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PRIZER, William Flaville, II, 1943-
MARCHETTO CARA AND THE NORTH ITALIAN FROTTOLA.
(VOLUMES I-II)

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,
Ph.D., 1974
Music

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MARCHETTO CARA AND THE
NORTH ITALIAN FROTTOLA

Volume I

by

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A Dissertation submitted to the faculty of
the University of North Carolina in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Department of Music.

Chapel Hill

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WILLIAM FLAVILLE PRIZER, II. Marchetto Cara and the North Italian Frottola (Under the direction of JAMES W. PRUETT.)

The period 1490-1530 saw the emergence of the frottola and the gradual displacement of this repertory by the newer madrigal in the last decade of the period. The frottola--the first significant body of Renaissance music composed by native Italians--was, in broadest outlines, a type of accompanied song based on Italian poetry in formes fixes. The center of the genre was Northern Italy, although its popularity spread to Florence and Rome in the South.

This study deals with the frottole of Marchetto Cara (ca. 1470-ca. 1525), one of the principal composers of the genre. Cara was maestro di cappella at the courts of Francesco and Federico Gonzaga in Mantua, a city that was the center of frottola composition, thanks largely to Cara and to Bartolomeo Tromboncino, Cara's colleague there. Both worked under the enlightened patronage of the Marchesa Isabella d'Este Gonzaga, who was responsible both for the extremely active musical life at Mantua and for the emphasis on native Italian composers at the court.

Volume I comprises the following: (1) a study of music in Mantua during Cara's residence there, with special attention to the role of Isabella d'Este; the founding of the court choir by Francesco; and the sacred and secular repertories current in the city; (2) a biography of Cara that reveals his importance in Mantuan musical life and

compares his role there with that of Tromboncino. (3) a study of the texts of the frottola, emphasizing their origin and Cara's selection of texts and poets, as well as chronological trends in the choice of text forms and the general content of the verse. (4) a study of Cara's settings with special attention to the musical structures created by Cara to mirror the poetic forms, and to his links with the early madrigal. (5) transcriptions of all documents concerning Cara that are in the Archivio di Stato in Mantua.

Volume II contains an annotated list of musical sources; a complete bibliography of Cara's works; transcriptions of all of his compositions that are not available in modern editions; and a supplement containing eight related pieces by Tromboncino (2), Rasmo, Sebastian Festa (2), Verdelot (2), and an anonymous work from Ms. Q 21 of the Museo Civico Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna.

Cara is revealed as clearly central to any consideration of the frottola. Assuring him a position of the first rank are his prominent position within the Mantuan musical establishment, his compositional productivity (125 Italian works making him second only to Tromboncino), the skillful musicianship shown in his subtle handling of musical structure, and the affinities of his later works to the early madrigal.

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PREFACE

Marchetto Cara (ca. 1470-ca. 1525) and his contributions to the frottola in Northern Italy provide the focal point for this dissertation, a study whose larger purpose is to further our understanding of Italian music during the decades on either side of the year 1500. Cara's significance for the repertory in general is treated, as is his importance in the musical life of Mantua. The study also includes a section on music in Mantua and sections on other frottolists, notably Bartolomeo Tromboncino, native of Verona and Cara's Mantuan colleague.

Through this approach, Cara emerges as one of the most important frottolists, particularly in the latter years of the genre, and as the most important musician in the Mantuan musical establishment, of which he served as maestro di cappella from at least 1513. Comparison of Cara's music and his choice of texts with those of his contemporaries indicates his particularly careful and masterly handling of the idiom on the one hand, and his similarities with the other frottolists on the other.

This study owes much to the efforts of previous scholars. Notable among these are the pioneering efforts of Rudolph Schwartz and Gaetano Cesari, the important contri-

butions of Claudio Gallico and the late Walter Rubsamen, and the researches on the early madrigal by Frank D'Accone, Colin Slim, and Don Harran. Alfred Einstein's encyclopedic contributions in The Italian Madrigal are also extremely important.

Particular debt is felt toward Knud Jeppesen, whose three-volume masterwork, La Frottola, has clarified the confusing tangle of primary sources. Jeppesen's work has been the bibliographic basis for the present study, and the reader is referred to it for all questions relating to concordances and to the ordering and provenance of sources.

In spite of these contributions, the present work does offer new materials. It is the first work, other than an encyclopedia article, to examine the frottola through the works of one composer. Other than Rubsamen's Literary Sources of Italian Secular Music (ca. 1500), it is also the first book-length study of the style of the frottola in general, and it is the first study to take into account the recent researches that have clarified the origins and nature of the early madrigal.

I should like to express my thanks to the members of my committee; Professors Howard Smither, who served as advisor until 1972 when he departed for a year in Italy; James Pruett, who served as advisor in the latter stages of the work and gave freely of his valuable time; and Thomas Warburton, whose interest and musical insights were immensely helpful.

I should also like to thank Professor Leeman Perkins, who first aroused my interest in the topic in a course in Renaissance music at Yale University and who continued to give intermittent advice; Professor Frank D'Accone, who suggested this particular topic and has given much encouragement in the course of writing; Professor Joshua Rifkin, who kindly furnished me with a copy of his paper on Ms. Egerton 3051 read at the meeting of the American Musicological Society in 1971 and lent his expertise in the handling of manuscripts; and Professor David Crawford, who shared his knowledge of the Archivio di Stato in Mantua.

I should also like to express my appreciation to the University of North Carolina for a travel grant that allowed me to work in Italy in the spring and summer of 1972, and to the Italian librarians who were of such great aid, particularly Dottore Sergio Paganelli, who allowed me to work in a library closed for restorations and shared his discoveries concerning Ms. Q 18 of the Civico Museo at Bologna.

Finally, I should like to thank my wife, who has been a full partner in the preparation of this dissertation. She has served as music copyist, typist, and proof-reader in addition to providing insights into the music itself.

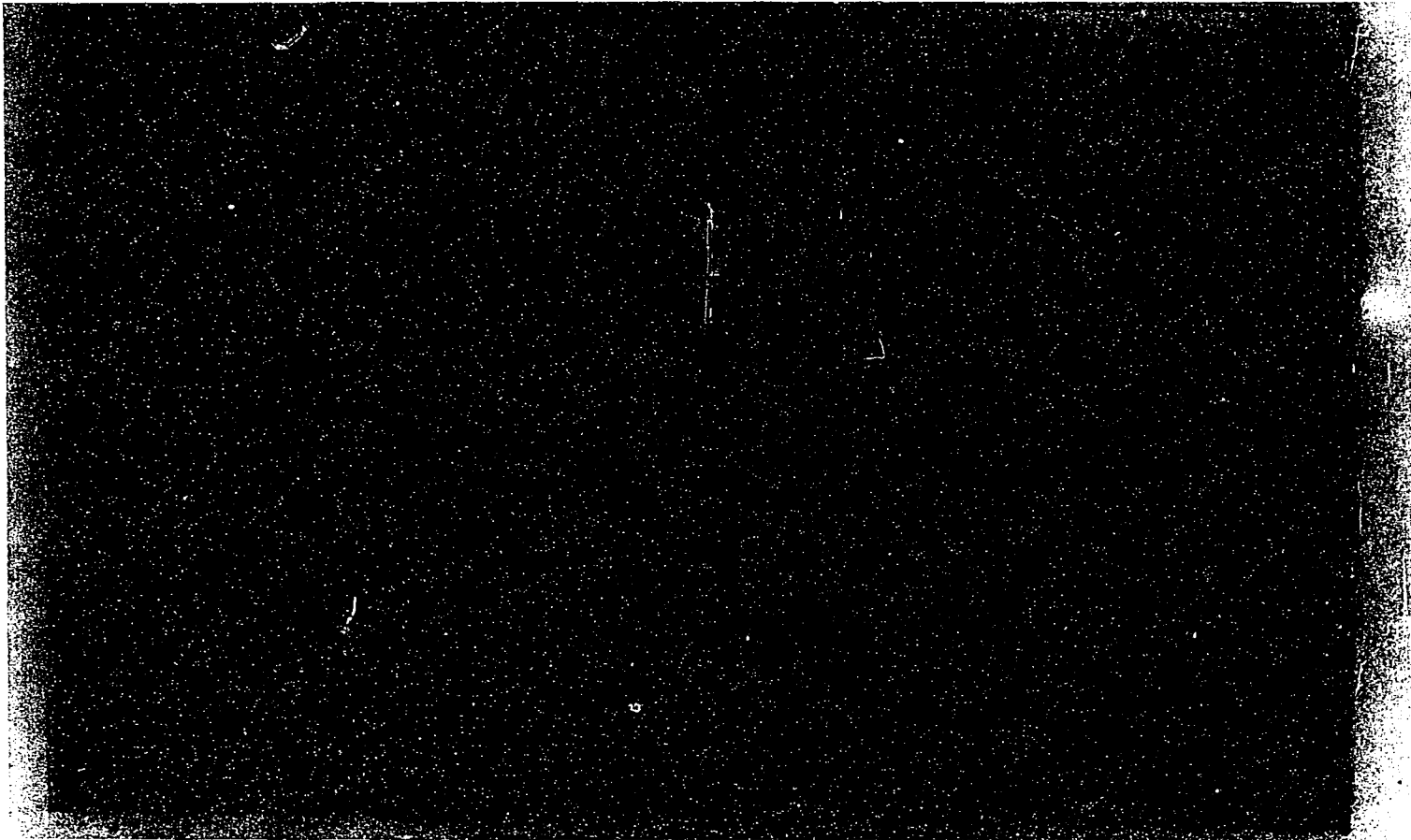


Plate I. Mantua in the Sixteenth Century
(after Bertelli-Theatrum, f. 30v)

CHAPTER I

MUSIC IN MANTUA 1490-1530

Mantua lies in southern Lombardy approximately twenty-five miles south of Verona, sixty miles west of Padua, and ten miles north of the Po River. Today Mantua is surrounded on the west, north, and east by lakes formed by the Mincio River which runs from the Lago di Garda, approximately forty miles north, into the Po. Until the eighteenth century, Mantua was bounded on all sides by water, as a branch of the Mincio also surrounded the southern edge of the city.

...The Mincio [flows]
Down to Governo, where it falls into the Po.
Before it has run far, it finds a plain
In which it widens and creates a swamp
That is sometimes injurious in summer.
.....
Men who lived scattered there about began
To congregate in that place, which was strong
Because of the Marsh that surrounded it
.....
And for her [Manto] who first chose the place,
they called it
Without further auguries, Mantua.
Dante; Inferno, Canto xx.¹

The founding of Mantua, like so many cities of Italy, is lost in antiquity.² It was certainly in existence in the

¹Dante-Commedia, vol. I, p. 81.

²For the origins of Mantua, see Mantova-Storia, vol. I, pp. 3-40. This work has been the principal source for the discussion of the history of Mantua included here.

third century B.C. when the Romans extended their interests to include this part of Italy, and it was in Mantuan territory that Vergil was born in 70 B.C.

Throughout the early Middle Ages Mantua was dominated by a series of invaders from the North, but in 1115 declared itself a free city. In 1272 Pinamonte Bonacolsi assumed leadership of the government of the city as its first captain. The Bonacolsi were overthrown in turn in 1328 by the Gonzaga family who ruled Mantua, first as captains, then (from 1433) as marchesi, and finally (from 1530) as Dukes. The Marchesi of Cara's time in Mantua (ca. 1494-1525) were Francesco II (1466-1519), the fourth marchese,³ and his son Federico (1500-1540), the fifth marchese, and, after 1530, the first Duke.

Einstein's characterization of Mantua as a small city set outside the main-current of political events in Italy while not without some validity, is overstated.⁴ Mantua, through Francesco Gonzaga, stood at the center of the turbulent political events which marked the early sixteenth century.

On 6 June 1495 Francesco was elected Governor-General of the Italian armies and, exactly one month later, he led his forces against the French invader Charles VIII at

³ Francesco is also known by his full name, Gian Francesco.

⁴ Einstein-Madrigan, vol. I, p. 34. Mantua at this time had a population of approximately 27,000. Mantova-Storia, vol. I, pp. 66 and 495.

Fornovo.⁵ In 1498 he was made Captain of the Imperial armies in Italy, and in 1503 he led the French forces against Gonsalvo and his Spanish troops in the South. Later he was named Gonfaloniere (standard-bearer) of the armies of the Papacy. This is an impressive record both with regard to military prowess and to rapidly shifting alliances, the latter typical of the period as a whole. Such changes by Francesco kept Mantua at the center of Italian politics.

During the period in which Cara lived and wrote in Mantua, the city saw perhaps its greatest age. As a center for the arts it rivalled, on a somewhat smaller scale, the Florence of Lorenzo il Magnifico. A basic difference between the two cities is that while Florence served as a center for humanistic studies in Latin and Greek, Mantua, by the time of Cara, was more exclusively a center for literature in the vulgar tongue.

This contrast is perhaps symptomatic of a general change in Italian culture, for the later period becomes increasingly more concerned with literature in the Italian language.⁶ Thus, for example, Pietro Bembo, intimately connected with Mantua,⁷ published in 1525 his Prose della

⁵Equicola-Mantova, pp. 217ff. Mario Equicola was secretary to the Gonzaga during the life of Francesco.

⁶For a discussion of this subject, see Kristeller-Thought, pp. 119-141.

⁷For Bembo's relations with Mantua, see Cian-Bembo.

volgar lingua⁸ and Castiglione, a native Mantuan, could use the last book of his Cortegiano as an explication of Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy, a field in which Latin had previously been the accepted tongue.⁹

Isabella d'Este

The intellectual climate at Mantua during this time was principally a reflection of the interests of one person-- Isabella d'Este (1474-1539). Isabella, the oldest child of Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, was married to the Marchese Francesco Gonzaga on 12 February 1490.

Much has been written on Isabella who must be numbered, by all accounts, as one of the greatest women of her age. She corresponded with virtually every important figure in the arts, and under her guidance Mantuan art flourished. In the visual arts Isabella had in her service for long periods Andrea Mantegna, Lorenzo Costa, Giulio Romano, and the sculptor Gian Cristoforo Romano, while for shorter periods she had at Mantua da Vinci and Raphael.¹⁰

Isabella's interests extended quite naturally to poetry as well. Poets with whom she corresponded include Serafino

⁸Although not published until 1525, Bembo's work was completed shortly after 1500. Kristeller-Thought, p. 136.

⁹Ryan-Courtier, pp. 158ff.

¹⁰Isabella's interest in art has been the subject of many studies; see Chambers-Patrons and Verheyen-Studiolo in addition to Mantova-Arti, vol. II, pp. 537-63 and the bibliography cited there.

dall'Aquila, Vincenzo Calmeta, Galeotto del Carretto, Pietro Bembo, Castiglione, and Ariosto, to mention only the better-known figures of the time. All of these poets also lived periodically at the court in Mantua.¹¹

The Marchesa's great love, however, was music, no doubt partly instilled by Johannes Martini, her teacher in Ferrara. Her taste in music seems to have been well developed, and, according to contemporary accounts, she possessed a fine voice. In a letter to her of 1505, Pietro Bembo writes, "I...wish that some of my verses could be recited and sung by your excellency, remembering with what sweetness and suavity your excellency sang."¹² Three years earlier, in 1502, Isabella had sung in Ferrara during the festivities accompanying the wedding of her brother Alfonso to Lucrezia Borgia. Isabella writes, "after dinner we performed the hat dance. When this was completed, it was necessary for me to make my appearance in singing with the lute because so many requests were made to me."¹³

¹¹The most complete study of Isabella's relations with poets is Luzio-Coltura. Most of the materials relating to music are also in Rubsamen-Sources.

¹²"Io pure desidero che alcun mio verso sii recitato et cantato da V.S.; ricordandomi con quanta dolcezza et suavità V.S. cantò." Quoted from Cian-Bembo, p. 102.

¹³"Dopo cena facessimo il ballo del cappello. Finito che fu, per tante preghiere e voci mi furono facte, fui necessitata fare li miei atti nel cantare cum il liuto." Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Busta 2993, Book 13, f. 40v. All documents, unless noted, are taken from the above Archivio.

Isabella and Music at Mantua

Isabella served as both a prime mover and a catalyst of music at Mantua, increasing the size of the musical establishment there and changing its nature. Mantua had had a group of musicians attached to the court of the Gonzaga before 1490, but it seems to have been primarily instrumental music in the hands of foreign musicians which was given the greatest attention. Thus, in 1434 and in 1446 Mantuan records note a "Maestro Simone del defunto Enrico de Alemania piffero," in 1435 a "Rodolfo de Alemania" as organist, and in 1458 the pifferi "Marco e Giovanni Pecenni, tedeschi" as being members of the Mantuan musical establishment. Also included in documents are a certain "Zannino dall'arpa" in 1461 and a "Cieco tedesco" who caused everyone to marvel at his ability to play any sort of instrument.¹⁴ Mantua had, moreover, a company of pifferi and trumpeters which were famed throughout the peninsula; in 1470 they travelled to Naples where they were acclaimed a "cosa nuova," and in 1471 they journeyed to Milan.¹⁵

The thrust of these names and activities is clear: Mantua under Ludovico II (r. 1444-1478) and Federico I (r. 1478-1484) emphasized music for courtly pageantry that was primarily instrumental in nature.

¹⁴Notices taken from Canal-Mantova, p. 661, and Bertolotti-Musici, pp. 7-8.

¹⁵Canal-Mantova, p. 659.

Vocal music was, however, represented. In 1460, Ludovico Gonzaga wrote to a "Niccolò tedesco" in Ferrara asking him to recommend a teacher of singing for Mantua; in response, Niccolò proposed a certain Giovanni Brith.¹⁶ Moreover, Poliziano's Orfeo received its first performance in Mantua approximately twenty years later.¹⁷

With the ascension of Francesco Gonzaga as Marchese in 1484 and, more particularly, with the arrival of Isabella in Mantua in 1490, the size of the musical establishment was increased and a greater emphasis was put upon vocalists and native Italian musicians. Table 1 has been drawn to show graphically this dramatic growth in the number of musicians in Mantua from 1489 until 1500, the period of slightly more than a decade in which Isabella's influence was so pervasive and dominant. Included are the source of the reference, i.e., the Busta number at the Archivio di Stato in Mantua; the date of the document; the name of the musician, if known; and the context in which his name appears. Documents which are included in the Appendix, i.e., documents that relate to Cara, are given a document number.¹⁸

¹⁶Canal-Mantova, p. 661.

¹⁷The date of the first performance of Orfeo has been the cause of a great deal of disagreement among scholars. The most recent and enlightening discussion of the subject is Pirrotta-Orfei in which the year 1480 is suggested (pp. 13-21).

¹⁸Not all documents relating to a given musician are included; rather, his first appearance in the archives is

TABLE 1
MUSICIANS AT MANTUA 1489-1500

Source	Date	Musician	Context
1. B. 1629	30-i-89	(Gian Pietro Florentino) ^a	recited verses in Mantua at the festival of the laurels.
2. B. 1066	2-vi-89	Gaspar Siciliano Cantor	Elisabetta Gonzaga asks her brother Francesco to take Gaspar into his service.
3. Filza XVI ^b	10-vi-89	Bartolomeo Tromboncino	refuses a position as trombonist to Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence.
4. B. 1184	15-x-89	Antonio Tamborino	Isabella asks Francesco to pay his musician more money.
5. B. 1065	12-xii-89	Antonio Tamborino	Madalena Gonzaga asks Francesco to give Antonio a benefice.
6. B. 1184	17-xii-89	Antonio Tamborino	Isabella says that Antonio, now in Francesco's service, has played and danced for her in Ferrara.
7. B. 2903	30-i-90	(Gian Pietro Florentino)	Francesco asks the musician to come to Mantua for his marriage to Isabella.
8. B. 1231	2-iv-90	(Joanes Martinus)	is to come to Mantua to teach Isabella voice.
9. B. 2438	5-iv-90	Bernardino Mazzono	has written a <u>cancione</u> about Francesco.
(same document)		Giovanni Horbo	to sing (?) the above <u>cancione</u> .
10. B. 2438	21-v-90	Marco Piffero	wants to send his son Stefano to the school of Michele Tedescho in Ferrara to learn to play.
(same document)		Stefano [Piffero]	

TABLE 1 - Continued

Source	Date	Musician	Context
11. B. 1231	27-vii-90	(Rizo)	Rizo sends Isabella a strambotto with music (<u>notato</u>).
12. B. 2904	21-vii-90	Zohanandrea	to go to Ferrara to learn singing and organ-playing.
(same document)		Alexandro dal Organo	Mantuan teacher of Zohanandrea.
(same document)		(Hieronimo del Bruno)	to teach Zohanandrea organ.
13. B. 2904	30-viii-90	(Zohan Martino)	Isabella asks again for Martini to come to teach her voice (See No. 8).
14. B. 1184	2-ix-90	(Zoan Martino)	Martini is to arrive in Mantua within two days.
15. B. 1184	3-ix-90	[Zoan Andrea]	studying organ and harpsichord with Hieronimo del Bruno.
16. B. 2903	31-x-90	(Athlante)	Francesco asks Lorenzo to send his lutanist to Mantua for a "festa de representatione."
17. B. 1232	18-iii-91	Karlot [di Launoy]	Martini writes that Carlo has not yet left for Mantua.
18. B. 1630	26-iii-91	Ruggiero cantore	formerly at Milan, he is now with Isabella.
19. B. 2440	31-v-91	Zaffrano	does not want to be Orfeo in the "representatione de orfeo e de euridice," as the time is too short.
(same document)		[Phillipo] Lapazino	does not want to be Orfeo in the "representatione de orfeo e de euridice," as the time is too short.
(same document)		Athlante	Zaffarano and Lapazino feel that it would be better to have Athlante play Orfeo.

TABLE 1 - Continued

Source	Date	Musician	Context
20. B. 2440	3-vi-91	Zaffrano	says that it will be impossible to present <u>Orfeo</u> within fifteen days as the painters are all busy with the building in Marmirolo.
21. B. 2904	7-vi-91	(Athalante Citharedo)	Athalante is to bring his <u>lira</u> to Gonzaga.
22. B. 1232	28-vi-91	Coglia Sonadore	Coglia is coming to Mantua.
23. B. 2440	3-vii-91	(Athalante Migliorotti)	Athalante is in Mantua ready to play.
24. B. 2991	27-vii-91	(Verbonetto)	Isabella asks Verbonet to find two boy singers.
(same document)		two boy singers	from <u>partes Galie</u> for Mantua.
25. B. 1232	4-x-91	uno soverano	Martini writes to Isabella that he has no soprano for her but has a good contralto.
26. B. 1232	14-x-91	a contralto from Hungary	has arrived in Ferrara to study and is looking for work.
27. B. 1232	18-x-91	a contralto from Hungary	Martini recommends him as one who "sings beautifully, and plays and writes music well."
(same document)		Carlo [di Launoy]	Martini has learned that Carlo has left Mantuan service without permission.
28. B. 2991	21-x-91	the contralto	Isabella writes that the contralto has come to Mantua, but that she doesn't need him; rather, she needs a soprano in place of Carlo who has left.
(same document)		Carlo [de Launoy]	
(same document)		a soprano	

TABLE 1 - Continued

Source	Date	Musician	Context
29. B. 1232	23-x-91	a soprano	Martini still does not know of a soprano, but recommends again the contralto from Hungary, or another contralto from Hungary who does not sing as well.
30. B. 1232	24-x-91	the contralto	The contralto does not sing well <u>da cappella</u> , but is a fine singer <u>da camera</u> . He sings with lute, cetera, and viola, and is a good composer.
31. B. 1232	24-x-91	soprano	Martini still has not found a soprano but thinks that the contralto could sing soprano <u>sotto voce</u> .
32. B. 2441 (same	5-ii-92 document)	Phillipo Lapacino [Frate] Francesco	composer at Mantua. composer of "song of the falcons," also at Mantua.
33. B. 1611	2-cii-92	Narziso	has been kept in Pavia because he sings so well; he is now being sent back to Mantua.
34. B. 1232	7-viii-92	soprano	Martini is finally sending a soprano who sings well <u>sotto voce</u> .
35. B. 1800	26-xi-92	[Frate] Francesco	The Marchese sends Francesco to sing for Isabella.
36. Doc. 1, Dig. 1	24-v-94	Marchetto [Cara]	has composed a strambotto at Mantua a few days earlier.
37. B. 1434	18-vii-94	[Bernardino Piffero]	The "father of Tromboncino" has been in Treviso for three days.

TABLE 1 - Continued

Source	Date	Musician	Context
38. B. 1233	2-viii-94	Don Acteon	has been taking lute at Ferrara from Pietro Bono and wants to return to Mantua to show Francesco what he has learned.
39. B. 2906	19-xii-94	Don Jacomino of Ostiglia	is to leave Mantua to go to Bologna to be in chapel there.
40. B. 2445	n.d. (1494)	Don Girardo cantore	is a singer of the Marchese.
41. B. 1435	21-i-95	Trombettino de la S.V.	Francesco has sent a trumpeter to Naples.
42. B. 1599	27-vi-95	Zuan Angelo [Testagrossa]	has tried a new set of <u>violo</u> for Isabella.
43. B. 1613	29-x-95	Marsilo trombeta	Francesco has sent Marsilio to Milan for several days.
44. B. 1313	20-v-96	Tamburino de la S.V.	Niccolò da Correggio has sent Isabella's drummer back to her.
45. B. 2992	28-v-96	Zohanangelo Testagrossa	is with Isabella.
46. B. 2449	15-v-97	Philippo Lapazino	is in the service of Francesco.
47. B. 2449	21-vii-97	don Philippo [Lapazino]	the Baron [?] wants to take Filippo who "plays and sings" into his service.
(same	document)	Frate Francesco	Filippo is a student of Frate Francesco (See No. 32).
48. B. 1235	13-iii-98	Jachomo Trumbonzino	is in service to Isabella; plays trombone, flute, and cornett.
49. B. 2908	25-vii-98	Philippo Lapacino	is a canon and singer in the Marchese's chapel.
50. B. 2908	25-ix-98	Narciso	is still in service of Francesco.

TABLE 1 - Continued

Source	Date	Musician	Context
51. B. 2908	14-xii-98	li mei piffari	Francesco's Piffari are to play at a feativial.
52. B. 1144	23-x-99	Carlo de Launay	asks forgiveness of Isabella and to return to her service.
53. B. 544	30-i-00	Augustino allamano	is a lutanist in the service of Francesco.
54. B. 2909	30-viii-00	Rigo Tedesco nostro sonatore	is in the service of Francesco.

^a Musicians whose names are in parentheses were not apparently employed in Mantua.

^b Florence, Archivio di Stato.

Much information regarding the musical establishment at Mantua may be drawn from the above table. The principal points made clear by such treatment are the previously mentioned increase in the size of the musical organization at Mantua with a concomitant attention to quality--both of these at least in part due to the personal efforts of Isabella, and the stronger emphasis on singers who were Italian rather than foreigners.

During that very fruitful period of 1489-1500, Isabella was concerned at the outset with augmenting the number of musicians at Mantua. Even before her marriage, she was corresponding with Francesco about musicians, as witnessed by her letter to Francesco of 15 October 1489:

I have heard that Your Excellency has allowed Antonio your drummer to leave and [that] this is taking place because of the insistence which perhaps he has made for not having had that salary which it appears to him that he merits according to the good treatment that the other instrumentalists of Your Lord enjoy. Since he bears such a good reputation among the other drummers and musicians, I would be particularly pleased for him to remain with Your Lordship, hoping myself to enjoy his merit at some time [at which] it would please...Your Excellency, [to] whom I pray to be [so] in your good will that you may wish to retain him still in your service.... I will remain in

noted, together with any other documents which may give salient information concerning him. Like any such study, the following table owes much to previous studies, notably Bertolotti-Musici, Canal-Mantova, Davari-Mantova, and, in particular, Loi-Mantova, a tesi completed under Claudio Gallico at Parma. However, all documents included have been checked by the author and new ones have been added.

this [matter] most obligated to Your Lordship to whom I ask to be recommended....¹⁹

This is in many ways a revealing letter concerning Isabella's attitudes towards music. She is insistent on maintaining musicians of quality and reputation in Mantua, even to the extent of writing her future husband begging him to raise the salary of a musician who pleases her. More importantly, the letter discloses sympathy on Isabella's part towards the needs and feelings of musicians and artists in her employ, a sympathy which was to be repeatedly manifested in her letters. It was, for example, this same understanding which allowed Isabella to write in 1519 to the Cardinal of Aragon, asking him to forgive her for not sending the work by Cara which he has requested, explaining that "these excellent musicians need time to compose, correct, and write down their works" (Doc. 68, Dig. 44). The same sympathy is seen in her words to Francesco of 21 July 1499, wherein she implores clemency for Bartolomeo Tromboncino, even though he has just murdered his wife.²⁰

¹⁹"Ill.mo principe et Ex.mo domino consors et domine mi ob.mo: Intendo come la S.V. haveva concesso bona licentia ad Antonio suo tamborino et questo esser processo per la instantia che forse lui ge ha fatto per non havere quello salario che pare a lui che meritasse secundo il tractamento bono che hano l'altri sonatori de V.S. Donde per el bon nome che'l porta fra l'altri tamborini et musici haria a singular piacere che'l restasse presso la S.V. sperando anchora mi de goder le virtù sue a qualche tempo al piacer et bona gratia de V. Ex.tia quale prego essendo de sua bona voluntà che la voglia retenerlo pure ali servicij suoi.... Et io ne resterò obligatissima a la S.V...." Busta 1184.

²⁰See p. 92 for a translation of the letter.

