Triennale, Università La Sapienza di Roma, 2009), 3-4, in which the crow is shown to represent heresy, the sinner: "il Falco era quindi un uccello estremamente sacro; il falco era perfetto da paragonare ad emblema dell' anima, come l'animo umano che deve ricercare l'elevazione e non fermarsi alle bassezze della materialità, così il Falco in qualsiasi posto si trovi cerca sempre il punto più alto".

21. Labriola, "Il Graduale-Antiphonario della chiesa di Orbatello", 212-13; Günther, Nádas, and Stinson, "Magister Dominus Paulus Abbas de Florentia", 211; and Mirella Levi-D'Ancona, "Bartolomeo di Fruosino", *The Art Bulletin* 43 (1961): 87-8; and Luciano Bellosi, "Il Maestro del Codice Squarcialupi", in *Il Codice Squarcialupi*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Florence: Giunti Barbera-Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1992), 154-7. The research path to better understanding the genesis and compilation of Sq may well rest with efforts on Paolo's part in conserving the Italian Ars Nova tradition; not only musically, but also possibly placing that magnificent source in the context of Paolo's association with the Roman papal court, Florence's support of the Pisan Council of 1409, and the close ties the city was to continue to develop with Pope John XXIII for whom Sq may have been created. In this regard, it could well be that during his Roman years of residence (and beyond) Paolo became acquainted with the papal chapel's leading musician/composer, Antonio Zacara da Teramo, and it was Paolo who could have later introduced the renowned composer to Florentine musical circles in 1410 and 1413 – and seen to Zacara's inclusion in Sq as "the singer of our pope". On the presence of Pope John XXIII and Zacara in Florence, see John Nádas, "Further Notes on Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo", *Studi Musicali* 15 (1986): 167-82; 16 (1987), 175-6; and Francesco Zimei, "Sulle tracce di Zacara a Firenze", 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 (Certaldo: Centro Studi sull'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento, 2014), 255-64.

apart from the recently studied SL manuscript – in what we may consider to have been a small circle of copyists closely associated with the composer.<sup>22</sup> Paolo and his scribes were involved in the creation of Pit, Cil, and Lw, the insertion of a polyphonic setting of a *Gaudeamus omnes* in Ash999 (ca. 1423), and in the additions to the final folios of Man when it arrived in Florence from the Veneto toward the end of the first decade of the Quattrocento.<sup>23</sup> In the larger picture of the artistic landscape of late-medieval Florence, the composer undoubtedly played a major role as an initiator and collaborator in compiling the musical treasures of the Trecento right down to his own day.<sup>24</sup>

In this regard, and most significant in its relevance to the context of the newly documented biography of the composer, we may point to the “smoking gun” evidence of a final fragment (F.5.5) which, in addition to its scribal concordance tying it to the aforementioned Paolo sources, now gains in significance due to its origins.<sup>25</sup> The two parchment leaves present a portion of Francesco Landini’s ballatas in alphabetical order, demonstrating a decidedly archival intent to preserve the music of the Trecento. Additionally, this surviving bifolio has been revealed to derive from a source that was no doubt dismembered and then recycled ca. 1500, and in this case used as guard leaves for an incunabulum host volume that was at one time in the library of the Badia Fiorentina, as made clear by an insertion in a late fifteenth-century

22. The idea of a scribal monopoly was first advanced by Nino Pirrotta, “Paolo da Firenze in un nuovo frammento”, 66, and most recently further analyzed by Ursula Günther, “Die ‘anonymen’ Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)”, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 23 (1966): 73–92, and Nádas, “The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista”. We cannot exclude the possibility that Paolo himself may have been one of the copyists of his works in the extant sources. On SL, see *The San Lorenzo Palimpsest: Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Ms. 2211, Introductory Study and Multispectral Images*, ed. Andreas Janke and John Nádas, *Ars Nova*, n.s., 4 (Lucca: LIM, 2016), Vol. 2, no. 151; see also Andreas Janke and John Nádas, “New Insights into the Florentine Transmission of the Songs of Antonio Zacara da Teramo”, *Studi Musicali*, n.s., 2 (2015): 197–214, reprinted in *Arte Psallentes*, 201–15.

23. Paolo’s role in compiling and organizing the contents of Pit, especially its final section containing sacred works (and, tellingly, the madrigal *Girand’ un bel falcone*), has recently been compellingly studied by Francesco Zimei in “The *Ordinarium missae* of Pit Between Compilation and Liturgy (With Some Insights Into Paolo da Firenze’s Role)”, in *Liturgical Books and Music Manuscripts with Polyphonic Settings of the Mass in Medieval Europe*, ed. Oliver Huck and Andreas Janke (Hildesheim: OLMS, 2020), 81–107.

