

Maria Sofia Lannutti

«SOFRIR M'ESTUET» «EN ATENDANT» «SUS LA FONTAYNE»
FROM PAVIA TO FLORENCE AND ROME*

Modern scholars have studied the lyrics of late medieval polyphonic works by named poets and produced high-quality editions of these poems, compiled independently from their musical settings. Such editions include lyrics by Machaut, Petrarca and Sacchetti, among others.¹ Unattributed lyrics have met a different fate, however, because they are exclusively preserved in musical manuscripts, which often indicate composer names but make no reference to poetic authors. Giuseppe Corsi compiled a meritorious edition of Italian anonymous lyrics (although it is not properly critical and now outdated),² and texts written in French have been partially gathered in the database of the *Archive of Late-Medieval French Lyrics* (University of Exeter) directed by Yolanda Plumley. A special section is dedicated to the critical edition and commentary of poetic texts in some more or less recent works, too: the Rossi Codex edition by Tiziana Sucato; Carla Vivarelli's edition of Filippotto and Antonello de Caserta's French compositions contained in the Modena manuscript; Nicolò del Preposto's complete works by Antonio Calvia; and Michele Epifani's edition of the complete caccia repertoire.³

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1. Guillaume de Machaut, *Poésies lyriques*, ed. V. Chichmarev, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1909); Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, ed. Gianfranco Contini (Turin: Einaudi, 1964); Franco Sacchetti, *Il libro delle rime*, ed. Franca Brambilla Ageno (Florence: Olschki, 1990); and Franco Sacchetti, *Il libro delle rime con le lettere*, ed. Davide Puccini (Turin: UTET, 2007).

2. Giuseppe Corsi, ed., *Poesie musicali del Trecento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1970).

3. Tiziana Sucato, ed., *Il codice Rossiano 215. Madrigali, ballate, una caccia, un rotondello* (Pisa: ETS, 2003); C. Vivarelli, ed., *Le composizioni francesi di Filippotto e Antonello da Caserta tradite nel Codice Estense a.M. 5.24. Diverse voci*, 6 (Pisa: ETS, 2005); Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera completa. Edizione critica commentata dei testi intonati e delle musiche*, La Tradizione Musicale, 18; Studi e testi, 10, ed. Antonio Calvia (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017); Michele Epifani, ed., *La caccia nell'Ars Nova italiana. Edizione critica commentata dei testi e delle intonazioni*, La Tradizione Musicale, 20; Studi e testi, 11 (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2019).

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), 237-272. (ISBN 978-88-9290-147-6 © SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo e Fondazione Ezio Franceschini ONLUS)

1 soffrir m'istoyt e plu non pou soffri durer Ric 2 forse] fors Pit; le gram forz damors Ric
 3 conjure] con ioye Pit; gy fort languis con joye in gran dolors Ric 4 raggi Ric 5 mondo] modo
 Pit 7 il razo Ric 8 parole] parol Pit 9 doyl] doye Pit; en gram doye mon cors Ric 10 gy pur
 port sperans in dolz amors Ric

It is my fate to suffer, and I cannot endure the great force of love. I languish deeply, and I implore in great pain. My mortal eyes saw the flaming of a glowing star, a sun to the world. My sight found no defense: a ray of light pierced the heart making it grieve. Sighs, faith and words are vain, my heart remains in great sorrow, I keep my hope upon sweet love.

Errors common to both manuscripts are: *con ioye* / *con joye* (v. 3) in which the presence of the Italian preposition *con* makes the construction meaningless (even assuming that the strong Italianism *con* is genuine, the juxtaposition of *con joye* “joyfully” and the phrase *en grant dolour* “in great pain” would in any case be inconsistent);⁴ *fors/forz* instead of *forse* (v. 2); *esperans/sperans* instead of *esperance*, and *douls/dolz* in place of *doulse* (v. 10). The variant *fors/forz* renders the verse hypometric. This variant can be considered as a form derived from actual pronunciation, as is true of *esperans/sperans* and *douls/dolz* in the last verse, where elision is possible (similar forms are to be found, for instance, in Bartolino da Padova’s French madrigal *La douce çere*).⁵

The word *conjure* (v. 3) replaces the reading *con joye* in both extant witnesses. My conjectural emendation is based on a verse of Dante’s sonnet *O dolci rime che parlando andate*, from which *Sofrir m’estuet* takes the rhyme *parole* : *si dole* in reversed order. This is the first verse of the sonnet’s second quatrain: “Io vi scongiuro che non l’ascoltiate”. In his sonnet, Dante addresses *dolci rime* and implores them not to consider his earlier invitation to dismiss his beloved and honour another lady. He then invites the rhymes to return to his beloved with no delay, in order to let her know the grief that he suffers because of her absence. I will attempt to show below how the sonnet’s idea of an “after-thought” is related to the overall content of the ballata.

O dolci rime che parlando andate
 de la donna gentil che l’altre onora,

4. See Maria Sofia Lannutti, “I testi in francese nelle antologie dell’Ars Nova: primo approccio complessivo”, in *Innovazione linguistica e storia della tradizione. Casi di studio romanzi medievali*, a cura di Davide Battagliola, Silvia De Santis, Stefano Resconi (Milan: Mimesis, 2020), 197-223.

5. Michele Epifani and Maria Sofia Lannutti, eds., “La douce çere d’un fier animal”, in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano. Verso una nuova edizione critica dell’“Ars nova”*, ed. Antonio Calvia and Maria Sofia Lannutti (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), 307-342, at 308; in this case, the variant forms are *signifians* in place of *signifianse* and *senblans* instead of *semblanse*.

a voi verrà, se non è giunto ancora,
un che direte: «Questi è nostro frate». 4

Io vi sconsiglio che non l'ascoltiate,
per quel signor che le donne innamora,
ché ne la sua sentenza non dimora
cosa che amica sia di veritate. 8

E se voi foste per le sue **parole**
mosse a venire inver' la donna vostra,
non v'arrestate, ma venite a lei. 11

Dite: «Madonna, la venuta nostra
è per raccomandarvi un che **si dole**,
dicendo: Ov'è 'l disio de li occhi miei?». ⁶ 14

O you sweet poems that go about speaking
of that noble lady who brings honour
to others, one is about to join you
(if he has not done so already) of whom
you will say: "He is our brother". I adjure
you, by that Lord who makes ladies love,
do not listen to him, for there is
nothing friendly to truth in what he says.

But if because of his words you have
set out to approach your lady, do not stop,
but go to her and say: "Lady,
the purpose of our coming is to commend
to you one who is sad and who says,
'Where is the desire of my eyes?'" ⁷

At v. 2, I have given preference to Ric's variant *al mondo* against *al modo* (Pit and Corsi) based on another verse by Dante. As a matter of fact, *al mondo un sole* in rhyme with *parole* is also found in the first of the two *terzinas* of *Paradise XI*, in which the poet compares the birth of Francis of Assisi to the rising of the sun. The reading *al modo* is not syntactically satisfactory and can be explained by the omission of the abbreviation sign usually employed for nasal consonants.

Par. XI, vv. 49-54

Di questa costa, là dov' ella frange
più sua rattezza, nacque **al mondo un sole**,
come fa questo talvolta di Gange.

6. Dante Alighieri, *Rime*, ed. Domenico De Robertis, 3 vols. (Florence: Le Lettere, 2002), Vol. 3, 263-4.

7. Translation of Dante's texts are taken from the *Princeton Dante Project*, <http://etcweb.princeton.edu/dante/index.html>, last accessed February 22, 2021).

Però chi d'esso loco fa **parole**,
non dica *Ascesi*, ché direbbe corto,
ma Oriente, se proprio dir vuole.

From this slope, where it interrupts
its steep descent, a sun rose on the world,
as from the Ganges our sun sometimes does.
Therefore, let anyone who would speak of this place
not say *Ascesi*, which would convey too little,
but call it *Orient*, to sound its proper worth.

The *Commedia*'s presence is noticeable in v. 6 as well: "la vista mia non poté far difesa" is strictly linked to the closing *terzinas* of *Paradise* III. There, Dante assists Piccarda Donati's disappearance and turns to Beatrice, whose luminous beauty dazzles the poet leaving him speechless for an instant. This link is demonstrated by the reuse of *La vista mia*, placed at the opening of Dante's passage.

Par. III, vv. 124-130

La vista mia, che tanto lei seguio
quanto possibil fu, poi che la perse,
volsesi al segno di maggior disio,
e a Beatrice tutta si converse;
ma quella folgorò nel mïo sguardo
sì che da prima il viso non sofferse;
e ciò mi fece a dimandar più tardo.

My eyes, which watched her as long as they could,
turned, once she was lost to view,
to the goal of their greater desire
and were wholly bent on Beatrice.
But she so blazed upon my sight
so that at first my gaze could not sustain her light
and that delayed my plying her with questions.

The ballata also reveals the influence of sonnets 33 and 336 from Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. Sonnet 33 is placed in the middle of a group of three sonnets in Petrarch's work, which focus on the image of hope (*speranza*) as a key strength in a love relationship.⁸ Venus is the star of love (*amorosa stella*) that blazes (*fiammeggia*) in the same fashion as the above ballata's star. And it is always

8. Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere. Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini, 2 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 2005), Vol. 1, 190.

Venus the star that, in the Petrarch's sonnet 336, illuminates (*accende*) the beloved (*donna*) with its rays (*raggi*) as soon as the lover gazes at her.

Rvf 33, vv. 1-4

Già fiammeggiava l'amorosa stella
per l'oriente, et l'altra che Giunone
suol far gelosa nel septentrione,
rotava i **raggi** suoi lucente et bella...

Already Venus, the star of love, was blazing in the east, and that other northern constellation Callisto's Great Bear, that makes Juno jealous, was wheeling round its bright and lovely rays...⁹

Rvf 336, vv. 1-4

Tornami a mente, anzi v'è dentro, quella
ch'indi per Lethe esser non pò sbandita,
qual io la vidi in su l'età fiorita,
tutta accesa de' raggi di sua stella.