Isabella continued to be concerned with music and musicians at Mantua after her wedding. She was apparently involved with this both personally, for her own pleasure and music-making, and with the music at court in general. Thus, for her own enjoyment, Johannes Martini is entreated repeatedly to come from Ferrara to Mantua to teach her singing:

Illustrious Lord and father:
I want to study the rules of singing, and, not having anyone here who would satisfy me [*italics mine*], as would Zohan Martino...[who] has taught me previously, I pray Your Excellency to be so kind as to send him to me for fifteen or twenty days....²¹

Martini was dispatched promptly to Mantua.

Most revealing concerning Isabella's search for musicians is a series of letters between Isabella and Ferrara detailing her search for sopranos for court. In March of 1491 Isabella accepted Carlo di Launoy as a soprano, although he remained for only a short while. Carlo had definitely left by 18 October 1491 when Martini wrote to Isabella expressing his regret that the singer had left without permission. Moreover, it is probable that he was already gone in July, when Isabella wrote to Johannes Ghiselin (alias Verbonnet) at Ferrara asking him to find oltremontani boy sopranos for her court. No reply from Ghiselin is

²¹"Ill.mo signor mio padre. Io desidero imparare rasone de canto; et non havendo qua persona che me satisfacesse tanto, como saria Zoan Martino, [chi]...altre volte me ha insignato, prego la Ex.V. se digni prestarmelo per quindici o vinti zorni...." Letter of 30 August 1490, Busta 290⁴ (Coppialettere), Book 136, f. 51v.

extant, but Martini wrote (4 October) that he knew of no soprano for her, although he did have a good contralto who could sing soprano sotto voce. On the 14th of the same month Isabella's teacher wrote again saying that another contralto had arrived from Hungary and was looking for work; Martini thought that he sang beautifully and wrote music well (18 October 1491). The contralto was not an accomplished singer of sacred music (da cappella) but he sang secular music (da camera) well, and moreover played lute, viola and cittern beautifully (24 October 1491). This correspondence continues until finally, in August 1492, Martini found a soprano and sent him to Isabella.²²

Isabella's concern with increasing the quality of the music at Mantua is likewise apparent during the early years of her residence in Mantua. Her complaint to her father in the letter to him (see p. 16) that she had no teacher in Mantua who would satisfy her [i.e., was suitably accomplished?] is telling both in regard to the state of the Mantuan musical establishment at the time of Isabella's arrival and her insistence on high quality. The same concern with the improvement of Mantuan musical life is revealed through sending musicians away to study. In August of 1490 a "Zohanandrea" left for Ferrara to study organ, harpsichord,

²²The relevant portions of the documents concerning Isabella's search for a soprano are published in Davari-Mantova, pp. 63-64.

and singing, the first two to be undertaken with the Ferrarese organist Gerolamo del Bruno; in 1494 a certain Don Acteon wrote to Francesco requesting the Marchese's permission to return to Mantua from Ferrara where he had been studying lute with Pietro Bono, a musician in the service of Isabella's brother Alfonso.

Certainly it would be false to credit Isabella with sole responsibility for the increased prominence of music at Mantua, for Francesco took part as well. The Marchese took musicians into the field with him during his military campaigns (Doc. 3, Dig. 3), had performers with him during his imprisonment by the Venetian republic (Doc. 26, Dig. 22), and even sent his favorite pieces to Isabella:

Illustrious Lady [and] beloved companion: I am sending to Your Ladyship the enclosed strambotto which pleased us greatly with the music that we have just had written, believing that it must please you as much as it has us.²³

Several days later Isabella answered her husband's letter through his secretary:

Jacomo: The other day we received through Messer Theophilo the strambotto about the two hands written for our Illustrious Lord and also another with music, i.e., that [piece] which His Excellency admires so greatly. We do not know if you know about this [matter] or whether [there are] some others...that we have not yet received....²⁴

²³"Ill.ma domina convix Amant.ma. Mandamo alla S.V. qui allegato il strambotto che ad noi tanto piace: cum el canto notato quale havemo facto fare ultimamente. persuadendo che debba parimento piacere como ad noi. Bene valete. Mantua die xxiii Januarii 1495." Busta 2110, f. 158.

²⁴"Jacomo: l'altro di havessimo da Messer Theophilo el stramotto de le due mane composto per lo Ill.mo S. nostro et

The number of singers increases greatly during this same period, many of them seemingly Italian, rather than northerners. Ruggiero, Zaffrano, Filippo Lapacino, Carlo de Launoy, Narcizo, Frate Francesco, Don Jacomino of Ostiglia, Don Gerardo, and Cara all make their first appearance in the documents at Mantua during the six years from 1489 to 1494. In addition, it is during the earlier years of Isabella's Mantuan residence that Tromboncino is first mentioned as a composer and singer, although he had apparently been in Mantua as a trombonist since 1487.²⁵

Many of these musicians were also undoubtedly composers of frottole. In addition to Cara and Tromboncino, the following musicians from the last decade of the fifteenth century have been identified as composers who were most likely composers of secular music:

1) Alexandro dal Organo seems to be identical with Alexandro Mantuano who composed approximately thirteen pieces in the series of prints AntF III (1513).²⁶

2) Bernardino Mazzono is credited with having written a cancione for Francesco Gonzaga in April of 1490 (Busta 2436, f. 456r).

un altro notato in canto cioè quel che tanto piace a S. Ex. non sapiamo mo se vui intendeti de questi o pur de altri che l'habbia doppo composto quali nui non havemo già havuto.... Mediolani [Milan] iij februarij 1495." Busta 2110, f. 9. I have been unable to identify the strambotto mentioned in this letter.

²⁵See pp. 90-98 for Tromboncino's biography.

²⁶See vol. II, pp. 4ff for the sigla of prints and

3) Frate Francesco wrote a "song of the falcons" in February of 1492 (Busta 2441) and a Francisus F(rate?) is included in PeF X (1512).²⁷

4) Don Gerardo, a singer in Mantua, is the most likely author of the piece L'altra nocte from Pn 676, a manuscript of Mantuan or Ferrarese provenance completed in 1502.²⁸

5) Phillipio Lapacino is mentioned as a composer in Mantua in February of 1492. He is probably identical with Phillipus Mantuan of PeF X (1512).

In addition to these composers, the name of Rossino Mantovano, included in PeF II (1505), III (1505), and VIII (1507) should be added. Although not mentioned in Mantuan documents until 1510, his inclusion in Petrucci's repertory indicates a residence in Mantua before that year.²⁹ It may also be that the "Rugierus" mentioned in the documents is the composer of "O cor negli amorosi" in JudM (1526).³⁰

manuscripts.

²⁷This print is no longer extant. See Sartori-Petrucci, pp. 159-160.

²⁸For other speculations as to the identity of Gerardo, see Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, pp. 155-156, and Bridgman-Pn 676, pp. 181-182. The complete text of the strambotto is published in Bridgman-Quattrocento, pp. 144-145.

²⁹References to Rossino in the documents at San Pietro in Mantua are included in Tagmann-Mantua, p. 24.

³⁰For the paternity of this print, see Jeppesen-JudM, p. 7, and vol. II, p. 7 below. Jeppesen speculates that Rugierus may have been Cesare Ruggiero, organist at San Petronio in Bologna.

During this same period, Isabella was concerned with the acquisition of new musical instruments, and in this case, it is possible to say that it was Isabella alone who was concerned with new instruments, for virtually every letter is to or from her, not Francesco. Presented here (p.22) is a table showing some of the instruments purchased by Isabella.

What types of instruments was Isabella ordering? All of the documents of this time speak only of the string and keyboard families. Isabella was apparently not concerned with winds, although later she did request several of them from Testagrossa in Casale Monferrato. Included among the keyboard instruments are a harpsichord and a clavichord, and among the string instruments, a cittern, six viole, and three lutes.³¹ The lutes in particular are described in some detail, and it is obvious that Isabella ordered at least three different sizes of lutes, a fact that provides supporting evidence to Benvenuto Disertori's hypothesis that there must have been at least two different lutes, a small one for tunings in g and a, and a larger one for tunings in d and e.³² Isabella first requested a medium-sized lute from Lorenzo da Pavia, her instrument-maker in Venice: "We would very much like to have one [a lute of ebony], but we

³¹The figure of three lutes does not include two sent to Francesco from Venice on 21 January 1495.

³²Disertori-Evolution, p. 20.

TABLE 2
NEW INSTRUMENTS AT MANTUA, 1490-1500

Source	Date	Instrument(s)	Context
1. B. 1231	9-x-90	clavicembalo	Isabella requests a harpsichord from Modena.
2. B. 2991	22-vi-93	citharra piccola	Isabella wants a small cittern, as she wants to learn to play.
3. B. 2991	22-vi-93	(same instrument)	Isabella writes both to Florence and Venice, saying that the instrument may have as many strings as Atalante (in Florence) thinks best.
4. B. 1435	21-i-95	Two lutes	Two lutes are being sent from Venice to Francesco in Mantua.
5. B. 1599	22-iii-95	three viole [da braccio]	Isabella has ordered three viole from a maker in Brescia.
6. B. 1435	13-iv-95	lute	Antonio Salimbeni sends Isabella a lute which is "one of the largest and best" in Venice.
7. B. 1599	7-v-95	three viole [da braccio]	Marco Nigro writes to Isabella that the "viole or else lire" are almost ready. ^a

TABLE 2 - Continued

Source	Date	Instrument(s)	Context
8. B. 2992	19-vi-95	(same instruments)	Isabella has changed her mind. She will send her musician to Brescia to try the viole.
9. B. 2992	19-vi-95	(same instruments)	Isabella requests a cart in Brescia so that her musician can bring back the viole.
10. B. 1599	27-vi-95	(same instruments)	"Zuan Angelo [Testagrossa]" has arrived in Brescia and has tried the viole. The maker wants twenty-five ducats.
11. B. 2992	30-vi-95	(same instruments)	Isabella will pay fifteen or, at most, eighteen ducats.
12. B. 2992	12-iii-96	clavicordo	Isabella orders a "beautiful and perfect clavichord" which is to be "easy to play" from Lorenzo da Pavia in Venice.
13. B.1436	16-iii-96	(same instrument)	Lorenzo is working on a viola and then has to make another clavichord before he will be free to start on Isabella's instrument.
14. B. 2992	19-iii-96	(same instrument)	Isabella will wait for Lorenzo to finish the viola which he is making for Beatrice d'Este, Isabella's sister. She writes to Antonio Visconti, for whom the other clavichord is to be made, and asks him to allow Lorenzo to make hers first.
15. B. 1234	20-iii-96	(same instrument)	Antonio agrees, providing Isabella not use the design intended for his instrument.

TABLE 2 - Continued

Source	Date	Instrument(s)	Context
16. B. 2992	27-v-96	(same instrument)	Isabella asks Giorgio Brugnolo to go to Lorenzo and find out the state of the work on her clavichord.
17. B. 1436	6-vi-96	(same instrument)	Lorenzo promises the clavichord by August.
18. B. 2992	9-vi-96	(same instrument)	Isabella agrees to wait.
19. B. 1436	4-viii-96	(same instrument)	Lorenzo will not have the instrument until the end of September.
20. B. 2907	18-viii-96	(same instrument)	Isabella is upset with the prospect of more waiting.
21. B. 1436	29-viii-96	(same instrument)	Lorenzo writes that he is making the keys a little smaller than usual for Isabella's hand.
22. B. 533	15-v-97	two viole	Francesco Comparini sends two viole to Isabella from Hungary.
23. B. 2992	4-vii-97	lute of ebony	Isabella orders from Lorenzo da Pavia at Venice a lute "of medium size," but pitched higher than the viole which are too low for her voice.
24. B. 2908	16-x-97	clavicordo	The clavichord has arrived, but the lute has not.
25. B. 1438	12-ii-98	lute of ebony	The lute is still not ready.
26. B. 1599	23-vii-99	viola [da bracci ^o]	Marco Nigro has ordered a viola da braccio for Isabella in Brescia.

TABLE 2 - Continued

Source	Date	Instrument(s)	Context
27. B. 1599	18-xi-99	(same instrument)	The viola, being made by the same <u>maestro</u> who made the other three, is ready. (See No. 5 and 7-12 above.)
28. B. 1438	12-xii-99	(same instrument)	Nigro is sending the instrument to Isabella.
29. B. 2993	16-xii-99	lute [of ebony]	Isabella reminds Lorenzo of the lute "alla spagnola."
30. B. 1439	27-i-00	another lute	Lorenzo writes saying that he is sending the lute which he has repaired.
31. B. 1439	13-iii-00	lute of ebony	Lorenzo sends the "liuto grande ala spagnola," saying that he has been ill.
32. B. 2993	28-iii-00	(same instrument)	Isabella has received the lute.
33. B. 2993	7-iv-00	(same instrument)	The "lute of ebony <u>alla spagnola</u> " so pleased Isabella's husband that she has given it to him, and the Marchesa therefore orders another like it from Lorenzo.
34. B. 2993	16-ix-00	two lutes	Isabella has ordered two lutes from Lorenzo and asks him to work on the smaller one first.
35. B. 1439	18-ix-00	(same instruments)	Lorenzo says the lutes will be ready in a month.

^aIt is not clear whether Nigro had in mind viola or lire. Although different, the two were often confused. Vasari in 1564 uses the same phrase as Nigro, and Galilei mentions that the viola da braccia "was called a lira not many years ago." Quoted from Marcuse-Instruments, p. 310.

beg you to make it...medium-sized, i.e., not too large and not too small...." She requested this for the curious reason that it would be higher than the viole which were pitched a little too low for her voice (Busta 2992, Book 8, f. 267).

Isabella ordered next a large ebony lute "alla spagnola." The significance of the phrase "in Spanish fashion" is unclear, but the Marchesa was most emphatic in her request. On 16 December 1499 she wrote to Lorenzo da Pavia.

...Please tell [our messenger] if you have managed to find the wood to make the lute.... Remember to make the body completely in Spanish fashion, without giving it anything of the Italian [fashion]. We know that, in spite of the fact that you are not accustomed to follow [the plan of] anyone because of your great skill, you will not forget to make this lute completely according to our wishes, wanting you to make it completely in the Spanish fashion, not modifying it in any part.)

On 13 March of the next year Lorenzo fulfilled the commission and sent to her a "large lute made in Spanish fashion" (B. 1439).

Isabella wrote to Lorenzo again on 16 September 1500 asking him about the progress of two lutes which she had

³³"...et avisarne se haveti maij ritrovato el legno da fare el liuto.... Habiati advertentia ad fare el corpo tutto alla spagnola, senza dargli niente del Italiano et ben che sappiamo, che non seti solito imitare alcunuo per la gran virtù vostra, non dimeno in questo liuto per farlo in tutto secundo el nostro desiderio vogliati puramente condurlo alla spagnola, non lo bastardandolo in parte alcuna...."
(Busta 2993, Book 2, f. 12r.)

ordered. She requested him to "finish first the smaller one" (Busta 2993, Book 2, f. 84r).

The purchase of these instruments bespeaks both an active interest in music on the part of Isabella and an active musical establishment for the Mantuan court, for the instruments seem to have had two different purposes, first for Isabella's personal use and second, for professional musicians in residence in Mantua. The former is perhaps easier to document.

In the period between 1490 and 1500 Isabella studied both lute and viola, probably having Testagrossa as her principal teacher for both. On 24 November 1517 Isabella told Anna d'Alencon, Marchesa of Casale Monferrato, that "I was his [Testagrossa's] student even if I have brought him little honor" (Busta 2997). Since Testagrossa left Mantua in 1500, Isabella must have been his student at some time previous to that date.³⁴ It is probable that Isabella began study of the lute with Testagrossa sometime in 1495, for in April of that year she ordered a lute, and in June, Testagrossa is first mentioned in Mantuan documents.³⁵

Isabella apparently had already learned to play the cittern: in 1493 she wrote to Antonio Salimbene in Venice

³⁴For details on Testagrossa's career and documentation of his departure from Mantua in 1500, see Davari-Mantova, pp. 66-71.

³⁵Isabella had already begun study of the lute in 1491 with Gerolamo Sextula, a musician in the service of Alfonso d'Este, her brother. See Davari-Mantova, p. 67.

asking him to find one small enough that "it would be good for our arm," and further instructing him to tell the maker "that we want to learn to play it" (Busta 2991).

At the very end of the century, Isabella began study of the viola da braccio. On 14 May 1499 she wrote to her brother Giulio that

We have already begun to learn the viola, and we hope that we learn rapidly, for in the two days in which we have worked on it, we have begun to make plans [?] so that when we come to Ferrara we will be able to play the tenor [part] to the Illustrious Don Alfonso our brother....³⁶

This letter also furnishes one of the indirect indications that Isabella was engaged in ordering instruments for her court musicians as well as for herself. As Isabella herself wrote, she was learning to play the viola in 1499, and in 1495 she had ordered three from Brescia. The instruments must therefore have been for players at the court rather than for herself. Two further pieces of evidence support this hypothesis. First, Testagrossa wrote to Isabella on 1 July 1501 from Bologna, requesting permission to leave her service to go to Urbino, including the following: "Concerning the instruments of Your Lady, they are all in my house [in Mantua]" (Busta 1145).³⁷ This must indicate that

³⁶"...Havemo ben date principio ad imparar la viola et speramo che impareremo assai bene perchè in dui dì solamente che gli havemo dato opera cominciamo a fare de la minute per modo che quando veniremo a Ferrara potremo fare tenore a lo Ill.mo S. Don Alfonso nostro fratello...." Busta 2993, Book 10, f. 15v.

³⁷Testagrossa had just re-entered Mantuan service the year before. Davari-Mantova, pp. 68-69.

the lutanist had been using instruments belonging to the Gonzaga, and that he must relinquish them upon leaving their service.

Finally, on 27 April 1518, Isabella sent to Andrea Cossa at Casale Monferrato "a good, large lute" which had been played by "our Marchetto" (Doc. 66, Dig. 42). The thrust of this document is the same--that Cara was playing a lute belonging to the Gonzaga.

From this profusion of detail concerning instruments and musicians there emerges the picture of Mantua as a thriving center for court music, a center which owed its activity principally to one person--Isabella d'Este. Musical life continued to flourish at the court throughout the time which concerns us here. Although only the earlier and perhaps more crucial period has been examined in detail, it should be emphasized that Isabella continued to add to the Mantuan musical establishment both with musicians and with instruments. First mentioned in the documents between 1501 and 1509 are the singers Paula Pocino, Jacomo de San Secondo, Giovanna Moreschi (the wife of Marchetto Cara), and a certain "Mettre Gian cantore."

The Founding of the Cappella

The next musical event of real significance in Mantua was, however, the founding of the choir in the Cathedral of San Pietro by Francesco Gonzaga beginning in the early

months of 1511.³⁸ On 10 December 1511 Francesco wrote to his son Federico in Rome that "we have begun a choir of excellent singers for whom we would wish that...[the Pope] would provide some benefices."³⁹

When did Francesco begin this choir? There are in fact several indications that his search began shortly after his release from prison in Venice on 14 July 1510,⁴⁰ for there was a sudden increase in the number of new musicians brought into Mantua around this time. In the later months of this year Ilario Turlorone, a singer, arrived in the city.⁴¹ At the very beginning of the next year Geronimo da Verona, frate Felice, Michele da Lucca, Rocco da Verona, and Thomaso Borsetti arrived, as did a "frate di Crosacchieri" from Venice. The first five of these musicians all came apparently from Ferrara, as on 23 April 1511 Francesco allowed them to return to that city to bring their belongings to Mantua.⁴² Also newly arrived from Ferrara were Antonius Collabaudi (alias Bidone⁴³), Fra Giovanni Francesco da Lodi,

³⁸The most detailed account of this founding is included in Tagmann-Mantua, pp. 11-14. Except for the documents within the cathedral archives themselves, however, Tagmann seems to have worked entirely from secondary sources.

³⁹Bertolotti-Musici, p. 23.

⁴⁰Equicola-Mantova, p. 264.

⁴¹Bertolotti-Musici, p. 23.

⁴²Ibid., p. 29.

⁴³Bidone's name is given in a letter of 7 September 1506 published in Bertolotti-Musici, pp. 27-28, and in a document of 14 August 1519 in the Vatican where he is listed

Cornelio, and Masino, for on 20 March 1511, their belongings were requested from that city (Doc. 29, Dig. 25a). These singers must have given a decidedly Ferrarese character to the Mantuan chapel, since nine of them seem to have come directly from the Ducal choir there. Many of these singers are identifiable in Ferrarese records earlier. Thus on 17 October 1503 included in a "List of singers and their benefices" are "Frato Johane Fracesco da Lodj," a "messer Hieronimo da Verona," "frato Felice da Nolla," "messer Michiele da Lucca," "messer Antonio dicto Bidom," "messer Thomaso dicto Nasino" (Thomaso Borsetti?), "messer Cornelio de Fiancra," and "messer Marino" (Masino?).⁴⁴

The first performance of the new choir apparently took place earlier in the year, on 12 January 1511, for on 13 January Amico della Torre wrote to Federico Gonzaga, describing the event in glowing terms:

My most illustrious lord:

His excellency your father, having taken into his service the singers that the Duke of Ferrara had had, left his house yesterday morning and went to Mass at the [Chapel of] Our Lady in San Pietro. The altar, together with the whole Chapel, was thus so honorably adorned that it might have been the Day of Our Lady in the month of August. And there the above-mentioned singers sang the Mass in canto figurato, and so many people gathered [there] and in the Church of San Pietro itself, that it was as though it were the Day of

as a papal singer. Frey-Kapelle, p. 62.

⁴⁴The document is published in Ostoff-Josquin, vol. I, pp. 212-215.

Sant'Anselmo, owing to the great desire that was felt to hear such singers. Those here [at Mantua] are also truly their equals in their profession, however, [for] the crowd, which numbered more than 190, praised much more the singers of San Andrea [in Mantua], as the voices of our singers pleased them much more.

The said Ferrarese singers also sang solemnly at Vespers in San Francesco, to which your illustrious mother came with all of the court. There were so many people that they could not get close enough to hear both the said singers and to hear the organ played by a monk of [the order of] Crosachieri, a young and very talented man in his profession. He is a Venetian gentleman who plays marvelously. Before this, the monk had played the harpsichord in the rooms of your father, who was very much pleased by his gentle manner (virtù). And his lordship is having him lodged at court with three monks of the same order....

Your Illustrious father, then, to refresh his new singers who were tired from the Mass and the Vespers (as I have informed your Lordship), gave them and many others a beautiful dinner in the Castle up in his Armaria....

Mantua, 13 January 1511.⁴⁵

⁴⁵"Illustrissimo Signore mio. La excellentia del Signore vostro patre havendo conducto a li servitij suoi li Cantori che havea il Signore Duca di Ferrara: uscite heri mattina fuora di casa et andò a messa a la Madonna di San Petro; lo altar di laquale cum tutta la Capella era cussi honorevilmente apparato come se'l fusse sta il Zorno di la Madonna da meso agosto. Et ivi dicti cantori cantorono la messa in canto figurato; et tanta gente se gli adunò et ne la Chiesa propria di San Petro como se fusse stato il Zorno di Sant' Anselmo: procedendo dal desyderio grande che si havea de udire essi Cantori quali qui anche siano veramente digni suoi pari ne la loro professione non dimenò il vulgo laudava molto più li Cantori di San Andrea et che è più de li cento li novanta: per piacerli molto più le voci di nostri: Cantorono anche li dicti Cantori da Ferrara al vespro a San Francesco solennemente dove gli intervenne la Ill.ma Madonna vostra matre cum tutta la Corte et [...] gli erano tante persone che non se gli proxima stare si per udire dicti Cantori como per sentir sonare l'organo a uno frate di Croschieri giovane et valentissimo homo in quella professione: quale è Gentilhomo venetiano et quale si deportò mirabilmente: havendo prima due frate sonato in Camera del Signore vostro patre col clavicembalo nanti sua excellentia a laquale piacque molto questa sua gentil virtù: et sua Signoria lo fa

This must have been a gala time indeed. So successful was the premiere of the new choir that, on 25 August 1511, all previous singers at San Pietro were released from their duties.⁴⁶

The duties of this new choir and its organist are not indicated precisely in the documents. Saturdays, Sundays, and feast days, however, saw sung Masses with organ music. According to Nugent, in his review of Tagmann's archival study, Masses on Saturday were held in the Chapel of Santa Maria dei Voti, while those of Sundays and feasts were celebrated in the cappella maggiore.⁴⁷

The Chapel of Santa Maria dei Voti, now dedicated to Santa Maria dell' Incoronata, was planned in 1477 or 1478, but was not constructed until 1480.⁴⁸ It was to this Lady Chapel that Francesco dedicated his new choir. The letter which reveals this fact, from Francesco to Alessandro Gabloneta in Rome, also discloses some of the problems the Marchese was having with his choir.

allogiar in corte cum tre altri frati del ordine suo essendo loro Conventuali.... Lo Illustrissimo signore vostro patre anchor per refreciar li suoi novi Cantori che se affaticare a la Messa et al Vespro como ha inteso vostra Signoria gli dette una bella cena in Castello su la Armaria sua.... Mantue xiiij Januarii MDXI." Busta 2482, f. 166r-167r.

⁴⁶ Tagmann-Mantua, pp. 12 and 42.

⁴⁷ Nugent-Tagmann, p. 476.

⁴⁸ Mantova-Arti, vol. II, p. 88.

Messer Alexandro: You know that several years ago we began a choir of singers, dedicating it to the place of the Madonna dei Voti here in San Pietro, and [you know] also that the expense is large, in spite of which we pay them gladly because of our singular devotion. We have furnished [the choir] moreover with excellent people as you know. But since His Holiness of Our Lord [Pope Leo X, Giovanni de' Medici] was...raised to that position, these singers have been up in the air, and, knowing that His Holiness delights in music, they have made arrangements to go with him.... We have written concerning this matter, wanting to beg His Holiness not to deprive us of this, our devoted consolation.... His Holiness has responded that he in no way wished to deprive us of a single [singer].... Thus we were completely assured, but the maestro of His Holiness' choir has...taken two of our best [singers], i.e., Turloron and Fra Zoan Francesco and the others are ready to leave any day....⁴⁹

Francesco's letter was, of course, useless in the face of the wishes of the music-loving Leo X; both Turlorone and Zuan Francesco seem to have remained in Rome. Turlorone, whose given name was Ilario Daleo, is listed in papal records from 1520,⁵⁰ and Zuan Francesco is possibly the

⁴⁹"Messer Alexandro: Voi sapeti che già alcuni anni passati noi instituessimo una Capella di cantori dedicandola al loco de la Madonna di voti qui di San Pietro et anchora che la spesa sia grande pur per la singular nostra devotione a quel loco la facemo volentieri et il havevamo assai ben fornita di persone eccellenti come sapeti. Ma dapoi che la santità di Nostro Signore...fu sublimata a quella sede, questi cantori sono stati in aere et sapendo che sua Beatitudine se delectava di musica hanno tenuto pratiche di condurre con quella. Pertanto noi altre volte ne scrivessimo che volestine supplicare a sua santità che la non ce volesse privare di questa nostra devota consolatione.... Et quella per sua benignità ce fece respondere che la non voleva per modo alcuno che per lei ne fosse desviato pur uno.... Del che noi stavamo assai securi, ma il maestro de la Capella di sua santità ha però...condutto doi di migliori cioè Turloron et Fra Zoan Francesco et gli altri stanno ogni dì a volo.... Mantuae ultimo Maij MDXiiij." Busta 2991.

⁵⁰Frey-Kapelle, p. 73. The wide discrimination between the date of Turlorone's departure and his appearance in

"Iohannes Franciscus de Zonatis" from Padua included in papal records beginning in 1517.⁵¹

The rapid influx of singers into Mantua in 1510 and 1511 calls into question the number of singers in the choir at San Pietro. Tagmann suggests fifteen adult singers and a total number of singers as approximately twenty-five.⁵² If this is the case, then the number was to decrease rapidly, for by 1514 Francesco had lost not only Turlorone and Zoan Francesco, but also Michele da Lucca and Bidone.⁵³ Bidone, in fact, may never have been in the service of Francesco, or at most was in Mantua for only a short time, for the records seem equivocal as to his service there. On 10 March 1511, Francesco wrote to Ferrara asking permission for Bidone to remain in Mantua for several months, saying that "every day we have him sing in our cappella." Ten days later, his belongings are brought to Mantua (Doc. 29, Dig. 25a). At the most, Bidone was in Mantua for three years, since Francesco again wrote to Ferrara on 18 December 1514 requesting the Duke "to lend me Bidone your musician for a month" (Busta 2922). Moreover, by 1519 Bidone leaves Ferrara for

papal records is problematic. Is it possible that Ilario Daleo is the same singer as Ilario Penet who appears in 1515? Frey-Kapelle, p. 178.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 181-183.

⁵²Tagmann-Mantua, p. 14.

⁵³Michele da Lucca is requested by Leo X for his choir in a letter of 30 August 1514 (Busta 835). On 21 December Francesco wrote to Alessandro Gablonetta in Rome saying that he had released Michele (Busta 2992).

the papal choir in Rome.⁵⁴

According to Tagmann, musicians were shared between court and cathedral throughout the remaining period of Francesco Gonzaga's life (d. 1519).⁵⁵ This hypothesis seems extremely likely, as Tagmann has found virtually no records of musicians in the choir between 1511 and 1526, and since court musicians are found concerned with the cappella in documents coming from the Archivio di Stato rather than from the Diocesan Archives themselves. Thus Cara, who was apparently the choir's maestro di cappella, was concerned at one time or another with Turlorone, Maestro Domenichino "della cappella," a Don Francesco, also a member of the Marchese's choir, and others.⁵⁶

In addition to the musicians who were hired at the time of the founding of the cappella, other new musicians appear in the Mantuan documents during the period 1512-25. Hieronimo Hidraulicum (Geronimo dell'Aqua?), organist at San Francesco in Mantua appeared first in 1514 and remained in Mantua until at least 1522.⁵⁷ Other musicians who appeared during the period are "Pizanfara," called "nostro citaredo

⁵⁴Frey-Kapelle, p. 62.