24. The preservation and celebration of musical traditions in the early fifteenth century has been discussed in John Nádas, “Song Collections in Late-Medieval Florence”, in *Atti del XIV congresso della società internazionale di musicologia, Bologna, 27 agosto - 1 settembre 1987*, Vol. 1 (Round Tables) (Turin: E.D.T., 1990), 126–35.

25. The scribe of the entire music fragment F.5.5 is the main scribe (E, who worked closely with scribe B of Pit) in Pit, ff. 99v–111r and who also copied the entire Cil fragment (Nádas, “The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista”, with a works list, including information on scribal concordances). For a larger view of scribal networks, see Stefano Campagnolo, “Il Frammento Brescia 5 e le Relazioni di Copista dei Codici Fiorentini dell’*Ars Nova*”, *Studi Musicali* 9/1 (2018): 47–85.

hand on the verso of the volume's first folio: "Iste liber est congregationis Sancte Justine ordinis Sancti Benedicti deputatus Monasterio Sancte Marie seu Abbatie de Florentia. Signatus 1<sup>o</sup>".<sup>26</sup> Beyond accepting as mere coincidence the origin of the fragment's host volume in the very institution of which Paolo was a member in the decades around the year 1400, investigative sense encourages one to conjecture that the manuscript of which fragment F.5.5 once formed a part was, in the early fifteenth century, a collection that belonged to Paolo at the Badia, and there it remained after Paolo left the institution, and even after his death, only to be used by the monastery library many decades later as a source for recycled parchment (evidently when the music was no longer meaningful). The early provenance is confirmed by a citation of this volume in a sixteenth-century inventory of the Badia Fiorentina.<sup>27</sup> Jason Stoessel, in a recent collection of essays on music sources before 1600, at one point focusses on the scriptorium of Santa Maria degli Angeli with regard to MS Douai 1171, Pit, Ash999, and Sq, and he has this to say about their creation – striking very close to the documentary truth revealed in the present study: "Don Paolo, as an administrator and a Benedictine abbot living in Florence, was in a position to influence the requisition of the resources, and to harness his own resources and personal associates, for music manuscript production. This seems to have occurred at the zenith of his career in the second and early third decade of the fifteenth century".<sup>28</sup>

26. Mario Fabbri and John Nádas, "A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concorances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts", *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 67-81.

27. See Rudolf Blum, *La Biblioteca della Badia Fiorentina e i Codici di Antonio Corbinelli*, Studi e Testi 155 (Vatican City, 1951), 131, no. 345, and Curt F. Bühler's review of Blum's book in *Speculum* 26 (1951): 707-9, in which the magnificent contents of the late-medieval Badia library are analyzed. The significance of a possible research avenue opened by Blum's study cannot be overstated: the inspection of other Badia volumes held today in Florentine libraries for the possibility that some of their guard leaves derive from the same original music manuscript as does fragment F.5.5.

28. "The Makers and Owners of Early Fifteenth-Century Song Books in Italy: The Benedictine Contribution to the Courtly Musical Culture of the Late Middle Ages", in *Sources of Identity: Makers, Owners, and Users of Music Sources Before 1600*, ed. Lisa Colton and Tim Shephard (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 77-96, at 81-8. It is worth noting that perhaps even the Cardinal's famous Missal, cited at the beginning of the present study, had been housed in Florence, at the Certosa, before making its way to England (see note 3); see Caterina Chiarelli, *Le attività artistiche e il patrimonio librario della Certosa di Firenze: dalle origini alla metà del 16. secolo*, 2 vols., Analecta Cartusiana, 102 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1984), 57 and 92, where it is suggested that the missal was one of two such manuscripts that were included among the books left to the Certosa in the cardinal's will (see Figure 7, the entry 7 lines from the bottom ["Item unus missale cum armis domini pictis in multis locis"]).