She comes to mind, rather is already there, she who cannot even be banished by Lethe, such as I saw here in the flower of her years, all burning with the rays of her planet.

The allusions illustrated above can simply be interpreted as tributes to the two most representative Florentine poets of the fourteenth century. Notwithstanding, some elements contained in the French verses of the ballata reveal political and moral content that suggests a more complex interpretation.

Firstly, the quotation of Bernabò Visconti's motto *Sofrir m'estuet* at the opening of v. 1 denotes a political meaning, and it can also be found at the closing verse of *La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba*, a heraldic madrigal set by Bartolino da Padova and Nicolò del Preposto.

La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba
pennis auratis volitum perquirat:
sovr'ogn'italian questa preliba.

Alba sub ventre palla decoratur,
perché del mondo signoria richiede,
velut eius aspectu demonstratur.

4

Cist fier cymiers et la flamma che m'art!
Sofrir m'estoyt, che son fier leopart.¹⁰

8

9. Translation of Petrarch's texts by A. S. Kline from the website *Poetry in Translation*, http://people.virginia.edu/~jdk3t/petrarchkline.htm#_Toc12014209, last accessed February 22, 2021.

The fierce head that eats the human, flaunting its golden wings, attempts (to satisfy) its urges. It foretastes its meal looming over the Italian people. It is adorned with a white cloth that covers the venter because it claims its right to dominate the world, as shown by its appearance. This fierce crest and the flame that consumes me! It is my fate to suffer (them), since they belong to a fierce leopard.

Whereas the ballata is bilingual, the madrigal transcribed above is written in three languages: Italian, Latin and French. Like the ballata, *La fiera testa* makes extensive use of citations and allusions that refer, on the one hand, to the *Commedia* (and to Dante's trilingual canzone *Ai faus ris*), and on the other hand, to some of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* sonnets. The madrigal is an anti-Visconti text attributed to Petrarch in the manuscript Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parm. 1081 (Par1081), and, as I have attempted to demonstrate elsewhere, it was probably composed around 1366 to correspond with Pope Urban V's return to Rome.¹¹ The dedicatee's name, Lapus – which I have suggested might be identified with Lapo da Castiglionchio il Vecchio – is revealed in the text three times through some word play. Lapo da Castiglionchio was a leading exponent of the Guelf-sided Florentine aristocracy and a prominent figure in a moment of open conflict and general concern for the Visconti's aggressive politics.¹²

The relationship between *Sofrir m'estuet* and *La fiera testa* is confirmed by the re-elaboration of a musical motive present in Bartolino da Padova's setting of the madrigal, named "motto B" by Maria Caraci Vela.¹³ In *La fiera testa*, the motive is placed at the beginning of the refrain in conjunction with Bernabo's heraldic motto, whereas in *Sofrir m'estuet* it corresponds to the opening bars:



Example 1.

10. Text according to Nicolò del Preposto, *Opera completa*, 94. Cf. also *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano*, 289-306.

11. Maria Sofia Lannutti, "Polifonie verbali in un madrigale araldico trilingue attribuito e attribuito a Petrarca: 'La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba'", in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano*, 45-92, at 71-6.

12. Lannutti, "Polifonie verbali", 57-63.

13. Maria Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche de 'La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba': problemi di contestualizzazione e di esegesi", in *Musica e poesia nel Trecento italiano*, 93-141, at 129.

It should also be noted that *Sofrir m'estuet* includes the word *esperance* in the middle of the last verse. This word opens the famous rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat*, which enjoyed popularity and wide circulation as demonstrated by a number of surviving manuscript witnesses (recently studied by Michael Scott Cuthbert),¹⁴ and by many polyphonic compositions built upon its celebrated *incipit*.¹⁵

Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat,
sentir me fait d'amer la douce vie;
 mais **Fauls Dangier** le refuse et debat,
Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat. 4
 Cheoir ne peut, se **Franc Cuer** ne le bat,
 qui de **doulcour** tiengne la seignourie,
Esperance, qui en mon cuer s'embat,
*sentir me fait d'amer la douce vie.*¹⁶ 8

In the rondeau, *Franc Cuer* sustains *Esperance*, the virtue that leads the subject to love sweet life (*dolce vie*), and *Esperance*, in turn, is hampered by *Faux Dangier*, “false rigour or power”. This last *senhal* is allusive of *Dangier*, the character opposed to *Bel accueil*, who guards the garden in the *Roman de la Rose* and prevents the protagonist from seeing the rose. The nexus *douce vie* recalls, instead, the ballade *En amer a douce vie* sung by *Esperance* for the lover’s comfort in Machaut’s *Remède de Fortune*,¹⁷ and well known in Italy, as demonstrated by the fact that it is preserved in three Italian anthologies: Pit, which also contains the ballata *Sofrir m'estuet*, Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichi 26 (Fp) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.fr. 6771 (R).

I believe, however, that the text of *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'embat* also allows for a symbolic interpretation – presupposing that the concepts of secular love and sacred love coexist and overlap. In the Bible, the Latin term *dulcedo*

14. Michael Scott Cuthbert, “‘Esperance’ and the French Song in Foreign Sources”, *Studi musicali* 36 (2007): 3–20. A textless version of the *rondeau* is found also in Pit, ff. 6v–7r. A further version has been found in a Graduale now in Rome, cf. Michael Scott Cuthbert and Nicola Tangari, “Identificazioni di composizioni vocali italiane e internazionali in alcuni manoscritti liturgici del tardo Trecento”, in *Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra* 37 (2017): 219–27.

15. Yolanda Plumley, “Citation and Allusion in the Late Ars nova: The Case of *Esperance* and the *En attendant* Songs”, *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 287–363; Ead., “Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson: Crossing Borderlines and Borders”, *Music and Letters* 84 (2003): 355–77, at 369–77; Ead., “Playing the citation game in the late 14th-century chanson”, *Early Music* 31 (2003): 20–38, at 26–31. The rondeau’s refrain also opens the penultimate of the twelve *balades de Pasques* studied by Yolanda Plumley in the essay included in this volume (87–123).

16. Text according to Gent, Rijksarchief, Groenenbriel 133 (Gent133), in Cuthbert, “‘Esperance’ and the French Song”, 15–6.

17. Yolanda Plumley, “Citation and Allusion”, 295–7, at 347; Ead., *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 418.

(*doulcour*, v. 6) often represents divinity and divine love. For example, Psalm 30, *In te, Domine, speravi* – built upon the theme of hope – contains the verse “quam magna multitudo *dulcedinis* tuae, Domine; quam abscondisti timen-tibus te perfecisti eis qui *sperant* in te in conspectu filiorum hominum” (v. 20). In the writings of the Church Fathers, the authentic *dulcedo* (or *suavitas*) is given by God, and the true *vita dulcis* (*douce vie*) is a life led by sacred love (*cari-tas*) and therefore free from concupiscence. Augustine’s Sermon 153 (8 10) pro-vides a good example:

O vita dulcis! Dulcis est quidem voluptas concupiscentiae: verum est, nec eam homines sequerentur, nisi dulcis esset. [...] Sed audi meliora: *Narraverunt mihi iniusti delectationes, sed non sicut lex tua, Domine*. Felix anima quae huiusmodi delectationibus oblectatur, ubi turpitudine nulla inquinatur, et veritatis serenitate purgatur. Quem autem delectat lex Dei, et sic delectat, ut omnes delectationes lasciviae vincat, non sibi arroget istam delectationem: *Dominus dabit suavitatem*.

O what an agreeable life! Pleasure of course is agreeable to lust; it’s true, and people wouldn’t pursue it unless it was agreeable. [...] But, *The unjust described delights to me, but not like your law, O Lord*. Happy is the soul which is entertained by delights of this sort, in which it is not sullied by anything vile, and is purified by the serenity of truth. But any of you whose delight is *in the law of God*, and who are delighted by it in such a way that it beats all the delights of loose living, must not claim credit for this delight for yourselves; *it is the Lord who will give delight*.¹⁸

In the *Remede de fortune*, the idea that the true *douce vie* is a life free from concupiscence is inferred by the relationship between the discourse that Hope (*Esperance*) addresses to the Lover (*l’Amant*) before singing the ballade *En amer a douce vie* and the ballade’s content. In the discourse, Hope recommends that the Lover free himself from concupiscence (*advarice*) and not forget the virtues of temperance and endurance (*Souffissance* and *Patience*). In the ballade, Love enriches lovers (*ami et amie*) with temperance (*souffissance*), making suffering tolerable and allowing them to live a *douce vie*.

vv. 2744-2778 and 2857-2892

Dont ont li roy plus grant deffaut
Que n’ont la povre gent menue,
D’or, d’argent et de joiaus nue,
Et par deffaut de souffissance,
Car en leur cuer se boute et lance

18. *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century. Sermons III/5 (148-183) on the New Testament*, ed. John Rotelle, transl. Edmund Hill (New York: New City Press, 1992), 63.

.I. ardant rain de **convoitise**
 Qui si les ambrase et atise
 Qu'il les art jusques es entrailles.
 Et si sont tous leurs eslois failles,
 Tant comme il sont en telle arduire.
 Je ne di mie que Nature
 De po de chose n'ait assez.
 Mais se li mondes entassez
 Estoit dou ciel jusqu'à la terre
 De quanque cuers porroit requerre,
 Dire, et ymaginer d'avoir,
 N'en y porroit il tant avoir
 Qu'il peüst jamais, a droit dire,
 A .i. cuer couvoiteus souffire,
 Non certes .v^c. mille mondes
 Qui par .v^c. mille fois combles
 Fussent, si com je le devis!
 Scez tu pour quoy? Il m'est avis
 Que, selonc mon jugement nice,
 Riens ne souffist a **Advarice**;
 De quoy on voit tout en apert
 Que qui tout couvoite tout pert,
 Car on en pert l'ame et le corps,

Joie, honneur. Et c'est mes acors.
 Encor te pri je trop de cuer
 Que tu n'oublies a nul fuer
 Les .ij. precieuses vertus
 Que je t'ay nommé ci dessus:
 L'une est **Souffissance** la belle;
 L'autre est **Pacience**, s'encelle.
 [...]