⁵⁵Tagmann-Mantua, pp. 62-64.

⁵⁶See pp. 76ff for a discussion of Cara's position in the choir of San Pietro.

⁵⁷Hieronimo was first requested on 24 July 1514 in a letter of Isabella to the organist (B. 2920). On 26 July 1522 he was named in a litigation with his daughter (Libro mandati, Book 22, f. 52f).

goffissimo"; "Sebastian organista"; "Zoan Baptista di Falchetti, maestro da organi"; Roberto Avanzini, probably the Roberto who was a student of Cara in 1512;⁵⁸ Zoppino; Agostino della Viola; and Turotto. While these are by no means the only musicians who arrived in Mantua, during the period 1512-1525,⁵⁹ their hiring confirms the fact that music at court continued to thrive under Isabella, Francesco, and their son Federico. No further sudden increases in the size of the establishment such as those during Isabella's first years in Mantua and at the time of the founding of Francesco's cappella at San Pietro are to be found, however.

The Musical Repertory at Mantua

The musical repertory at Mantua is difficult to determine exactly owing to the lack of sources that are of Mantuan provenance. Extant is only one source which is generally understood to represent the repertory in that city--Isabella's own chansonnier now in Rome, Biblioteca Cassanatense 2856. Other sources which may be of Mantuan provenance are MAC A.I.4, Pn 676, and Lbm 3051 with its complement Wlc Wolf.⁶⁰

⁵⁸See pp. 81ff.

⁵⁹For others, see Bertolotti-Musici, pp. 30-32.

⁶⁰For a brief discussion of manuscripts, their provenance, and modern literature on them, see vol. II, pp. 13-20. The sigla for manuscripts and prints are included there.

Sacred Music

If secular music at Mantua has left few traces, then sacred music has left almost none. Mantuan composers themselves seem to have composed very little until the time of Jachet of Mantua, of whom the first Mantuan notice is given on the occasion of the death of his first wife in 1527.⁶¹ Tromboncino composed a set of Lamentations of Jeremiah which was published in a collection by Petrucci in 1506,⁶² and Ventura detto Musini, a soprano at the cathedral in Mantua in 1509 may have been the Joannes a la Venture who composed a passion for the Cappella Sistina in 1507.⁶³ With such isolated examples, we stand on the periphery of sacred composition, for of truly liturgical music, the Mass and the motet, no trace remains.⁶⁴ That there should be no legacy of sacred music by Mantuan composers is not puzzling; it is, rather, the logical result of an environment which stressed so heavily native Italian composers in an era in which virtually all sacred composition was in the hands of foreign musicians.

⁶¹Nugent-Progress; paper read at the Twenty-eighth annual meeting of the American Musicological Society. I am indebted to Professor Nugent for calling this date to my attention.

⁶²See Croll-Tromboncino for a brief discussion of the Lamentations.

⁶³Tagmann-Mantua, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁴Don Simone, a contrabass at the cathedral in 1509, may have composed a motet in Shöffler's Cantiones quinque vocum...liber primus of 1539, under the name of Simon

Yet sacred polyphonic music continued to be performed in Mantua after the founding of the cappella. On 22 November 1521 Giovanni Arcario wrote to Federico at Milan,

...I have had sung a solemn mass to Our Lady in San Pietro in canto figurato with the organs, to which there came...the Illustrious and Excellent Lady your Mother, the brothers of your Excellency and the Illustrious Madama Laura, all with their courts, and a multitude of Gentlemen and Ladies and other people. I have also had celebrated masses in other places, principally at the precious Sangue de Cristo....⁶⁵

Polyphonic performance is also suggested in an earlier document, a letter of 30 July 1517 from Alessandro Gabloneta, Archdeacon of Mantua, to Francesco Gonzaga:

...the Mass was celebrated at San Domenico in the Chapel of the Beata Hosanna. Tomorrow we will go to the Sangue de Cristo, and Saturday, St. Peter's Day, there will be a fine solemnity with the final procession in the Cathedral to the principal altar. ...Your Excellency knows that you have had made that beautiful organ in [the chapel of] Our Most Glorious Lady in San Pietro, which is a great ornament of that most Holy Place and of great praise and glory to your Excellency. The bellows of the above organ have been ruined and completely ripped up by the rats so that the organ may no longer be played. Because the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady is approaching [in] the middle of this coming August, which [feast] is particular to this Holy Place and, as it is usual to have great solemnity on similar days, and, since the organ is

Ferrariensis, but this is considerably after our period. Tagmann-Mantua, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁵"...ho fatto cantar il canto figurato con li organi, una solenne messa a Nostra Domina in Santo Petro, a la quale è stato...la Ill.ma et Ex.ma Madama Vostra matre, li fratelli de Ex.tia la Ill.ma madama Laura tutti con le corti sue et una innumerabile moltitudine di signori Zentilhomini Zentildonne et altre persone. Ho fatto ancor celebrar misse in altri loci et principue al prezioso sangue de Cristo...." (B. 2550)

not playable, I know that Your Excellency will be disappointed....⁶⁶

The strong presumption here is that the organ was to be used in polyphonic music in the Lady Chapel, although the fact that the organ had to be repaired for the feast day suggests that it was used only on special occasions.⁶⁷

The repertory of sacred polyphonic music at the Cathedral must have been furnished therefore by composers not resident in Mantua, and traces of this practice remain, although the musical sources themselves have been dispersed. There exists, however, a collection of manuscripts and prints which belongs to a later chapel of the Gonzagas--the Cappella di Santa Barbara. Founded in 1562, the Chapel functioned as the court church for the Gonzaga Dukes, and the music from it was moved to the Conservatory "Giuseppe Verdi" in Milan during the last century.⁶⁸ There, among

⁶⁶"...la messa s'è celebrata a santo Dominico alla Capella della Beata Osanna. Dimane andaremo al sangue de Christo et sabato che è il giorno di Santo Petro se farà una bella solennità con l'ultima processione in la chiesa Cathedrale al altare maggiore....Ill.mo signore mio la Ex.tia Vostra. Li mantici del predeto organo sono stati ruinati et tutti sbusati dalli ratti ita che l'organo più non se pò sonare et perchè il se apropuqua la festa della asumptione della Madonna che è mezo Augusto proximo futuro la qual è la peculiare festa di quello devotissimo loco et como quella sa se sol fare in simil giorno grandissima solennità dove che non potendosi sonare l'organo so che la prefata Ex.tia Vostra seria molto male contenta...." (B. 2496)

⁶⁷For a similar instance, see Tagmann-Mantua, p. 70n.

⁶⁸For further on Santa Barbara, see Cesari-Barbara, Jeppesen-Palestrina, and Barblan-Barbara, pp. v-xxxix. The last source is principally a catalogue of the collection, and the following information is drawn from it.

sources devoted to the music of Giaches de Wert, Palestrina, and other composers of later Mantuan generations, are no less than ten prints of sacred music published by Petrucci between the years 1502 and 1509. The following table (p. 42) presents these in chronological order.

It is possible that these prints represent repertory of the Cappella Barbara itself and that they were acquired some time after the founding of that choir. It seems far more likely, however, that they were purchased at some time closer to the date of their publication and that they were taken later to the Chapel with the transference of Ducal worship from San Pietro to Santa Barbara. Such a repertory would have been natural in Isabella's day, as Josquin, Obrecht, Ghiselin, Agricola, and Martini were all employed in her native city of Ferrara.

If this is the case, then a relatively large repertory of sacred music may be hypothesized, sent to Mantua from elsewhere. Indeed, documents at the Archivio di Stato afford instances of such a practice, the first letter even mentioning a motet by Obrecht, one of the composers contained in the prints in question. This letter is without date, but is assigned by Davari to December 1495.⁶⁹ If the motets mentioned in it were in fact for the Cathedral, then it also furnishes a fascinating glimpse of performance practice there at an early date.

⁶⁹Davari-Mantova, p. 53n.

TABLE 3

PETRUCCI'S SACRED PRINTS IN THE COLLECTION OF SANTA BARBARA

Publication Date	Title	Composer	Santa Barbara Call Number
1. 27-ix-1502	Misse Josquin....	Josquin	178/9
2. 24-iii-1503	Misse Obrecht....	Obrecht	178/6
3. 17-vi-1503	[Misse] Brumel	Brumel	178/8
4. 31-x-1503	Misse Petri de la Rue....	de la Rue	178/7
5. 22-iii-1505	Misse de Orto....	de Orto	178/4
6. 4-vi-1505	Motetti libro quarto....	Josquin, Martini, Ghiselin, Obrecht, Agricola, etc.	178/10
7. 30-vi-1505	Missarum Josquin liber secundus....	Josquin	178/1
8. 20-x-1506	Misse henrici Jzac....	Isaac	178/3
9. 7-iii-1507	Misse Gaspar....	Weerbecke	178/2
10. 15-iii-1509	Missarum diversorum auc- torum, liber primus....	Basiron, Brumel, de la Rue, Obrecht Weerbecke	178/5

Illustrious Lord: In the past days we have arranged certain motets [so that they may be] played. I am sending Your Excellency two of these, and one of them is the work of Obrecht, that is the one for four voices--two sopranos, a tenor, and a contralto--and because we are six [musicians] I have added two bass voices to be played by trombones, thus making six parts [which] make a good impression. Also, if it is desired, it may be played with five parts, [to which end] I have written another contrabass. Also Gabriel has asked for another motet; it is the work of Busnois for four voices, and I have written another contrabass because we play it in five parts so that, to tell the truth, all of Venice wants to hear no other. Thus we have paid tribute to our Serenity [the Doge] who takes great pleasure in the aforementioned motet; however, we have wanted to make a present of them to Your Excellency for these feasts [of Christmas] on whom may God have mercy [and] give happiness.

Giovanni Alvise Trombon⁷⁰

In 1505 Giovanni sent another motet to Francesco, this time a "modern motet for 8 flutes."⁷¹

No further records concerning sacred music are found until 1520. In this year, and at the beginning of the next, Guilia Gonzaga sent Federico two motets of Sebastian Festa,

⁷⁰"Ill.me domine: In questi zorni passadi nui avemo posto zerti motteti in ordine per sonar, dei quali do ne mando a la S.V. et l'uno de quei si è hopera de Hobret zoè le quatro voze, do sovrani et uno tenore et uno contra alto, et perchè nui siamo sei li ho azonto do voxe basse per sonar con i tromboni che viene a esser a voxe sei et fa un bon audire e chi'l volesse sonar anche a cinque voxe, li ho facto uno altro contra basso. Anche un altro moteto dimandase Gabrielelem, è de hoperade Busnojs, zoè le quatro voxe et io mi ho fato un altro contra basso che el soniamo a zinquè, che in verità tutta Venetia non vol audir altro, et nui l'havemo tribuido al nostro Ser.no, el qual ne ha gran piacere d'esso moteto, et però ne ho voluto farne uno presente ala S.V. per queste feste a la quale Idio misericordioso doni felice stato. Io Alvixe Trombone" (B. 1435).

⁷¹Davari-Mantova, p. 53n.

"servant of the Reverend Monsignore of Mondovì."⁷² It seems likely that these motets, and others like them, were destined for use in the Cathedral, the center of court worship in Mantua.

There is one area of sacred, or more precisely, devotional music in which Mantuan composers did take part, i.e., the composition of laude both in Latin and in the vulgar tongue. Petrucci's Laude libro secondo (1508) contains fourteen laude by Tromboncino and Cara and one by Don Philipo, perhaps the "Don Phillipus de Feraria" who was organist at San Pietro and in the Lady Chapel in 1502.⁷³

It is probable that these laude were sung in the chapel of Santa Maria dei Voti, as the singing of laude was intimately connected with the worship of the Virgin. While no traces of Mantuan performances remain, we may examine the more adequately documented Florentine practices of the same time for parallels:

There are schools of artisans, among which is that of Orsanmichele and of Santa Maria Novella. Every Saturday after Nones, they [the schools] meet in the church, and there sing in four parts five or six laude or ballate⁷⁴ composed by

⁷²The letters and their sources are published in Gallico-Bc 21, pp. 35-36.

⁷³Tagmann-Mantua, p. 37.

⁷⁴The majority of the Florentine laude follow the text form of the ballata, although it is often a barzelletta-like variant with lines of seven syllables in length. See, for example, L'amore a me venendo in RazL I (1563), PeL I (1508), and the text in Belcari-Laude, p. 99, there attributed to Bianco Iniesuato (Bianco da Siena).

Lorenzo de' Medici, by Pulci, and by Giambullari, and for each lauda the singers are changed. [When they are] finished with the playing of the organs and of the voices, they uncover a Madonna, and the feast is completed [*italics mine*].⁷⁵

While this passage occurs in an edition of 1546, ample proof of earlier singing before statues of the Madonna is afforded by the woodcut included in Laude fatte e composte da più persone spirituali published around 1489.⁷⁶ Here are pictured three singers in profile standing before a statue of a seated Virgin; in the background are several onlookers (laudesi, not involved in singing the lauda in progress?).

Nor was the performance of laude restricted to artisans. In 1501 the Wool Guild in Florence reinstated the choir at Santa Maria del Fiore, the city's Cathedral. Among the duties of the singers was

to sing figural music only every Saturday morning at the Mass of Our Lady [situated] between the two front doors; and laudi in the same chapel on the evenings of all feast days, as they have begun to do and as is customary [*italics mine*].⁷⁷

It seems probable therefore that these laude by Mantuan

⁷⁵ "...vi sono alcune scuole d'artigiani, tra le quali vi è quella di Orsanmichele e di S.M. Novella. Questi ogni sabato dopo Nona si adunano in Chiesa, e quivi a quattro voci cantano cinque o sei Laudi, o ballate composte da Lorenzo de' Medici, dal Pulci, e dal Giambullari, e da ogni lauda si mutano i cantori, e finito, a suon d'organi e di voci scuoprano una Madonna, ed è finito la festa." from an annotated edition of the Novelle of Boccaccio (Venice: Giolito, 1546). Quoted from Belcari-Laude, pp. VI-VII. The passage is also quoted in Jeppesen-PeL, p. XVn.

⁷⁶ Reproduced in Belcari-Laude, p. 111, on the title-page of Jeppesen-PeL, and in MGG-Laude, col. 313-314.

⁷⁷ Quoted from D'Accone-16th Century, p. 3. The translation is Professor D'Accone's.

composers were performed in the Lady Chapel, an hypothesis which is strengthened by the contents of Petrucci's second book of laude. Of the fifty-six laude included there, twenty-one concern the Virgin.⁷⁸

The picture of the repertory of sacred music in Mantua during the time of Isabella is therefore the following: local musicians were performing liturgical music in San Pietro which had been sent to Mantua from elsewhere,⁷⁹ while non-liturgical devotional music was composed by native Italian composers, most notably Tromboncino and Cara.

Secular Music

In contrast, with the repertory of secular music in Mantua we are on firmer ground. Divided by language, this repertory falls into two distinct groups--music with French and Italian texts. Chronologically, the French-texted repertory is the first represented in the period of Isabella d'Este's residence, a natural occurrence in view of the strong influence of oltremontani in Isabella's native city of Ferrara.

The principal repository of chansons at Mantua is a parchment manuscript, now in the Biblioteca Casanatense

⁷⁸Petrucci lists fifty-nine laude in the tavola. However, Legno santo is printed twice, and the same Ave Maria is printed three times.

⁷⁹While no documentation exists, it must be that a considerable portion of this repertory was brought in from Ferrara where Josquin, Verbonnet, and Martini were all working.

at Rome, with the call number 2856 (formerly 208). The chansonnier, in choir-book format, contains 121 compositions of which 111 have French text incipits and 10 have Italian. José Llorens has shown the source to have belonged to Isabella d'Este through the presence of the stemme of the Gonzaga and Este families in the lower margin of the first page of music (f. 3v).⁸⁰

Concerning the date of the manuscript's redaction Llorens says only "ca. 1500."⁸¹ Thanks to recent research and the discovery of a letter in the Mantuan Archives, it is now possible to date it with considerably more precision.

As a terminus post quem 11 February 1490 may be given, i.e., the date of Isabella's wedding to Francesco Gonzaga in Ferrara,⁸² for the stemme of both families are included in the manuscript, not simply that of the Este's. It must be immediately suspected that the codex was prepared shortly after her wedding on the basis of the repertory contained therein, for there is no trace of the frottole that Isabella was to develop in Mantua in the decade preceding 1500. The Italian-texted pieces are either those of Northern musicians resident in Italy, e.g., Johannes Martini and Johannes Ghiselin, with six and one attributions respectively; or

⁸⁰Llorens-Rc 2856, pp. 168-173.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 173.

⁸²Cartwright-Isabella, vol. I, p. 15.

they are those of earlier composers, e.g., Caron (one piece) and Morton (one piece).⁸³

Mention of the names of Martini and Ghiselin calls forth the city of Ferrara, and it is the repertory of that locale which is most strongly suggested in our manuscript. Johannes Martini, maestro di cappella at Duke Ercole I's court by 1475, teacher to Isabella d'Este, is represented by twenty-two pieces, the greatest number to be given to any composer there. Since documents are silent on Martini after 1492, that year may be hypothesized as a terminus ante quem for the manuscript.⁸⁴

Five other composers connected with the Ferrarese court are included in Rc 2856, Ghiselin (Verbonnet), Obrecht, Agricola, Carlo de Launoy, and Josquin. Ghiselin, represented by three pieces, was at Ferrara on 27 July 1491, as Isabella wrote to him on that day requesting singers for her court.⁸⁵ He must have been there several years earlier also, for on 10 October 1491 he wrote to Duke Ercole I asking for a benefice for his young son.⁸⁶ He seems to have

⁸³Caron's Tanto lafano seems to be a contrafactum of a piece in the Laborde Chansonier at the Library of Congress, Le despourvue. There is one further piece with an Italian text, the anonymous Tante belle mi son pensando, an unicum.

⁸⁴Reese-Renaissance, p. 221.

⁸⁵See p. 16.

⁸⁶Gottwald-Ghiselin, p. 107.

left Ferrarese service by 1492, at which date he was in Florence.⁸⁷ Obrecht, represented by five chansons, had been in Ferrara shortly before this time, in 1487 and 1488.⁸⁸ Agricola, with seventeen attributed compositions, second only to Martini in the number of pieces included in the manuscript, was in Ferrara by 1491, for he is recorded with Carlo de Launoy as having left Ferrara in that year.⁸⁹ The letter in question, written in Bologna on 23 October 1499, is a plea from Carlo to Isabella d'Este begging forgiveness and asking to re-enter her service:

...I beg humbly that [Your Ladyship] will deign to receive [me] as a good servant even though I know that, [in] my error, [I] was extremely ungrateful to Your Ladyship when I left silently with Agricola. In the first place, it was [the fault of] Verbonnet; in the second place, it was my weakness and great foolishness....⁹⁰

These three musicians evidently went to Florence, as Agricola and Carlo were both recorded as singers in Santa Maria del Fiore there on 1 October 1491, and Verbonnet is listed on 1 October 1492.⁹¹

⁸⁷See below.

⁸⁸Picker-Marguerite, p. 46.

⁸⁹That Carlo left in 1491 is shown in a letter of Martini written on 10 October 1491. See Table 1, no. 7.

⁹⁰"...suplico humilmente si degna ricevere per bon servidore benchè cognosco che'l mio errore fu molto ingrato verso la S.V. Ill.ma quando me parti muto con Agricola. Prima occasione si fu Verboneto, seconda si fu el mio indebile et grosso ingenio..." (B. 1144). The letter is now published in Gallico-Josquin, p. 210.

⁹¹D'Accone-15th Century, pp. 344-345.

Carlo is represented by one piece in Rc 2856, Cela sans plus, included there with an added bass part by Martini (f. 153v-154r, "Colinet de Launoy").⁹²

The last composer known to have been at Ferrara who is represented in our manuscript is Josquin and, unhappily, the exact date of his arrival in Ferrara is problematic. In 1495 he is mentioned as a candidate for Duke Ercole I's chapel, although the writer recommended Isaac over him.⁹³ From 1501 to 1503 Josquin was in the North hiring singers for Ferrara, finally arriving in that city on 13 April 1503.⁹⁴

Whatever date we choose for Josquin's first arrival in Ferrara, it is clear that Rc 2856 was copied before that time, for Josquin, represented by five compositions, is the subject of an incredible garbling process concerning his name: Adieu mes amours is attributed to "Josfim"; A lumbre dun bissonet, to "Bolkim"; Que vous madame - In pace, to "Joskin"; and Ile fantazies de Joskin, to "Joschin." Only Uno Mosque de biscayo is attributed to "Josquin de Pres." Surely this could not have happened with a composer familiar at court. Martini is always listed as "Jo. Martini";

⁹²not "Cosinet de Jaunoy" as printed in Llorens-Rc 2856, p. 172.

⁹³The date of this letter has been the subject of considerable controversy, see Main-Josquin, p. 91, for the correct reading.

⁹⁴Ostoff-Josquin, vol. I, pp. 51-53.

Verbonnet, always "Jo. Ghiselin"; and Agricola, always "Agricola."

With the exception of Josquin all of the musicians discussed were at the Ferrarese court in the period extending from 1488 to 1492. Since the terminus post quem is 11 February 1490, the date of redaction of the manuscript may be suggested as having taken place during the years 1490 to 1492. A letter from Ercole I to Isabella strengthens this hypothesis and, in fact, suggests a date of compilation in the latter part of 1490.

Illustrious and Excellent daughter, most gracious Lady, Isabella d'Este, Marchesa of Mantua, we greet you. Having seen the desire that you have that we lend you for a few days our book of songs so that you may copy some of them, we are sending through our courier the said book.... Have someone copy that which pleases you, and then return it to us safely, and the more quickly you have it returned to us, the more we will be grateful. With best wishes. Ferrara 15 October 1490.⁹⁵
[italics mine]

While this letter would not be proof in itself that Rc 2856 was compiled in 1490, it is very suggestive of such a date when combined with the evidence afforded by the repertory of the manuscript. It would have been natural, moreover, that the sixteen-year-old Isabella would have wanted

⁹⁵"Ill.me et Ex.me filie nostre dilectissime Domine Isabelle Estensi Marchionisse Mantue salutem. Visto el disiderio che tenete che vi vogliamo prestare per qualche giorno el libro nostro da le canzone acciò ve ne potiate fare transcrivere alchune et ve ne mandamo per questo nostro corronero a posta dicto libro vedete mo de fare transcrivere quello che vi piace, et poi mandatecelo salvamente, et quanto più presto ce lo farete rimandare tanto più ne sarà grato. Et ben valete. Ferrarie XV octobris 1490." (Busta 1184)

such a collection from Ferrara and would have placed the stemme of both her own family and her new family proudly on the first page of music of the manuscript.

Professor Joshua Rifkin, on the other hand, believes that Rc 2856 was copied by the scribe who copied three hymns in the Ferrarese Ms. a.X.l.ll.⁹⁶ This fact would mean that the manuscript was copied in Ferrara and then given to Isabella, possibly as a wedding gift. Alternately, it may mean only that the scribe passed a period of time at Mantua with the newly-married Marchesa.⁹⁷

It is probable therefore, that Rc 2856 was copied between 1490 and 1492, that it may have been copied at Mantua, and that the repertory represented is a Ferrarese one which Isabella transplanted to Mantua. Thus the pieces contained in the manuscript represent the earliest Mantuan repertory of secular music under Isabella.

Even while receiving Rc 2856, Isabella was turning toward musical settings of Italian texts, and it was these settings which were to fascinate her most and which were to make music at Mantua so important in the rebirth of

⁹⁶Hamm-ModB, pp. 108 and 111.

⁹⁷The date of 1484 proposed for the redaction of Rc 2856 in Hamm-ModB, p. 111 is clearly too early. It requires the assumption that the Ms. was copied and then, at least six years later, the stemme of the Este and Gonzaga families were added. Moreover, the confluence at Ferrara of the composers whose works are contained in Rc 2856 did not occur until after 1484.

Italian vocal music. Under Isabella, Mantua was to become the center of the frottola in northern Italy.

The earliest documented example of Isabella's interest occurs shortly after her marriage to Francesco. The first evidence, a letter of Giovanni Maria Trotto, emphasizes the dependent character of music at Mantua during Isabella's first years there, a dependency which looked to Ferrara as its model.

Most Illustrious Patron,
 ...I am sending your Ladyship a letter from Rizo with a setting of a strambotto, of which I am sending your Ladyship [only] the words, [as] the other [i.e., the music] has not arrived because [Rizo] is at the villa with messer Rainaldo. But when he returns he will do it, and your Ladyship will have it by the first [post to Mantua]. If you hear it sung I know that it will please Your Excellency [because] it is a good song.
 From Ferrara, 27 July 1490.⁹⁸

On the same day Bernardino Pavono wrote from Ferrara, sending Isabella "one of the strambotti that you have requested of me," saying that he would send the other soon.⁹⁹

This situation, in which Isabella received music from Ferrara, was soon to be reversed. Agostino da Villa wrote from Ferrara on 16 October 1494,

⁹⁸"Ill.ma Patrona mia.... Mando a vestra signoria una littera del rizo con uno stranboto notado de quei mando vestra signoria le parole l'altro ancora non he livero per esser sta lui in vila con messer rainaldo Ma mo ch'è venuto lo farà; et per il primo vegni vestra signora l'averà; Se l'oldissi cantare l'è un bon canto so che piacerà a V. Ex.tia. Mi racomando ala S.V. Ex Ferarie die XXVII loio 1490" (Busta 1231).

⁹⁹Busta 1231.

...[Please] send me the sonnet that was composed by the author of the strambotto named: Amor, non te sdegnar se ognor minzengo that I had at Gonzaga.... I would like to show it to His Excellency your father who takes great pleasure in the strambotto....¹⁰⁰

Isabella was in constant correspondence with poets throughout her life, receiving their poems and having them set to music by her composers. This correspondence has been well documented,¹⁰¹ and its importance here is that it seems to have served as one of the primary bases for the addition to the secular repertory at Mantua.

Unfortunately, few of the many letters which survive to document Isabella's association with poets contain references to specific pieces, and many of those that do mention incipits refer to pieces which seem to be no longer extant. Exceptions are the letter of 14 January 1497 in which Galeotto del Carretto names four barzellette set by Tromboncino,¹⁰² and a letter of the poet Tebaldeo from which Gallico has been able to identify Arboro son as a strambotto by Isabella herself.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰"...Mandarme el sonetto che è composto da l'autore del strambotto: detto: Amor non te sdegnar se ognor minzengo: ch'io ebi a Gonzaga.... havendo io desiderio monstrarlo ala Ex. del suo padre el quale prese grandissimo piacerà del stramboto...." (Busta 1233). There is no extant musical setting of this sonnet.

¹⁰¹See p. 5n.

¹⁰²For the letter, see p. 91.

¹⁰³Gallico-M0e 9,9, pp. 109ff.

If specific pieces are not mentioned in the documents, then what may be said about the repertory at Mantua itself? Certainly any of the 120 frottole written by Cara, and any of the pieces written by Tromboncino before 1513, the date of his departure from Mantua, must represent the repertory current in the city. To these pieces could be added the works of Rosso Mantovano and Alessandro Mantovano, but the result still totals only slightly over 250 pieces and cannot be the total repertory. Of the large number of anonymous works in the frottola sources, doubtless a percentage is from Mantua, although exactly which pieces they are, is, of course, impossible to determine.

A search must be made, therefore, for sources of Mantuan provenance. While there is no general agreement among scholars as to the existence of any frottola manuscripts of Mantuan provenance, there are at least two sources which may have originated there: Ms. A.I.4 of the Biblioteca Comunale in Mantua, and Ms. Rès. Vm.⁷ 676 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

MAc A.I.4 is a collection of poesie per musica that has been the subject of a lengthy and useful study by Claudio Gallico.¹⁰⁴ Gallico includes a description of the manuscript, the repertory, and the cultural life of Isabella's court. He is unable to show, however, that MAc A.I.4 originated in Mantua.

¹⁰⁴ Gallico-MAc A.I.4.

The manuscript itself, written on paper, measures 152 mm. overall, and each page measures approximately 143 x 95 mm. In upright format, it is bound in brown pressed leather of the early sixteenth century. It contains some 378 poems, although three of these poems are added at the front of the book by a contemporary hand other than that of the main scribe.¹⁰⁵ In its original state, the codex contained, therefore, 375 poems arranged by text form. Thus, in order, are written 72 sonnets, 128 strambotti, 45 canzonette and ode, 83 frottole, 37 barzellette, 1 Predica d'amore, 8 capitoli and 1 canzone.¹⁰⁶ Several tavole are included, one containing the contents of the entire manuscript, and one tavola speciale for each text form.

Of these 375 poems, 157 have come down to us in musical settings; three of them had two settings, and one had three. Thus, the total number of musical settings of the poetry is 162, of which 89 have composers assigned in musical sources.¹⁰⁷

The composers represented are almost entirely from Northern Italy: Tromboncino set between 23 and 28 texts included here; Cara, between 11 and 13; Jacobus Foglianus,

¹⁰⁵The three poems are Quando la notte abbraccie, listed as "Sonetto di Dante, in un libro Antico Ritrovato"; Il tempo, il quale è nostro, "sonetto del S.or Carlo (this word added by a third hand) Malatesta al S.or Conte guid. Ant.o d'Urbino"; and Se l'età Verde, "Risposta del detto conte al S.or Malatesta."