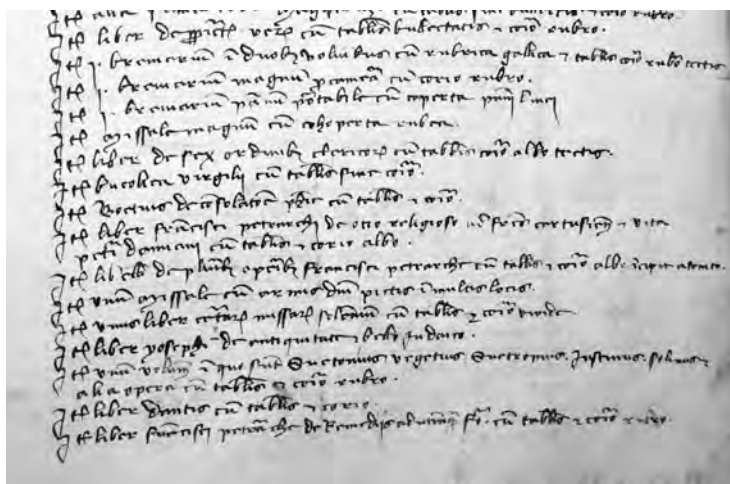


Figure 7. ASF, Magistrato dei Pupilli Avanti il Principato, Vol. 19, f. 103r (detail). Reproduced with the permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il Turismo; all further reproduction or duplication by any means is prohibited.

## APPENDIX

### Archival Documents

#### PAOLO AT THE BADIA FIORENTINA AND IN THE CIRCLE OF CARDINAL ANGELO ACCIAIUOLI

##### BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA

Ashb. 1825

Entrate e Uscite Badia Fiorentina, 1391-1392

f. 1r: In Dei nomine Amen, anno domini milesimo tregentesimo nonagessimo primo [...] Questo libro contera tuta l'entrata e uscita che ànne Francescho notaio e procuratore del Reverendissimo [...] patre e Signore Messer .A. cardinale di fiorençe, comendatario dello monistero e badia di fiorençe [...] e sara solamente d'uno anno cominciando a dì primo di novembre 1391 e finendo a dì primo di novembre 1392 [...]

f. 55v: **Domino Paulo monacho** de avere l'anno di suo salario Fiorini quatordecì, comincia l'anno a dì primo di settembre 1391 F. 14

[there are four subsequent entries: February 28, 1392 (di mesi sei finiti a dì primo di genaio 1391 [=1392]), April 13, 1392, July 26, 1392, and December 22, 1392 (this last paying “di mesi sei finiti a dì 8 di genaio 1392 [=1393]”) ... these payments are said to be re-recorded later in summaries of expenses in this very volume]

f. 67v: [1391] A **Domino Paulo monacho** per suo salario chome apare nançi a sua ragione a carta 54 Fiorini sete Lire una Soldi cinque F. 7 L. 1 S. 5

f. 68v: [1392] A **Domino Paulo monacho in badia** per suo salario, apare nançi a carta 54, Fiorini quatro Soldi sette F. 4 S. 7

f. 69r: [1392] A **Domino Paulo monacho**, a dì 26 di luglio, per suo salario, Fiorini tre Soldi sei, apare nançi a carta 54 F. 3 S. 6

f. 72v: [1392] A **Domino Paulo monacho in badia**, per suo salario di mesi sei finiti come apare nançi a carta 54, Fiorini sette Soldi tredici F. 7 S. 13

#### ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI FIRENZE

#### Corporazioni Religiose Soppresses dal Governo Francese, 78 [Badia Fiorentina] Filza 300 Acciaiuoli I

##### Section 1

##### f. 55v: Salary paid to Don Paulo monacho della badia

Dominono Paulo monacho della badia de avere l'anno di suo salario Fiorini quattordici, comincia l'anno a dì primo di genaio 1392 e perfino allo detto dì è pagato a libro cuchio(?) a carta 54

Anne auto Domino Paulo sopra scritto a dì 24 di magio per suo salario da dì primo di genaio per fino a dì primo di magio 1393 Fiorini quatro Lire una Soldi cinque per meglio di Fiorini perche gli deono avere grani(?) Soldi otto, in tuto Fiorini quatro Lire una Soldi tredici Denari otto, apare nançi a carta 59 F. 4 L. 1 S. 13 D. 8

Anne auto Domino Paulo sopra scritto a dì 15 d'ottobre per suo salario di mesi sei finiti a dì primo di novembre 1393 Fiorini sette meglio Lire una, apare nançi a carta 81 F. 7 L. 1

f. 79v: A **Domino Paulo monacho e capelano** in badia, per suo salario come apare nançi a carta 55, Fiorini quatro Lire una Soldi 13 Denari otto F. 4 L. 1 S. 13 D. 8

[the date would seem to be July or August of 1393, on the basis of previous dates on this folio]

f. 81v: A **Domino Paulo monacho e chapelano in badia**, a dì detto [15 Oct.] per suo salario di mesi sei, Fiorini sette Lire una, apare drietto a carta 55 F. 7 L. 1

f. 100r: A dì 5 di março 1392 [1393] ebi in denari ... [**Domino Paolo** is one of the witnesses to a donation of monies to the Badia] [...] apare ale sspese nançi a carta 79: "A Geri fornaio a dì detto di sopra [May 31] per staia quattro di grano, comprai da lui per quello mi trovai meno che aveva avuto Domino Lorenço monacho, apare naçi a carta 100 [...]"

