

Michele Epifani

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,¹ 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.² 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.³ *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 Barezzani (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-

Polyphonic Voices. Poetic and Musical Dialogues in the European Ars Nova, ed. A. Alberni, A. Calvia, M. S. Lannutti (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2021), 171-210. (ISBN 978-88-9290-147-6 © SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo e Fondazione Ezio Franceschini ONLUS)

donn' altera is a ballata set to music by Landini in which scholars have easily recognised the presence of the *senhal* “Sandra” (“*s'andrà*”).⁴ 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,⁵ 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'andrà* 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.⁶ 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'andrà* / *s'andra'*), is otherwise mostly found in later poems of the first half of the fifteenth century.⁷ 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 volli*, 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'andrà 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*,⁸ 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.⁹ 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 Chigi131'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) pietà 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 biltà, Alessandramia", 190n1); (5) In Rosello Roselli's (mostly autograph) *canzoniere* transmitted in Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1098 (Ricci1098), 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-Ilei, 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 Curi-sietti (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.¹⁰ 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,¹¹ and there are many attestations of this in Iacopo Salviati's *Cronica*,¹² as well as in the slightly later *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi* edited by Guasti.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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 Veyssset is available for download online (<https://journals.openedition.org/acr/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”.¹⁵ These rubrics are also found in the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Rediano 184 (Redi184),¹⁶ which, as Barbi demonstrated, drew much of its content from the same exemplar from which, indirectly, Chigi131 derives.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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 chauliere 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 Albizi”, 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.¹⁹ 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*.²⁰ This would explain the important addition *de' nostri signori* – a description that we find listed in the payments to *sindaci et referendarii*, and *buffoni*.²¹ 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.²²

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 similium*" (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 gl'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.²³ The archival research conducted by Suzanne Branciforte on the Florentine heralds has not unearthed any new documents about Giovanni di Giorgio,²⁴ 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”.²⁵

However, I would like to propose a further hypothesis: assuming that Chigi131'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,²⁶ brother of Cino, a well-known writer and author of a ballata set to music by Landini (*Con gli occhi assai ne miro*).²⁷ 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;²⁸

he was joined in marriage to Alessandra di Bernardo di Nerozzo Alberti,²⁹ the same Alessandra (and the only one with that name) mentioned in the *Battaglia delle belle donne* by Franco Sacchetti,³⁰ who addressed one of his letters to Giovanni Rinuccini to comfort him for the death of his only son.³¹

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)³² 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 egli no 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.³³

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.³⁴ 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”.³⁵ 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 1378.³⁶ 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.³⁷ 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).³⁸

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.³⁹ 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 Albizzi.

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 *senbals* 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:⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

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^T, strugo | amor^(*)i(n)fia(m)mato and at left margin: tutto^(*) Pit^C, 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^C) > *ond'io mi struggo d'amor, tutto infiammato* (Man) > *ond'io mi struggo d'amor, infiammato* (Pit^T). The agreement between Man and Pit^T (*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.⁴² 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).⁴³ Subsequently, the scribe corrected the cantus,⁴⁴ 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”,⁴⁵ 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 5th counter-accent that inevitably results in the unnatural accenting of *l'anima* in the musical setting.⁴⁶

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 Schræde, 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: Chigi131 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”)⁴⁷ 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 Chigi131’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 Chigi131 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) Chigi131’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*.⁴⁸ 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 spïrto 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 ch’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 Chigi131 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 andra'] andray Fp andrai 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 spirtò 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 ₃) Z
Mostrò a me questa lucida stella,	4	A
che par figlia d'Apollo, 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'àita,	10	C
ch'ella 'n vèr me si volga ançi che privo	11	Z
i' sia di vita, ancor tornerò vivo.	12	(c ₃) 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) Apollo'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 Stilnovio 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.⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰

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, sì 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.⁵¹ However, in the present examples there are two objective elements to consider: they are written by the same composer and include the same *sen-bal*. 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

S'ANDRA' sança merçé <i>di tempo in tempo</i> , donna che 'l mie cor ài, non so da cui piacer m'aspetti mai.	Ma' non S'ANDRÀ per questa donn' altera se non al modo usato, ond'io mi struggo, Amor, tutto 'nfiammato.	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.
El ben ch'i' spero et ogni mie diletto può darmi 'l tuo bel vis', ognor ch'i-l miro;	<i>Esta crudel</i> mi vuol pur tormentare, non a un'octa, ma <i>di giorno 'n giorno</i> , sol per tormi la vita .	Mostrò 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.
e se da te non ven, qual altro aspetto sarà, se non mie pen' e mie martiro?	Alcuna volta <i>mi fa rallegrare</i> , mostrando lieto a me suo viso adorno e poi pare smarrita.	
Dunque , da poi che sol per te sospiro, donna, che-l vedi et sai, esser men dura pur conviensi omai.	Dunque , per Dio, o alma sbigottita, dolce <i>morte</i> ti prendi, sì ch'a un'octa e non a stento <i>pèra</i> .	Ma se Amor, il mio signor, m'aita, ch'ella 'nvér me si volga, ançi che <i>privo</i> <i>i' sia di vita</i> , ancor <u><i>tornerò vivo</i></u> .

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,⁵² 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,⁵³ 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 speranza, 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*),⁵⁴ 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*.⁵⁵

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, Chigi 131'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'àita*”), 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 Chigi131'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 *senhal*, 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.⁵⁶ The presence of the same *senhal* 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 Nádas.⁵⁷

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 ³
Sq 167v [scribe D]	Sq 141r [scribe D]	Sq 135v [scribe C] 2 ²
Pit 7v-8r [scribe A] page-filler in Jacopo's section	Pit 109v-110r [scribe E] ^a	
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 Nádas 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. Nádas, "The Transmission".