¹⁰⁶Gallico-MAC A.I.4, p. 11.

¹⁰⁷Gallico-MAC A.I.4 includes a list of capoversi with

6; Antonius Capreolus, 4; Johannes Antonius Brocus Veronensis, 4; Niccolò Pifaro, 6 or 7; and Phillippo de Lurano, between 6 and 8.¹⁰⁸ Among those with fewer settings are Michele Pesenti, Andrea Antico, Alessandro Mantovano, Antonius Patavinus, and Paulus Scottus.

The manuscript was copied during the early years of the sixteenth century; Gallico establishes a terminus post quem of 1500, for included is the poem Quietato a morte, composed for the death of Serafino Aquilano in that year. To this may be added evidence that the manuscript probably was copied slightly after this time, for included in the poems are "frottole," a term not found in Mantuan documents until 1502. The musical sources of the repertory tend to support this hypothesis. A list of concordances with printed musical sources, taken from Gallico, follows:¹⁰⁹

PeF I (1504):	4	PeF VI (1506):	4
PeF II (1505):	4	PeF VII (1507):	41
PeF III (1505):	3	PeF VIII (1507):	24
PeF IV (1505):	17	PeF IX (1509):	4
PeF V(1505):	10	AntF I (1510):	28

The concordances here group themselves around the years 1505 to 1510 and, because of the apparent function of the

known musical settings on pp. 71-108.

¹⁰⁸The indeterminate number of pieces is the result of conflicting ascriptions.

¹⁰⁹Gallico-Mac A.I.4, p. 51, where further concordances are given.

manuscript, a date earlier in that period is suggested, perhaps 1504 or 1505.

The manuscript seems to have been used at court as a continuing repository for poesie per musica, both for music recently composed and for poetry sent to Isabella. Several facts tend to suggest such a use. First, the organization of the texts is the most logical one for such a purpose: they are grouped by form, but with no particular order within those groupings. In the strambotti, for example, Voi che passati qui is followed by L'ardor mio grave, followed in turn by O sospiri soave.¹¹⁰ In short, it is evident that texts were added in chronological order within poetic types.

Second, the fascicle structure of the manuscript is extremely irregular, indicating perhaps a sort of "loose" binding to which sheets were added, finally being bound into its present state. Such a structure would allow the addition of folios as necessary to the section of the manuscript devoted to a given text form. Third, it may be shown that such manuscripts were used at Mantua for the recording of texts. On 30 April 1503 Tolomeo Spagnuolo wrote to Isabella saying that he was including several works by Cara and that "the words of the songs are notated as usual on a page in one of the little notebooks" (Doc. 12,

¹¹⁰f. 73v-74r.

Fig. 12).¹¹¹

This document indicates clearly that manuscripts such as MAC A.I.4 were functioning as repositories for the texts of frottole during the decade in which it most probably originated. That this manuscript was in fact one of these "little notebooks" at Mantua is suggested by three further circumstances.

First, the two composers represented most frequently are Tromboncino and Cara, the two leading composers of Mantua. Second, the manuscript is now in Mantua. Third, Isabella on 27 October 1504 wrote to her father describing the Predica gentile d'amore that is included in the manuscript (ff. 237r-253v).¹¹² Such a description, again written during the decade in which the manuscript was copied, furnishes further evidence for our hypothesis.

Indeed, the year 1504 is a likely date for the beginning of the manuscript, for, if A.I.4 is one of the "quardernetti," then poems would be copied into it as soon as they were composed. This copying would therefore occur considerably before the publishing of a piece. In sum, Ms. A.I.4 seems to have been a repository for the texts of frottole composed at Mantua from the early years of the sixteenth century.

¹¹¹I have translated the phrase "da per se" with the English phrase "as usual." For this interpretation, I should like to thank Dott. Roberto Navarrini of the Archivio di Stato in Mantua.

¹¹²Gallico-MAC A.I.4, p. 106. The letter is published

Another manuscript studied by both Bridgman and Jeppesen may be shown to contain predominantly Mantuan repertory, Pn 676.¹¹³ This manuscript is a choirbook in upright format measuring 242 x 165 mm. It contains 116 paper folios, foliated 9-125, thus indicating that the first fascicle is missing.¹¹⁴ The dating of the manuscript presents no problems, for the scribe Ludovico Milliari has dated each stage of the copying from "4 octobris" (f. 9r) to "finis laus deo 26 octobris 1502" (f. 124v). The provenance, however, is more elusive.

The composers of the works contained in Pn 676 come almost exclusively from northern Italy: Included most often are the two Mantuan composers Tromboncino and Cara with six pieces each. Isaac, with three pieces, forms the exception.

Several pieces point to Ferrara or Mantua as the city of origin for the manuscript: O Triumphale diamante (f. 76-77r) was written in honor of the Duke of Ferrara whose nickname was Il diamante;¹¹⁵ Turcho, Turcho, et Isabella is a reference to Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella d'Este,¹¹⁶ and

in Luzio-Mantova, p. 168.

¹¹³Bridgman-Pn 676; Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. II, pp. 84-86.

¹¹⁴Bridgman-Pn 676, p. 181.

¹¹⁵Bridgman-Pn 676, p. 180, Bridgman-Quattrocento, p. 190, and Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. II, p. 86, where "Turcho" is identified as Francesco's horse. If this is the case, then the poet was employing a double pun, as "isabella" also means "bay-colored mare."

Apresso il santo ucellone carries the canon "flit. in ponticello anno 1485," which Bridgman takes to refer either to the treaty of Bagnolo signed by Ferrara in 1485 or to the succession of Federico Gonzaga by Francesco in 1484.¹¹⁶

Exactly which of the two cities saw the copying of the manuscript is unclear, but, for the present purposes, the actual place of redaction is irrelevant, as ties were so close between Ferrara and Mantua that the repertory of one city must have been effectively part of the repertory of the other. The archives at Mantua are full of letters to Isabella from Ferrara and copies of the weekly letters sent by the Marchesa to her family.¹¹⁷

From an examination of the three manuscripts discussed here, one can see clearly the change brought by Isabella in the musical repertory at Mantua. From the repertory of chansons at the beginning of her stay there (Rc 2856), to the Italian repertories of MAC A.I.4 and Pn 676, Isabella's influence was felt throughout, as it was in the instruments used at Mantua and in the nature of the musical forces themselves.

¹¹⁶Bridgman-Pn 676, p. 180.

¹¹⁷Cartwright-Isabella, vol. I, p. 71.

CHAPTER II

CARA AND MUSIC AT MANTUA

Marchetto Cara, variously called Marco, Marcetus, Marcus, and de Cara or Carra, lived and worked in Mantua for approximately thirty years, thirty years during which Mantuan musical and artistic endeavors were at a high point. From 1494 to 1525 Cara played, sang, and composed for the Gonzaga family. His importance in the musical life at Mantua is unequalled by any musician of his time, and his preeminence as a composer of Italian secular music is challenged only by Bartolomeo Tromboncino who, although more prolific than Cara, was only sporadically in the employ of the Mantuan court.¹ Cara, on the other hand, is central to any consideration of music at Mantua. A favorite of both Isabella d'Este and her husband, Francesco Gonzaga, Cara functioned as lutanist, singer, composer, and, from at least 1512, as maestro di cappella of Marchese Francesco's chapel.²

Cara at Verona

Very little is known concerning Cara's life before his

¹For a discussion of Tromboncino, see pp. 90-98.

²For details on Cara's position as maestro di cappella, see pp. 74-79.

arrival in Mantua. That he is a native of nearby Verona or its environs has long been established through contemporary documents. Principal among these is a letter of 2 September 1502 from Bernardo Bembo, podestà of Verona, to Francesco Gonzaga, in which Cara is referred to as "your servant and our Veronese" (Doc. 10, Dig. 10).³ In a document dated 28 May 1499 Cara is also referred to as "Marchus de Cara, musician of the city of Verona" (Doc. 6, Dig. 6), and PeF I (1504) and IV (1505) contain pieces ascribed to "Marcus Cara Vero[nensis]" and to "Marcus Chara Vero[nensis]," respectively.⁴

The date of Cara's birth is unknown. Baptismal records are lacking for the fifteenth century, and the only source for population studies of Verona, the Campionum estimi comunis verone, or tax record, is ordered by contrade (neighborhoods) and lists only heads of households. The analytical books listing members of households, the Anagrafi contradali del comune di Verona, are woefully incomplete.⁵

³All documents relating to Cara are published as an Appendix below. Preceding these documents is a "Digest of Documents" which gives the salient information contained in each document. Thus, Doc. 10 refers to the tenth document in the appendix, while Dig. 10 refers to the tenth entry in the Digest. The documents begin on p. 267, and the Digest, on p. 257.

⁴The pieces are Oimè el cor, oimè la testa in PeF I (1504), and Io son l'ocel in PeF IV (1505). (For sigla of prints, see vol. II, pp. 4-12.)

⁵Verona, Archivio di Stato.

Without the name of Cara's father, therefore, it is impossible to find information relating to his birth, and less direct methods for ascertaining Cara's relative age are therefore necessary.

Cara came to Mantua in 1494 as both a performer and a composer, for the first document relating him to Mantua mentions a "strambottino by Marchetto":

My Illustrious Lady,

I have heard from Messer Zoanfrancesco how much your ladyship wants new songs [at the] palace. He asked me for a little strambotto composed a few days ago at Mantua by Marchetto, although it does not seem to us very serious (troppo solenne). Thus I am sending it to you willingly together with a calata that is sung quite fast (forte assai) in Rome, so that we have modified it a little (l'inpiastramo), and thus I know that you will appreciate it. I am sending it, however, [and] I have taken it and notated it so that it may be heard sung (dire), and then I have added that harmony. The contralto, however, is taken from the one we have here....

your servant,
Don Bernardino de Urbino

(Doc. 1, Dig. 1)

Cara must have been, logically, a reasonably competent composer by this time. Moreover, there is at least one work of Cara's which seems to predate his arrival in Mantua-- a three-voice Salve Regina in the Veronese manuscript, Codex 759 of the Biblioteca Capitolare. The source, a paper manuscript apparently from the end of the fifteenth century,⁶ contains sacred works of Ockeghem, Tinctoris, and other

⁶Preston-Verona, p. 87. Jeppesen-Sacra, vol. II, p. 10, however, believes that it was copied in the early sixteenth century.

masters in addition to Cara's Salve Regina. Jeppesen believes this piece to have been composed in Verona before the beginning of Cara's service in Mantua.⁷ This assumption is a logical one and is reinforced by stylistic characteristics within the piece. In so far as stylistic criteria may be justified as a basis of dating works, Cara's Salve Regina seems to be wholly a piece of the fifteenth century: it is scored for only three voices, the contratenor making the typically fifteenth-century octave leaps at major cadence points; and the work is generally written in a fauxbourdon-like homorhythmic style with a use of proportions relatively atypical of Cara's later compositions (♩, contrasted with ♩♩). If the Salve Regina is indeed a work of Cara's youth in Verona, then he must have been at least twenty to twenty-five years old in 1494. This reasoning would place the composer's date of birth at sometime around the year 1470.

The presence of a Salve Regina by Cara in VCap 759 raises another question regarding the composer's youth. What sort of musical training did he receive in Verona? While nothing can be stated here which will identify either specific teachers or theoretical treatises, it is possible to give an indication of the kind of study he must have followed. The Salve Regina appears to be the only

⁷MGG-Cara (Jeppesen), vol. II, col. 827, and Jeppesen-Sacra, vol. II, p. 10. The piece is published in the latter source, pp. 96ff.

liturgical work composed by Cara,⁸ and its inclusion in VEcap 759 argues for the inclusion of the composition in the repertory of the neighboring Duomo.

The principal musical institution of Verona during the last half of the fifteenth century was the School of Acolytes, which had as a primary function the providing of music and musicians for the Cathedral.⁹ It is likely that Cara, along with Johannes Brocchus, Bartolomeo Tromboncino, Michele Pesenti, and other composers of Veronese origins, all studied and served here among the pueri choralis. Founded in 1440 by Pope Eugene IV, the school emphasized both music and humanistic studies in its curriculum.¹⁰ Unhappily, however, detailed documents for the choir school begin only in 1520.¹¹

The manuscript containing the Salve Regina, VEcap 759, is intimately connected with the choir school and formed a basic part of its repertory. Moreover, Cara's piece is

⁸There is also a four-voiced Benedicamus domino, an unicum in Ms. C at Casale Monferrato, ascribed to "Car." Whether or not the work is by Marchetto is impossible to determine. I am indebted to Professor David Crawford for calling this work to my attention.

⁹Turrini-Verona, pp. 27-28, and Preston-Verona, pp. 67-68 and 71.

¹⁰Preston-Verona, pp. 52ff, and Lockwood-Ruffo, p. 14.

¹¹Turrini-Verona, p. 14.

liturgically consistent with the service at which the acolytes performed daily--the evening Mass for the Virgin.¹² In this matter, it is also consistent with the repertory of the manuscript, for VEcap 759 contains much material for the Marian feasts.¹³ Cara must have been attached to this choir in some capacity and must have provided the Salve Regina for its use.

Cara at Mantua

With Cara's arrival in Mantua, we are on firmer ground, for there exist some eighty documents in the Archivio di Stato of Mantua relating Cara to that city. These documents, chiefly correspondence, give a surprisingly detailed picture of Cara's life and duties there from 1494 to 1525. This thirty-year tenure may be divided conveniently into two shorter periods, the first, from the year of his arrival until about 1510, and the second, from the year 1511, when he seems to begin functioning as maestro di cappella, to the year 1525, when his name is last mentioned in documents.

1494 to 1510

Cara's duties at Mantua during the earlier portion of his tenure were principally those of composer, singer, and lutanist. In 1495 he sent Francesco Gonzaga pieces which set several "delightful and polished strambotti" (Doc. 2,

¹²Preston-Verona, pp. 71, 76.

¹³Preston-Verona, p. 87.

Dig. 2); in 1499 he composed works for Giulio d'Este in Ferrara (Doc. 4, Dig. 4); in 1502 he composed music to poetry concerning Venus, Mars, and Cupid, for Bernardo Bembo at Verona (Doc. 10, Dig. 10); and again in 1503 he composed several pieces for Isabella (Doc. 12, Dig. 12). In 1505, Cara wrote music for a barzelletta of Galeotto del Carretto. This document, the only mention of Cara's relationship with poets during the earlier period of his life, is also the first mention of a barzelletta in connection with the composer, although Petrucci had published several in PeF I (1504) (Doc. 16, Dig. 15). The final mention of Cara's compositions in the period 1494-1510 is Cesare Gonzaga's letter to Isabella d'Este on 2 December 1510. Cesare asks Isabella "to have Marchetto compose an aria to...[the enclosed] madrigaletto,...and to write it so that the music makes up for the insufficiency of the words." He also begs the Marchesa to send him the aria to the sonnet which begins "cantai" (Doc. 28, Dig. 24).¹⁴

Without doubt, Cara's duties as a composer during this period were far greater than is indicated by the above documents, for it was in these years that the majority of his pieces appeared. The greater portion of his compositional activity therefore, must have been carried out in connection with his other duties at the court--those of singer and lutanist.

¹⁴Cantai mentre nel core, a sonnet by Baldassar Castiglione ascribed to Marchetto in AntF III (1513), f. 45v-46r.

Apparently, it was Cara's duty to sing almost daily for Isabella and Francesco, and for any special guests who might be in Mantua. Many of these pieces must surely have been Cara's own works. In 1502, for example, Isabella wrote to her husband, then in the South leading troops against the French king:

There arrived here Monday a Monsignor Belocho of France and a man of Our Dearest Lord who comes from Venice. I have had him staying at the court and have honored him as much as I am able, and, being invited to dinner with Madonna Francesca Torcella, I took him with me, together with il Magnifico Giuliano Medici who, passing through, has stayed four days to see Mantua, and also lo Magnifico Messer Carlo Bembo who came with Monsignor Belocho. The entertainment I have given them these two days has been to have them hear Marchetto and his wife sing, who rightfully pleased them [the visitors] in the highest fashion... (Doc. 11, Dig. 11).

Not only did Cara sing in Mantua, but, as did many Renaissance musicians, he also followed his patrons on their travels and was sent by them to neighboring courts to perform for nobility. In 1495 Cara was with Francesco in the field while the Marchese was leading the Italian forces against Charles VIII at Fornovo (Doc. 3, Dig. 3). In 1509, he, together with Angelo Testagrossa, Bussetto, and a "Zoan Francesco"¹⁵ accompanied the Marchese into prison at Venice where Francesco was held prisoner by the Republic after being implicated in the League of Cambrai against Venice

¹⁵Bertolotti-Musici, p. 29, equates Zoan Francesco with Francesco da Milano. For an opposing and more convincing view, see Slim-Francesco, pp. 67-68.

(Doc. 26, Dig. 22). It is unclear exactly when Cara joined Francesco, but he returned to Mantua by 10 January 1510, some six months before Francesco's release.¹⁶

Cara was also sent to various cities in northern Italy to sing for friends of the Gonzagas. In 1503 he went to sing in Venice for Elisabetta of Urbino, where he and his wife performed "so beautifully that the Venetians who heard them decided they had never heard better" (Doc. 13, Dig. 13a). In 1506 Cara travelled to Parma to perform for Giovanni Gonzaga, who heard him sing a Mass (Docs. 19 and 20, Dig. 17a and b).

While these are the only documented musical trips taken by Cara before 1511, it is probable that the composer travelled often in the retinue of the Gonzagas on their frequent trips. Thus, he may have travelled to Ferrara on some of Isabella's many trips there and possibly to Rome and Florence as well.¹⁷

Cara's life at Mantua during this time, while busy, must have been a fruitful one. Married to Giovanna Moreschi of Novarra, a singer at the court, he travelled with her to Venice in 1503 (Docs. 13 and 14, Dig. 13a and

¹⁶ Francesco was captured on 7 August 1509 and released on 14 July 1510. Equicola-Mantova, pp. 259 and 264.

¹⁷ The most extensive accounts of Isabella's travels are contained in Cartwright-Isabella, and Lauts-Isabella.

b),¹⁸ and in 1507 perhaps travelled with her to Milan with Isabella to meet Francesco (Doc. 21, Dig. 18). Giovanna died in early May of 1509. Her testament, written by the notary Gian Francesco Carminati,¹⁹ designates her husband as heir (Doc. 25, Dig. 21).

Giovanna had been ill at various times for years, although with what disease the documents do not reveal. In 1501 an unnamed writer asked Francesco for fifty ducats for "donna Zahana, wife of Marchetto Cantore, who has already been ill for many months" (Doc. 8, Dig. 8), and in 1505 Cara overstayed a leave of twelve days in Verona because Giovanna was ill with a fever and was too sick to travel (Doc. 17, Dig. 16a). She may, therefore, have died of a lingering illness.

Cara was undoubtedly shown special favors at court by both Isabella and Francesco. In 1501 the Marchese gave Cara 40 ducats (Doc. 7, Dig. 7); in 1502, 240 ducats (Doc. 9, Dig. 9); and on 30 August 1510, 120 ducats; the last possibly for Cara's service to Francesco while the Marchese was imprisoned in Venice as the gift is recorded in the Libri mandati only six weeks after his release from prison on July 14 (Doc. 27, Dig. 23).

¹⁸Previous writers have rendered the name of Cara's wife as Marasechi. The only document containing her last name is her will, dated 4 May 1509 (Doc. 25, Dig. 21). Here I read Moreschi. See p. 297 for a facsimile of the document.

¹⁹Not Giovanni Carminali as given in Bertolotti-Musici,

Marchetto was also given a considerable amount of land during this time. In 1499 Francesco presented Cara with 109 Bobulcari of land near Gonzaga and approximately 100 Bobulcari near Sermide in return for Cara's services in having eased the Marchese's "grave cares of the city and in war" with his lute (lira), singing, and "composing of songs" (Doc. 6, Dig. 6). In 1507 Francesco presented Marchetto with a house in the contrada Pusterla (Doc. 22, Dig. 19).²⁰ The house was deeded to Cara a second time by Federico Gonzaga in early 1525 (Doc. 78, Dig. 52).

Within two months after the gift of the house in the contrada Pusterla, Francesco had given Marchetto yet another house in Mantua, this time in the Vicolo Santa Agnese just behind the Palazzo dei Bonacolsi and directly across the Piazza Sordello from the Ducal Palace (Doc. 23, Dig. 20a). Cara apparently had trouble with workmen concerning the house. In a letter without date but probably from early 1508, he writes Francesco that he does not want to pay them and asks the Marchese to have them cease in their demands or he will be forced to sell the residence (Doc. 24, Dig. 20b).

p. 20.

²⁰The contrada or "section" of Pusterla in Mantua was an area roughly to the southwest of the Ducal Palace, and extending to the southern gates of the city (the Porta Pusterla). Today this area is bounded by the Piazza Martiri di Belfiore on the north and by the Viale Risorgimento on the south. I am indebted to Dottore Gilberto Carra of the Archivio di Stato in Mantua for this information. See also the view of Mantua included here as a frontispiece. The Porta Pusterla is at the left.

There is no sure evidence to indicate how the dispute was resolved, but, in view of his past financial position and successes, we might assume that he retained the house.

Cara was awarded fifty ducats in 1515 (Doc. 56, Dig. 34), but, aside from this, there are no further records of gifts. Neither are there any pay records of the court or cathedral which include Cara's name on either a regular or an irregular basis. It is therefore probable that at least some of the land was given to him for the purpose of income, perhaps the land near Gonzaga and Sermede. This hypothesis is supported by a letter from Isabella to Giovanni Battista, Podestà of Sermede in 1524, in which she asks the Podestà to force Marchetto's debtors there to make good their debts which originated when Cara "was among the farmers in the Abbacy of Felonica" (Doc. 74, Dig. 48).²¹

There emerges from these documents of the first half of Cara's tenure in Mantua the clear picture of a popular and accomplished musician, in demand both as a performer and as a composer in Mantua and in courts throughout north-eastern Italy. In the latter half of Cara's life at the Gonzaga court, there is a definite change in the subject matter of the documents. No longer is Cara only a performer

²¹Felonica is approximately forty-six kilometers southeast of Mantua.

and a composer, but from 1511 he seems to add administrative concerns to his duties.

1511 to 1525

In two letters of December 1512, Francesco Gonzaga names Marchetto as his maestro di cappella. Both of these letters, previously undiscovered, originate from a period in which Cara was absent from Mantua. The first is a letter of 9 December to Massimilliano Sforza, Duke of Milan.

I pray you...to have taken enough pleasure in Marchetto, contenting yourself to send him and Roberto [D'Avanzini] back, for I would like, in these Feasts of Christmas, to be able to hear my singers, whose music is lacking and much the worse for the absence of their head (capo) and leader (maestro) (Doc. 40, Dig. 30g).

The second letter, written on 17 December, was addressed to Agostino Sementio, Ambassador of Massimilliano.

As for Marchetto, we say that we await him for the pleasure [of having him back], for how we remain without [his services], and, since he is Master of our Chapel (Maestro de la nostra Cappella), we will not be able because of his absence to solemnify the Feasts of this Christmas with our singers as was our greatest wish...(Doc. 43, Dig. 30j).

The fortuitous discovery of the above documents throws new light on music in Mantua and on Cara's duties there. Jeppesen has already commented that Cara seems to have functioned as maestro di cappella for Francesco,²² and, indeed, there are some seven documents spanning the period from 1511 to 1523 which reveal Cara performing administrative

²²MGG-Cara (Jeppesen), vol. II, col. 825.

duties typical of the master of a courtly chapel. The earliest of these, two letters of 20 March 1511, concern the transfer of singers and their belongings from Ferrara to Mantua. Francesco, at the request of Marchetto, wrote to Benedetto Brugiaie at Ferrara, asking to have the effects of "M. Bidone, Zuan Francesco, Cornelio, e Masino" brought to Mantua as quickly as possible (Doc. 29, Dig. 25a). On the same day, he wrote to the Duke of Ferrara, again at the request of Cara, asking to be allowed to keep Bidone for five or six months for "la nostra cappella" (Doc. 30, Dig. 25b).

In 1512 Francesco himself wrote to Cara, asking him to send Statio [Gadio, secretary of the Marchese?] or someone else to Rome to talk with the "Clerics of the Apostolic Chamber" concerning a benefice which Ilario Turlurone, "singer of the chapel," had renounced (Doc. 33, Dig. 28). In a letter of 1513, Cara wrote to the Marchese, begging him to give Don Francesco, a tenor, a benefice, as the singer "finds himself at the end of his life." Cara reminded Francesco that such a benefice would not only help Don Francesco, but would also "give hope to all the other [singers]" (Doc. 51, Dig. 30).

Documents suggesting Cara's administrative role as maestro di cappella continue throughout the latter years of Cara's life. In 1515, Cara wrote to Federico concerning the recall of a "Dominichino Maistro de canto" for the Marchese's

chapel (Doc. 58, Dig. 36). In 1518, Angelo Testagrossa wrote to Federico, asking for permission to return to the Marchese's service and saying that he had spoken to Cara concerning the possibility (Doc. 67, Dig. 43). Finally, in 1523, Federico wrote to Cara, ordering him to bring Pozzino, Zoppino, Agostino della Viola, and their sons to Marmiolo for music (Doc. 69, Dig. 45a).²³

Judging from these documents, Cara's administrative duties as maestro di cappella appear to have continued from 1511 until at least 1523. Furthermore, Cara seems to have served in this capacity for both Francesco Gonzaga and for Federico his son. Also through these documents, two previously unexplored facets of Cara's musical duties at Mantua are suggested, both concerning sacred music.

First, Marchetto seems definitely to have been choir-master of a group whose responsibilities included the performance of sacred music. The phrases used by Francesco in the letters of 1512 make such a conclusion inescapable. Particularly revealing is Francesco's letter to Agostino Sementio of 17 December: "because of his [Cara's] absence, we will not be able to solemnify the Feasts of this Christmas with our singers..." (Doc. 43, Dig. 30j). The earlier letter of 9 December is similar in tone: "I would like, in these Feasts of Christmas, to be able to hear my singers,

²³Marmiolo, the site of a villa of the Gonzagas, is seven kilometers northwest of Mantua.

whose music is lacking and much the worse for the absence of their head and leader" (Doc. 40, Dig. 30g). The use of the phrase "Feasts of Christmas" in both letters points to a choir which is responsible for the sacred music of services of the Church, as does the use of the word "solemnify" in the later letter. That Cara did, in fact, perform sacred music is assured, for he sang in a Mass in Parma in 1506 (Doc. 20, Dig. 17b). It seems unlikely that he would have been called to Parma for this purpose had he not been accustomed to such duties.²⁴

Cara's duties as maestro di cappella include tasks concerned with musicians known primarily through their service at the Cathedral. In 1511, Cara requested that the belongings of Bidone, Fra Zoan Francesco, Cornelio, and Masino sent to Mantua (Doc. 24, Dig. 25a) and the same day requested that Bidone be allowed to stay at Mantua (Doc. 30, Dig. 25b). This is exactly the time at which Francesco is assembling musicians for his new choir of San Pietro, and the singers were being brought to Mantua for this purpose.²⁵

²⁴I have found no trace of Cara's performance in San Pietro on 12 January 1511 reported in MGG-Mantua (Sartori) and in Gallico-Mantova, the latter article being almost an exact translation of the former. The document to which both articles apparently refer is translated above (see pp.31-32) and contains no mention of Cara, Tromboncino, Francesco da Milano, or Testagrossa. It seems likely that Sartori has mistakenly transferred these names (with the exception of Tromboncino) from Doc. 26, Dig. 22, which lists these musicians as having been with Francesco in Venice during the preceding year.

²⁵See pp.30-31 and Tagmann-Mantua, p. 13.

Indeed, one of the singers, Fra Zoan Francesco had already written to the Marchese from Ferrara, thanking him for asking the singer to be a member of the "choir of good singers" which Francesco was beginning in Mantua.²⁶ Also brought for the new choir is Ilario Turlorone, a singer from Ferrara who later went to Rome to join the Papal Choir there.²⁷ Cara was also concerned with Turlorone, as he was to send a messenger to Rome concerning a benefice renounced by Ilario (Doc. 33, Dig. 28).

Second, another indication of Cara's activity at the Cathedral is a piece of negative evidence. There is no mention of any singer at San Pietro who was in a position of authority in the choir from 1511 to 1526.²⁸ These dates are of prime importance: 1511 was the first year in which Cara was given administrative duties, and 1526 is the year in which he disappears from Mantuan documents. While Cara is apparently not mentioned in the records of the Cathedral itself, the corroborating evidence indicates that he must have played an important part in the music there, and that,

²⁶Letter of fr. Johannes Franciscus Laudensis, cantor. Written from Ferrara, 9 December 1510. Quoted from Bertolotti-Musici, p. 22.

²⁷See Bertolotti-Musici, p. 23, and Canal-Mantova, p. 676.

²⁸From 1510 to 1511 a Maestro Rossino, primus inter pares, is responsible for the "conduct of the chapter." He is released on 25 August 1511. See Tagmann-Mantua, pp. 25, 33, and 76. In 1511 there is a mention of a "Zo" (whom Tagmann equates with Don Zo Franchesco) having similar duties.

indeed, this must have been the cappella of which he was the leader.