#### Section 2

f. 56v: [in the listing of salaries for the familiars of the Badia:]

**Domino Paulo monacho della badia** de avere l'anno di suo salario Fiorini quattordici, comincia l'anno a dì primo di novembre 1393 e per fino a dì detto e pagato da me Francesscho procuratore [...]

A dì primo di novembre: Ànne auto **Domino Paulo sopra scritto** per suo salario d'uno anno finito a dì detto di sopra Fiorini quattordici Lire una Soldi diciassette per meglio di fiorini [...] apare adrieto a carta 85 [one of the folios is now missing] F. 14 L. 1 S. 17

#### Section 3

f. 73v: A **Don Pagolo monacho di badia**, a dì 21 di novembre 1396, contanti Fiorini quattordici, aparisce in questo [Libro] a carta 88 F. 14 S. 14

f. 88r: "salari di famiglie di casa"

**Don Pagolo monacho della badia** de avere l'anno per suo salario Fiorini quattordici, comincia l'anno a dì primo di novembre 1395 F. 14

A **Don Pagholo** a dì 21 di novembre 1396 contanti Lire cinquantatre e Soldi diciotto per fiorini quattordici, a Soldi dicessette il Fiorino, per lo suo salario del sopradetto anno Fiorini quattordici F. 14 S. 15 D. 8

#### Section 4

f. 62r: ["Salari della famiglia 1397 primo di novembre finito ultimo d'ottobre 1398"]

**Don Pagolo monacho della badia di Firenze** de avere dalla detta badia per suo salario F. quattordici d'oro per l'anno 1397 incominciato a dì primo di novembre e finito a dì ultimo d'ottobre 1398 F. 14

Ànne avuto **Don Pagholo** sopra detto a dì 25 d'ottobre 1398 contanti F. dodici d'oro furono meglio che di sugello danari 20 l'uno F. 12 L. 1

Ànne avuto a dì ultimo d'ottobre 1398 contanti F. due d'oro e gravi valsono meglio che sugello [...] F. 2 S. 3 D. 4

f. 112v: A **Don Pagholo monacho di badia**, a dì 12 di settembre [1398] [in mar-

gin: "in asenza"] per una coltelliera con sei cultelle e con tre coltellini, la quale feci fare per la casa, Lire nove e Soldi quattordici L. 9 S. 14

**Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse dal Governo Francese, 78**  
**Filza 301 Acciaiuoli II**

Section 1

f. 55v: [under "Salari", beginning on f. 55r: there are now 6 monks altogether, plus some clerics and *cappellani*. After the first monk, Don Benedetto, we find:] **Domino Pauolo monacho** della badia de aver l'anno di suo salario fiorini quattordici, comincia l'anno a dì primo di novembre 1394

Ànne avuto Domino Pauolo sopra scritto a dì 29 d'ottobre 1395 fiorini quattordici e perche sono fuore di sugello, sono meglio lire una soldi dieci e pagato per tuto e il detto mese, apare adietro a carta 95 F. 14 L. 1 S. 10

f. 95r: [1395] **A Domino Pauolo monacho in badia** a dì detto [29 October 1395] per suo salario d'uno anno fiorini quattordici lire una soldi dieci, apare innanzi a carta 55 F. 14 L. 1 S. 10

Section 2

f. 80r: "Conto di salari di famiglia della badia di Firenze per l'anno 1398 incominciato a dì primo di novembre e finito a dì primo di novembre 1399"

**Don Pagholo monacho della badia di Firenze** de aver dala detta badia F. 14 per l'anno 1398 finito a dì ultimo d'ottobre 1399 F. 14 d'oro

Ànne avuti **Don Pagolo** F. 13 d'oro e per lui gli pagai a Don Lionardo ditedice(?) vicario di San Felice e priore di Castiglione, per uno paio d'organi F. 13