En amer ha **douce vie**
 Et jolie,
 Qui bien la scet maintenir,
 Car tant plaist la maladie,
 Quant norrie
 Est en amoureux desir
 Que l'amant fait esbaudir
 Et querir
 Comment elle monteplie.
 C'est dous maus a soustenir,
 Qu'esjoïr
 Fait cuer d'ami et d'amie;

Qu'Amours par sa signourie
 Humelie
 L'amoureux cuer a souffrir,
 Et par sa noble maistrie
 Le maistrie,
 Si qu'il ne puet riens sentir,
 Que tout au goust de joïr
 Par plaisir
 Ne prengne, je n'en doubte mie.
 Einsi saous de merir,
 Sans merir,
 Fait cuer d'ami et d'amie.

Si doit bien estre chérie
 Et servie,
 Quant elle puet assevir
 Chascun qui li rueve et prie
 De s'aïe,
 Sans son tresor amenrir.
 De la mort puet garentir
 Et garir
 Cuer qui de sante mendie;
 De **souffissance** enrichir
 Et franchir
 Fait cuer d'ami et d'amie.¹⁹

From this perspective, the rondeau also acquires a moral significance: *Franc* *Cuer* fights against *Fauls Dangier* in order to allow the Christian heart to be filled with hope (*Esperance*) and to love the (true) sweet life (*amer la douce vie*). We know, on the other hand, that *Esperance* is a heraldic motto adopted by Louis de Bourbon and subsequently employed by other members of the French royal family, including Charles VI, and it is therefore very likely that this word was chosen to open the rondeau on account of its associated connotations.²⁰ We may therefore legitimately propose that the use of language and the topics of courtly love in this rondeau imply moral and political meanings.

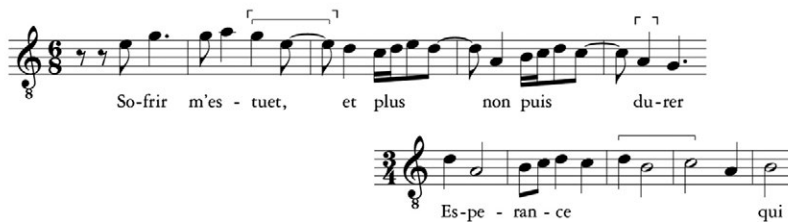
The use of love poetry to express moral and political allusions can be explained in light of a well-established astrological tradition, in which the plan-

19. Guillaume de Machaut, *The Complete Poetry and Music*, Vol. 2, *The Boethian Poems: Le remede de Fortune, Le confort d'ami*, ed. and trans. by R. Barton Palmer, music ed. by Uri Smilansky, with art historical commentary by Domenic Leo (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2019), 234, 236, 244.

20. Plumley, "Citation and Allusion", 346-52; Laurent Hablot, "La ceinture Espérance et les devises des ducs de Bourbon", in *Esperance: le mécénat religieux des ducs de Bourbon à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Françoise Perrot (Souvigny, Musée Municipal de Souvigny, 2001), 91-103, at 95-6. See also Plumley's essay in this book, 87-123.

et Venus – the blazing *stella* common to Petrarch's *sonnets* and *Soffrir m'estuet* – has a double influence, negative and positive, on individuals and on society. It can excite carnal passions or foster the exercise of *caritas*, the theological virtue which is crucial for good government.²¹ This tradition explains why Venus' heaven hosts Charles Martel of Anjou in Dante's *Paradise* – a prince whose government had been inspired by *caritas*²² – together with the penitent lovers Cunizza da Romano and Folquet de Marselha, the ex-troubadour and religious convert who was elected bishop of Toulouse in 1205.²³ The same doctrine explains Petrarch's use of the language of courtly love in the political poems of the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, which in fact tells a love story.²⁴ And we might suppose that a similar ideology explains why Nature gives life to the protagonist of Machaut's *Prise d'Alixandre*, King Pierre of Cyprus, lover and defender of Christianity, through the union of the planets Venus and Mars.

Soffrir m'estuet's textual link to the rondeau *Esperance* is confirmed once again by analysis of the music. In fact, Maria Caraci Vela has recently pointed out that in the first verse of the ballata the reformulated musical opening of *La fiera testa*'s ritornello ("motto B") is followed by the reformulated musical opening of the rondeau *Esperance* ("motto E").²⁵ Thus, we can finally say that Bernabo's heraldic motto (*Soffrir m'estuet*) and the music of the Italian madrigal coexist in our ballata alongside the motto of the French royal family (*Esperance*) and the music of the French rondeau.



Example 2.

21. Earl G. Schreiber, "Venus in the Medieval Mythographic Tradition", *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 74 (1975): 519-35.

22. In his *Monarchia*, Dante argues that *caritas* (or *recta dilectio*) exalts justice, whereas *cupiditas* obscures it: «Preterea, quemadmodum cupiditas habitualement iustitiam quodammodo, quantumcunque pauca, obnubilat, sic karitas seu recta dilectio illam acuit atque dilucidat» (Dante Alighieri, *Monarchia*, I XI 13, ed. Diego Quaglioni, in *Dante Alighieri. Opere. Vol. II: Convivio, Monarchia, Epistole, Ecloghe*, ed. Marco Santagata, Gianfranco Fioravanti, Claudio Giunta, Diego Quaglioni, Claudia Villa and Gabriella Albanese [Milan: Mondadori, 2014], 807-1415, at 994).

23. Edward Peters, "Human Diversity and Civil Society in Paradiso VIII", *Dante Studies* 109 (1991): 51-70, at 55-7.

24. Maria Sofia Lannutti, "'Ama chi t'ama'. Petrarca interprete di Guittone", in *Guittone morale. Tradizione e interpretazione*, ed. Lorenzo Geri, Marco Grimaldi, Niccolò Maldina, Maria Rita Traina (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2019), 327-56, at 331.

25. Caraci Vela, "Le intonazioni polifoniche", 137-8.

As a result of these clear and close intertextual relationships, we can conclude that the use of the language of love poetry in *Soufrir m'estuet* implies moral and political meanings, as in the French rondeau. The content of the ballata can be summarised as follows. The lover presents himself as a victim of an uncontrollable, passionate love (*force d'amour*), which is the source of his affliction and leads him to entreat his beloved (to forgive him). He is in pain as he has been stricken in the heart by the rays of a blazing star. Sighing, praying and giving voice to his grief will give no relief to his deeply wounded heart, and yet he hopes for a different form of love (*doulce amour* or *caritas*) to intervene and take the place of his passion. This is an example of the opposition between sinful and virtuous love (carnal love vs. *caritas*), one of the thematic pillars of medieval Italian poetry, that has been associated with the experience of conversion since Guittone d'Arezzo's poetic production. This experience of conversion is the same as that which allowed Cunizza da Romano and Folquet de Marselha access to Venus' heaven in Dante's paradise.

It is possible that we might infer further political meaning in these lyrical allusions, and I would like to suggest that the idea of a conversion from sinful to virtuous love is used in the ballata to depict a change in political alliances. In this context, the ballata's lover character could be identifiable with a political subject. Moreover, considering the Florentine origin of the composer Paolo da Firenze, we might deduce that this political subject is the Republic of Florence, which, in the context of these lyrics, is hoping to attain a more profitable and fair agreement in order to improve its current condition. If the theme of returning to a first love, present in Dante's sonnet, is also taken into account, then it is reasonable to assume that the political change in question refers to the restoration of an earlier relationship or alliance. It is possible, then, that the ballade refers to a precise historical circumstance, when, in 1396, Florence found itself in the position of having to demonstrate repentance for the violation of a previous political agreement and its will to re-establish that agreement. These circumstances recall the events of 29 September, when Florence allied itself with France against the Visconti, whose troops had by then reached the city gates. This alliance was vehemently opposed by the pope, as shown by a letter addressed to him on 13 January 1397. In this document, the Florentine authorities defended themselves from the accusation that they damaged Italy and the Church through their political choices.²⁶ Florence waited in vain for the arrival of

26. Giacinto Romano, "I Visconti e la Sicilia", *Archivio storico lombardo* 23 (1896): 5-56, at 33.

French support for two years. Once hope was lost, the city sought to re-establish its previous agreements.

It should also be observed that in those years, Paolo da Firenze occupied a significant position in Florentine cultural and political life. As attested by the important documents discovered by John Nádas and published in a very recent article, Paolo was in fact closely linked to the eminent figure of Angelo Acciaiuoli, who was in Rome in the service of Boniface IX while maintaining the role of Abbot *in commendam* of the Badia Fiorentina where Paolo resided during 1390s.²⁷

If the historical scenario depicted above is accurate, then the heraldic motto *Souffrir m'estuet* and the “motto B” extracted from Bartolino’s setting of *La fiera testa* are consistent with the anti-Visconti literary works of Bernabò’s time, and form part of an actualisation strategy which also involves the text’s literary sources (Dante and Petrarch). The heraldic motto *Esperance* and the “motto E” deriving from the French rondeau instead evoke the disastrous agreement with France, an erroneous decision motivated by a temporary infatuation (*forse d’amour*), that Florence hoped to remedy by revoking the agreement with France and renewing the alliance with the Roman pope (*doulce amour*). We can extend this interpretation further, too: the image of the blazing star can be understood as an allusion to the *Oriflamme* (the military standard of the French kingdom that guided the royal troops), and the ballata’s ripresa may represent a plea to the Roman pope (the depositary of true *Esperance*) that he overlooks the fruitless alliance with France and accedes to a new deal. The three theological virtues in the second half of the stanza favour this interpretation: Faith (v. 8 *fé*), Hope (v. 10 *esperance*), and Charity (v. 10 *doulce amour*, the source of the rondeau’s *doulce vie*), according to a theological reformulation of the ideology of love.

Non val sospir, non fé, non dir parole,
 en grant doyl est mon cuer:
 je pour port *esperance* in *doulce amour*.