Cara's duties at Mantua also included those of composer and performer during the latter period of his life. As a composer, he achieved even more prominence. No fewer than eleven letters attest to the popularity of his pieces. In 1511, Isabella sent some of Cara's works to the Marchese of Bitonto in Naples (Doc. 31, Dig. 26), and in 1516, the Marchese wrote thanking her for still other pieces by Marchetto, noting that the works "are of such perfection that they serve to honor [the name of] music," and that "everyone wishes to regard them as sacred objects" (Doc. 64, Dig. 40). Cara's influence reached other centers, specifically Rome and France. In 1516, Cara, through Ippolito Calandra, sent pieces to Federico in Rome, in spite of "the greatest fatigue in the world" and promised to send four books of "songs and words" soon (Docs. 59 and 60, Dig. 37a and b). The four books of music apparently were not sent to Rome, for, on 14 June of the same year, Cara wrote to Federico, now at the French court, again promising to send "four books of songs...of new things" by the first mail going to France (Doc. 62, Dig. 39a). On 2 August, Cara wrote that he was finally sending the "four books of songs, that is, frottole" (Doc. 63, Dig. 39b).

An even more interesting letter is addressed by Cara to Isabella in Rome on 12 March 1525. Here, Cara sends five "madricalj," saying that he believes some of them to be

known already in Rome (Doc. 79, Dig. 53). Cara was probably referring to pieces contained in DorC I (1526) and to DorC II (1531), as both were apparently first published in Rome and before 1524.²⁹

Two more letters appear in the archives linking Cara's music to the poetry of Galeotto del Carretto, the only poet whose name is mentioned with Cara's in Mantuan documents. In the first, sent to Isabella on 30 October 1513, Galeotto sends a "capitolo in dialogue concerning one who speaks with a spirit, together with several other [pieces]" which he asks Isabella to have Marchetto set to music. He also asks her to remind Marchetto to set the "barzelle and other new songs" which he has already sent (Doc 52, Dig. 31). On 10 June 1516, Galeotto again wrote to Isabella, sending a "capitolo in dialogue for three persons" and asked her to have Marchetto write music for it when the composer has time (Doc. 61, Dig. 38). These two letters would seem to indicate that Cara was setting a considerable amount of Galeotto's poetry.

As a performer, Cara was quite busy both in Mantua and away from home. In Mantua only special occasions for Cara's services are recorded, as for normal services oral orders would have been sufficient. Thus, for example, Federico

²⁹Ferdinand Columbus lists a third book purchased in Rome in 1524. Chapman-Columbus, p. 50.

wrote to Marchetto on 15 May 1523:

Messer Marco,

We would like you, together with Pozzino, Zoppino, and Messer Agostino della Viola and their boys, to come here to Marmiolo tomorrow morning to play for us, reminding the aforesaid [musicians] to bring their instruments for singing and playing. So that you may come in comfort, we are writing to the Master of our illustrious mother's horses [asking him] to let you have a carriage from our mother. However, we shall wait without any doubt. (Doc. 69, Dig. 45a)

Such a letter would have been unnecessary had Federico been in Mantua.

Another special occasion for which Cara played was the visit of several Venetian ambassadors to Mantua in 1515. The ambassadors were welcomed to the city with trumpets, taken to a Mass and on a tour of various houses of the city, and were guests at dinner in the Gonzaga Palace. After dinner they moved to a small room where "Marchetto and another with two lutes performed [i.e., sang] certain canzone better than had ever been heard before" (Doc. 57, Dig. 35).

During the period of 1511 to 1525, Cara travelled to Cremona, Milan, and to Urbino to perform. The journey to Cremona and Milan, undertaken in the latter part of November 1512 and lasting until the end of January 1513 is the single most heavily documented event in Cara's life (There exist some seventeen letters concerning Cara's visit.), and, as such, deserves attention here.

On 18 November 1512 Agostino Sementio, ambassador to the Duke of Milan, wrote Francesco Gonzaga that Duke

Massimilliano Sforza was puzzled by the delay in sending Marchetto and Roberto to Cremona, for the Marchese had promised that they would be sent the previous week.

Massamilliano himself added a postscript to the letter requesting the musicians' presence (Doc. 34, Dig. 29a).³⁰

Francesco answered on 23 November that Cara had not yet left because Cremona was under siege and Cara, who was "timid and cowardly of spirit," feared artillery "more than the devil" (Doc. 35, Dig. 29b).

By 26 November Cara and Roberto had arrived in Cremona and performed for the Duke. "After dinner [he] and a few others heard them in his chamber with greatest delight." The two musicians were to accompany Massimilliano to Milan (Doc. 36, Dig. 29c). Cara, who apparently had no wish to go, wrote Francesco the next day, asking if the Marchese really wished them to accompany the Duke (Doc. 37, Dig. 29d). Francesco replied on the 28th, giving permission for Cara and Roberto to travel to Milan, asking, however, that the two musicians be returned as soon as possible (Doc. 38, Dig. 29e). Cara, none too happy with the idea of the trip, wrote Francesco on 1 December:

Illustrious and Excellent Lord and patron;

Through one of your Lord's [servants] I have learned that I am to accompany the Lord Duke to Milan and that there he will let me leave. I would prefer to return to serve your Lord whom only I love and adore and...whom I honor as much as I am able. In

³⁰I was unable to find any correspondence prior to 18 November, although the context of the letter indicates clearly that such correspondence took place.

your continuing good will Roberto and I ask to remain.

the humble servant of your Lord,
Marchetto

(Doc. 39, Dig. 29f)

From this point on, matters become more complicated. The departure for Milan was delayed, but the party was apparently to reach there by around Christmas (Doc. 41, Dig. 29i), and Francesco sent letter after letter asking for his musicians' return, first because of the approaching "Feasts of Christmas" (Docs. 40 and 43, Dig. 29g and 29j), then after Christmas because of poor health and the desire for entertainment (Docs. 44-48, Dig. 29k-o). During part of this period, 16 December to 15 January, Francesco received no replies to his many letters, either from Sementio or from the Duke himself, and the desire for his musicians gradually became a fixation, culminating in a veritable frenzy of letter-writing on 14 January. On this day, he wrote some four letters concerning Cara's absence. He wrote to Isabella asking her to petition the Duke in his favor (Doc. 45, Dig. 29l), to Massimiliano saying that Isabella was coming and that he would like Cara and Roberto back (Doc. 46, Dig. 29m), to Sementio asking him to have the musicians return (Doc. 48, Dig. 29o), and finally to Cara himself:

Marchetto,

We are indeed pleased that his Excellency the Duke has been happy to see you and Roberto and has made you dear [to him], for we know that your prowess [virtù] merits it. But you are not without our greatest displeasure because of your extreme tardiness in returning. We have not a single pleasure or recreation, and we have never

known [a time] when we have had such need of your presences as now when we remain in bed for the new purgation of this illness. However, we want you to make new pleas and vigorously to try to obtain permission to return....You are to leave even without having permission...(Doc. 47, Dig. 29n).

Even this was not to get Marchetto back, however, for on the next day, the Duke wrote to Francesco that, although he had been intending to let the musicians return, he would now keep them pending the visit of Isabella (Doc. 49, Dig. 29p). On 25 January, Massimilliano wrote that he was finally sending Marchetto and Roberto back to Mantua:

Illustrious Lord and most honored father:

We are sending back to your Lordship your musicians Marchetto and his companion whom we know we have kept longer than you wished. Do not attribute this to their negligence, but to us... (Doc. 50, Dig. 29q).

Cara was back in Mantua by 19 February, for on this day he sent a routine letter to Francesco concerning administrative matters of the Marchese's chapel (Doc. 51, Dig. 30). It was assuredly at this time also that Cara wrote Quis furor tanti rabiesque morti, a frottola-like Latin ode on syphilis, from which Francesco was suffering at the time:

What fury and madness, what violence of such heavy disease harass the spirit! What a dire poison steals upon me and consumes the marrow of my bones.

Lo, my cheeks are swollen with perpetual weeping, even though my body is held in slumber; food does not restore my failing strength nor lighten my limbs.

The blow struck burns into a gaping wound which will never heal in a scar. Only cease, and come, celebrate thy glad triumphs; thou conquerest the lover.

So mayest thou love ever, and never attain;

so mayest thou love ever, and never be loved;
 so mayest thou be distraught, and may Venus and
 Cupid cruelly menace thee.³¹

The piece was published in the same year at Rome in AntF III (1513).

The next documented trip by Cara occurs in 1524, although brief visits to other courts must surely have taken place in the interim between 1513 and 1524. On 25 January 1524, Leonora d'Urbino, the eldest daughter of Francesco and Isabella, wrote to Federico asking him for several arch-lutes (citaroni) and requesting that he send Marchetto to her for several days (Doc. 72, Dig. 47a). On 14 February she wrote again thanking him for both the arch-lutes and for dispatching Cara so quickly (Doc. 73, Dig. 44b).

Cara also remained a favorite of the Gonzaga family in Mantua. In 1512 he took as his second wife one of the ladies of Isabella's court. Amico della Torre wrote on 22 January to Federico Gonzaga at Rome:

Most illustrious Sire:

Two court ladies (Donzelle) of your illustrious mother are newly planning to be married: la Ghera to Maestro Baptista Gremaſcho the doctor, and la Leale to Marchetto the singer. I believe that this coming Sunday they will be married, although I think with little solemnity because of the time it takes.

(Doc. 32, Dig. 27)

The first name of Cara's new wife is not given, but the Leale family was well established in Mantua. Thus, for

³¹Translation quoted from Einstein-AntF III, p. x.

example, on 13 December 1507, Francesco gave land in the neighborhood of Gonzaga to a "Bernardino del Leale."³²

Further evidence of Mantuan love for Cara is provided by a document of 1 January 1525 wherein Federico Gonzaga conferred Mantuan citizenship on the musician and his family for eternity, saying that he was loved by "Francesco our parent" and that he was loved by Federico also for his integrity as well as for his skill as a musician (Doc. 77, Dig. 51).

Cara's life as a performer continued up to the last known document mentioning him, that of 2 June 1525. This letter, from Hieronimo Gabloneta in Padua to Federico Gonzaga mentions Cara as being ill:

Most illustrious Lord and most worthy patron:
 Messer Marcho your singer is here in Padua and is not recovered from his gout. He is feeling better but is a little disordered and truly I have compassion on him in this bestial heat. As for me I do not believe that there is a place on earth where it is hotter than here in Padua. (Doc. 80, Dig. 54)

This letter is extremely suggestive (It is the last Mantuan document to mention the composer's name.) and it may indicate both a possible cause and a possible time of death for Cara.

Is it possible that Cara died sometime shortly after 2 June 1525 from gout? Two outside circumstances tend to reinforce this hypothesis. First, no new work by Cara

³²Libro decreti, vol. 33, f. 167-168.

appears to have been published after 1526. The prints that contain Cara's compositions cease by 1526, even though several have generally been considered to be later. DorC II (1531) has been shown above to be a reprint of an edition appearing by 1524,³³ and JudF I, usually considered to date from 1530, has been shown by Jeppesen to have been published by 1526.³⁴ Cara is present in none of the prints of the early 1530's.

Second, 1526 is the first year since 1511 that a person in the role of maestro di cappella is mentioned at San Pietro. In 1511, a "Don Zo Fachetto" is mentioned in the Cathedral's documents as one who is "to teach singing in church," but is not heard from again.³⁵ In 1526, a "Don Francesco de Hostilia" is listed in the same role.³⁶ If Cara were indeed maestro di cappella from 1511, then Francesco de Hostilia would have been his replacement, and it is possible that in 1525 or 1526 Cara was either dead or too infirm to carry out his duties.

Moreover, the later symptoms of gout, the excretion of uric acid to the joints of the body, are exactly those described in the above letter. In the more advanced stages

³³See p. 80.

³⁴See vol. II, p. 7 and Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, pp. 74ff.

³⁵Libri massarie 1511, fol. 63v. Quoted from Tagmann-Mantua, p. 25. See also p. 78 n above.

³⁶Terminationes Capituli 1515-1554, f. 33r (30 December 1526. Ibid.

of the condition, particles of uric acid are deposited directly into the circulatory system, a circumstance which results both in irrationality (in the words of the letter, "a little disordered") and in kidney failure which, in turn, results in death.³⁷ It is possible, then, that Cara may have been suffering from an advanced case of gout, and may have died from the kidney failure which can accompany the condition.

If this is true, then Cara's life would span the years between approximately 1470 and 1525, thus making him approximately fifty-five years old at his death. This is a relatively short life, but it was one of great activity and fame.

Contemporary Judgments

During his lifetime, Cara was represented in virtually every print of Italian secular music which issued from the presses, whether those presses were Venetian, Roman, or Neopolitan. Documents in Mantua attest to his popularity both as a composer and as a performer. In this latter capacity, he was known outside Mantua in cities of Northern Italy wherever the Gonzaga family travelled. Baldasar Castiglione in his Libro del cortegiano compares Cara with another singer known in Mantua, Messer Bidone.³⁸ The

³⁷I am indebted to Dr. William Radcliffe of the University of North Carolina Medical Center for this information.

³⁸For Bidone's service in Mantua, see pp. 35-36.

passage not only confirms Cara's popularity, but also shows how evocative his singing must have been:

Consider music, the harmonies of which are now solemn and slow, now very fast and novel in mood and manner. And yet all give pleasure, although for different reasons, as is seen in Bidone's manner of singing which is so skilled, quick, vehement, impassioned, and has such various melodies that the spirits of his listeners are stirred and take fire, and are so entranced that they seem to be uplifted to heaven. Nor does our Marchetto Cara³⁹ move us less by his singing, but only with a softer harmony. For in a manner serene and full of plaintive sweetness, he touches our souls, gently impressing a delightful sentiment upon them. (Doc. 81, Dig. 55)⁴⁰

Since Il cortegiano was published and re-published in Italy and abroad throughout the sixteenth century, Cara's posthumous fame was assured, both through his mention here and through two other sources. He is mentioned along with Tromboncino and others as a singer and lutanist (cantore al liuto) in Pietro Aaron's Lucidario in Musica of 1545 (Doc. 83, Dig. 57), and in 1567 he is listed by Cosimo Bartoli in his Ragionamenti Accademici as one who, "following at the feet of Josquin, taught the world how to compose music." This is remarkable praise for Cara, and all the more remarkable because he is the only Italian so

³⁹The use of the pronoun "our" in connection with Cara is susceptible to two interpretations. The figural speaker of the passage is Count Ludovico da Canossa (1476-1532) who was of a Veronese family. The pronoun may therefore refer to Cara's Veronese origins, or, as Castiglione himself was from Mantua, it may refer to Cara's Mantuan residence.

⁴⁰The translation used here is Singleton-Courtier, p. 60.

honored. The remainder of the list includes Mouton, Brumel, Isaac, de Silva, and Agricola (Doc. 84, Dig. 58).

Cara and Tromboncino

Any study of Cara's life and his importance to musical life in Mantua would be incomplete without a consideration of Bartolomeo Tromboncino, for the latter composer was also in residence in Mantua and served as both a composer and a performer for the Gonzaga family. A brief biography of Tromboncino is therefore in order here, along with an indication of his relative importance to Mantuan music.⁴¹

Bartolomeo Tromboncino was born in Verona at about the same time as Cara, although no information remains in that city. By 1487, Tromboncino's father, Bernardo Piffaro, was already in Mantua (Doc. 13, Dec. 1487, Busta 2903, Book 131, f. 6r), and it is logical to assume that Bartolomeo was there with him. In 1489, Tromboncino wrote from Mantua to Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence, apologizing for not going to that city because of "two solemn feasts" in Mantua and indicating that his duties included that of playing trombone.⁴² These documents indicate that

⁴¹Information on Tromboncino is taken from the following sources: Bertolotti-Musici, Canal-Montova, Davari-Mantova, Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, MGG-Tromboncino (Rubsamén), and documents seen by the author in Mantua. In cases in which the relevant documents were transcribed by the author, Busta numbers are given in parentheses.

⁴²Florence, Archivio di Stato. Published in Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, p. 145 together with a facsimile of the letter on p. 151.

Tromboncino was in Mantuan service some seven years before Cara is mentioned in the documents. Tromboncino's duties may have been limited to performance during the early part of his tenure in Mantua, however, as the first document to mention his compositions dates from 1 January 1497, some three years after Cara is mentioned as a composer. The letter is from the poet Galeotto del Carretto to Isabella:

Your Ladyship, upon my departure from Mantua, promised to send me some songs on my barzellette composed by Tromboncino, and I still have not received them. Therefore, I beg you to send them by the present rider of our Lordship....The songs of the barzellette that I would like are these: Lassa o donna i dolci sguardi, pace hormai o mei sospiri, etc., Se gran festa mi mostrarsti, etc., Donna sai come tuo sono, e ch'indarno per te stento ma se teco mi lamento, tu mi dici che son bono, etc. I would also like a new aerea de capitulo, if this is possible... (Busta 745).⁴³

If Cara's career at Mantua is a relatively peaceful one, Tromboncino's is the opposite. In 1495, he left Mantua suddenly to join his father, who had passed to Venetian service. Antonio Salimbeni wrote on 5 June 1495 to Francesco Gonzaga saying that both he and Bernardo had scolded Tromboncino for leaving and had reminded him that he was the "slave and servant" to the Marchese. Bartolomeo now wished to return to Mantua (Busta 1435, f. 280r). On 20 July 1495, Isabella wrote to Francesco that Tromboncino had returned from Venice, and that she was returning to the Marchese in the field the horse which Tromboncino apparently

⁴³The letter is published and the three texts identified in Einstein-Madrigan, vol. I, pp. 45f.

took with him. She was confident that the musician would remain this time, because he had no transportation without the horse (Busta 2992, Book 5, f. 57r-v).

Tromboncino was now back in the relative good graces of the Gonzaga family, but he was to alienate himself again by killing his wife on 21 July 1499. Isabella's letter of this day to her husband gives a detailed picture of the event:

Most Illustrious Lord,

Today around five o'clock in the afternoon, Alfonso Spagnolo came to notify me that Tromboncino had killed his wife with great cruelty for having found her at home alone in a room with Zoanmaria de Triomfo who was seen by Alphonso at the window asking him [Alphonso] to find a ladder; But, hearing noise in the house, [Alphonso] did not wait and went inside. He found Tromboncino, who had attacked his wife with weapons, climbing the stairs accompanied by [his] father and a boy. Although he [Alphonso] reprimanded him, Tromboncino replied that he had the right to punish his wife [if he] found her in error, and, not having arms, he [Alphonso] was unable to stop him, so that when he returned home for arms, she was already dead. Zoanmaria, in the middle of this, jumped from the window. Tromboncino then retreated to [the Church of] Santa Barnaba with the father and the boy.

For myself, I wanted to tell the story to Your Excellency and to beg you that, having had legitimate cause to kill his wife, and being of such goodwill and virtue as you are, to have mercy on them, and also on the father and the boy who, as far as Alphonso could tell, did not help Tromboncino in any way except to escape, for he alone wounded and killed her....⁴⁴

The same day the Registro necrologii had the entry, "Antonia,

⁴⁴Published in Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, p. 146.

wife of Bartolomei Tronbonzino, died in the contrada Bovis from wounds and remained ill for the space of one hour."⁴⁵

The documents at this point become unclear as to Tromboncino's actions. In 1501, Mario Londo wrote Isabella from Verona reporting that her singers had not performed because they could not sing with Tromboncino, who was in disgrace with the Marchesa (3 May 1501; Busta 1439, f. 659r). Thus it would appear that the musician was no longer in Mantua.

On the other hand, there are documents relating to Tromboncino all through this period in the Mantuan Archives. Thus, for example, on 13 November 1500, Galeotto del Carretto wrote to Isabella mentioning that Tromboncino was to sing and play his poetry for her (Busta 745),⁴⁶ and on two occasions, Tromboncino is mentioned in the Libri mandati. On 30 March 1501, he was given 168 lire (Libro mandati, vol. I, f. 57v), and on 23 April of the same year a certain Phillipus is given fifty ducats in connection with a house belonging to Tromboncino (Libro mandati, vol. I, f. 78v).

⁴⁵"Antonia uxor Bartolomei Tronbonzino. In contrada bovis morta est ex Vulneratione et stetit infermam per spaccio di una hora." (Registri necrologi, 1490-1501, f. 130v).

⁴⁶The letter is published in Davari-Mantova, pp. 55f. There is a problem with another letter of Galeotto of the same year. Rubsamen-Sources, p. 10 quotes a letter from Galeotto to Isabella of 29 January 1500 mentioning a barzulletta given to Tromboncino. Rubsamen is translating from Promis-Galeotto, pp. 47-48, where the letter is given in full. A letter of this date from Galeotto to Isabella exists (Busta 745) but it is not the same letter.

It seems likely, therefore, that Tromboncino remained in Mantua during this time and that it was another matter which caused him to be in disgrace in May of 1501.

Tromboncino was given leave to go to Venice in 1502 (23 January; Libro mandati, vol. II, f. 83v) and was not definitely in Mantua again until 1512 or 1513.

In the same year Tromboncino is documented as being in Ferrara for the wedding of Alfonso d'Este to Lucrezia Borgia. On 8 February Isabella wrote to her husband that, during a performance of the comedy Asinaria, there was music by "Tromboncino, Paula Pozzino, and their companions, which gave greater honor to Mantuans than to the Ferrarese" (Busta 2993, Book 13, f. 41r). On the next day Isabella wrote that Tromboncino sang a barzelletta in honor of the newlyweds before the comedy La Cassina (Ibid., f. 42r).

In 1512 Francesco wrote to Bernardo Piffaro asking him to bring his son (figliolo) to Mantua (Busta 2919, Book 221, f. 76r), although this may not refer to our Bartolomeo, but to another son, possibly the boy mentioned in Isabella's letter of 21 July 1499.⁴⁷ Finally, in 1513, Tromboncino was given leave to take two carts of wine to Ferrara,⁴⁸ and he is not mentioned again as being in Mantua.

It is probable that Bartolomeo returned to Venice at this time, for in 1521 he requested Venetian citizenship,

⁴⁷ Francesco's letter is published in Bertolotti-Musici, p. 19.

⁴⁸ Davari-Mantova, pp. 58-59.

and in 1535 sent a letter to Giovanni del Lago from Vicenza mentioning his imminent return to Venice.⁴⁹ This is the last letter of Tromboncino and the last mention of his name in the documents. Presumably, he died sometime shortly after this.

The contrast between the lives of Cara and Tromboncino is striking, as is that of their respective roles in Mantuan music and music making. Cara's life gives the impression of his being an integral part of music there, while Tromboncino leaves again and again, never rising to a position of prominence in the musical establishment.

It is true, however, that Tromboncino seems more important than Cara in certain respects. His association with poets, for example, is a more intimate one than is Cara's. One finds nine letters from poets in Mantuan archives which mention Tromboncino's settings of their poetry, while there are only three concerning Cara. Moreover, Tromboncino was apparently concerned with the literary quality of his texts considerably earlier than was Cara. The former composer set at least eleven poems of Petrarch (the first in PeF VII [1507]), four of Galeotto del Carretto, three of Serafino dall' Aquila, and one each of Pietro Bembo, Niccolò da Correggio, Poliziano, and Michelangelo,

⁴⁹ Both letters are published in Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, pp. 147-148 and p. 150.

among others.⁵⁰ Cara's poetic interest seems to have been much more practical, at least in the earlier period; he set the poems that he was requested to set, regardless of literary quality. In fact, the only correspondence of poets which mentions Cara is during those periods of Tromboncino's absence from Mantua. Thus, for example, Galeotto writes to Isabella on 28 January 1505 requesting settings by Cara (Doc. 16, Dig. 15), during a period (1502-1512) in which Tromboncino is absent from Mantuan documents. Galeotto's other letters to Isabella mentioning Cara occur after Tromboncino's departure from Mantua in 1513.

Tromboncino's interests seem broader than those of Cara in other ways. He is mentioned again and again in connection with dramatic presentations. In 1499 he travelled to Monferrato for Galeotto's comedy Beatrice and sang in the presentation (23 June 1499, Busta 745). In 1502 he composed and sang a barzelletta for the comedy Asinaria in Ferrara,⁵¹ and in 1506 he composed a piece for Castiglione's dramatic eclogue Tirsi in Urbino.⁵² Finally, he sang in another dramatic eclogue in the same city in 1508.⁵³ No such performances are documented for Cara. He also

⁵⁰See MGG-Tromboncino (Rubsamen), vol. XIII, col. 725.

⁵¹See p. 94.

⁵²MGG-Tromboncino (Rubsamen), vol. XIII, col. 724.

⁵³The eclogue is described in a letter to Isabella d'Este from Bernardino de' Prosperi on 14 February 1508. It is published in Luzio-Mantova, pp. 127ff.

composed music for the Lamentations of Jeremiah, while Cara is represented in the field of sacred music only with the early Salve Regina and several laude.⁵⁴

Conversely, Tromboncino's importance in the frottola wanes rapidly after the second decade of the sixteenth century, while Cara's importance is increasing. After AntL (1520), Tromboncino publishes very little--one piece in DorC I (1526), a piece that is also attributed to Cara, and one piece in DorC II (1531)--while Cara is heavily represented throughout the decade.⁵⁵ This circumstance may have been at least partly the result of Tromboncino's letter of 19 September 1521 in which he asked for both Venetian citizenship and a printer's patent to keep others from publishing his works:

Most holy and serene prince:
 ...The faithful servant of your sublime lord,
 Bartholamio Tromboncin of Verona [wishes] to be-
 come a citizen of this land.... He has composed
 in the past and continues to compose many
 settings [Canti] for canzoni, madrigals, son-
 nets, capitoli and strambotti, Latin verses
 and Latin odes, and vulgar barzellette,
 frottole, and dialogues.... The same [asks]
 your sublime lordship to concede to him...that
 no other may print or have printed in this
 land and for all of the territory of your
 sublime lordship any of the above-mentioned

⁵⁴Tromboncino's Lamentations were published in Lamentationum liber secundus. Auctores Tronboncinus. Gaspar Erasmus (Venice: Petrucci, 1506). See Sartori-Petrucci, pp. 113-114, for the contents of the collection. For another liturgical piece, possibly by Cara, see p.

⁵⁵For more on this point, see pp. 144-45.

songs or any of the others that the said
 supplicant should compose and has composed in
 the past...for the period of fifteen years, under
 the penalty of ten ducats for each work printed....⁵⁶

Whether or not the Doge allowed this privilege is not known,
 but certainly very little of Tromboncino's work is published
 after this date, and none of it is published in Venice.

For whatever reason, Cara emerges as by far the more
 important composer during the later period of the frottola.
 This fact, in addition to Cara's importance as maestro di
 cappella in Mantua, would seem to make Cara Tromboncino's
 equal in the development of the frottola in the early six-
 teenth century.

⁵⁶"Serennissimo Principe Sancta et Invictissima sig-
 noria, Desiderando el fidelissimo Servitor di vostra
 sublimità, Bortholamio Tromboncin Veronese repatriar In
 questa terra....Composto per il passato, et componendo tuta
 via molti Canti de Canzone madrigali, soneti, Capitoli et
 stramboti, Versi latini, et ode latine, et vulgar barzelete
 frotole et dialogi....Ideo supplica la sublimità vostra se
 degni Concieder a lui supplicante che niuno altro possi
 stampar, ne far stampar In questa terra et per tuto il
 Dominio de la sublimità vostra niuno de li soprascripti soi
 Canti, et di tuti altri Canti esso supplicante Componesse
 et per il passato havesse Composto...per termine et tempo
 de anni quindecce, sotto pena di ducati X per cadauna opera
 fusse stampata....(Venice, Archivio di Stato). Quoted from
 Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, pp. 147-148.

CHAPTER III

CARA AND THE VERSE OF THE FROTTOLA

The poetry of the Northern Italian frottola around 1500 was essentially a late blossoming of the principle of the formes fixes. The music which Cara and other composers wrote for these texts was conditioned, therefore, by the form of the poem which it elaborated, for the musical form tended to follow, albeit at times rather loosely, the poetic form. It follows that before aspects of musical form may be understood, the frottola verse itself, and particularly its forms, must be considered.

These text forms may be broken down in several ways. They may be divided into 1) those forms which are truly frottola forms, that is, generally strophic poetry characterized by lines that each contain the same number of syllables; and 2) those forms which appear later in the period (around 1510 to 1520) and are significant for the development of the early madrigal, i.e., forms generally characterized by a single strophe, the lines of which vary in length. Each of these two types may be further divided in turn into those forms that contain refrains, and those that do not.

The Forms of Frottola Texts

Nonrefrain Forms

The Strambotto

The strambotto was apparently one of the favorite forms of the early frottolists. Mt 55, probably copied around 1500, contains forty-one strambotti among its sixty-four pieces. MOe 9,9, copied in October 1495, is dedicated almost entirely to the form, all but three of its Italian-texted pieces falling into the pattern of the strambotto.¹ In these two manuscripts, both representing a repertory anterior to that of Petrucci, the strambotto is clearly the most important text form. This situation was soon to change; by 1502, Pn 676 contains only thirty-three strambotti in a repertory of sixty-nine Italian-texted pieces,² and Petrucci published none until his fourth book of frottole in 1505.

Formally, the strambotto is a type of ottava rima, that is, it falls into strophes of eight lines, each of which is endecasyllabic. The strambotto seems to have been, for the most part, a single strophe of poetry, rather than being multi-strophic as was most frottola verse.³ The most common

¹Gallico-MOe 9,9, p. 114.

²Bridgman-Frottola, p. 65.