Ànne avuti a dì 5 di novembre 1399 F. uno e di punto posto abia avere a le Ricordanze .A., a carta 20 F. 1 L. [blank] S. 1 D. 8

Section 3

f. 88r: "Conto di salari della famiglia della badia di Firenze ... per uno anno incominciato a dì primo di novembre 1399 e finito a dì ultimo d'ottobre 1400"

**Don Pagolo monaco della badia di Firenze** dee aver dalla detta badia per salario suo per l'anno scritto di sopra fiorini quattordici F. 14

Ànne avuto a dì 27 di gennaio F. 11 de quali due F. posti a ragione di Giovanni cartolaio e quelli **Don Paolo** mise dare a lui posto il detto Giovanni abbia dato due F. a sua pigione dove dovea dare a carta 4, valsono meglio che di sugello S. 14 D. 8 F. 11 L. 0 S. 14 D. 8

f. 149v: [last sub-entry] [1400 or 1399?] E de dare, che diedi a Nanni di Nicholò degli organi [Giovanni Mazzuoli] che venne a sonare el dì della sagra, el dì di San Benedetto, el dì dela donna, diedi F. uno, valse lire quatro L. 4



#### Section 4

f. 80r: "Conto di salari di famiglia dela badia di Firenze per l'anno cominciato di primo di novembre 1400 e finito di ultimo d'ottobre 1401"

**Don Pagolo monacho della badia di Firenze** dee avere per suo salario per uno anno detto di sopra fiorini quattordici d'oro F. 14

Ànne avuto **Don Pagolo** sopradetto a di 2 di marzo 1400 fiorini tre d'oro per parte di suo salario. Disse voleva per lo piato che faceano e fratelli ala corte del capitano. Valsono meglio che di sugello S. cinque denari 4 F. 3 S. 5 D. 4

Ànne auto **Don Paolo** sopradetto a di 2 di luglio 1401 F. 4 per parte del salario del sopradetto anno, furon meglio che di sugello D. 16 per F. F. 4 S. 5 D. 4

Ànne avuto **Don Paolo** sopradetto a di 24 di gennaio F. sette e per lui diedi detto di alla tavola d'Antonio di Jacopo del Vigna in una quantità di F. dieci e soldi diciotto, furon meglio che di sugello S. sette F. 7 L. 0 S. 7

#### Section 5

f. 80r: "Conto di salari della famiglia che sta al servizio della badia di Firenze per uno anno incominciato di primo di novembre 1401 e finito di ultimo d'ottobre 1402"

**Don Paolo di Marcho** monacho della detta badia dee avere per suo salario del sopradetto anno F. quattordici F. 14

Ànne avuto a di 4 di gennaio 1401 [1402] F. uno S. diciotto D. quattro p. in una somma di F. 10, e' quali detto di diedi alla tavola d'Antonio di Jacopo per danari che rimise(?) a Roma per Don Paolo F. 1 L. 0 S. 18 D. 4

Ànne avuto per infino a di primo di gennaio 1402 [1403] F. cinque e lire tre per mesi sei per suo salario, diedi a lui proprio in più partite ebbe Don Paolo el salario per infino a tutto aprile 1402, disse di stare senza salario, per reverendia del cardinale, el quale el fece fare Abate del Pino 6 . 3 . 18 . 4 (see Figure 4, above)

### Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse dal Governo Francese, 78 Filza 302 Acciaiuoli III

#### Section 1

f. 42v: Don Guasparre abate di Santo Donato [this is the priest who was to take Don Paolo's place at the Badia while Paolo was in Rome with the cardinal; see below], el quale sta in Santo Apostolo, de dare L. 12 S. 19 pic. e quali paghammo a maestri raconciarono la chiesa tra per loro opere e per ombrici(?) fu di d'accordo e egli renderebbe posti a uscita in questo [Libro] a carta 45 [on f. 45v we find a record of payment for work on the roof of Santo Apostolo, citing the abbot of San Donato. N.B. this is the church directly across from the Acciaiuoli palace in Florence.]

ff. 44v-45r: [1403, first opening of a section covering expenses for Cardinal Acciaiuoli:] "Messer Agnolo Acciaiuoli cardinale di Firenze de dare a di 16 di maggio ..."