We may therefore conclude that all these allusions not only serve to convey the moral and political meanings hidden behind the language of courtly love, but also to evoke different poetic and musical traditions that function as a

27. John Nádas, “New Biographical Documentation of Paolo da Firenze’s Early Career”, in *The End of the Ars Nova in Italy: The San Lorenzo Palimpsest and Related Repertories*, ed. Antonio Calvia, Andreas Janke, Maria Sofia Lannutti and John Nádas (Florence: SISMEI - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2020), 13–42.

means of legitimising past and present political positions and in sustaining the request for a future alliance.

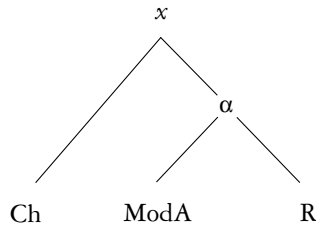
2. «EN ATENDANT, SOUFFRIR M'ESTUET»

The ballade *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*, whose incipit contains Bernabò's heraldic motto, was set to music by Filippotto de Caserta. Although Filippotto's biography remains unknown due to the total absence of historical evidence, his political sympathies can be deduced from two of his ballades, *Par les bons Gedeon et Sanson delivré* (a celebration of Avignonese Pope Clement VII) and *Par le grant senz d'Adriane la sage*, whose *refrain* contains the *senhal* Lois ("qu'avoir ne puet sanz o couvert de lis"). It is plausible that this *senhal* alludes to a member of the French royal dynasty, perhaps to Louis I of Anjou, as asserted by Nigel Wilkins.²⁸ Even if we leave aside all controversial details of Filippotto's possible work environments,²⁹ the presence of Bernabò's motto in the opening of one of his compositions still remains undeniable evidence of his connection to Visconti circles. In *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*, Bernabò Visconti's motto occupies the middle of the first line, precisely placed with two words either side, whereas *espoir* is found in the penultimate line preceding the *refrain* between two groups of three words: "En attendant, **souffrir m'estuet** grief payne"; "je vivroye en **espoir** de bone estance".

The ballade is preserved in a complete state in the Chantilly codex (Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, 564 [Ch], f. 33v) and partially in the Modena manuscript (Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α. M 5. 24 [ModA], f. 21r) and the aforementioned Reina codex (f. 84v). ModA preserves the first two strophes, whereas R contains only the first. The *varia lectio* reveals the existence of an archetype (x) and a subarchetype (α) from which ModA and R derive. Identifying the relationships between the three witnesses is useful for reconstructing paths of transmission and the history of the manuscript tradition, even though this has no influence on the text's constitution. All discordant variants show that the ModA and R versions are less accurate than Ch, the only complete witness. My edition is therefore consistent with the Ch version depurated from its errors.

28. Nigel Wilkins, "Some Notes on Philipoctus de Caserta", *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 8 (1964): 82-99; Yolanda Plumley, "The Marriage of Words and Music: *Musique Naturele* and *Musique Artificielle* in Machaut's *Sans cuer, dolens* (Rondeau 4)", in *Machaut's Music: New Interpretations*, ed. Elisabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), 231-48, 122-3.

29. For a summary of the different hypotheses see Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 10-5.



The archetype is demonstrated by four errors (in vv. 4, 5, 6 and 7). In two cases (vv. 4 and 7), the archetype errors consist of the addition of superfluous monosyllables that generate hypermetry, and that have been therefore eliminated from my edition. At verse 4, the added monosyllable is the verbal form *est*. ModA transmits *en de* anticipating the following *de* and further corrupting the text. At v. 7, the added monosyllable is the possessive *sa*. It is possible that the reading *assouvir* at v. 6, which renders the verse hypermetric, was copied from the archetype, where it probably replaced the rare form *souvir*. This term can be considered a Latinism, given that the etymological root of *souvir* and *assouvir* is the Latin verb *SOPIRE*.³⁰ ModA's variant *a sofrir* and R's variant *a sounir* are subsequent banalisations. Vivarelli's edition proposes instead the equally plausible term *souplir*, although this term is more distant from the preserved reading than *souvir*.³¹ Finally, v. 5 is hypometric in all manuscript versions.

The subarchetype is demonstrated by the following erroneous readings common to ModA and R, that also prove Ch's independence from them:

- *que venir* (v. 3) further corrupts the variant *qu'avenir* in Ch;
- *celle* (v. 5) and *elle* (v. 6) opposed to *telle* and *el* in Ch: the first word invalidates the consecutive phrase (*telle vertu ... qu'el puet*) and the second renders the verse hypermetric.

The independence of ModA and R from Ch is demonstrated by the variants *estruet* (v. 1), *ruissiu* and *avironne* (v. 4) in Ch, against *estuet*, *ruissiau* and *avironnee/environee* (v. 4) in ModA and R (R adds a third *-e*). We can consider these Ch variants as separative errors since the Italian copyist would have hardly been able to correct them. The reading *ontor* (v. 4) in R as opposed to *en tour* in Ch and ModA separates Ch and ModA from R. At v. 6 *a souffrir* (ModA) against *assouvir* (Ch) and *assounir* (R) separates Ch and R from ModA.

30. The verb *souvir* is recorded in Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme*, v. 8268 (1355-1358; see Guillaume de Digulleville, *Le Pèlerinage de Jhesucrist*, ed. Johann Jacob Stürzinger [London: Nichols & Sons, 1897]).

31. Vivarelli, *Le composizioni francesi*, 86.

En atendant, souffrir m'estuet grief payne,
 en languor vivre, c'est ma destinee,
 puisqu'avenir ne puis a la fontayne,
 tant de ruiSSI[a]us en tour avironnee. 4
 Telle vertu [a] li a Dieu dounee
 qu'el puet souvir chascun a souffisance,
par dignité et tres noble puissance.

1 souffrir] souffrir ModA R; estuet] estuet Ch 2 en] et en Ch ModA, ne R; languor] langour ModA, langor R; ma destinee] me e e R 3 qu'avenir] que venir ModA R; foyntaine Ch 4 de] est de Ch R, en de ModA; ruiSSius Ch, ruisiaus ModA; ontor R; avironne Ch, environnee R 5 celle ModA R; vertu ModA R; a li a Dieu dounee] li a (as ModA) Dieu (Dieus ModA) donee ModA R 6 quelle ModA R; souvir] assouvir Ch, a souffrir ModA, asounir R, a asoufisance R 7 sa dignité Ch ModA R; pousance ModA

As I reach out (or I wait), I must suffer great pain, it is my destiny to live in languor because I cannot reach the fountain surrounded by so many streams. God gave the fountain such a virtue that it can sufficiently satiate everyone thanks to its worthiness and very noble power.

Les grans ruiSSiaus, qu[e] la font leur demaine, 8
 si ont leur condu[c]tour[e] estoupee,
 si c'on n'i puet trouver la droite vaine.
 Tant courompue est l'iaue et troublee,
 gouter n'en puis une seule halevee, 12
 si Nobleté n'a de moy ramembrance,
par dignité et tres noble puissance.

8 Li grant ModA; qui Ch; leuer ModA; amaine ModA 9 les conduis de la font Ch, leur conduis tour ModA 10 n'i] ne ModA; droit ModA 11 tant est courumpue (coronpue ModA) Ch ModA; l'iaue] liane Ch, lique ModA; tourblee ModA 12 guster e ModA 13 si Nobleté] si nuble pue Ch, sun ble pitie ModA; om. de ModA; ramembrance] remembrance ModA 14 *shortened refrain* par sa dignite etc Ch, per sa dignite etc ModA

The flowing streams that their fountain supplies have their course obstructed in such a way that it is impossible to find the right vein. So corrupted and polluted is the water (that) tasting a single draught of it will be impossible if Nobility does not take care of me, by virtue of its worthiness and very noble power.

Si pri a Dieu que a droit la ramaine
 et purefie, sanz estre entamee, 16
 qua[r] verement, c'est chose bien certaine,
 n'en puis aprochier noit ne matinee.
 S'a[vis] m'estoyt qu'a[in]si fust ordenee,
 je vivroye en espoir [de] bone estance, 20

par dignité et tres noble puissance.

16 et] et la Ch 17 qua Ch 18 n'en] je nen Ch; noit] nō Ch 19 S'avis] et sa moy Ch; qu'ainsi]
quam si Ch; ordenee] or ordenee Ch 20 de] davoyr Ch

I pray to God that he brings it [the fountain] back to the right way and purifies it from all corruption because truly (it is certain) I cannot access it anymore. Should I notice that (the fountain) has been thus recovered, I will live in the hope of a joyful outcome thanks to its worthiness and very noble power.

At v. 5, the addition of the preposition *a* corrects the hypometry caused by its omission, likely due to haplography. As is the case with *souvir*, *leur conductoure* (v. 6) and *Nobleté* (v. 13), taken from Vivarelli's edition,³² are interpretable as Latinisms. The first (*leur conductoure*), which presupposes the med. Lat. CONDUCTURA, an unusual synonym of CONDUCTIO ('guide'), is supported by the rhyming feminine form *estopee*. It is derived from ModA's reading *leur condus tour*, probably already present in the archetype and later banalised in Ch. The second (*Nobleté*) is equivalent to the more frequent word *noblesse* and is derived from the reading *nuble pue* in Ch.

At v. 11, the inversion *est courompue* > *courompue est* restores the regular accent on the fourth syllable. At vv. 16 and 18 the expunction of the superfluous pronouns *la* and *je* is necessary in order to re-establish the regular measure of the verse. The reading *et s'a moy estoit* (v. 19) is syntactically inadmissible and renders the verse hypermetric. My emendations presuppose the addition of the conjunction *et* by the copyist at the beginning of the verse and the erroneous reading of an original *s'avis* as *samoy* (it may be the case that the letter *m* and diphthong *oy* of the subsequent *mestoyt* were anticipated). Verse 20 presents a syntactic explication (*de* > *d'avoyr*). From a linguistic point of view, it is worth noticing the form *noit* for *nuit* (v. 18). It can be regarded as an Italianism since it is frequently found in Franco-Italian literature.³³ Furthermore, it is interesting to observe the presence of *décasyllabes* with *caesura* after the sixth syllable (vv. 9-11, 18, 20). This type of *décasyllable* mirrors the structure of the Italian *endecasillabo a maiori* and it is rather unusual in late-medieval French poetry, where a *caesura* after the fourth syllable is normally preferred.