³Strambotti of more than one strophe are occasionally found, however. In AntF IV (1520) Tromboncino is represented by no less than three settings of strambotti with two stropes--Glie pur cocente (f. 2v-3r), Se la lumacha (6v-7r), and Longi dal mio bel sol (f. 52v-53r).

type of strambotto is the strambotto toscano which rhymes ABABABCC;⁴ also possible are strambotti siciliani (ABABABAB) and strambotti romagnuoli (ABABCCDD).⁵

For Northern Italy, however, the strambotto toscano held an almost exclusive predominance. Serafino dall'Aquila, for example, wrote only five strambotti siciliani and none of these were set to music.⁶ By way of contrast, Mt 55 contains no fewer than ten strambotti siciliani.⁷ I reproduce here a strambotto toscano by Serafino that was set to music by an anonymous composer in Lbm 3051.⁸ The text is also found on f. 53v of MAC A.I.4, a fact which suggests that the musical setting may be by a Mantuan composer.

Spesso nel mezzo d'un bel fabricare
 Mancha l'arena over le calce bianca;
 Spesso per longo e forte cavalcare
 In mezo el corso el fier caval si stanca;

⁴Throughout the discussion of poetic form, capital letters will refer to lines of eleven syllables in length, while lower case letters will refer to lines of less than eleven syllables.

⁵Flamini-Notizia, pp. 43-56, and Spongano-Nozioni, p. 60.

⁶The five strambotti siciliani are Ite, voi occhi, El foco che nel pecto, Partisse el corpo mio, Se iace el corpo mio, and Se tu sapesti amor (Bauer-Serafino, p. 54n). For a textual parody of the last-named poem, see Se tu sapesti el duol, an anonymous setting in MOe 9,9, f. 44v-45r. Here the form has been changed to that of the more common strambotto toscano.

⁷Numbers 10, 21, 23-27, 29, 53, and 55 in Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. III.

⁸f. 18v-19r. Bauer-Serafino, Strambotto, no. 227. The reading here follows Lbm 3051, rather than the reading in Bauer-Serafino.

Spesso el buon navigante in mezo al mare,
 Prima che giongha importo e'l vento mancha.
 Così questa fortuna è sì fallace,
 Tal crede alto volar che in terra iace.

Although Cara set only seventeen strambotti, they cover a significantly long period, the quarter-century, 1502-26. The earliest datable strambotto elaborated by Cara is Aimè, ch'io moro from the Ms. Pn 676 and the latest, Del mio sì grande from DorC I (1526), found also in MAC A.I.4. Cara restricted himself to a single species of this poetic type, the strambotto toscano, including three strambotti spirituali: Ave victorioso e sancto legno (PeL II [1508]), Salve sacrato e triomphante legno (AntF IV [1517]), and Vergine immaculata (PeL II [1508]).

The Capitolo

The capitolo, or terza rima, was, like the strambotto, in use long before the rise of the frottola. Dante, in his Commedia, was among the first to use the form, and Petrarch continued the practice in his Trionfi.⁹ While modern scholars tend to separate the terza rima from the capitolo, holding that the former has the higher literary content, sixteenth-century writers apparently did not. Jacopo della Lana, in his commentary on the Divine Comedy, calls the text form therein a capitolo,¹⁰ and Minturno, writing in the last

⁹Spongano-Nozioni, p. 42.

¹⁰Bauer-Serafino, p. 105.

half of the sixteenth century, in like manner terms the text form of Petrarch's Trionfi a capitolo.¹¹

Structurally, the capitolo is composed of a series of tercets, each line having eleven syllables. Often, a final line may be added at the end, so that the rhyme scheme appears as follows:

ABA/BCB/CDC/...XYX/YZY/Z

Cara wrote only two settings of capitoli, Nasce la speme mia, from PeF IX (1509), and De che parlerà from PeB I (1509).¹² I reproduce here a selection of the former capitolo.

Nasce la speme mia da un dolce riso,
Ogni mio ben da un humil sguardo pende;
La mia felicità sta in un bel viso.

Però che for di quel sempre riprende
Un modo tal una tanta bellezza
Che'l cor m'alegra e'l corpo infiamma.
.....
De sua beltà e de mia fede pura,
Altro non si pò dir ne del mio stato
Se non che'l guadio mio non ha misura;
Tal che chiamar mi posso hor sfortunato.

The capitolo was one of the forms employed least by the frottolists. In Petrucci's ten extant books of frottole, only eleven capitoli are included and in the Mantuan Ms. MAc A.I.4, there are only eight.

¹¹"la terza rima...le parti del quale Canti nominò Dante, e Capitoli il Patrarca." Minturno-Arte, p. 263.

¹²For the latter piece, Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, p. 116 reads "N.C." I read here "M.C."

The Sonnet

The sonnet is perhaps the nonrefrain form with the highest literary content. Its form is rigid, always consisting of fourteen lines divided into two quatrains followed by two tercets. All lines are endecasyllabic.¹³

The rhyme scheme may vary slightly, but in general there are always two rhymes in the quatrains and two others in the tercets. Trissino calls these quatrains base and the tercets, volte.¹⁴ Minturno, naming the two parts the fronte and the sirima, says that they may rhyme as follows:¹⁵

<u>Fronte</u>		<u>Sirima</u>
<u>per obliquo</u>	abba/abba	cdc/cdc
<u>per diritto</u>	abab/abab	cdc/dcd
	<u>tre rime</u>	cde/cde 16

Aprendere la mia donna ho fatto prova
 Con tutto quel che al vero amor richiede,
 Servir, stentar perseverar e fede
 Gellando, ardendo o dura cosa e nova.

Scorte sollicitar già non mi giova,
 Gionge a mal fin chi segue un che non vede;
 Hor che dovria da questa haver mercede,
 Più empia e più crudel verme si trova.

¹³Literary writers admit to several other types of sonnets. Tempo-Summa, written in 1332, explains also de sonettis duplicibus of twenty lines (p. 83), de sonettis caudatis, also of twenty lines (pp. 89-91), etc. Trissino-Poetica, published in 1529, admits to the same forms.

¹⁴"Quaterni..." la quale Dante, et altri antiqui nominorono versi, si pone seconda, e questa noi, parimente per non equivocare, nomineremo volte." Trissino-Poetica, f. 37r.

¹⁵Minturno-Arte, pp. 243-244.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 243-244. Minturno uses the letters "a" and "b" for the tercets, but it is clear from the context that he is speaking of rhymes different from those of the fronte.

Dispersa sia la fede e il servie mio,
 E cresca il foco e il giel ch'ogni hor me occide
 Acciò sadempia el mio destin si rio.

Ella d'ogni mio mal si gode e ride;
 Ne si cura di me, ma so ben io
 Che troppo crudeltade amor divide.¹⁷

The sonnet was not widely set by the frottolists, particularly during the earlier portion of the period. Apparently, the anonymous setting of Amor m'ha fatto simil al sambucho, from the late fifteenth-century codex MOe 9,9, stands alone in the earlier sources.¹⁸ No sonnets are found in Mt 55 or in PeF I (1504): indeed, only thirty-five sonnets are included in the Petrucci prints, and eleven of these are taken from the eleventh book of 1514.¹⁹ On the other hand, some seventy-two sonnets are included in MAC A.I.4, a circumstance which would seem to indicate that sonnets were indeed being sung in the early years of the Cinquecento. Moreover, Serafino, who died in 1500, wrote some 184 sonnets.²⁰ It may be, in view of these works, that the sonnet was more closely tied to formes fixes considerations, and was sung to a small group of tunes. It is

¹⁷Setting by Tromboncino of an anonymous sonnet in PeF VII (1507), f. 6r. The poem is also in MAC A.I.4, f. 14v.

¹⁸The piece was originally on f. 52, now lacking from the Ms. The incipit is included in the tavola, however, and the identification was made in Gallico-MAC A.I.4, p. 74.

¹⁹Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, p. 35.

²⁰Modern edition: Menghini-Serafino.

significant that PeF IV (1505) includes an anonymous piece entitled Modo de cantar sonneti (f. 13r); the work is textless, indicating that any sonnet could be inserted into the setting. Pieces of similar function, although texted, are found in PeF VI (1506). Ben che la faccia (f. 9v-10r) and Ingrata donna (f. 27r) both carry the rubric "Per Sonetti."²¹

The Oda

The oda (plural, ode) is a less structured form. Basically, it is a quatrain with lines of varying length. The most common format is three lines of seven syllables each followed by a line of four or five syllables, each strophe being tied to the previous one through rhyme (abbc/cdde, etc. or aaab/bccd, etc.). Petrucci, in PeF I-IX, published fifty-four examples.

Aimè, ch'io son scaciato
Da quella che tanto amo,
Da quella che più bramo
E ch'è mia vita.

Aimè, che gran ferita
Me fu quella nel core
Quando del suo favore,
Me vidi privo.²²

The oda may have lines of varying lengths. Next most frequent in Petrucci's collections are those which, like the

²¹The same comments apply equally to the capitolo, discussed above. See, for example, the letter of Galeotto del Carretto in which he requested a new "aerea de capitolo" (translated on p. 91).

²²PeF VI (1506), f. 12r. Five additional strophes follow. The poem also appears in MAc A.I.4, f. 105r-v.

type discussed above, have three septisyllabic lines, but have a last line which is either septisyllabic or endecasyllabic.²³

The term "oda" in relation to this poetry is problematic. It is used rarely during the period of the frottola itself, appearing only twice in the titles of music prints, first in PeF IV (1505) as Strambotti, ode, frottole, sonetti, et modo de cantar versi latini e capituli...., and again in PeF VI (1506) as Frottole, sonetti, stramboti, ode, iustiniane numero sesanta sie [sic]. PeF IV (1505), which has an analytical tavola, lists fourteen ode, while PeF VI (1506), although without such a tavola, contains six.

The problematic nature of the term "oda" lies in two areas: first, contemporary documents are virtually silent on it, and second, there is a closely-related poetic form which is not called an oda by Petrucci.²⁴ Aside from the two citations already mentioned, the term oda apparently appears only once in sources of the early sixteenth century. Significantly, this mention appears in a poetic treatise of Mantuan provenance, Mario Equicola's Institutioni...al comporre in ogni sorte di Rima della lingua volgare,

²³Petrucci published six of each type. For an example of an entirely septisyllabic oda, see Cara's setting of Chi me darà più pace, PeF I (1504), f. 13v. Text printed in Cesari-PeF, p. 6*. An example of an oda with a final endecasyllabic line from the same source is Pesenti's setting of A Dio Signora, adio (f. 48v-49r). Text printed in Cesari-PeF, p. 18*.

²⁴See pp. 128ff.

published in 1541, but completed by 1525.²⁵ Equicola bases his study in large measure on that of Antonio da Tempo, and his mention of the oda, unfortunately an equivocal one, is included at the end of his discussion of the earlier writer's seven types of poetry:²⁶

The first types [Sonnets, Madrigals, etc.]... use endecasyllabic lines, and, like the ode, are seen in different forms (varij modi), that is to say, they are written in various ways.²⁷

The oda was evidently a rather flexible form, at least for Equicola.

Aside from this brief mention, I have not found any description of oda form. Indeed, it seems that the term itself was not used widely at all. MAc A.I.4, a manuscript that contains forty-five oda-like poems, uses no collective term to describe the texts, even though they are grouped together on f. 77r-116v, and all other text forms in the Ms. are so designated.²⁸

What then is the oda? A poetic treatise of the middle of the fifteenth century, written by Francesco Baratella (to be discussed below) suggests that the oda may in fact be the original form of the frottola or moto confetto of which Landini wrote in his madrigal Musica son:

²⁵Dionisotti-Ragioni, p. 1.

²⁶See p. 110n for da Tempo's poetic types.

²⁷"I primi...imitarono gli Endecasillabi, et come delle Ode varij modi vediamo, così tal dire in diversi modi s'estese." Equicola-Institutioni, f. [C iir].

²⁸See p. 56.

Musica son che mi doglio piangendo,
 Veder gli effetti mie dolce et perfectly
 Lasciar per frottol' i vagh'intelletty.

[I am Music, who weeping regret to see
 Intelligent people desert my sweet
 And perfect effects for the frottole.]²⁹

Disertori identifies these "base" frottole with three compositions from the Lucca Codex,³⁰ Deh tristo mi topinello, De mia farina, and Donna, dici a me.³¹ Baratella, however, had in mind a specific group of text forms.

Francesco Baratella of Padua wrote a Compendium particolare Artis Ritmandi in septem generibus dicendi in 1447. The treatise is largely a translation from Latin into the vulgar tongue of Antonio da Tempo's Summa artis rithmici of 1332, which Baratella said that he was translating at the request of "several good friends."³²

His translation of Antonio's treatise is generally very strict, even using the same poetic examples. He discusses the same seven genres of poetry as did Antonio: "soneti, Balate, Canzone destese, Rotondelli, Mandriali, Sermontessi over Serventessi [and] Moti confetti, zoa frottole."³³ This list is an exact translation of the early

²⁹Ellinwood-Landini, pp. xiii and 7-8.

³⁰On the Lucca Codex, see Ghisi-Lucca and Pirrotta-Lucca.

³¹Cesari-PeF, pp. x-xiv.

³²Modern edition: Baratella-Compendium, p. 179.

³³Ibid.

writer's Latin with the significant addition of the final words, "that is, frottole."³⁴

Baratella then proceeds to translate very closely Antonio's discussion of the first six text forms. When he comes to the seventh, however, he digresses, not following da Tempo's treatise, writing instead

There follows the seventh and last type of poem, which is called *moto confetto* or else, in the vulgar tongue, the *frottola*, of which we will discuss three forms.... But because our author [Antonio da Tempo] treats only one form, [which is] extremely remote from modern practice, we will follow the present form, taking all three types from [the works of] the ingenious poet, my father [Antonio Baratella], which treat sacred matters.³⁵

Before continuing with Baratella's frottole, it is convenient to review da Tempo's form, which is so "remote from modern practice." The passage contains, moreover, the earliest mention of the term "frottola" known to me. Writing of the *moto confetto*, Antonio states that they are so called because the words are made with

³⁴Tempo-Summa, p. 72: "Rithimorum igitur vulgarium septem sunt genera. Nam primo est sonettus, secundo ballata, tertio cantio extensa, quarto rotundellus, quinto mandrialis, sexto serventesius sive sermontesius, et septimo Motus confectus."

³⁵"Seguita la septima et ultima generatione de Ritimi, che se dice moti confecti over frottole, secondo il vulgo, de liquali tre forme tracteremo.... Ma perche lo autor nostro solamente tracta de una forma, molto extracta da le moderne, seguiremo il dir present, togliando da lo ingeniosissimo poeta mio padre tute tre specie, le qual cosse sancte tractano." Baratella-Compendium, pp. 209-210.

remarkable and beautiful maxims and with full words.... Nevertheless, these same moti confetti are vulgarly called frottole, and, in my judgment badly, for frottole signify the words of rustics and of other persons who have no perfect maxims.³⁶

The poems themselves may be in lines of seven, eleven, or twelve syllables. They may have three or more rhymes, but must have at least two. Beyond these strictures, they are free poetry. The example of the moto confetto included by Antonio is indeed free; it consists of a series of mostly septisyllabic lines in tercets rhyming aaa/bbb/cccc/ddd, 777 etc. 577

etc. The sentiments expressed are maxims, the poem resembling a pastiche of such sayings.

Dio voglia che ben vada,
Perchè la buona strada
E guasta e par che cada,
Chi sente di vertute
Nè si trova salute,
Anzi pur pene acute.
Per sapere
Dice l'uom non vedere
Gli è tempo da godere...³⁷

Gidino da Sommacampagna, writing his Trattato de li rithimi volgari at Verona in around 1350, also included a section on the moto confetto which is very similar to the

³⁶"quia verba sunt confecta cum sententiis notabilibus et pulchris et cum verbis praegnantibus.... Quidam tamen istos motus confectos vulgariter appellant frottolas; et male dicunt iudicio meo, quia frottolae possent dici verba rusticorum et aliarum personarum nullam perfectam sententiam continentia." Tempo-Summa, p. 153.

³⁷Ibid., p. 154. The poem continues for three more pages.

corresponding section in da Tempo's treatise.³⁸ Unlike da Tempo's treatise, however, that of Gidino is in the vulgar tongue.

Since the serventesi have been discussed, in this section the moti confetti will be treated. It is to be noted that this form of poem is called moto confetto inasmuch as the words are made with notable and beautiful maxims. And it is called "moto" because the man is moved to speak [?], and it is called "confetto" because the said speech is sententious and praiseworthy. Nevertheless, some people call these moti confetti frottole, and call them so badly, inasmuch as the frottole are composed of gross and unfruitful words.³⁹

For Gidino, the moto confetto may have lines of seven, eleven, four, or five syllables. The most beautiful form is that which uses three lines rhyming successively.

And there must be in some sections of the moto confetto several words of amusement, and throughout the moto confetto the maxims must be drawn out and separated one from the other....⁴⁰

While Gidino's description of the moto confetto is similar to da Tempo's, his example is not. Like the earlier

³⁸Rudolph Schwartz, in Schwartz-Formenproblemen, p. 82 was, to my knowledge, the first music historian to take notice of Gidino's description of the moto confetto.

³⁹"Da poscia che ee trattato de li serventesi, in questa parte ee da trattare de li moti confetti. Dove nota che questa forma de rithymi fi appellada moto confetto, imperciò che le parole sono confette con sentencie notabele, e belle. Et imperciò fi appellado moto, perchè l'omo se move a parlare: et imperciò fi appellado confetto, perchè lo ditto parlare ee sentencioso e laudabile; ben che alcuni appellano li ditti moti confetti frottole, e male dicono, imperciò che le frottole sono compillade de parole grosse, e non fructuose." Modern edition: Sommacampagna-Trattato, p. 161.

⁴⁰"E dee essere in alguna parte de lo moto confetto algune parole de solazzo, e per tutto lo moto confetto le sentencie debbono essere extranee, e separate l'una via da

theorist's poem, his example contains what seem to be maxims but the verse form is different, and as Schwartz noted, closer to Petrucci's oda. Schwartz errs, however, in the metric scheme he assigns to the poem. The first strophe is a quatrain rhyming aaab with verse-lengths of seven, seven, seven, and five syllables respectively. Unlike the oda, however, the following strophes are tercets rhyming bbc/ccd, etc.

Per superchio furore
Spesso se perde honore,
E chi segue valore
Aquista lode.

L'omo che persa frode
De virtute non gode,
Nè de bene.

Non va com se convene
Colui che pon la spene
In la ventura.⁴¹

Baratella, on the other hand, includes three different and more modern *moti confetti*. The first type is constructed as follows:

It is made of many strophes, or stanzas of lines, four for each stanza. The first [line] of each stanza is endecasyllabic and the two following are septisyllabic. The fourth [is] of five syllables. In the first strophe the first three lines agree in rhyme, for example, consiglio, figlio, vermiglio. The fourth has as its ending sangue, for example, with which ending the first line of the second strophe rhymes, for example, langue. The second and third lines rhyme together; for example, vita, trita. The fourth has as its ending, compassione,

l'altra." Sommacampagna-Trattato, pp. 162-163.

⁴¹Sommacampagna-Trattato, p. 163.

for example, the ending of which rhymes with the first verse of the third strophe.... Necessarily, the first stanza has three verses with the same rhyme, while all the other stanzas have two lines which rhyme. The last stanza is made up of five lines, of which the first three [are made up as above], while the fourth and fifth are of eleven syllables and rhyme alone, for example, paganesimo, christianesimo.⁴²

The rhyme scheme which results from this description is as follows: A a a b / B c c d / E f f g / ... X y y Z Z .
 11 7 7 5 11 7 7 5 11 7 7 5 11 7 7 11 11

A selection from Antonio Baratella's poem follows:

Sei legno, a croce, creato nel consiglio
 Del padre eterno e figlio
 Per farte ben vermiglio
 Nel puro sangue.

Per Iesu Christo toa virtù non langue
 Specchio a nui, dolce vita
 A chi ha lamente trita
 Per compassione.

.....
 Pertanto, croce, a nui celeste dono,
 La toa possanza sazi,
 E spargo li to razi.
 Fa ch'el Mauro, el Teucro, el paganesmo
 Adore te cum fa lo christianesimo.

⁴²"...se po far de molte copule over stantie de versi, quatro per zascuna. lo primo de zascuna stantia e undenario, dui sequenti septenarii. lo quarto quinquenario. In la prima copula li tri primi se concorda in consonantia, ut consiglio. figlio, vermiglio. Lo quarto ha la soa terminatine ut sangue. cum laqual terminatione se concorda lo fine del primo verso de la seconda copula. ut langue. il secondo e terzo se concorda insieme ut vita. trita. Lo quarto ha la soa terminazione ut compassione, cum lo qual termino se concorda il fine del primo verso de al terza copula.... Necessariamente la prima stantia ha tri versi in consonantia, per tute le altre copule dui versi se concorda. La ultima copula se fa de versi cinque. Lo primo e undecimo. ...Lo secondo e terzo son septenarii.... Lo quarto e quinto son undenarii in consonantia sola ut paganesmo. christianesimo." Baratella-Compendium, p. 210.

With the exception of the opening endecasyllabic line and the closing stanza of five lines, this "frottola" is an oda.

The second method of writing these poems is closer yet to the form of Petrucci's oda.

The other type of moti confetti, or frottole, is made, according to the divine poet my father, in the following manner. The strophes or stanzas of such moti confetti are left to the wishes of the poet. Every stanza contains four verses, [of which] the [first] three are septisyllabic. The fourth [is a] line of five syllables. In the first stanza the first three lines agree in rhyme, as in Magdalena, plena, vena. The fourth ends, for example, [with] conforto, with which [ending] the [first] three lines of the next strophe rhyme.... The last stanza or strophe consists of two lines of seven syllables which rhyme with the previous pentasyllabic line....⁴³

The resulting form may be represented as follows:

a a a b / b b b c / ...y y y z / z z .
 7 7 7 5 7 7 7 5 7 7 7 5 7 7

Maria Magdalena,
 In cui virtute è plena
 Da la celeste vena,
 Da me conforto.

Fa che sia sempre scorto
 Per arrivar in porto
 E per fugir mal torto
 De prava gente.

.....

⁴³"L'otra specia de moti confecti, over frottole, se fa in questa forma. Le copule over stantie de tal moti confecti po esser ala voluntà del ritimante. Ogni stantia piglia versi quatro, li tri son septenarii. lo quarto quinquenario. In la prima stantia li tri primi versi se concorda in una consonantia ut Magdalena. plena. vena. Lo quarto ha soa terminatione ut conforto, cum laqual tri versi de la sequente copula se concorda in consonantia ut scorto. porto. torto.... La ultima stantia over copula se fa de versi dui septenarii, i qual se concorda in consonantia cum lo quinquenario precedente...." Baratella-Compendium, p. 214.

Dil tuo amor la vace
 Pigliamo tuti in pace
 Sei in amor verace
 A chi ama Christo.
 O Magdalena, o visto,
 Chi te ama, non sta tristo.⁴⁴

Here is revealed another species of oda, that which is made up completely of septisyllabic lines. Again, differences between Petrucci's oda and Baratella's frottola are those of the rhyme scheme and of the inclusion of a concluding stanza of two lines in the earlier example.

Indeed, there is at least one poem in the Petrucci repertory which seems to be a vestige of the first two types of Baratella's moto confetto. This piece is Tromboncino's Dolermi sempre voglio from PeF IX (1509). Here, the structure may be represented as follows:

a b b c / c d d e / ... x y y / Z Z
 7 7 7 4 7 7 7 4 7 7 7 11 11

The verse-lengths are those of Baratella's first type, again with the exception of the first line, whose length agrees with that in Baratella's second type. The rhyme scheme, after the first strophe, is that of the first type. Most striking, however, is the addition of two endecasyllabic lines to the end of the poem, an addition which is a requisite part of Baratella's first variant of moto confetto form.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Baratella-Compendium, p. 215-18.

⁴⁵ The form of the poem was first noted in Schwartz-Formenproblemen, p. 82, where its form is called "eigentümliche." For a transcription of Tromboncino's work, see vol. II, pp. 267-70.

Baratella's third type of frottola is so close to the second that it is not necessary to reproduce his directions here, and, moreover, its form is not as similar to the oda as were previous types. In brief, the first strophe is a four-line stanza rhyming aaab, each line having seven syllables. The following stanzas each consist of three septisyllabic lines rhyming bbc/ccd, etc. The final stanza, like that of both the preceding types, is two septisyllabic lines which rhyme with the preceding line, i.e., yzz/zz.⁴⁶ This form is extremely close to the form used by Sommacampagna.

The differences between da Tempo's and Sommacampagna's descriptions of the moto confetto on the one hand and Baratella's description of the same genre are revealing. The forms of the poems may be distinguished easily as both da Tempo's and Sommacampagna's form is made up of tercets, while Baratella's is generally of quatrains. Moreover, the later author is more explicit both in regard to rhyme scheme and in the length of each line.

The content of the verse also differs. The earlier writers' verse consists of a series of clichés, or maxims, strung together, while in Baratella's form, the aspect of maxims is lacking. While it is true that Baratella cites his father's laude as particular examples, contrafacta at the time of his writing were normal. His father's apparent

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 218.

contemporary at Venice, Leonardo Giustiniani (ca. 1383-1446) wrote many such contrafacta, in this case, changing the text of a secular love poem so that it might be used for a sacred subject. An example of such a setting is Giustiniani's Merzè te chiamo, dolze anima mia, which the poet then changed into the lauda Merzè te chiamo, Vergine Maria.⁴⁷

It is apparent from this discussion that Petrucci's oda is a later variant of Baratella's moto confetto, both types being written in the same basic form, although with slight differences. The presence of oda-like forms in Baratella's treatise of 1447 enables us to trace the oda's lineage and to add another text form for the music of fifteenth-century Italy, a period which is exceedingly barren in native Italian verse-types.⁴⁸

The latest mention of the moto confetto known to me is found in Equicola:

This "moto" some people like to call "frottole" even though Antonio del Tempo [sic] did not, for the frottole are rustic things. It may be called whatever you like.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Both poems, ballate grandi in structure, are printed in Levi-Lirica, p. 166. A musical setting of the secular poem appears in Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria Ms. 2216, pp. 54-55 (a2), in the Ms. Montecassino 871, f. 103v-104r (a3), and in Ms. Escorial IV. a. 24, f. 82v-83r (a3, but incomplete).

⁴⁸For two other lines of development, see Rubsamene-Justiniane, Cesari-PeF, pp. ix-xviii, and pp. 120f below.

⁴⁹"Questo moto ad alcuni piace nominar Frottole, ben che ad Antonio del Tempo non piaccia, perciò che le Frottole vuol che siano c cose rustiche. Chiamisi come si voglia."

Equicola's lack of concern with the form is certainly evident in this passage. This attitude seems to be the result of the fact that the *moto confetto*, at least the type discussed by da Tempo, was remote from modern practice.

Cara's contribution to this repertory is slight; he sets Si come che'l bianco cigno and Udite voi finestre in PeF I (1504), Signora, un che v'adora in CanF (1519), and o celeste anime sancte in PeF IX (1509).⁵⁰ It may be that this form seemed overly simple and repetitive to him, for there are, as was shown above, no lack of oda-settings in the frottola repertory. In fact, only thirty-three works from Cara's oeuvre set nonrefrain frottola forms, a sure indication that his interest lay in more complex verse. Moreover, eleven of these thirty-three pieces are sonnets, the most serious literary type among the nonrefrain forms.

Refrain forms

The refrain forms of the frottola are more complex and received a proportionally larger share of Cara's attention. These forms are basically two: the barzelletta, and what has been called, for want of a better term, the canzonetta.

The Barzelletta

The barzelletta is the primary form and the most

Equicola-Institutioni, f. F[ivr].

⁵⁰The last of these may be a fragment of a larger poem. It contains only one quatrain rhyming abab, each line being octosyllabic.

popular type of poetry during the "classic" period of the frottola, covering the years in which Petrucci was publishing his series of frottola prints, i.e., from around 1504 to around 1514.

This popularity is seen clearly in both manuscripts and prints of the time. Pn 676, copied in 1502, i.e., before Petrucci's prints, shows the swing in popularity from the ottava rima form of the strambotto to the dominance of the barzelletta type, contain forty-three barzellette and only thirty-three strambotti.⁵¹ With Petrucci's prints, the dominance of the barzelletta is complete; in PeF I (1504), for example, he publishes forty-five barzellette and no strambotti.

While the barzelletta achieved its greatest popularity in the early years of the sixteenth century, its origins and its use in musical settings may be traced back to the early Quattrocento. In the Lucca Codex, for example, is the complaint in barzelletta form of an unhappy stomach:

Deh, tristo mi topinello,
 Che sum çunto derean punto
 Che non mançarò più d'unto
 Se non pane et rafenello.

El pan serà de mestura,
 So ço e negro com(o) carbone
 Quella serà (la) mia pastura
 De mi, povero compagno[ne].
 Non posso mançar bochone
 Tanto è negro e ruçinen[te].⁵²

⁵¹Bridgman-Frottola, p. 55.

⁵²Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Mancini Codex, No. 69. The poem has been published by Disertori in Cesari-PeF, p. xi,

Another barzelletta from this same time is the lauda, Con desiderio io vo cercando from Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 2216.⁵³ Like the term "oda," the term "barzelletta" is problematic, for Petrucci uses it not at all, preferring rather to use the term "frottola" in both a general and a specific sense. In a general sense Petrucci used the term to include all of the Italian secular vocal music of his time, e.g., Frottolo, libro primo which contains barzellette, ode, capitoli, and so forth. On the other hand, he used the term to mean specifically barzelletta in both PeF IV (1505) and PeF VI (1506).⁵⁴

Unfortunately, contemporary literary theorists were equally ambivalent. Minturno, writing in dialogue form, has Bernardino Rota ask Minturno himself,

But I pray that you not remain quiet as to that lyric composition which the Moderns use, calling it now Frottola, now Ballata, [and] now Barzelletta...that which the Magnificent Lorenzo de' Medici used, beginning

Donne belle, io ho cercato
Lungo tempo del mio cuore.⁵⁵

where no text form is given and in Pirrotta-Lucca, p. 143, where it is called a ballata. It is clear, however, that the poem has both the form and the verse-length of the barzelletta. In the above transcription sections in brackets were cut off when the margin was trimmed. Sections in parentheses are those which must be omitted for the sake of the verse-length, according to Pirrotta.