(44v) E de dare F. 5 d'oro per lui ad Antonio di Nictri trombetta per parte di prestanza andò a Roma per trombetta del cardinale, ebbe da Ser Giuliano(?) F. 5

[There are a number of further entries for this trombetta immediately following. This opening reveals a permanent move to Rome by Cardinal Acciaiuoli; he is having so many things dear to him moved from Florence ... including his *dilettissimo* Paolo.]

f. 45v: [continuation of the uscita for Cardinal Acciaiuoli:]

Et de dare e quali ebbe l'Abate Pagholo quando andò a Roma F. dieci d'oro nuovi ebbe per noi dall'abate Baldassare per pieno(?) levammo a Messer Giovanni Acciaiuoli; apare a Libro delle ricordanze carta 1, valsono meglio L. 2 S. 6 D. 1 F. 10 L. 2 S. 6 D. [there are folios missing at this point (ff. 48, 49, 51-58)] (see Figure 5, above)

[Paolo is no longer being cited as a member of the Badia monks, but rather as abbot of San Martino al Pino; see his citation as an unsalaried Badia monk under the listing of salaries for familiars on f. 80r below). This could reflect the temporary suspension of his official service at the Badia in 1403. Paolo probably went to Rome in May 1403 (see the record of the salary payment document on f. 80r below, and, as we shall see, most likely remained with Cardinal Acciaiuoli until the latter's death at the end of May 1408)]

f. 80r: "Conto di salari della famiglia per l'anno presente, cominciato di primo di novembre 1402 e finito di ultimo d'ottobre 1403, cioè di monaci, capellani, cherici, e altri famigli"

**Don Paolo di Marcho, Abbate del Pino**, servì nella Badia di Firenze l'anno sopradetto senza salario per reverentia di Monsignore lo Cardinale.

Lo abate di Santo Donato venne a stare in luogho di Don Pagholo e de avere l'anno fiorini 10; venne a di 15 di maggio 1403 (see Figure 6, above)

### Section 3

ff. 66-70 [1404-1405, a listing of Badia family members being paid their salaries; Paolo is not among them.]

f. 100v: under "Uscita d'ogni d[enaro] si trae di chassa"

Et de avere a di 30 di settembre 1405 F. uno d'oro dem[m]o a Bartolomeo di Fruosino dipintore per miniature d'un quaderno del messale di Monsignore, che furono in tutto 27 mini, posto detto messale debba dare a carta 152 F. 1

ff. 130r-132v: [1406 includes salary payments to members of the Badia, and again Paolo is not present ]

**Corporazioni Religiose Soppresses dal Governo Francese, 78**  
**Filza 307 Eredità Guasconi (1408-1412 [sic 1415])**

Section 2

f. 68v: [under 1408] A **Giovanni di Niccholo delgi [degli] orghani** [Giovanni Mazzuoli], a dì 10 d'ottobre L. 4 S. 3 per uno monachordo il quale chomperò Messer l'Abbate da lui, portò Christofano chericho a lui detto da me Don Francesco chamlingho L. 4 S. 3

f. 79v: [under 1408] A l'**Abbate Paulo**, a dì 15 di dicembre L. due, ebbe per chonperare una tavola di gesso la quale istà in sagrestia, ebbe e[l] detto da me Don Francesco [in] chontanti L. 2 [after the cardinal's death, we find Paolo having returned to Florence, to the Badia]

f. 80v: [under 1408] **All'Abbate Pagholo** a dì 18 di dicembre S. cinque per bichieri chonperò per Messer l'Abbate, ebbe e[l] detto da me Don Francesco [in] chontanti S. 5

f. 87r: [under 1408-1409] **All'Abbate Paolo**, a dì detto [7 Feb. 1408 = 1409] fiorino uno d'oro nuovo, ebbe per conprare 1 paio di stadere e pagare [per] 1 cordiglio per Messer l'Abate F. 1 S. 5

Section 3

f. 111r: [1409] Da Biagio di Jachopo a dì 19 di novembre F. 7 d'oro die per me **all'Abate Paolo di Marcho**, messi in uscita a llui in questo [a carta] 90, e a ragione di Biagio al Libro dare e avere segnato A carta 39 F. 7 [Paolo is back at the Badia, receiving a salary, after having attended the Council of Pisa]

f. 84r: A spese straordinarie, detto dì [August 19, 1410] L. tre picc. i quali die a l'**Abate Paolo** per dare a' trombetti che feciono alla festa per Santa Maria mezza aghosto, a libro dare e avere segnato X a carta 19 L. 3