The content of the ballade can be summarised as follows. The lover is forced to suffer because he cannot drink from the fountain, a fountain that can satiate everyone thanks to its worthiness and power. The streams that spread from the fountain are regrettably blocked and for this reason the water has

32. Ibid.

33. As shown by the *Repertorio informatizzato dell'antica letteratura franco-italiana* (RIALFrI, www.rialfri.eu, last accessed February 22, 2021), where *noit* is found 246 times.

become undrinkable. The lover remains hopeful that the water will be purified again.

Like *Sofrir m'estuet*, the setting of *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief payne* also contains the reformulated musical incipit of the rondeau *Esperance*. This melodic quotation corresponds to the two final words of the opening verse (immediately after Bernabo's motto), fully highlighted by the use of red notation in Ch and R, and partially coloured in ModA.³⁴



Example 3.

While the text of *Sofrir m'estuet* reveals the presence of Dante's and Petrarca's poetry, the literary background of *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* is entirely French. The two opening verses are related to Thibaut de Champagne's chanson *En chantant vueil ma dolor découvrir* (n. 16, RS 1397).³⁵ The theme of the chanson is centred around the impossibility of seeing the beloved and obtaining her love (*bone amor*). The strophic structure is very close to that of *En attendant* and most of the ballades.

En attendant, souffrir m'estuet grief payne,	A
en languor vivre, c'est ma destinee,	B
puisqu'avenir ne puis a la fontayne,	A
tant de ruissiaus en tour avironnee.	B
Telle vertu a li a Dieu dounee	B
qu'el puet souvir chascun a souffisance,	C
<i>par dignité et tres noble puissance.</i>	C
En chantant vueil ma dolor découvrir,	A
quant perdu ai ce que plus desirroie.	B
Las! si ne sai que puisse devenir,	A
que m'amors est ce dont g'espore joie;	B

34. Plumley, "Citation and Allusion", 317; Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, eds., *Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly*, Ms. 564, Vol. 1: *Introduction* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 71.

35. Axel Wallensköld, ed., *Les chansons de Thibaut de Champagne, roi de Navarre* (Paris: Champion, 1925), 51-3.

si m'estouvra a tel dolor languir,	A
quant je ne puis ne veoir ne oïr	A
la bele riens a qui je m'atendoie.	B

The most definitive link between Thibaut's chanson and *En attendant* is in the fourth line of the third strophe: "Ensi m'estuet sousfrir ma destinee" (v. 18); and, in the first strophe, particularly in the second half: v. 5, *m'estouvra languir* "I will have to languish" and v. 7 *m'atendoie* "I reached out" (it should also be pointed out that this occurrence of the verb *attendre* underlines its double meaning: "to wait" and "to reach out"). The seemingly feeble connections between *espoire* (v. 4) and *espoir* (v. 20 of *En attendant*), *languir* (v. 5) and *languor* (v. 2 of *En attendant*), *grief souspir* (v. 8) and *grief payne* (v. 1 of *En attendant*) become persuasive after a contextual reading of the text. Lastly, it is worth noticing the recurrence of the prepositional gerund that opens both texts (*En chantant* / *En attendant*).

En chantant vueil ma dolor descouvrir,	
Quant perdu ai ce que plus desirroie.	
Las! si ne sai que puisse devenir,	
Que m'amors est ce dont g'espoire joie;	4
Si m'estouvra a tel dolor languir,	
Quant je ne puis ne veoir ne oïr	
La bele riens a qui je m'atendoie.	

Quant m'en souvient, grief en sont li souspir,	8
Et c'est toz jorz, ne ja n'en recrerroie.	
Por li m'estuet mainte gent obeïr,	
Que je ne sai se nus va cele voie;	
Mês, se nus puet a bone amor venir	12
Par bien amer et loiaument servir,	
Ge sai de voir qu'encore en avrai joie.	

Mi chant sont tuit plain d'ire et de dolor	
Por vos, dame, que je ai tant amee,	16
Que je ne sai se je chant ou je plor;	
Ensi m'estuet sousfrir ma destinee.	
Mês, se Deu plect, oncor verrai le jor	
Qu'Amors sera changiee en autre tor,	20
Si vos donra vers moi meillor pensee.	

Souviengne vos, dame, de fine amor,	
Que loiautez ne vos ait oublïee,	
Que je me fi tant en vostre valor	24
Qu'adès m'est vis que merci ai trouvee,	

Et ne por quant je muir et nuit et jor!
 Or vous doint Deus, pour oster ma dolor,
 Que par vos soit m'ire reconfortee! 28

Dame, bien vueil que vous sachiez de voir
 C'onques par moi ne fu mès dame amee,
 Ne ja de vous ne me qier mès mouvoir;
 Mon cuer i ai et m'entente atornee. 32
 Je n'ai mestier, dame, de decevoir,
 Que de tel mal ne me sueil pas doloir.
 Ne m'esfreez, s'il vous plect, a l'entree!

Chançon, va t'en, garde ne remanoir! 36
 Prie celi qui plus i a pooir
 Que tu soies souvent par li chantee.

En chantant vueil ma dolor descouvrir occupies a prominent position in Thibaut's *Liederbuch*, as found in the French lyric chansonniers.³⁶ The incipit of the chanson is a dysphoric rewriting of the incipit of Folquet de Marselha's song *Chantan volgra mon fin cor descobrir* (*BdT* 155,6),³⁷ that details how a lover can see his beloved and enjoy the vision of her. It was partially translated into Italian by the Sicilian poet Rinaldo d'Aquino in the song *Poi li piace c'avanzi suo valore* (*PSs* 7,3).³⁸ The second half of the incipit of Thibaut de Champagne's song (*ma dolor descouvrir*) is mentioned in several compositions by Guillaume de Machaut. The intentionality of the citation is demonstrated by the fact that, as far as I am aware, the wording *ma dolor descouvrir* is not attested elsewhere, neither in the old French lyric repertoire nor in the works of poets of Machaut's time and beyond. The closest correspondence in Machaut's works is to be found in his first ballade notée *S'Amours ne fait* (vv. 8-9).³⁹ The hemistich reappears in two ballades and one chanson royal in *La louange des dames* (Lo 3, 65, 117).⁴⁰

S'Amours ne fait par sa grace adoucir, vv. 8-9

Car s'a vous puis **ma douleur descouvrir**,
 Espoir qu'en vous pour moy sera pités;

36. Luca Barbieri, "Note sul 'Liederbuch' di Thibaud de Champagne", *Medioevo romanzo* 23 (1999): 388-416.

37. Paolo Squillacioti, ed., *Le poesie di Folchetto di Marsiglia* (Pisa: Pacini, 1999), 353.

38. Annalisa Comes, ed., "Rinaldo d'Aquino", in *I poeti della Scuola siciliana. II: Poeti della corte di Federico II*, ed. Costanzo Di Girolamo (Milan: Mondadori, 2008), 137-232, at 163-71.

39. Guillaume de Machaut, *Poésies lyriques*, Vol. 2, 537-8.

40. Ibid, Vol. 1, 19-20, 78-9 and 116-7.

Seur tous amans me doy pleindre et loer (Lo 3), vv. 10-14

Car, quant je voy son dous viaire cler
 Et je li vueil **descouvrir ma dolour**,
 Honte m'assaut, paour me fait trambler,
 Amour m'esprent, biauté et grant douçour
 Me font perdre sens, manière et vigour.

Douce dame, vo manière jolie (Lo 65), vv. 17-18

Quérir ne l'os, pour ce qu'à m'anémie
 Mie ne doy **ma dolour descouvrir**.

Se loyautés a vertus ne puissance (Lo 117), vv. 46-48 (*envoi*)

Dame, en qui j'ai mis toute ma fiance,
 A vous complein mes dous maus en chantant,
 Car je ne puis mon mal ne ma pesence
 Ne **ma dolour descouvrir** autrement.

The image of the fountain, central to *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*, is a typical component of the *locus amoenus*. As argued by Anne Stone, it is possible to link the ballade to the *Livre de la fontaine amoureuse*, written by Machaut for Jean de Berry and inspired by the *Roman de la Rose*.⁴¹ Nevertheless, while the *fontaine amoureuse*'s waters are sweet, clear and pure (as is always the case in the *locus amoenus*) and available for everyone, in *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* the fountain's water is so troubled that the narrator cannot even taste a single draught.

According to Yolanda Plumley, in polyphonic songs ascribable to the French royal court the image of the fountain is used as an allusion to the House of Valois and/or to the French Crown.⁴² In the case of *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* such an interpretation is supported by the connections with Thibaut de Champagne's chanson analysed above. In fact, in a famous historiographical work that constitutes a form of royal propaganda, *Les grandes chroniques de France* (1375-1380), Thibaut is the protagonist of a story of unattainable love with Louis IX's mother, Blanche of Castille, which can be interpreted as a metaphor for the difficult relationship between the nobility and the Crown.⁴³

41. Anne Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain: Homage and Irony in Ciconia's 'Sus une fontayne'", *Music and Letters* 82 (2001), 361-90, at 376.

42. Plumley, "Citation and Allusion", 340-1.

43. Wallensköld, *Les chansons*, XVI-XVII.

But the fountain is also a synonym of wisdom and a Christological symbol, for example in Machaut's Marian *Lai de la fontainne* where it represents the Son of the Holy Trinity.

Lai de la fonteinne, vv. 119-136

De la duis le Pere nomme,
De la fonteinne le Fil
 Qui vient dou Pere et fu homme,
 Dou ruissel cler et gentil
 Saint Esperit; c'est la somme.
 Dou Pere et dou Fil vien il.
 Ces vj. sont iij., qui bien somme
 A entendement soutil.⁴⁴

The biblical source is a passage from the Gospel of John (7.37-38), in which Christ describes himself as a spring from which streams flow to satisfy the thirst of Christians:

In novissimo autem die magno festivitatis stabat Jesus, et clamabat dicens: Si quis sitit, veniat ad me et bibat. Qui credit in me, sicut dicit Scriptura, flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquae vivae.