⁵³p. 89. A modern edition of the poem is in Lisio-Stanza, p. [27].

⁵⁴See p. 107 for these titles.

⁵⁵"B. Ma priego, che non si taccia di quella Melica compositione; la qual'usata da' Moderni, hor Frottola, hor Ballata, hor Barzelletta, truovo, che si chiama; e tutta di

Minturno replies, describing the form and calling it first a "Ballata" and then a "Frottola."⁵⁶ Trissino is less helpful, calling the same poem a ballata grande with two (i.e., four) trochaic feet.⁵⁷

Gallico prefers to use the term "frottola" for musical settings and "barzioletta" for the poems themselves.⁵⁸ This usage, however, gives no fewer than four meanings for the word frottola: first, a frottola in the (derogatory) meaning of da Tempo, Sommacampagna, and Landini; second, a moto confetto in the terminology of Baratella; third, the frottola as a musical setting of a poem in the form of a barzioletta; and, finally, the frottola as a general musical repertory as used by Petrucci. To avoid ambiguities, therefore, this study uses frottola only for the general repertory, while using barzioletta for the poetic form and barzioletta setting for musical elaborations of the form.

The structure of these barziolette is in effect a variant of the older ballata grande, although the barzioletta generally has lines all of the same length (usually eight syllables, though seven- and even six-syllable lines

versi d'otto syllabe si tesse. Qual'è quella del Magnifico Lorenzo de'Medici; il cui principio è questo, 'Donne belle, io ho cercato/Lungo tempo del mio cuore.'" Minturno-Arte, p. 265.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Trissino-Poetica, f. 76r-v.

⁵⁸Gallico-MAc A.I.4, p. 30.

are found). It is made up of two parts, a four-line ripresa and a stanza of varying length. The stanza is divided into two parts, a pair of mutazioni or piedi, and a volta. In the barzelletta, the piedi are generally two pairs of lines rhyming alternately, i.e., cdcd, while the volta often is of four lines rhyming deea, thus returning to the initial rhyme of the poem. This is then followed by the refrain which repeats all or a part of the ripresa. The mutazioni and the volta are linked through a similar rhyme (e.g., cdcd/deea) called by Trissino the concatenazione.⁵⁹

Of the literary theorists roughly contemporary with the barzelletta, Minturno presents the most thorough treatment of the form.

[The barzelletta] is very similar to the Ballata, as it has the Ripresa, the Mutazione and the Volta. The lines, however, are always of the same length. The Ripresa consists of two couplets rhymed obliquely and the Mutazione in another way that corresponds directly, and the Volta does the same as the Ripresa, but with the rule that first line rhyme with the last [line] of the Mutazione, and in the three [lines] following are repeated the rhymes of the Ripresa.⁶⁰

⁵⁹Trissino-Poetica, f. 42r. "E concatenazione dico, quando il primo verso de la volta s'accorda ne le desinenze con l'ultimo de le mutazioni." Much of this discussion of form is based on the thorough study of Don Harran in Harran-Verse and Hersh (alias Harran)-Verdelot.

⁶⁰"L'una è simile in gran parte alla Ballata: percioche ella ha la Ripresa, la Mutatione, e la Volta. Ma sempre il verso d'un modo, e la Ripresa di due coppie tra loro obliquamente concordi; e la Mutatione d'altrettante, che dirittamente si rispondono; e la Volta eguale, e simile alla Ripresa; ma con legge, che'l primo verso s'accordi all'ultimo della Mutatione; e ne'tre sequenti si ripetano le rime della Ripresa...." Minturno-Arte, p. 265.

There follows the barzelletta mentioned above, Donne belle io ho cercato, by Lorenzo de'Medici. The following schema shows the structure of the poem:

<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>
abba	cdcd	dbba
	└──────────┘	
	<u>concatenazione</u>	

In actual practice, however, the barzelletta rarely showed precisely this form. A typical barzelletta is analyzed below:

<u>Ripresa:</u>	Se me dol el mio partire,	a
	Testimonio egli ochi mei	b
	Che morir anzi vorei	b
	Che patir un tal martire.	a
<u>Mutazione I:</u>	Se'l se parte el corpo afflicto,	c
	El mio cor te resta in pegno	d
<u>Mutazione II:</u>	Dentro alqual trovarai scritto	c
	Del mio amor ogni bon segno,	d
<u>Concatenazione</u>	┌───┐ ├───┤ └───┘	
<u>Volta:</u>		E con studio e con ingegno
	Io te vo sempre sequire.	a
<u>Refrain:</u>	Se me dol....	a b b a ⁶¹

This type of barzelletta forms the bulk of the examples of the form in Petrucci's repertory. Of the 380 barzellette contained in PeF I-XI, 270 are of the type represented in the example.⁶²

Minturno's description of barzelletta form is closest to the actual practice in regard to the ripresa, which is

⁶¹ Anonymous setting in PeF V (1505), f. 19v-20r.

⁶² My figures differ slightly from those of Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, p. 34. Five pieces which he regards as barzellette, I count as ballate, because they are entirely endecasyllabic. See pp. 141-42.

virtually always of four lines. Cara's compositions, for example, only vary from this structure once, in Rocta è l'aspra (PeF V [1508]). Here, the poet has written only a two-line ripresa, rhyming ab, thus having a refrain similar to the ballata minore (p. 139). More usual are four-line riprese that do not follow Minturno's rhyme scheme of abba. The refrain of Cara's Forsi che sì, forsi che no rhymes aabb, and that of his Tante volte sì, sì, sì, abab.

The mutazione of the barzellette set by Cara show similar variations. Mutazione of a single couplet are found in ?Deh sì, deh no⁶³ and in Pietà, cara signora. Variant rhyme schemes are present in O, mia ciecha e dura sorte (cddc) and in Se gli'l dico che dirà which has only two rhymes throughout.

The most usual variants occur in the volte of the poems. Quite frequent is a four-line volta, although in Cara's works the rhyme scheme never matches that of Minturno's description. Generally the rhyme scheme is deea, thus making the overall form of the poem abba/cdcd/deea. The four-line volte of Cara's settings rarely vary from this norm. One noteworthy variant, however, occurs in Mal un

⁶³Throughout this study, superscript "?" will indicate a work with a questionable attribution, superscript "A" will indicate that the work under discussion is anonymous in a given source, and superscript "T" will indicate a textual concordance only.

muta (PeF VII [1507]). Here the anonymous poet chose to make the last line identical in all three stanze.

.....	
Non è bianco quel ch'è nero	d
Come chiar vede la vista,	e
Non si pente un alma trista;	e
Cangie el tempo pur suo aspecto.	a

One change which Cara's poets make in volte of both two and four lines is a shifting of the rhyme of the last line of volta to agree with that of the second line of the ripresa rather than the first, a shift which results in the scheme db for two-line volte and deeb for those of four lines. Glìe pur gionto is an example of a two-line volta rhyming thus, while Rocta è l'aspra contains the four-line variety.

The last section of the barzelletta is the refrain which is repeated after each stanza. This is generally either all or part of the ripresa itself. When the refrain, is only a part of the ripresa, it may be either the first or the last two lines.⁶⁴

As a final comment on the form of the barzelletta, I reproduce Ala absentia, the only frottola text definitely composed by Cara himself. The poem itself shows interesting variations on barzelletta form in that it has a variant rhyme-scheme in the ripresa and lacks a volta in the customary sense. Here the two-line "volta" has the rhyme-scheme of ab which, while lacking a concatenazione, does

⁶⁴Rocta è l'aspra, with a ripresa of two lines, includes a refrain of only one line.

lead to the refrain, which equals here the last two lines of the ripresa.

<u>Ripresa</u> :	Ala absentia che me acora, Io non trovo altro conforto Sol la fe che mia signora M'ha promesso o vivo o morto.	a b <u>a</u> <u>b</u>
<u>Mutazione I</u> :	Lei promisse et io iurai Altri più mai non amare,	c d
<u>Mutazione II</u> :	Sì che donna al mondo mai Potrà lei farme lasciare	c d
<u>"Volta"</u> :	Che fa el spirto vivo ogn'hora, Hor cussi luntan a torto.	a b
<u>Refrain</u> :	Sol la fe che mia signora M'ha promesso vivo o morto.	<u>a</u> <u>b</u>

Forming a sub-type of the barzelletta are those barzellette that include folk elements in their refrain. The form of these pieces differs from the barzelletta in two ways: first, the rhyme-scheme is generally looser than that in the standard form, and, second, the order of elements within the poem tend to be rearranged, the stanza preceding the ripresa. Since the ripresa is generally the section of the poem which contains the folk text, the result is a delaying of the borrowed element, a delaying which perhaps was utilized for the sake of surprise. The clearest example of this technique in Cara's compositions is Per fuggir d'amor (PeB II [1511]):

<u>Mutazione I</u> :	Per fuggir d'amor le ponte Come ingrato e rio tiranno,	a b
<u>Mutazione II</u> :	Vagabondo in pian e in monte, Era un giorno in grave affanno.	a b
<u>Volta</u> :	Quando aimè ch'io non m'inganno, Vidi un divo e sacro aspetto Ad amar tutto subietto Se ne già cantando alora:	b c c d

Ripresa: Do tienti a l'ora, d
 Tiente a l'ora rozenenta; e
 Tu serai la mal contenta. e
 Do tiente a l'ora, tiente a l'ora. d⁶⁵

Cara employs this same technique in Mentre io vo (Vnm 1795), Poich'io vedo (AntF II [1520]), and Poichè in van, although in each case the barzelletta form is considerably looser than in Per fuggir d'amor. In Poichè in van (DorC I [1526]), for example, the formal structure of the poem is as follows:⁶⁶

<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>	<u>Ripresa</u>
a b (a b)	b c	<u>c d e</u>

<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>	<u>Ripresa</u>
f g f g	g c	<u>c d e</u>

The Canzonetta

There exists a final body of refrain poetry set by Cara that fits none of the standard forms for refrain poetry. These poems are called by modern music historians "canzonette,"⁶⁷ a term which I have not found in any poetic treatise known to me from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries.

⁶⁵Quoted from Disertori-PeB, p. 475. For other settings of the same text and tune, see Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. III, pp. 38-39 and below, p. 158.

⁶⁶In the first mutazioni only two lines of text are included. A repeat in the musical setting may indicate a repeat of the text, or it may indicate only that a repeat is necessary for the second, complete mutazioni. For the text and modern edition of the work, see vol. II, pp. 197-99. Underlined letters indicate repeated texts.

⁶⁷See, for example, Gallico-Mac A.I.4, p. 11n.

The poetry itself resembles Baratella's *moto confetto* or Petrucci's *oda* in that it is grouped into strophes of quatrains, each verse being generally septisyllabic, although a considerable variety of verse lengths is found. To this structure is added a refrain which may take several forms. Cara himself sets ten "canzonette with refrains" and MAC A.I.4 presents another four that have concordances in musical sources.⁶⁸ From this sample certain patterns as to verse length and refrain structure are clear.

First, the refrain may be of a single line and actually be a part of the quatrain structure of the verse. This refrain is usually the first or last line of the strophe. Thus Cara, in La fortuna vol cosi (PeF I[1504]), and in Aiutami ch'io moro (PeF VII [1507]), sets the following structures:

La fortuna a b b c a d d e a f f g, etc.
 7 7 7 4 etc.

Aiutami a b b a c c c a d d d a, etc.
 7 7 7 7 etc.

Cara also sets one poem, Chi l'haria mai creduto (PeF IX [1509]), in which the refrain changes with each strophe:

a b b a c d d c e f f e, etc.
 7 7 7 7 etc.

⁶⁸Four of Cara's pieces are also included in MAC A.I.4, along with two without extant musical settings, a number which brings the total number of canzonette in A.I.4 to ten.

These three poems are remarkably similar to Petrucci's oda, perhaps being close enough to warrant calling them simply variants of the oda form. With the second group of canzonette, however, the affinities with the oda are not so obvious. Here, as in the first group, the refrain is of one line, but, unlike the former, this refrain is a separate structure, that is, it lies outside of the framework of the four-line strophes. Cara sets three such poems and an additional two are found in M^{Ac} A.I.4. Like the first group, these poems may be divided into two sub-groups, one in which the refrain remains constant, and another in which the refrain changes in every strophe. In the former group are Cara's La non vol perchè non me ama (AntF IV [1517]), Tromboncino's Il foco è rinnovato,⁶⁹ and O despietato tempo, by Zanin Bisan.⁷⁰

La non vol a b b a a c d d c a etc.
 8 8 8 8 8 etc.

Il foco a b b a a c c c a a etc.
 7 7 7 7 7 etc.

O despietato a b b a a c c c a a etc.⁷¹
 7 7 7 7 7 etc.

⁶⁹PeF V (1505), f. 24v-25r, ^AAntF I (1510), f. 10v-11r, and ^TM^{Ac} A.I.4, f. 112r-v.

⁷⁰PeF VII (1507), f. 50v-51r, PeB I (1509), f. 15v-16r, ^AFc 2441, f. 61v-62r, ^APthibault, f. 49r, and ^TM^{Ac} A.I.4, 102r-v (included as Ai, spietato tempo with variants).

⁷¹Called a barzelledda in Rubsamen-Sources, p. 4.

Cara's Si che la vo seguire is an example of a canzonetta with a refrain which changes with each verse.

a b b a a c d d c c etc.
7 7 11 11 7 etc.

One work, [?]Crudel fugi se sai exists in two versions. In AntF III (1513), it has a single refrain which follows each of the four strophes in the following pattern:

a a a a a b b b a a etc.
7 7 7 7 7 etc.

In MAC A.I.4, where the poem is included with seven strophes, there are two different refrains, the first equivalent to the capoverso and the second, Non più fugire ormai, a new element. The former is used after the opening three strophes, while the latter occurs after strophes four through seven. The structure of Crudel fugi as included in MAC A.I.4 is therefore the following:

a a a a a b b b a a ... d d d a a e e e a a
etc.

Finally, there is a third group of pieces which have refrains of two lines, also outside the quatrain structure of the strophes. Cara sets two such pieces, D'ogni altra haria pensato (PeF VII [1507]), and Cholei che amo cosi (PeF IX [1509]), and two more, O tient allora, set by Niccolò Brocho,⁷² and Dolze amoroso focho, set by Filippo de Lurano,⁷³ are found in MAC A.I.4.

⁷²PeF VIII (1507), f. 44v; and ^TMAC A.I.4, f. 111v.

⁷³PeF V (1505), f. 32v; PeB II (1511), f. 40v;

<u>Cholei che amo</u>	a a a a	<u>a a</u>	b b b b	<u>a a</u>	etc.
	6 6 6 6	6 6	etc.		
<u>D'ogni altra</u>	a b b a	<u>a b</u>	c c c a	<u>a b</u>	etc.
	7 7 7 7	7 7	etc.		
<u>Dolze amoroso</u>	a b b a	<u>a b</u>	c c c a	<u>a b</u>	etc.
	7 7 7 7	7 7	etc.		
<u>O tient allora</u>	a a b a	<u>a a</u>	c a c a	<u>a a</u>	etc.
	5 8 8 8	5 8	etc.		

The Villotta

There remains a group of texts that fit into no set form and may be grouped into the category of the villotta. The villotta, a polyphonic setting of folk poetry, has been the subject of several studies, the most detailed of which is Fausto Torrefranca's Il segreto del Quattrocento. Here Torrefranca clearly details two different types of villotta, the villotta grande and villotta piccola (or breve).

The villotta piccola is the simpler of the two. It is made up of a series of short lines, usually four or a group of three stretched to four through the repetition of a line. The poetry is, of course, folk-like, and may be multi-strophic.⁷⁴

The villotta grande is more rigorous in its characteristics. Poetically, it--like the villotta piccola--is

^ALbm 3051, f. 52v-53r; ^APthibault, f. 44v; and ^AMadrid, Bibl. del Palacio, Ms. 2, 1-5, f. 53r; ^{MAC}A.I.4, f. 108r.

⁷⁴Torrefranca-Segreto, pp. 219 and 304.

folk-based, but the single strophe is considerably longer than four lines and is often a dialogue text. The poem generally closes with a nio, a dance-like refrain that the composer often elaborated in triple meter. Immediately before the nio is the lilolela, a series of nonsense syllables. Both the nio and the lilolela may also be present in the villotta piccola.⁷⁵

Torre Franca views as the summa of the villotta, the incatenatura or quodlibet which consists either solely or principally of borrowed folk texts and melodies, such as Fortuna disperata from Fn 164 in which the Cantus quotes the Fortuna disperata tune in full while the three lower voices quote separately various fragments of popular tunes.⁷⁶

Cara's position as a composer of villotte is not a major one. Of the villotta piccola, there are several examples from Cara's works, notably E da poi che'l sol, Discalza e discalzetta, and Le son tre fantinelle (all from DorC I [1526]).

E da poi che'l sol da monte,
 Se levava, me n'andava
 Dove spesso passeggiava,
 La mia ninfa, a pe d'un monte.

⁷⁵Torre Franca-Segreto, pp. 219 and 303.

⁷⁶Torre Franca-Segreto, pp. 115, 116, 377, and passim. The texts are identified in Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. III, pp. 56-61 and in Beccherini-Incatenature, pp. 82-83. A modern edition is included by Beccherini on pp. 89-91.

This piece, all in octosyllabic lines rhyming abba, is remarkably close to the form of an oda. Torre Franca calls it a violetta and says that it is modeled on a short villotta.⁷⁷

Discalza e discalzetta
D'amor, in camisola,
Ch'andavalo recercando,
El suo caro bel fin amor.

The text here, a quatrain without rhyme, is definitely folk material, as it is found in an anonymous setting in Fn 108 and is cited in the incatenatura L'ultimo di di maggio from Bc 21. Of Discalza e discalzetta, Torre Franca says that it is one of the "ambiguous products that have neither the rustic character of the villotta nor the refined character of the frottola."⁷⁸

More typical of the villotta piccola is Cara's setting of Le son tre fantinelle. The poem is in seven strophes of six lines each. The first two lines serve as a ritornello falling after each four lines. The poem also includes a lilolela as the third and fourth lines of each strophe.

Le son tre fantinelle,
Tutte tre da maridar;
Tandan dan dan daritondella,
Tan daridundella.
Le son tre fantinelle,
Tutte tre da maridar.

⁷⁷Torre Franca-Segreto, p. 299.

⁷⁸"...prodotti ambigui che non hanno nè la rusticità della villotta nè la politezza delle frottole." Torre Franca-Segreto, p. 293.

Ch'andavan a lo giardino,
 A lo giardino per amor.
 Tandan dan dan daritondella,
 Tan daridundella.
 Le son tre fantinelle,
 Tutte tre da maridar.

In addition to these works, Cara's Cholei che amo cosi (PeF XI [1509]), discussed above,⁷⁹ resembles a villotta piccola in its quattrain structure and in its refrain, a lilo-
 lela.

Hi, hi, hi, hi, hi, hi;
 No, no mo dice si.

Cara sets either one or two villotte grande, Se trovasse una donna (JudF [1526]), and, possibly, ?Quando lo pomo vien, although the latter piece is attributed to Tromboncino in PeF XI (1514) and to Pr. Michael in Fc 2440, while the attribution to Cara is in AntF II (1520). The first edition of AntF II, however, must have been issued by 1513.⁸⁰ Given the lack of interest by Cara in the villotta, it may be that ?Quando lo pomo is indeed by Tromboncino or Michael.⁸¹

Se trovasse una donna is a villotta grande of twelve lines. The concluding nio is the section which carries the folk tune, while the lilo-lela, instead of immediately preceding the nio, serves as its last line.

⁷⁹See pp. 131-32.

⁸⁰AntF III first appeared in 1513. See vol. II, p. 4.

⁸¹Torre Franca-Segreto, p. 127, prefers the attribution to Michael (Pesenti) on stylistic grounds. This attribution is found only in the peripheral Florentine source Fc 2440, however. On the other hand, Pesenti is by far the most

	Se trovasse una donna	a
	Che mi volesse amare,	b
	E poi volesse fare	b
	Con mi la pavanella	c
	Alhor per mia patrona,	d
	Io la vorrei chiamare,	b
	E poi con lei cantare:	b
<u>Nio:</u>	"De tocca la canella	c
	O dolce pastorella,	c
	Oymè, che l'è pur bella	c
	Da far balaridon	e
<u>Lilolela:</u>	Dongedon, dongedon."	e

? Quando lo pomo vien is a villotta grande with a nio of two lines, but without a lilolela. It includes two folk tunes, O traditura and the capoverso itself.⁸²

It is important to note that Cara set no true incatenatura, i.e., borrowings from many sources in which each voice carries separate tunes, and that he sets no incatenatura in which all voices carries the same text. Torre Franca uses this fact to show that Cara does not belong to the "Fourth Period of the villotta,"⁸³ but the more logical explanation is the more obvious one--that Cara was interested in the villotta only incidentally, and that he took no real part in the development of the form. This explanation is all the more likely in view of Cara's general lack of interest in the inclusion of folk elements in his frottole and in view of his presumed date of death of around 1525. This date

prolific composer of villotte among those to whom the work is attributed.

⁸²For other settings of these tunes, see Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. III, p. 42 and 46.

⁸³Torre Franca-Segreto, p. 381. For Torre Franca's questionable four periods of the villotta, see Torre Franca-Segreto, p. 375.

is early in the period of the true villotta which modern scholars set as approximately between the years 1520 and 1535.⁸⁴

Problematic Texts

Cara sets two frottolesque texts which fall into none of the categories of text forms encountered thus far. Each has certain affinities with other text forms, but these remain tenuous at best, and it would seem perilous to force them into one of the standard molds.

The first published of these pieces is Si oportuerit me teco mori (PeB II [1511]), a frottola semiletterata or a bilingual frottola containing both Latin and Italian phrases. Indeed, the work may owe its unique quality to exactly this circumstance, for Cara has borrowed a biblical verse for the first two lines of the poem.⁸⁵ Even so, the form remains problematic. It consists of a Latin couplet and a series of quatrains, although it is unclear from the musical setting whether or not the couplet is to act as a refrain. This structure seems likely, however, for there is too much music within the setting to be used to set only a quatrain.⁸⁶ Such a reading would make the poem a type of

⁸⁴See, for example, MGG-Villotta, col. 1645, by Walter Rubsamén. The hypothesis of Torre Franca which extends the history of the villotta goes back into the Trecento is not reinforced by musical examples.

⁸⁵For the identification of this text, together with a partial translation, see p. 154.

⁸⁶For the musical form of Si oportuerit, see p. 204.

canzonetta:

<u>"Refrain"</u>	<u>"Strophe"</u>	<u>"Refrain"</u>	<u>"Strophe"</u>	<u>"Refrain"</u>
ab	cdde	ab	effe	ab

The other problematic text, O se havesse la mia vita (AntF IV [1517]), is also a refrain type. It takes the form of a series of tercets with a two-line refrain following each tercet. Each of the lines is octosyllabic, and Cara has expanded the tercets to quatrains by the repetition of the final line of each strophe:

<u>Strophe</u>	<u>Refrain</u>	<u>Strophe</u>	<u>Refrain</u>
aba(a)	<u>bb</u>	bcb(b)	<u>bb</u>

With the exclusion of the refrain, the rhyme-scheme is that of a capitulo, but the lines are octosyllabic. It is apparent, however, that Cara, through the repetition of the final line of each strophe, has set the text as though it were a canzonetta with a two-line refrain.

Madrigalesque Forms

If the verse of the frottola is in general characterized by a uniformity in the length of each line, then the verse of the madrigal is characterized by a more flexible approach. Virtually all of the forms have some alternation between endecasyllabic and septisyllabic lines, with, however, an emphasis on the longer line as opposed to the shorter lines that Bembo called versi rotti, or "broken lines."⁸⁷

⁸⁷Bembo-Prose, p. 20.

The forms employed by early madrigalists are principally three: the ballata, the canzone, and the madrigal, although these forms could be combined in various ways to produce a ballata-madrigal and a canzone-madrigal. These verse types have been the subject of thorough studies by Don Harran in which the importance of each form in the early madrigal is made clear.⁸⁸ Harran's findings must be summarized here so that the relative importance of the forms may be clarified for the later frottola of northern Italy in general and for the later works of Cara in particular.

The Ballata

The ballata is the only form of the early madrigal to contain a refrain. Structurally, it is a variant of the barzelletta, which, however, it preceeded. The ballata, like the barzelletta, consists of a ripresa, a pair of mutazioni, and a volta. Each of these sections, however, shows rather more flexibility than the corresponding sections of the barzelletta.

Ballate are divided according to the length of the ripresa into the ballata minore with a ripresa of two lines, a ballata mezzana with a ripresa of three lines, and a ballata grande with a ripresa of four lines. There are also ballate stravaganti with riprese of more than four lines, ballate piccole with riprese of one endecasyllabic line,

⁸⁸Harran-Verse and Hersh (alias Harran)-Verdelot, pp. 43-124.

and ballate minime with riprese of one septisyllabic line.⁸⁹ None of the last three forms, however, is used in the musical repertory under consideration. The rhyme scheme of the riprese are abba in the ballata grande; abb, aba, or aab in the ballata mezzana; and aa or ab in the ballata minore. Virtually any combination of septi- and endecasyllabic lines is possible, so that the ballata grande, for example, may be abba or aBba, or ABBA, or ABbA, and so forth.

The mutazioni of the ballata may be two couplets rhyming cdcd, or they may be tercets, rhyming cdecde, the latter form being more common in the ballata mezzana and ballata grande.

The volta is joined to the mutazioni through the same concatenazione which joins the two sections of the barzelletta, although it is often lacking in ballate. Typically, the volta of the ballata is of three lines, rhyming ddb or ebb, although two-line volte (db), one-line volta (without concatenazione), and four-line volte (deeb) are recorded, as is a volte whose final rhyme agrees with the first rhyme of the ripresa rather than the second (e.g., dda).

The ballata and its variants were well-known to poetic theorists from the time of Antonio da Tempo. Virtually every important treatise discusses the form and gives directions for composing ballate. While theorists generally

⁸⁹Spongano-Nozioni, pp. 31-32.

agree that the form presupposes an alternation of seven- and eleven-syllable lines, examples of ballate written completely in endecasyllabic lines may also be found. Antonio da Tempo uses as his first example of the ballata mezzana, Quanto di prova, the rhyme-scheme of which is the following:

<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>
ABA	CDDC	CBA ⁹⁰
	└──────────────────────────────────┘	

Possibly because of the symmetry of the form with its concomitant ease of setting, these ballate were popular in musical sources throughout the fifteenth century. Fugir non posso, for example, found in Ms. Bologna, Universitaria 2216, in the Lucca Codex and in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms nouv. acq. franc. 4379, has the following form:

<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>
AA	BCBC	CA
	└──────────────────────────────────┘	

This same type of ballata begins in the frottola repertory with PeF XI (1514). Here alongside three settings of Petrarch's ballate,⁹¹ is found the following endecasyllabic ballata grande:

Rendete amanti le sagite amore,
 Nè vi curate più de un tal servire
 Perochè migior pena e più martire
 Lui duna a chi servir più pronto al core.

⁹⁰Tempo-Summa, pp. 120-121.

⁹¹Amor quando fioriva set by Ioannes Lulinus Venetus on f. 42v-43r, and two settings of Di tempo in tempo, one by Eustachius (f. 20v-22r), and another by Lulinus (f. 46v-48).

Teste ne son perchè molti e molt'anni
 Servito ho una crudel priva di fede.
 Qual, con insidie i mei perpetui danni,
 Augumentar facea senza mercede;
 Tal che ciascun il fa, ciascun il vede;
 Quanto per lei son di me stesso fore.
 Rendete amanti.⁹²

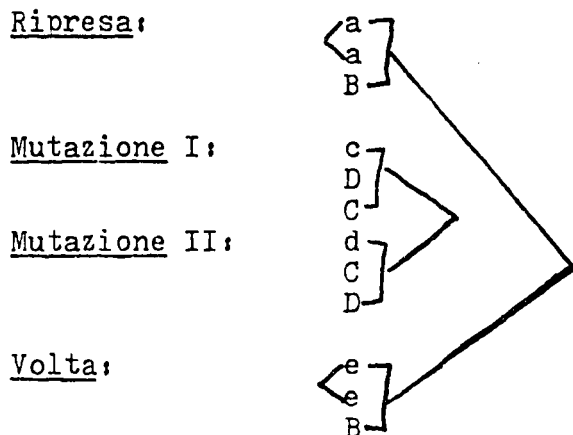
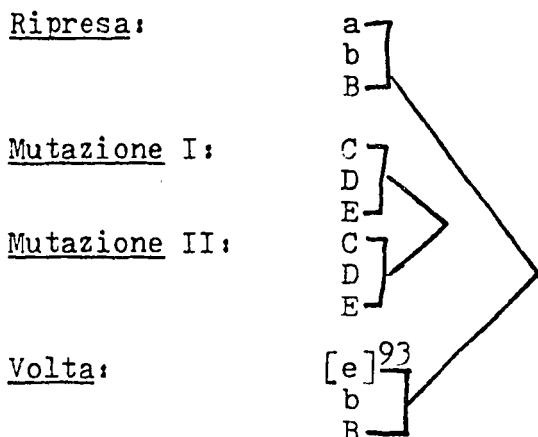
The ballata is Cara's favorite type among the madri-galesque forms. He sets no fewer than seven in the prints and manuscripts of the 1520's and early 1530's, all of which are ballate mezzane with only a single stanza. These pieces vary considerably in structure. Sì bella è la mia donna (DorC II [1531]) is perhaps the closest to the ideal form:

<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>
abB	CDCD	dB

Both Piangie la donna mia (DorC I [1526]) and Pensate se'l fu doglia (JudF [1526]), on the other hand, lack concatenazioni.