f. 87v: A lui sopradetto [Messer Nicholo di Jachopo Ghuasconi abate di Firenze] [October 3, 1409] F. uno d'oro nuovo il quale avevo lasciato e li desse **all'Abate Paolo**, e lui avevo fatto debitore al Quaderno di Ricordanze segnato B, carta 18, el detto Messer l'abate l'àn tenuto per sé al [Libro] dare e avere segnato X carta 28 F. 1 S. 5

f. 88v: [1409] A **Don Pagholo di Marcho abate della Badia al Pino**, detto dì [October 22, 1409] F. 6 d'oro ebe contanti in quanti a ragione di S. 78 D. 4 a Libro Salari segnato X a carta 3 F. 6

f. 89r: A spese di chasa detto dì [November 12, 1409] L. 14 S. 13 D. 8 per i quali demmo a l'**Abate Pagholo** per dare a Chalvano dipintore per dipintura della segiola di Messer l'Abate, a Libro dare e avere segnato X carta 32 L. 14 S. 13 D. 8

f. 90r: [1409] **All'Abbate Pagholo di Marcho**, a dì 19 di novembre, F. sette d'oro, ebe per noi da Biagio di Jachopo, messi [in] conto da lui in questo [Libro] c. 11, e a ragione **dell'Abbate Paolo** a Libro salari segnato A [a carta (3)9] F. 7

#### Section 5

[The next section in this filza again covers the year 1409-1410 (dare/avere per opening)] Questo libro è di Messer Niccolo di Jacopo Guasconi abate della Badia di Firenze in sul quale scriverò io Biagio di Jacopo chi dovrà dare et avere per alcuna ragione al detto Messer Niccolo o alla detta badia, et chiamasi dare et avere segnato B [...]

f. 4r: [1408] E a dì 6 d'ottobre F. 3 S. 9 [...] si levo per l'**Abate Pagolo** per tutto detto [...] posto de dare a carta 6 F. 3 L. 1 S. 4 D. 4

f. 5v: **L'Abate Pagholo** monaco in badia, de dare a dì 27 di settembre [1408?] L. 2 S. 4 [...] per lui a Francesco di Giovanni di [...] e comp. posto devino avere in questo [Libro] a carta 4

E a dì 6 d'ottobre [1408?] L. 4 S. 16 [...] per [...] 16 di vignello per [...] il braccio ebbe di Francesco di Giovanni di [...] e comp. [...] in questo [Libro] a carta 4 F. 4 L. 1 S. 4 D. 4

f. 6r: **L'Abate Pagolo monaco in badia** de avere a dì [left blank, possibly early 1409?] F. 4 L. 3 S. 4 D. 10 per altretanti pognamo n'abi avuto a sua ragione Libro Salari A(?) a carta 3 F.4 L.3 S. 4 D. 10

f. 32v: [under "spese straordinarie di casa di badia"] E deono dare a dì 15 d'ottobre 1409 F. uno L. 4 S. 7 [...] demmo **all'Abate Pagolo** per pagare certe spese fatte nella segiola di Messer l'abate come apare a uscita B a carta 88 [in the previous section] F. 1 L. 4 S. 7

E a dì 12 di novembre L. 14 S. 13 D. 8 p. **all'Abate Pagolo** per dare a Chavano di Santore(?) per dipintura d'una segiola di Messer l'abate, a uscita B a carta 89 L. 14 S. 13 D. 8

E a dì 2 di gennaio 1409 [=1410] L. 2 S. 15 p. die Biagio a Messer l'abate per dare a trombetti della parte che gli fecion la mattinata come apare a uscita B a carta 94 L. 2 S. 15

f. 34v: E a dì 26 dicembre [1409 payment to the *trombetti* for a *mattinata*.] "per dare la mancia a' trombetti

f. 39r: [Under spese for Biagio di Jacopo di Messer Biagio Guasconi (camarlingo)]... E a dì 19 di novembre F. 7 d'oro per noi **all'abate Pagolo monaco di casa**, come apare a entrata B a carta 11 F. 7

f. 44r: [... Dec. 1409 payment to the] piffari della parte che gli fecion la mattinata, come appare a entrate B carta 15 L. 2 S. 15

#### Section 7

f. 3v: [1408] **Don Pagolo di Marcho abate della Badia al Pino**, dee avere a dì primo di novembre per suo salario cominciato detto dì, a ragione di F. diciotto [dodici is crossed out]. [Paolo is back in the Badia as a salaried member of the monastery]

Nota: [written above: "l'anno", and then "F."] il suo salario d'uno anno da dì 1 di novembre 1408 infino a dì 31 d'ottobre 1409, F. 18 d'oro