This additional interpretive value suggests that the fountain in *En attendant* may also refer to the vicar of Christ, i.e., the (Avignonese) pope, head of the (Avignonese) Church, represented and endorsed by the king of France.

Yolanda Plumley has proposed a well-founded political interpretation of the ballade that explains the simultaneous presence of Bernabò Visconti's and the Valois' mottos in the text. According to Plumley, the piece could have been written for the occasion of Louis d'Anjou's campaign of 1382 that had the double purpose of conquering the Kingdom of Naples and enthroning the Avignonese Pope Clement VII. To achieve this goal, Louis made an alliance with Bernabò, who was expected to declare war on Charles of Durazzo.⁴⁵

After the 1382 campaign, other political circumstances in the years of the Western Schism may explain the coexistence of Valois and Visconti mottos in Filippotto's ballade. Assuming that Bernabò's motto continued to represent the dynasty after his death – as is the case in Paolo's ballata – the historical frame of reference can be extended to Gian Galeazzo Visconti's reign (1378-1402). Gian Galeazzo, who had so far adopted an ambiguous political posi-

44. Guillaume de Machaut, *Poésies lyriques*, Vol. 2, 410.

45. Plumley, "Citation and Allusion", 353-4.

tion, openly aligned himself with Clement VII and Charles VI after the Roman election of Pope Boniface IX in 1389.

There was a moment of hesitation in the relations between the Visconti family and the French Crown that could further explain the overall meaning of the ballade; specifically, the fact that the lover, who cannot reach the fountain, leans towards his beloved (or lies in wait for her). I refer to the prolonged negotiation conducted by Niccolò Spinelli on behalf of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in order to obtain the endorsement of Charles VI and Clement VII for an ambitious political project. This project, doomed to failure, included the plan to introduce a strong French military contingent to Italy with the final goal of propelling Clement VII to the Roman papal throne and granting vast territories to Louis d'Orleans, which would have created a new Kingdom of Adria. In exchange, France would have conceded to Gian Galeazzo in the Veneto region and would have endorsed his plan to conquer Bologna. Negotiations began in 1392, during the two-year war that Gian Galeazzo maintained with Florence and its allies (Bologna, Pisa, Lucca and Perugia). However, political and financial difficulties, the death of Clement VII on September 16, 1394 and the Visconti's ambitions for Genoa (conquered by Louis d'Orleans in February of 1395) urged France to reject Gian Galeazzo's requests and to sign a pact with Florence; an agreement that, in my opinion, may be alluded to in the text of Paolo's ballata *Sofrir m'estuet*, where it is represented, in symbolic terms, as an unhealthy but already concluded relationship, originally determined by an uncontrollable and therefore regrettable passionate love or *force d'amour*.

In conclusion, *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* may contain references to Gian Galeazzo Visconti's fruitless request for military support from the French Crown, the guarantor and protector of the (Avignonese) Church, and his wait in vain for that assistance which never transpired, whereas *Sofrir m'estuet* may contain allusions to Florence's change of allegiance to the Roman Church after an alliance with France had failed. It is possible, then, that the author of *Sofrir m'estuet*'s poetic text, maybe Paolo da Firenze himself, knew Filippotto's ballade. The presence of Filippotto's ballade *Par le grant senz d'Adriane la sage* in the early fifteenth-century manuscript Pit, which contains a significant number of French pieces, is proof that his works were known in Florence. Furthermore, Filippotto's *Par le grant* and Paolo's ballata were copied by the same hand.⁴⁶

46. John Nádas, "The Songs of Don Paolo Tenorista: The Manuscript Tradition", in *In cantu et in sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, ed. Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Olschki - University of Western Australia Press, 1989), 41-64, at 57-8. Nádas proposes dating *Sofrir m'estuet* around the years 1397-1402. For further discussion about the circulation of French compositions in Florence cf. also Plumley and Stone, *Codex Chantilly*, 181.

3. «SUS LA FONTAINE»

The virelai *Sus la fontayne en remirant* set to music by Johannes Ciconia is preserved in ModA, ff. 26v-27r and partially (vv. 1-6) in the Paduan fragment Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. patr. lat. 229 (Ox299), f. 38v. The text opens with an image of the fountain, the central element in the above discussed ballade *En attendant, sofrir m'estuet*. Below I propose a new critical edition and a translation.

Sus [la] fontayne en remirant, oï chanter si douchement que mon cuer, corps et pensement remanent pris, en attendant	4
d'avoir merchi de ma dolour, qui me trepo[i]nt au cuer forment, seul de veoir [la] noble flour, qui tant cantoit suavement, que [rien] ne say, en recivant pavour, tremour, angos[e]ment, que fere doy certainement, de ly veoir [en] desirant.	8 12
Sus [la] fontayne [en remirant, oï chanter si douchement que mon cuer, corps et pensement remanent pris, en attendant].	16

1 la] un ModA, unne Ox229 2 oï] ouy Ox299, duochement Ox299 3 mon] moun Ox299
4 remanent] remarent ModA 5 dolour] duolnor Ox229 6 trepoint] trepount ModA, trespuont
Ox229; forment] fourment Ox299 7 la] ce ModA 9 rien] choise nulle ModA 10 angosement]
et angosment ModA 11 fere doy] fer duis ModA 12 de ly] tant sus de ly ModA, en desirant]
desirant ModA 13 *shortened refrain* Sus un fontayne ModA

As I was in contemplation leaning over the fountain, I heard the song of a so sweet voice that my heart, my body and my mind remained captive, waiting to obtain mercy for the sorrow that sharply pierces my heart, (waiting) only to see the noble flower whose song was so gentle that I do not know what to do anymore, because, in my desire to see it, I feel fear, tremors and distress.

ModA's version of the text, whose first eight verses mainly coincide with those in Ox229, contains multiple errors. At v. 1 the indeterminate article *un* (*une* in Ox229) probably replaced the determinative *la*, as is the case with the masculine *ce* at v. 7, which can be regarded as an Italianism (*flour* is feminine in French but *fiore* is masculine in Italian); at v. 9 the nexus *choise nulle* is prob-

ably adopted in place of *rien* (as intensifier of the negative particle *ne*); at v. 12 the reading *tant sus* was probably added in order to compensate for the dropping of *en* in the exemplar; hypometry is present in v. 11, generated by the form *fer* for the infinitive *fere*.

The erroneous incipit proves the existence of an antigraph common to both manuscript witnesses, confirmed by ModA's reading of *trepoint* (v. 6) that probably substituted the word *trepoint*, transcribed as *trespuont* in Ox229. The inverted vowel order *ou* > *uo* should be compared with a similar, anticipated inversion in *duolnor* for *dolour* (Ox229, v. 5).

The incipit of the virelai recalls the verse "Sus la fontaine toz adenz" from the *Roman de la rose* (a poem also evoked through the adoption of the *octosyllable*), which supports the substitution of *la* for *une* in my edition. The verse is located in a key passage during which the protagonist is exploring the garden, just before falling in love with the *rose*, and he reaches the fountain where Narcissus died and tells Narcissus' story using the *mise en abyme* technique: having arrived at a fountain at the foot of a pine, Narcissus leans over the fountain (*sus la fontaine*) to drink and, fascinated by his image reflected in the water, falls deeply in love with it. As an extension of the *mise en abyme*, *Sus la fontaine*'s lover also leans over the fountain (*sus la foyntaine*) while contemplating (*en remirant*) the image of the *noble flour*, equivalent to the *rose* of the *Roman de la rose*, which enchants him with its song.

Roman de la rose, vv. 1476-1480

Et quant il vint a la fontaine
que li pins de ses rains covroit,
ilec pensa que il bevroit.
Sus la fontaine toz adenz
se mist lors por boivre dedenz...⁴⁷

It is well known that *Sus la fontaine* borrows the musical and poetic incipits of three ballades by Filippotto de Caserta: *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*; *En remirant vo douce pourtraiture*; and *De ma dolour ne puis trouver confort*, the latter copied in ModA next to *Sus la fontayne*.⁴⁸ *En remirant vo douce pourtraiture*, which is similar to the incipit of Machaut's ballade *En remirant vo gracios viaire* (Lo 110), is

47. Felix Lecoy, ed., *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1962; repr., 1969), 32.

48. Intertextuality between the three ballades and Ciconia's virelai is discussed in Anne Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain" and Yolanda Plumley, "Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* and the Legacy of Philippus de Caserta", in *Johannes Ciconia, musicien de la transition*, ed. Philippe Vendrix (Tournhout: Brepols, 2003), 131-68, where the virelai is interpreted as an "homage to Philipoctus not just as a talented composer, but as a master of citation" (133).

also the first verse of an anonymous ballade contained in the Cambrai fragments (Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, B 1328 [Ca1328]), f. 15r-v.⁴⁹

I offer a new textual edition with a translation of Filippotto's *En remirant* and *De ma dolour*. *En remirant* and *De ma dolour* are only complete in Ch (ff. 39r and 32r), while ModA (f. 35r) preserves the first strophe of both compositions and R (f. 80v) only the first stanza of *En remirant*. My edition of these two ballades follows the text of Ch, which I have corrected from obvious errors, but at vv. 3 and 5 of *En remirant* I favour the following readings: *Amours* from ModA instead of *au cuer* (Ch R), which anticipates *mon cuer* at v. 4; *tres fort* instead of *cele* (Ch), which makes no sense; and *il* instead of *si*, which repeats *si* at v. 4. The lessons *au cuer* and *si* indicate a relationship between Ch and R.

Filippotto de Caserta, *En remirant vo douce pourtraiture*

En remirant vo douce pourtraiture,
 en laquele est tout doulz ymaginer,
 m'a point [Amours] d'une [tres fort] pointure
 d'ardant desir, si que mon cuer durer, 4
 las, [il] ne puet, doulce dame sans per,
 se vo doulçour ne me va secourrant:
pour vostre amor, dame, vois languissant.