Overall, the *varia lectio* does not include any notable feature, except for the oscillation of the *Textierung* of *A·lle' s'andrà* (2² Sq / 3³ 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.⁵⁸ *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.⁵⁹ A similar situation occurs in Pit, where *S'andrà 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-).⁶⁰

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,⁶¹ 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.⁶² 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'andrà</i>	<i>A·lle' s'andrà</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) ^a	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 bracchi 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'andrà* 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'andrà* 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.⁶³ 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 Galuzzo, 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>
	
mm. 9-13	mm. 15-17
	
mm. 28-31	mm. 23-25
	
mm. 48-53	mm. 6-9
	
	mm. 12-15

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,⁶⁴ 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.



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 quaestionis* 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 cantus⁶⁵ after which there is a brief fifth and sixth sonority (*G-d-e*) across mm. 35 and 36.⁶⁶

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 merçé* this happens without the ascending fourth, and descending from *g* to *G*.

This discrepancy between *S'andra' sança merçé* 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;⁶⁷

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 lodi* (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.⁶⁸

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'Apollo, sì risplende
Pour tant, aï!, 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'aita,
			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 spirito e l'anima mia"), and I have already highlighted the rare importance of the *spirt* / *alma* couple.⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ 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.⁷² 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 giammai.</i>
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-ssol 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.⁷³ 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'andrà 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'andrà ... 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'andrà*: "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*.⁷⁴ 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 *senhal*: *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).⁷⁵

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 MLog6.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 *senhal* is certain in these two ballatas. Paolo has systematically highlighted it in the musical setting: in *Doglia continua* (2²) through a short phrase in imitation, while in *Se già seguir* (3¹) there is a sudden and isolated interruption of the rhythmic articulation (Example 6).⁷⁶

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 merçé*.

Table 7. Intertextual nexuses between *Ma' non s'andrà*, *S'andra' sança merçé* 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 piant'agli occhi 'l cor consente.	S'ANDRA' sança merçé <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, spero <i>trovar qualche conforto</i> a la mie vita cruda e tempo rio. Dunque, pietà: el viso <i>per cu' io</i> sospiro sì sovente mov'a 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 mercé di tempo in tempo

1. 5. S'an
4. Dun

8

13

21

29

po, ro,

di tem - so - spi

zé sol

dra' san - za mer - que,

da poi che

don - na, che'l mio cor à - i,

don - na, chel ve - di e

non es - so da cu' pia - cer m'a - spet - ti ma - i,

es - so ser men du - ra pur con - vien - s'lo ma - i,

ben ch'i' spe - ro, ed o - gnì mie di - let - to

se da te non vien, qual al - tro, a - spet - to

può sa - dar - mi'l tuo bel vi - s'o - gnor ch'i' mi - ti - ro,

sa - ra, se non mie pe - na, e mio mar - ti - ro?

Ma' non s'andrà per questa donni altera

1. 5. Ma' non s'an - drà per que - sta don - n'al - te - - - - - ra
4. Dun que, per Dio, o al - ma sbi - 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 - - - - - sol
stran - do lie - to, a me suo vi - - - - - so, a - - - - - dor - - - - - no e

49 per tor - mi la vi - - - - - ta.
poi pa - re re smar - ri - - - - - ta,

A lle' s'andrà lo spïrto e l'alma mia

1. 5. A lle' s'an - drà lo spïr - to, e l'al - ma mi - a, o - ma' che
 4. Ma se A - mor, il mio sì - guor, m'a - ta, ch'el - la h - ver

per a - - - mo - re l' cor - po pri - - - vo la -
 me sì - - - vol - ga - an - zi che pri - - - vo vo l'

2 scia di vi - ta e più non può star vi - - - la, che par fi -
 sia di vi - ta, an - cor tor - ne - rò vi - - - la, sì ch'a me

11 2. Mo - - - strò a ri - - - co' l'al -
 3. Or è ri - - - de, de

17 glia d'A - - - pol - lo, sì ri - - - splen - - - co'
 cre - sce pe - na, e più s'ac - cen - - - de l'al -

11 suo be - gli'o - chi, a - mor con dol - ce par - ti - - ta.
 ma, che pian - ge la du - ra ra - ta.

APPENDIX II

Ripresa / Volta

1
Sandra'
Dunque,

1
Ma'
Dunque,

1
Alie' s'andrà
Ma se Amor,

2
suna mercé di tempo in tempo,
da poi che sol per te sospito,

2
non s'andrà per questa donn' altern,
per Dio, o alma sbigottita,

2
lo spirito e l'anima mia,
il mio signor, in alta,

3
che l' mie cor ài,
che i veli et sai,

3
se non al modo usato,
dolce morte ti prendi,

3
onà che per amore l' corpo privo
ch' ella invér me si volga ang che privo

3
non esser
donna
donna,

3
so da cui piacer m'aspetti mai,
men dura par convienzi omia,

3
ond' io mi struggo. Amor, tutto 'nflammato,
si ch' a un' ota e non a stento pèra.

3
lascia
l' sia

3
di vita e più non può star vivo.
di vita, ancor tornerò vivo.

Murazioni

4
El
e

4
Esa
Alcuna

4
Mosrò
Or è

5
mie diletto
altro aspetto

5
ben ch' i' spero et ogni
se da te non ven, qual

5
cruel mi vuol pur tormentare,
volta mi fa rallegrare,

5
che par figlia d' Apollo, si risplende
si ch' a me cresce pena e più s'accende

6
sol per tormi la vita,
e poi pure smarrir.

6
co' suo begli occhi. Amor, con dolce vita.
l'anima, che piange la dura partita.

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.

Michele Epifani
Università di Pavia
michele.epifani@unipv.it