E de avere a dì primo di novembre F. diciotto d'oro i quali saranno per suo salario d'uno anno, il quale chomincia a dì 1 di novembre 1408 e finisce a dì ultimo d'ottobre 1409 F. 18 d'oro [a number of subsequent entries cover payments in Oct. and Nov. 1409 and into 1410 referring to Libro Uscite segnato B]

f. 23v: [1410] **Don Pagolo di Marco da Firenze abate della Badia al Pino**, si riferimò con Messer l'abate per stare in Badia per suo vicario a dì 1 di novembre 1410, e debbe avere per suo salario l'anno F. diciotto d'oro

Partissi a dì 15 di giugno [1411?], monta il suo salario a F. 11 S. 18 D. 10 [a number of subsequent entries cover payments in 1411]

#### Section 10

f. 82r [1410] **All'Abate Paolo abate del Pino**, a dì 6 giugno detto, F. 1 d'oro ebe contanti in questo a libro salari segnato A a carta 3 F. 1

f. 87v: [1410] A Don Pagholo della marca [di Marco?] a dì 4 di settembre 1410, L. 3 S. 17 D. 8 quale(?) portò l'**Abate Pagolo** a lui detto per suo salario di mese 1 dì 6 e stato in casa, a Libro salari A a carta 21, e che i salari di badia deon dare a debitori e creditori C carta 39 L. 3 S. 17 D. 8

f. 88v: A spese straordinarie a dì 16 di settembre 1410, L. 2 per i quali ebe il vescovo di San Jacopo per richonciare la chiesa della badia, portò l'**Abate Pagolo** a Libro debitori e creditori C a carta 45 L. 2

f. 92r: A spese straordinarie a dì detto [22 Oct. 1410] L. 1 S. 18 D. 6 quali ebe l'**Abate Pagolo** per fare accorciare due anelli alle finestre del rifettorio et per fare et per accorciare il battaglio della canpana [...] a Libro debitori e creditori C a carta 58 L. 1 S. 18 D. 6

f. 93r: A Ser Jacopo prete e chappellano di badia, a dì 4 di novembre 1410, L. 9 S. 2 quali ebe contanti i quali portò l'**Abate Pagolo**, posto n'abi avuto a Libro Salari A a carta 22, e posto a salari di badia deon dare a Libro debitori e creditori C a carta 53 L. 9 S. 2

f. 99v: [1410=1411] All'Abate Pagolo, abate del Pino, a dì 3 di Febraio [1411] F. sei d'oro ebe contanti, in questo a carta 79 [...] posto n'abi avuto a Libro salari A a carta 24 e che i salari di badia deon dare a debitori C a carta 80 F. 6

f. 106v: [1411] All'Abate Pagolo del Pino a dì detto [19 June 1411] F. 3 d'oro S. 35 p. portò e[l] detto in contanti, e in questo [Libro] per resto di suo salario; a libro salari A a carta 24, che i salari di badia debi dare a debitori e creditori [Libro] C carta 104(?) F. 3 L. 1 S. 15

### Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse dal Governo Francese, 78 Filza 308 Guasconi Tom. III

[1412-1418: monks and chaplains of the Badia are being paid their salaries in these years after 1411, but Paolo no longer appears]

#### ABSTRACT

Recent study of a liturgical volume housed at Cambridge University and archival accounts from Florence's major Benedictine monastery, the Badia Fiorentina, in whose rented workshops artists and book makers created that beautifully illuminated Missal, allow for a substantial investigation of Paolo da Firenze's early career. Angelo Acciaiuoli, abbot *in commendam* (1385 - d. 1408), bishop of Florence, and then cardinal, became the great supporter and patron of Paolo, a documented member of the Badia's monastic community for at least two decades.

As a member of the cardinal's *familia*, Paolo followed Acciaiuoli to Rome in the early Quattrocento for several years' residence, witnessing the most critical moments in Italian efforts to end the Great Schism – including the conclave that elected Pope Gregory XII; vigorous Florentine and church rejection (led by Acciaiuoli) of Gregory XII; and final preparations for the 1409 Council of Pisa.

Paolo's presence at the Badia permitted interaction with artisans central to Florence's book industry. As a musician who continued to compose new works into the early fifteenth century, with a strong desire to preserve the Trecento's musical legacy, we have speculated that he was closely involved in the preparation and completion of key musical sources of the period. This hypothesis is strengthened by the survival of a music fragment used in the binding of a volume from the Badia's extensive library.

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