1 douce] douche ModA; en laquelle R 2 ymaginier ModA 3 Amours] au cuer Ch R; tres fort] cele Ch, *om.* R 4 mon] mo ModA 5 las il] las si Ch R; puet] puez R; doulce] douche ModA; douce R 6 doulçour] douchour ModA, ducour R; ne me] mene R; secourrant] secourant ModA, secouait R 7 *om.* vois languissant R

As I was contemplating your sweet image, in which every sweet imagination dwells, Love pierced me with a strong wound of ardent desire, so much so that my heart, alas, cannot bear it, sweet unexcelled lady, unless your sweetness does give me relief: for your love, o lady, I languish.

Hé, Bel Acueil, ou je prens noureture, 8
 vo cuer vueilliez de m'amor alumer!
 Car se mon cuer devoit [en] grant ardure
 ardre, brüir a touz jorns sans finer,
 si ne lairay que ne vous doie amer; 12
 mes vo [cuer] mey[me] me va trop detriant:
pour vostre amour, dame vois languissant.

8 acueil] acueillir Ch 10 en] er Ch 13 *om.* cuer Ch; meyme] mey Ch 14 *shortened refrain*
 pour vostre amour etc Ch

49. I am grateful to Andrés Locatelli who pointed out the ballade to me.

Ah, Fair Welcome, where I take nourishment, please illuminate your heart with my love! Even if my heart glowed in ardent flames, burning endlessly, I would not restrain myself from loving you; but your heart keeps me in wait too long: for the love I have for you, lady, I languish.

A vous me plains, car sui en aventure
de toust mourir pour loyalment amer, 16
se Dieus e vous ne me prenez en cure.
En face Amour le dur en doulz müer!
Telz mauls ne puis longuement endurer!
De triste cuer dire puis en plourant: 20
pour vostre amour, dame vois languissant.

I express to you my grief because I risk death for my loyal love, unless God and you take me in care. Let Love transform harshness into sweetness! Such pains I cannot long endure! I am right to say with sorrow in my heart: for the love I have for you, lady, I languish.

Filippotto de Caserta, *De ma dolour ne puis trouver confort*

[D]e ma dolour ne puis trouver confort,
car en tous cas m'est fortune contrayre.
Languir m'estuet, car mis sui a tel port
qu'a mon vouloir ne m'en puis pas retrayre. 4
Mar vi le jor que vi le doulz viaire!
Dont perdu ay la joieuse pasture,
quant ne la voy, la parfaite figure.

1 De] e Ch 3 mis sui a tel] me sui a cel ModA 4 om. pas ModA 7 quant] quant quant ModA

I cannot find comfort for my grief because Fortune is in all ways against me. I must languish, since I am in such a state that I am not free to retire. For my disgrace, I met the day when I saw your sweet face! Since then, I lost my joyful nourishment because I do not see your perfect figure.

Hé, dous reguart, tu m'as mis a la mort, 8
car contre moy sont tuit, mi adversaire,
Dedit, Soulas, Playsance et Deport.
Helas, ne sçay certes que doye fayre!
Il m'est avis que me doye detrayre, 12
car perdu ay ma douce nourreture,
quant ne la voy, la parfaite figure.

8 m'as] ma Ch 9 contre] contrir Ch 12 que me] come Ch 14 *shortened refrain* quant ne la voy etc Ch

Ah, Sweet Looks, you have condemned me to death because enjoyment, pleasure and amusement are all against me, like enemies. Alas! I do not know what to do! I believe that I should retire, since I have lost my joyful nourishment, because I do not see your perfect figure.

Or n'est il nulz, [he]las, qui me confort
 ne puist aussy, fors le douls exemplaire 16
 de celle en qui so[n]t trestuit mi deport,
 car il n'est riens, certes, qui me puist plaire.
 Or me convient tous jours crier et brayre,
 dout que pres suy mis a desconf[it]ure, 20
quant ne la voy, la parfayte figure.

15 *he las*] *las Ch* 17 *sont*] *sout Ch* 20 *desconfiture*] *desconfaure Ch*

There is no one, alas, to comfort me, and no one will, except for the sweet portrait of her in which all my pleasure lies, since nothing else can please me. I must cry and scream all the time, I fear that I am close to my defeat, since I do not see your perfect figure.

Below is the poetic text of the anonymous ballade according to the edition in PMFC,⁵⁰ except for vv. 12 (*ame* instead of *amasse*), 15 (*m'ais* instead of *mais*) and 16 (*tien* instead of *sien*), where I follow Rosenberg's edition.⁵¹ I have included a translation.

Anonymous, *En remirant vo douce pourtraiture*

En remirant vo douce pourtraiture,
 Amours m'a fait si grant joie venir
 que je sçay bien que humaine creature
 n'en porroit plus avoir ne plus sentir 4
 que mes cuers sent: car vo biauté fenir
 fera les mauls, qui m'ont esté contraire,
merchi avoir de vous, cuer debonnaire.

As I was contemplating your sweet image, Love brought me such joy that I know very well that no human creature could have or feel more joy than my heart, since your beauty will put an end to the pain which has made me suffer, will lead you to have mercy, noble heart.

50. Gordon Greene, ed., *French Secular Music. Ballades and Canons*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 20 (Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1982), 123-6.

51. In Willi Apel and Samuel Rosenberg, eds., *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century II. Anonymous Ballades* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1971), xxv-xxvi.

Ch'est Faus Dangiers qui mainte grief pointure 8
 m'a fait sentir au cuer, sans repentir,
 et Cruauté, qui me firent parture
 de vivre en grief dolour ou de morir,
 mais j'ame miex a vo voleir languir, 12
 car j'espoir que Pités me fera faire⁵²
merchi avoir de vous, cuer debonnaire

It was Faus Dangier who made me feel many piercings in my heart, without hesitation, and also Cruaté, who gave me the destiny to live in deep pain or to die, but I prefer to languish according to your will, because I hope that Pités will ensure that I am rewarded by you, noble heart.

(Pour) chou qu'a mon pooir sans mespresure,
 vous ai servi en espoir de joir,
 m'ais vo tres douls regards outre mesure
 guerredonne, dont tien suy sans partir, 16
 et Espoirs dist que je puis par cremir,
 par bien celer et servir sans retraire,
merchi avoir de vous, cuer debonnaire.

By the virtue that, as far as I could, I have served you loyally in the hope of happiness, you have granted me your sweet looks beyond expectation, so that I am yours forever, and moreover Hope has assured me that through service based on fear, discretion, and loyalty I can have from you the reward, noble heart.

We can consider the text of the anonymous ballade as a variation of the content and lexical choices of Filippotto's *En remirant*, even if it is hard to establish which of the two ballades imitates the other. The opposition between *Bel Accueil*, which opens the second stanza in Filippotto's ballade, and *Faus Dangier*, in the same position in the anonymous ballade, alludes to the *Roman de la Rose* (*Faus Dangier* is also at v. 3 of the rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'enbat*). Instead, the opening of Filippotto's ballade ("vo douce pourtraiture ... m'a point au cuer d'une tres fort pointure") is similar to the opening of the anonymous ballade's second strophe ("C'est Faus Dangiers qui mainte griés pointure / m'a fait sentir au cuer").

Returning to Ciconia's virelai and its relationships with Filippotto's three ballades, we can note that the two prepositional gerunds *en remirant* and *en attendant* close the first and the last verse of the *refrain*, whereas the incipit *de*

52. *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (<http://www.atilf.fr/dmf>, last accessed February 22, 2021), s.v. *faire*, IV A. 2. a): "Avec redoublement de faire".

ma douleur is placed at the end of the opening verse of the strophe. The first verse of the ballade *De ma douleur ne puis trouver confort* corresponds in turn almost exactly to Machaut's ballade *De ma douleur ne puis avoir confort* (Lo 210).⁵³ Verse 17 of *En remirant* "se Dieus e vous ne me prenez en cure" is identical to the refrain of another of Machaut's ballades, *Plourez, dames, plourez vostre servant* (Lo 229, with music).⁵⁴ Moreover, *En remirant* and *De ma douleur* have at least three elements in common: the central image of absent love («En remirant vo douce portraiture»; *De ma douleur*, v. 16 «ne puist aussy, fors le douls exemplaire»); the rhyme -URE (also in the anonymous ballade); and the word *nourreture* (*En remirant*, v. 4 "Hé, Bel Accueil, ou je prens *nourreture*"; *De ma douleur*, v. 13 "car perdu ay ma douce *nourreture*"). Finally, v. 3 of *De ma douleur* "*Languir m'estuet, car mis sui a tel port*" resembles both the incipit of *En attendant* "*souffrir m'estuet*" and v. 5 of Thibaut de Champagne's *En chantant vueil ma dolor descoverir* ("*Si m'estouvra a tel dolor languir*").

References to Filippotto's three ballade texts in *Sus la fontayne* can be found beyond the incipit, too. Firstly, the virelai makes use of *enjambement*, a feature that is employed frequently in *En remirant* (vv. 4-5, 5-6, 10-11, 13-14, 15-16):

Filippotto de Caserta, *En remirant*
 vv. 3-4 *pointure* / *d'ardant desir*;
 vv. 10-11 *mon cuer devoit en grant ardire* / *ardre*;
 vv. 15-16 *en aventure* / *de toust mourir*.

Johannes Ciconia, *Sus la fontayne*
 vv. 4-5 *en attendant* / *d'avoir merchi*;
 vv. 10-11 *en recivant* / *pavour, tremour, angusement*.

Sus la fontayne's v. 6 («qui me trepoint au cuer forment») reinterprets v. 3 of Filippotto's *En remirant* («m'a point au cuer d'une tres fort pointure»). Here, the adverb *forment* recalls ModA's reading *tres fort*. But the most important connection between these two verses is demonstrated on the one hand by the words *point-pointure* (*pointure* is also present in the anonymous ballade, v. 8), and on the other hand by the word *trepoint*. *Trepoint* is a hapax, transcribed erroneously in both manuscript witnesses (*trepount* ModA and *trespuont* Ox229, a mistake that may have been influenced by the Italian word *trapunto*), and it is the result of the combination of the adverb *tres* (intensive prefix) with the verb *point* (*tres-point*). It may have been created *ad hoc*, here, in order

53. Wilkins, "Some Notes", 82; Plumley, "The Marriage of Words and Music", 144-6.

54. Plumley, "The Marriage of Words and Music", 147.

to emphasise the motif of the pierced heart, on which the verse of *En remirant* insists (*point ... tres fort pointure*).

The principal connections between *En attendant* and *Sus la fontayne* are the use of the ballade's *la fontayne* in the virelai's incipit (*En attendant*, v. 3 "puisqu'avenir ne puis a *la fontayne*"), and the adjective *noble* which is related to the *flour* at v. 8 (*En attendant*, refrain: "par dignité et tres *noble* puissance"; v. 13: "si *Nobleté* n'a de moy remembrance"). We could therefore say that the theme of nobility is transferred from the *fountain* to the *flour*, from the first to a second different object of desire, which acts as a metaphor for the *rose*. Furthermore, vv. 9-11 of the virelai ("que rien *ne say*, en recivant / pavour, tremour, angosement, / *que fere doy certainement*") are related to vv. 9-11 of *De ma dolour* ("car contre moy sont tuit, mi adversaire, / deduit, soulas, playsance et deport. / Helas, *ne sçay certes que doye fayre!*"). Finally, *voy* in *De ma dolour*'s refrain ("quant ne la *voy*, la parfaite figure") is the source of the recurrent verb *veoir* at vv. 7 ("seul de *veoir* la noble flour") and 12 ("de ly *veoir* en desirant") of *Sus la fontayne*.

As illustrated above, the virelai is the result of a carefully prepared poetic (and musical) inlay. The material and stylistic features derived from Filippotto's ballades are inserted into a complex syntactic texture. A single principal clause (*oï chanter*) supports a long series of subordinate clauses. The two prepositional gerunds *en remirant* and *en attendant* and the two consecutive clauses introduced by *si douchement* (*que... remanent pris... que rien ne say*) depend directly on the principal clause. At the same time, *En attendant* governs the object clauses *d'avoir merci de ma dolour* and *seul de veoir la noble flour*, on which the relative clauses *qui me trepoint au cuer forment* e *qui tant cantoit suavement* depend. The second relative clause introduces the consecutive clause *tant ... suavement ... que rien ne say* that governs the object clause *que fere doy*, on which the two remaining gerunds depend (*en recivant* and *en desirant*). The syntax is consistent with the metrical structure: the four prepositional gerunds determine the refrain's boundaries and the second part of the strophe; refrain and strophe both contain consecutive clauses in the central verses (vv. 3-4 and 9-10), whereas the first part of the strophe is constituted by two clauses, one completive and one relative, which correspond to the two couples of verses set to the same music (text: ab ab; music: A A).

Sus la fontayne **en remirant**,
oï chanter **si douchement**
que mon cuer, corps et pensement
remanent pris, **en attendant**

d'avoir merchi de ma dolour,
 qui me trepoïnt au cuer forment,
 seul de veoir la noble flour, 8
 qui **tant** cantoit suavement,
que rien ne say, **en recivant**
 pavour, tremour, angosement,
 que fere doy certainnement,
 de ly veoir **en desirant**. 12

Sus la fontayne **en remirant**,
 oï chanter si douchement
 que mon cuer, corps et pensement
 remanent pris, **en attendant**. 16

The *Sus la fontaine*'s combined virtuosity greatly emphasises the language and the content of the texts alluded to (the three ballades), generating an effect of accumulation, which is mirrored by the syntactic accumulation. The lover is unable to drink from the fountain like *En attendant*'s lover, he feels frightened and lost like *De ma dolour*'s lover, and his heart is pierced like the heart of *En remirant*'s lover.

The musical opening shared by *En remirant* and *En attendant* is repeated at the beginning and the end of the second part of the strophe, as dictated by the virelai form, marking a link between the contemplation of the *noble flour* (*en remirant*) and the effects of its singing on the lover (*en recivant*), between expectation (*en attendant*) and desire (*en desirant*). The formal circularity of the strophic structure leads desire (*en desirant*) back to the starting point, i.e. to contemplation (*en remirant*), creating a situation without escape, i. e. the fruitless waiting on which the virelai ends (*en attendant*).

The sequence of quotations in *Sus la fontayne* (*En remirant*, *En attendant*, *De ma dolour*) is anything but coincidental. The three ballades narrate three moments of an ill-fated love story: falling in love through the contemplation of an image representing the object of desire (*En remirant vo douce pourtraiture*), the grief caused by the desire to meet the beloved again (*En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*), and the disconsolate pain caused by distance and lack of hope (*De ma dolour ne puis trouver confort*).

Turning from a literary meaning to a symbolic (political) one, *En remirant* and *De ma dolour* likely refer to the same historical frame in which I have placed *En attendant*. The two ballades could allude to Gian Galeazzo's requests for intervention from the king of France and his discouragement when those long-desired requests were not granted. If this interpretation is correct, then *Sus la fontayne* can be seen as a relentless description of the Visconti's political

failure. The complex structure of the virelai suggests a parody that subtly alludes to Gian Galeazzo Visconti's problematic situation. The lover (Gian Galeazzo Visconti) is longing to see the *noble flour* (the French Crown) and to drink from the *fontayne* (a Church reunited, at last). The chant of the *noble flour* could instead be representative of Filippotto's artistic skills, and he is therefore seen as a supporter of the Visconti's ruinous politics. The idea that *Sus la fontayne* is a parody would also explain why it is the only of Ciconia's works written in the *subtilior* style; a musical language that characterises Filippotto's works. Anne Stone's ironic reading of the virelai would thus be confirmed, albeit from a different point of view.⁵⁵

If *Sus la fontayne* was conceived as a parody of the three ballades supporting the Visconti politics of the 1390s, then it is plausible that it was composed during Ciconia's sojourn at the Roman papal court, attested to in a letter to Boniface IX dated 27 April 1391. Ciconia may have stayed in Rome – at least until his patron Philippe d'Alençon died in 1397 – while Gian Galeazzo Visconti attempted to realise his ambitious political project. This virelai could, in fact, be Ciconia's ironic partisan reply to Filippotto's three ballades.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This study outlines an intertextual dialogue that can be considered an integral part of the political propaganda in Italian territories during the years that followed Boniface IX's election (post 1389). During these years, the Visconti and Florence independently requested support from France: while the Viscontis attempted a strategy of expansion, Florence sought to strengthen its own defenses. The lyrics discussed in this essay exemplify a very complex and refined allusive art where the conventions of courtly love overlap with moral and political meanings. In Paolo's ballata, Italian-French bilingualism is used to depict the complex and unstable Italian historical frame during the continuous wars instigated by the Schism. It tells of a past concord with France and a future return to an alliance with the Roman pope. In *Sus la fontayne*, Ciconia's exceptional choice of French language and *subtilior* style is explainable in terms of parody and irony. The literary background – the poetry of the great French and Italian authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – is drawn into this intertextual game. Thibaut de Champagne, the *Roman de la rose* and Guillaume de Machaut are evoked in homage to the crown of France and the Avignonese papacy, while Dante Alighieri and Francesco Petrarca are

55. Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain".

recalled as the greatest exponents of the strand of Italian lyric poetry that sees *caritas* as the only true form of love, according to an ideology that is present in the widespread rondeau *Esperance qui en mon cuer s'enbat*. It should not be forgotten that the two Italian authors demonstrate in their works a position contrary to the Avignonese papacy and the conviction that the city of Rome is the only legitimate seat of the Vicar of Christ, and the Church, restored to its original values, the only true witness and depository of *caritas*.

I have proposed an interpretation and a later historical context for the ballade *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet* that invites us to re-examine the rest of the *En attendant* compositions (the ballade *En attendant d'avoir la douce vie* and the rondeau *En attendant, esperance conforte*) together with other texts containing the image of the fountain (the anonymous ballade *Comme le cerf la fontaine desire* and Galiot's *Le saut perilleux a l'aventure prins*). Moreover, the allusion to the French rondeau *Esperance* in the Italian ballata *Sofrir m'estuet* paves the way for future discoveries of similar relationships between other French and Italian *Ars Nova* and *Ars Subtilior* compositions.

The majority of manuscript witnesses to this tradition are anthologies copied in Italy, or, in any case, by Italian copyists, between the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, i. e. approximately between Boniface IX's election and Martin V's appointment in 1417, which brought the Schism to an end. Although several authoritative studies have been published on many of these manuscript witnesses, many questions remain unanswered, especially regarding the commission and function of single editorial projects. In particular, we lack a comprehensive study capable, as far as possible, of clarifying the relationships between witnesses and to reconstruct the formation and history of the *Ars Nova* manuscript tradition; a study which would allow for a better understanding of whether Italian anthologies containing sections devoted to French compositions – all of them except for the Squarcialupi codex (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med. Pal. 87 [Sq]) – aim to promote a united polyphonic repertoire as part of a strategy of cultural centralisation in the name of an undivided Roman Church.

ABSTRACT

The poetic texts of the Ars Nova repertoire are mainly transmitted in musical manuscripts, whose primary purpose is the preservation of music. For this reason, those texts are particularly subject to innovations and errors that compromise their metrical structure and linguistic and conceptual coherence, making it difficult in many cases to accurately and completely identify the quotations and allusions they contain and to formulate well-founded hypotheses on the motivations that led the authors to use them. At the same time, intertextual relations can make a decisive contribution both to philological work – in particular to the choice of variants and the correction of corrupt passages – and to the literal and symbolic interpretation of texts. This essay aims to highlight the importance of intertextuality in the fundamental interactions between philology and interpretation through three case studies: the ballata *Sofrir m'estuet et plus non puis durer* set to music by Paolo da Firenze; the ballade *En attendant, souffrir m'estuet*, set to music by Filippotto da Caserta; and the virelai *Sus la fontaine, en remirant*, set to music by Johannes Ciconia. The analysis also reveals that the three texts are examples of a very complex and refined allusive art that is functioned as political propaganda in Italian territories during the years that followed Boniface IX's election (1389).

Maria Sofia Lannutti
Università di Firenze
mariasofia.lannutti@unifi.it