The ballate set by Cara are often vigorously symmetrical in their verse-lengths. Each line in the first mutazione tends to govern the length of the corresponding line in the following mutazione, and the lines of the volta tend to be of the same length as those in the ripresa. This symmetry was particularly helpful in setting ballate according to principles of formes fixes. Thus, the same music could be used for both mutazioni and another segment could be written for both the ripresa and the volta:

⁹²PeF XI (1514), f. 53v-54r, musical setting by Lulinus.

Piangie la donna mia (DorC I [1526])Perchè son tutto foco is similar:

Alma gentil (DorC I [1526]), on the other hand, is rather asymmetrical:

⁹³The text to this piece is found only in JudF (1526) which exists solely in the Altus partbook. There is a rest in the Altus at this point, and it is probable that a septi-syllabic line completing the concatenazione was originally present in the Cantus partbook.

Ripresa:

A

B

B

Mutazione I:

C

D

e

Mutazione II:

E

C

D

Volta:

C

F

F

B

B

Cara seems to be the leading composer of ballata settings in the decade of 1520-1530, even though one of his ballate is also ascribed to Tromboncino, i.e., ?Arsi donna per voi, from Bc 142. Here, the piece is assigned to Cara in the tavola, but to Tromboncino over the music. One might be inclined to ascribe this piece to Tromboncino, except for the fact that virtually nothing is heard from him throughout the decade. After AntL (1520), Tromboncino is represented with one piece in DorC I (1526), ?Non al suo amante (also ascribed to Cara), and one piece in DorC II (1531), Cantava per sfogar, a ballata mezzana with the addition of a choral-like refrain.⁹⁴ In manuscript sources, Tromboncino is represented only by Tra l'infelice son from Bc 142. While heavily represented in Vnm 1795, all of his works included there had already been published by 1520. It appears from

⁹⁴The text is published in Einstein-Madrigal, vol. I, p. 144. The refrain, "E chi serà il tuo bel fin amore." fulfills the function of the nio in the villotta, a form with which Tromboncino's work has much more in common than with the early madrigal.

these facts that Tromboncino had very little part in the "late" frottola, and on this basis, one might be inclined to ascribe both ?Arsi donna and ?Non al suo amante to Cara.⁹⁵

The Canzone

The canzone is considerably freer in structure than is the ballata. It is divided into two parts--the piedi, or fronte, and the sirima. The number of lines in each section and the rhyme-scheme is left to the poet's choice, but the length of each line is either seven or eleven syllables.

The piedi are more structured than is the sirima. In the piedi are a pair of couplets, tercets, or quatrains, the corresponding lines of which are of the same length.

1) AbAb

2) abCabC

3) AbbCBaaC⁹⁶

The sirima usually begins with a rhyme linking it to the last line of the piedi, although this is often omitted. In the canzone, this link is generally referred to as the unità, although Trissino borrows the term "concatenazione" from the ballata.⁹⁷ The sirima itself is simply a succession

⁹⁵For a more likely ascription of the latter piece, see pp. 232-33.

⁹⁶1) Vergine sacra benedetta et alma in DorC I (1526), by S. Festa; 2) Se'l pensier che mi strugge (Petrarch) in DorC I (1526) by S. Festa; 3) Novo pensier (Petrarch), no setting in the frottola repertory.

⁹⁷Harran-Verse, p. 43.

of rhymed couplets with or without additional interpolations, often ending with a rhymed couplet.

- 1) AccDDeFF
- 2) cdeEDFF
- 3) aCCDEeDFF⁹⁸

As a complete example of the canzone, I offer Sannazaro's Valle riposte, set by Franciscus F. (?) in AntF I (1510).

<u>Piede</u> I:	Valle riposte e sole,	a	
	Deserte piagge apriche,	b	
	Et voi, liti sonanti et onde salse,	C	
<u>Piede</u> II:	Se mai chalde parole	a	
	Vi fur nel mondo amiche	b	
	0 se de pianto uman giamai vi calse,	C	
<u>Unità:</u>	—		
<u>Sirima:</u>		Prendete hor le non false	c
		Mie querelle ei mie martiri,	D
		Ma si celatamente	e
		Che non l'oda la gente,	e
		Nel vento ne riporte i mie sospiri	D
		In parte ove io non voglia,	f
	Ma sepulta seresti mia doglia.	F	

The canzone had a rather early start in the frottola. Already in PeF VII (1507), three canzoni are set by Tromboncino--Si è debile il filo, Che debb'io far, and S'il dissi mai.⁹⁹ AntF I (1510) contains another seven and a reprint of S'il dissi mai:

With the relatively early popularity of the canzone, it is surprising that Cara set only one such poem, a canzone

⁹⁸1) and 2) are 1) and 2) from n. 96 above; 3) Amor se voi ch'io torni (Petrarch) in DorC I (1526) by S. Festa.

⁹⁹Rubsamen-Sources, pp. 24-25. The three works are published there, pp. 53-61.

without an unità, Ecco colui che m'arde, which did not appear until AntF IV (1517).

<u>Piedi:</u>	Ecco colui che m'arde.	a
	O che dolci parole,	b
	Che con tal forza mi passorno el core,	C
	Che mi è risposte tarde;	a
	Feci a quel vivo sole	b
	Che a suo modo mi tole e ha vigore.	C
<u>Sirima:</u>	Pur sospirando dissi fusse'l vero,	D
	Che mi terrei beato	e
	Et ella disse amato	e
	Sei e serai da me col cor sincero;	D
	Et più non potè dire:	f
	"Io me senti morire."	f

The Madrigal

The madrigal has been divided into two types by Harran: the Trecento madrigal, and the Cinquecento madrigal, each of which has a different form.¹⁰⁰ Between these two are several types which share various facets of each.

The Trecento madrigal may be divided into two different varieties--the simple madrigal, and the ritornello madrigal. The simple madrigal is made up of two or three tercets in the pattern ABB ACC CDD or some variant of it. To this simple pattern the ritornello madrigal adds a concluding couplet, e.g., ABC ABC DD.

The true Cinquecento madrigal is a wholly different type. Unlike the Trecento madrigal, the lines of which were almost always endecasyllabic, the later type consists of a free alternation between lines of seven and eleven

¹⁰⁰ Harran-Verse, pp. 36-37.

syllables. It has no specified length and no specified rhyme scheme; in short, it is the form which is the most nearly free among the verse forms of the early madrigal.

Between the freedom of the Cinquecento madrigal and the rigid structure of its Trecento counterpart, Harran has distinguished several varieties:¹⁰¹

- 1) A direct imitation of a Trecento madrigal by a sixteenth-century poet, e.g., AAC ABC DD.
- 2) An imitation which retains the tercet structure of the earlier type, but employs both septi- and endecasyllabic lines, e.g., abB acC dD.
- 3) Trecento-like madrigals lacking a third tercet or a ritornello, e.g., Abb Acc.
- 4) "Free Trecento-like Madrigals" which not only differ from the model in line-length, but also reorder these lengths in the second tercet, e.g., ABB Acc Dd EE.
- 5) "True sixteenth-century madrigals whose structure recalls the tercet structure of the earlier type," e.g., Abb CDE EFF.

Cara sets six madrigals during the later period of the frottola. ?Non al suo amante (DorC I [1526]) is a true Trecento madrigal with ritornello by Petrarch. Two of Cara's madrigals, ?Amor se de hor in hor (AntF IV [1520]) and Cangia spera mia voglia (AntF IV [1520]), tend toward Trecento practice, the former rhyming Abb Acc (Harran's third variant), and the latter rhyming abb cbc cdd, a variant of Harran's third type but, unusually, composed entirely of septisyllabic lines.

¹⁰¹Harran-Verse, pp. 39-40.

Cara composes two madrigals of the "pure" Cinquecento type: Doglia che non aguagli (Vnm 1795) and ?Fiamma amorosa, the latter attributed to Cara in AntF III (1513 and 1517) but anonymous in the reprint of 1520, and attributed to Tromboncino in AntF I (1517). The structure of the last work is typical of the free madrigal:

ABBCEADDEeAFF

Combinations

Cara sets two poems that, while sharing the freedom of the Cinquecento madrigal, also share certain characteristics with the ballata and the canzone. The first, Perchè piangi, alma (DorC II [1531]) belongs to a poetic type called by Harran a ballata-madrigal.¹⁰² It contains the two-line ripresa of the ballata minore, but does not return to the rhyme of the ripresa at the end of the poem and therefore does not include a true volta. The structure of the poem may be represented as follows:

<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>"Volta"</u>
Ab	bcBC	cdd

Cara's canzone-madrigal, Se quanto in voi si vede (JudF [1526]), includes both an opening akin to the piedi of the canzone and an unità linking this section with the following "sirima." It differs from the true canzone in its inclusion of asymmetrical line-lengths in the piedi and in

¹⁰²See Harran-Verse, pp. 33-36.

its insertion of a new rhyme in the last line of the same section.¹⁰³

"Piedi":	Se quanto in voi si vede	a
	Tutto è beltà infinita,	b
	Non è mal si per voi perdo la vita;	B
	Che per cosa men bella	c
"Unità"	— [Gli è sovente ribella	c
"Sirima":		
	E chi non crede, non conosce amore.	D

Cara's place in the utilizing of madrigalesque verse is undoubtedly an important one. Although he seems to have used such verses very little in the early stages of their development, he is certainly one of the leading composers of northern Italy to use them during the last years of his life.

In PeF XI (1514), a print which evidences a decided trend toward madrigalesque verse, Cara is represented with five pieces, three barzellette, a canzonetta, and a villota. In DorC I (1526) his contribution includes three ballate, a madrigal, and a sonnet. This seems to be exactly the opposite of Tromboncino, who contributes a considerable number of settings with madrigalesque verse in the earlier period, but almost none in the later period.

The Character of Frottola Verse

Frottola verse has long been considered trivial and empty of significant content. Einstein, for example, writes

¹⁰³Harran-Verse, pp. 45-46 for a discussion of the varieties of the canzone-madrigal. The poem in question is an example of the fourth variety, discussed by Harran on p. 46 of the article.

that "no one will be inclined to call this stuff poetry," calling the verse instead "rude and insipid stanzas."¹⁰⁴

The present section argues neither in favor of nor against the quality of the poetry, but rather gives certain indications as to the nature of the content of the verse and shows Cara's predilections within the general repertory of verse available to him.

Thematology

Frottola poetry is generally about love, and more particularly, about its melancholy aspects--love either unrequited, betrayed, or occasionally, simply the pain of parting. The majority of Cara's texts may be placed within this category. In much of the poetry the images of death as a surcease and of martyrdom are paramount:

Alas, I die for you, cruel lady,
 And you care not for my faithful service.
 Alas, I die if your harsh bitterness
 Is not changed to sweetness for my martyrdom.

 Alas, I die, and you are yet harder and stronger.
 For my faithful service, you give me death.¹⁰⁵

And again:

O my blind and harsh plight
 Nourished always by sadness;
 O misery of my life,
 Sad herald of my death.
 More sorrowful and unhappy am I
 Than any who lives on earth.

¹⁰⁴Einstein-Madrigal, vol. I, p. 64. For a more moderate approach, see Gallico-Mac A.I.4, p. 16.

¹⁰⁵Aimè ch'io moro, Pn 676. For the Italian text, see vol. II, p. 224.

I am the tree that the wind blows to earth
 Because it has no roots.
 True it is that which is said:
 "It goes badly for him who has a bad plight."¹⁰⁶

The use of metaphor and simile is common in texts concerning unrequited love, giving a rich imagery to the poet's product. The image of the dying swan is used in Si come che'l bianco cigno:

How like the white swan,
 Through natural habit,
 Dying in some stream
 And leaving its body.¹⁰⁷

Other objects of nature are used as metaphors and similes. The image of a moth flying into a flame is compared to the lover in Ochi dolci, and in Se non fusse la speranza, "Hope makes such a fruit/ that at first was hard,...[soften]." Natural objects such as fire and ice were particularly popular, the lover being fire and the love-object, ice

Because I am all fire
 My lady is ice.

 But I am not fire for I would then burn her;
 Neither ice is she who would extinguish me.
 Thus, she to me is fire, and I to her ice,
 Whence she is cold and yet the sun of my eyes....¹⁰⁸

The imagery may also evoke man-made objects such as chains and prisons, as in Rocta è l'aspra mia cathena (PeF I [1504]).

¹⁰⁶ O mia cieca e dura sorte, PeF I (1504). For the Italian text, see Cesari-PeF, p. 4*.

¹⁰⁷ PeF I (1504). For the Italian text, see Cesari-PeF, p. 6*.

¹⁰⁸ Perchè son tutto foco, JudF (1526). For the Italian text, see vol. II, p. 250.

Not all of the texts set by Cara are concerned with the melancholy aspects of love. Irony and humor play a large part in several poems:

My deep ardor is like a fish
That has its first place in clear water.¹⁰⁹

And again,

I don't want her because she doesn't love me.
.....
I don't want what constantly flees me;
I don't want her because she doesn't care
For this strong bitter pain that constantly
 wrings my heart.¹¹⁰

One particular type of irony is used in the frottola to good effect; i.e., the juxtaposition of a secular text with a sacred one in a parodic context. Cara's use of this device is rather restrained, certainly more restrained than the use of the device made by an anonymous composer of Villana, che sa tu far ("Country girl, what can you do?"), in which the concluding lines are as follows:

Alza la gamba, exaudi nos.
Kyrie eleison....

(Lift your leg, hear us [O Lord].
Lord have mercy upon us....)¹¹¹

Cara twice employs sacred biblical texts as capoversi for frottole. The first example uses Psalm 101 (the

¹⁰⁹L'ardor mio, PeF VII (1507). For the Italian text, see vol. II, p. 79.

¹¹⁰La non vol perchè non me ama, AntF IV (1517). For the Italian text, see vol. II, p. 110.

¹¹¹Ms. 5-1-43, f. 34v-35r, Biblioteca Colombina, Seville. Quoted from Jeppesen-Folk, p. 66.

portions in Latin are underlined):

Consumed at last, my lady
Are my days like smoke
 If you are descended from heaven
Hear the voice of my laments.¹¹²

The other use of a biblical text, in Si oportuerit, is taken from the New Testament and includes a magnificent pun on the word "Peter" ("Pietro"):

"Though I should die with you,
I will not deny you."
 These were the words
 Of the good Peter (Pietro) to his Lord
 When he said, "one of
 You wants to betray me."

 I say the same, Lady
 [But] to you is my speech true,
 For I am not of rock (pietro)
 But a marble column.¹¹³

This pun on "Pietro" ("Petrus") is, moreover, Jesus' own pun, at least according to Matthew, and is the foundation upon which papal infallibility rests.¹¹⁴

There is another group of Cara's compositions which plays on opposites. The texts are generally lighter than those discussed above, although such opposites as fire and ice are included there also. The best known of these pieces is Cara's Forsi che sÌ, forsi che no, which was to become a

¹¹²Defecerunt donna ormai, Psalm 101, verse four (Clementine Vulgate): quia defecerunt sicut fumus dies mei." The phrase "Hear the voice" is not from this psalm. Such phrases abound, however, throughout the Old Testament. For the Italian text, see Cesari-PeF, p. 4*.

¹¹³Matthew 26:35. "Ait illi Petrus: Etiamsi oportuerit me mori tecum, non te negabo." The piece itself is in PeB II (1511). For the text, see Disertori, PeB, p. 467.

¹¹⁴"Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo

motto of the Gonzaga family and to be placed on the ceiling of a room in the ducal palace.¹¹⁵

Perhaps yes, perhaps no;
Silence will not say.
Perhaps no, perhaps yes
The world must not always be so.

? Deh sì, deh no is much the same:

Oh yes, oh no, oh yes
Oh you need to know.
Alas, if I say it
And she should say no,
I know that I will die.
It's better to leave her here.
Oh yes....¹¹⁶

And again:

So many times yes, yes, yes,
And in changing to have no, no.
That's the reason why up to now
I have not what I have not.¹¹⁷

The last line of this text is similar to the poem of Poliziano set by Cara:

I don't have it because I don't have it,
That which, alas, I should have.
If I had it, I would have it,
But I will have it when I have it.¹¹⁸

The same sort of contrasts, although more serious in tone, are invoked in settings concerning the goddess Fortuna:

Ecclesiam meam...." Matthew 16:18.

¹¹⁵For the history of the text, see Gallico-Forse, where the Italian is printed on pp. 6-7.

¹¹⁶PeF I (1504). For the Italian text, see Cesari-PeF, p. 7*.

¹¹⁷Tante volte sì, sì, sì, PeF XI (1514). For the Italian text, see vol. II, p. 136.

¹¹⁸Io non l'ho perchè non l'ho, PeF VII (1507). For the Italian text, see Rubsamen-Sources, pp. 39-42.

There's no time for waiting
 Whether it is calm or windy,
 For it is seen in a moment
 That everything changes.

There's no time....
 If you climb, then do it quickly;
 Say what you would say.
 This is known and obvious:
 That the flowers do not last
 And that the snow in the hot sun
 Returns but to water. 119
 There's no time....

The same image of Fortuna is found in Ogni ben fa la fortuna:

Every good comes from fortune;
 Every bad is born from her.
 The calm and the storm,
 When it is clear and when it is dark.
 Every good....¹²⁰

This image of fortune and the variance of fate is by no means an isolated occurrence in Cara. Rather, it forms an important sub-group of the frottola in general, one which is not concerned with the ramifications of courtly love.¹²¹

It has been seen that several currents run through frottola poetry: the serious themes of unrequited love, the ironic or parodic treatment of the same, the light playfulness of opposites and finally, the subject of the inconsistency of life. There remain two other types of text found in Cara's works: the folk text and the carnival song.

¹¹⁹Non è tempo d'aspectare, PeF I (1504). For the Italian text, see Cesari-PeF, p. 4*.

¹²⁰PeF III (1505). For the Italian text, see Cesari-PeF, p. 43*.

¹²¹For further comments on the goddess Fortuna in the frottola, see Lowinsky-Fortuna, pp. 65 and 69-71.

Folk Texts

Cara uses folk elements in his frottole only ten times. These folk texts serve as riprese in barzellette and canzonette or, upon occasion, as the nio in villote. There follows a table of Cara's frottole which use folk texts. Included are the capoverso, the incipit of the folk text, the location of the text within the frottola and the location of other settings of the same text (see p. 158).¹²²

These folk pieces are, of course, light in nature and contain upon occasion a good deal of humor:

Because my mind notes in vain
That the past has gone to the winds,
From this time forward, more content,
I shall sing without shame:
"Coming from Bologna
My shoes hurt my feet.
Tandarondaridunda."¹²³

While this verse is scarcely a masterwork of poetic art, it is successful because of its element of surprise. The text at the beginning is no different from other frottola verse, lamenting amorously the past. The first four lines could serve as "serious" verse in any one of a number of pieces. The shock occasioned by the sudden insertion of the nonsensical folk-verse concerning shoes hurting one's feet must have been a delightful surprise to Cara's listeners. This

¹²²These other settings are given by the example number in Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. III, the most nearly complete catalogue of folk texts and tunes.

¹²³Poichè in van, DorC I (1526). For the Italian text, see vol. II, p. 197.

TABLE 4
FOLK ELEMENTS IN CARA'S FROTTOLE

Capoverso	Folk Text	Location	Voice	Jeppesen-Frottola
1. Amerò, non amerò	Tu ghe anderè	ripresa	Text only	Ex. 357 ^a
2. Chi la castra	Chi la castra	ripresa	Cantus	Ex. 226-27
3. Discalza e discalzetta	Discalza...	throughout	Tenor	Ex. 274-76
4. Le son tre fantinelle	Le son...	throughout	Tenor	Ex. 145
5. Mentre io vo	Ucelin bel ucelino	ripresa	Cantus	Ex. 217-21
6. Per fugir d'amor	O tiente allora	ripresa	Cantus	Ex. 87-94
7. Poichè in van	Vegnando da Bologna	ripresa	Cantus	Ex. 239b-41 ^a
8. Poich'io vedo	Tuolo in man	ripresa	Cantus	Ex. 140-42
9. ?Quando lo poro	Quando lo pomo O traditora	throughout nio	Tenor Cantus	Ex. 118-19 Ex. 120 ^a
10. Se trovasse	De tocca la canella	nio	Tenor? ^b	Ex. 249-50

^aCara's piece not included by Jeppesen.

^bIncomplete setting; only Altus and Bassus extant.

same element of surprise is typical of Cara's other frottole which contain folk tunes in their riprese.

Carnival Songs

Cara's two carnival songs are both barzellette in form, and their texts are typical of the contemporary Florentine canti. Rather than speaking personally to a lady, the carnival songs speak in the first person plural:

Ladies, have pity
 On us, poor galley slaves.
 We badly need your kindness.
 Under the power of a tyrant
 We plough, for a time, the sea,
 And that which was our anguish,
 It would take a long time to recount,
 Because a short time after our struggle,
 We again become poor.¹²⁴

While this text seems straight-forward, there is little doubt that there is intended a play on the words "anguish," "plough," "struggle," and so forth. Cara's other carnival song, Chi la castra la porcella, is more direct:

Who castrates the little pig,
 Up, up, sharp knives;
 Everyong knows the good master.

 With farts we are well supplied,
 [And] we remain the paragons.
 If we have need,
 [We will throw] to the ground our cloak;
 Then, with great discretion,
 We will consecrate your chamber pot.
 Who castrates....¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Donne, habiati voi pietate, PeF VIII (1507). For the Italian text, see vol. II, p. 85.

¹²⁵ PeF IX (1509). For the Italian text, see vol. II, p. 107.

The function of Cara's carnival songs is problematic. There are only sixteen in the entire North Italian repertory and there is no indication of their use.¹²⁶ They were apparently used at various festivals in Mantua and elsewhere, but no documents detailing the festivals are found.¹²⁷

Whatever their function, Cara's carnival songs illustrate another stratum of frottola texts. These texts, although concerned with courtly love, are concerned with it on several discrete levels, from the anguished lament of a spurned lover, to the playful joking with opposites, to the inclusion of folk elements.

Cara's poetry, however, tends toward the more serious side of frottola verse, the great majority of his texts being concerned with the anguished cries of courtly love. This is an important point in considering the relative position of the composer in the general repertory. Cara's preference for more serious verse may be seen in his relative lack of interest in folk texts, in his moderate use of biblical parody, and in the small number of ribald texts, such as Chi la castra.

Poets

Since Cara does tend to choose more serious verse, it

¹²⁶Gallucci-Festival has collected these pieces and edited them. See vol. I, pp. 213-214 and vol. II, pp. 283-365.

¹²⁷Gallucci-Festival, vol. I, pp. 233-234.

is somewhat surprising that the number of texts set by him for which major poets may be found is so small. Only fifteen such settings have been discovered, the poets ranging from Serafino to Petrarch and Sanazzaro. Table 5 presents a list of pieces with known poets and the earliest source in which they are found (see p. 162).

While these settings offer a wide variety of poets and an equally wide time-span, the proportion of Cara's extant works with texts by major poets is a rather small one. The proportion seems to be fairly typical of the frottola composers in general, however. Einstein gives only some twenty-five settings by the more prolific Tromboncino for which he is able to assign poets, for example.¹²⁸ Both of these figures emphasize the fact that the poetry of the frottola was essentially a courtly and often anonymous art, composed for the most part by amateurs. Thus Isabella d'Este herself wrote the text of Arboro son in MOe 9,9,¹²⁹ and Cesare Gonzaga sends Cara his madrigaletto to be set to music (Doc. 28, Dig. 24).

The Texts of the Later Frottola

In many ways, the print, DorC I (1526), is illustrative of the various stylistic trends in the frottola, particularly in its last decade. Present are all the varieties

¹²⁸Vogel-Einstein, vol. II, pp. 603-25.

¹²⁹Identified as Isabella's poem in Gallico-MOe 9,9, p. 110.

TABLE 5
THE POETS OF CARA'S FROTTOLE

Capoverso	Source	Poet
1. ?Amor, se de hor	AntF IV (1517)	M. Bandello
2. Cantai mentre nel core	AntF III (1513)	B. Castiglione
3. ?Crudel fuggi se sai	AntF III (1513)	G. del Carretto
4. Del mio sì grande	DorC I (1526)	S. dall'Aquila
5. ?Fiamma amorosa	AntF III (1513)	A. Navagero
6. Guardando alli occhi	Lbm 3051	S. dall'Aquila
7. Io non l'ho	PeF VII (1507)	A. Poliziano
8. ?Me stesso incolpo	PeF IV (1505)	S. dall'Aquila
9. ?Non al suo amante	DorC I (1526)	Petrarch
10. Perchè piangi	DorC II (1531)	J. Sanazzaro? ^a
11. Qual maraviglia	Vnm 1795	M. Bandello
12. Questa umil fera	JudM (1526)	Petrarch
13. Quicunque ille fuit	AntF III (1513)	Propertius
14. Se amor non è	AntF IV (1517)	Petrarch
15. Se quanto in voi	JudF (1526)	L. Cassola

^aAttributed to Sanazzaro in an eighteenth-century source, but elsewhere attributed to Molza. See Gallico-Bc 21, p. 108.

of verse: madrigal poetry, frottola poetry (although the interest in this type of verse seems to have been declining), barzellette with folk refrains, and villote piccole, grande, and incatenature. There are no less than six poems by Petrarch included. I reproduce as Table 6 the contents of the collection (see pp. 164-65).¹³⁰

The print is dedicated principally to the works of two composers--Cara and Sebastian Festa with nine works each. Cara's position in the later frottola is made clear by an examination of the table, for he is represented in the print by virtually every type of poem in the repertory, from madrigalesque verse to villota. Among the former, Cara has two ballate mezzane and the Petrarchian madrigal Non al suo amante.¹³¹ More typically frottolesque are the strambotto Del mio sì grande and the sonnet Voi che ascoltate, the latter also illustrative of the frottolesque tendency to quote phrases from Petrarch.¹³²

Cara also is represented in DorC I (1526) by four poems that contain folk texts: Poichè in van is a barzelletta

¹³⁰The table shows only the capoverso, composer, poet, and verse form. For concordances and foliation, see Jeppe-
sen-Frottola, vol. I, pp. 138-39.

¹³¹? Non al suo amante is attributed in DorC I to both Tromboncino and Cara; stylistically, however, it resembles the works of neither composer. It is, however, stylistically consistent with the works of Sebastian Festa, to whom I would attribute the piece. See pp. 231-33.

¹³²Cara's text begins "Voi che ascoltate i dolorose pianti," while Petrarch's verse begins "Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse." See Petrarch-Rime, I.

TABLE 6
TEXT FORMS IN DorC I (1526)

Capoverso	Composer	Text Form	Poet
1. Voi che ascoltate	Cara	Sonnet	Anon.
2. Vergine sacra	S. Festa	Canzone	Anon.
3. Non finsi mai d'amarte	Fra Ruffin	Madrigal	Anon.
4. O passi sparsi	S. Festa	Sonnet	Petrarch
5. Piangie la donna mia	Cara	Ballata mezzana	Anon.
6. Perchè quel che mi trasse	S. Festa	Ballata mezzana	Petrarch
7. Dilla da l'acqua	F.P. ^a	Villotta grande	Anon.
8. Non al suo amante	Cara or Tromboncino ^b	Madrigal	Petrarch
9. Del mio sì grande	Cara	Strambotto	S. dall'Aquila
10. Poichè in van	Cara	Barzelletta	Anon.
11. Un cavalier de spagna	F.P. ^a	Villotta incat.	Anon.
12. Amor se voi	S. Festa	Canzone	Petrarch
13. Se'l pensier	S. Festa	Canzone	Petrarch
14. Le son tre fantinelle	Cara	Villotta piccola	Anon.

TABLE 6 - Continued

Capoverso	Composer	Text Form	Poet
15. Vrai diu d'amor	F.P. ^a	Villotta incat.	Anon.
16. Ben mi credea	S. Festa	Canzone	Petrarch
17. Come senza costei	S. Festa	Ballata mezzana	L. Dertonese
18. Discalza e discalzetta	Cara	Villotta piccola	Anon.
19. Alma gentil	Cara	Ballata mezzana	Anon.
20. Amor che me tormenti	S. Festa	Madrigal	Anon.
21. L'ultimo di de maggio	S. Festa	Villotta grande	Anon.
22. E da poi che'l sol	Cara	Villotta piccola	Anon.

^aFra Pietro da Hostia? Francesco Patavino?

^bAttributed to Tromboncino on f. 12v and to Cara on f. 13r and v.

that uses "Vengando da Bologna" as a refrain, and Le son tre fantinelle, Discalza e discalzetta, and E da poi che'l sol are villotte piccole.

DorC I (1526) is equally representative of the works of Sebastian Festa, and is perhaps the most important source for this composer's works, for it contains nine of Festa's ten or eleven extant secular works.¹³³ Festa is perhaps the only composer who turns more frequently to serious verse than does Cara in the decade of 1520-30. All but one of his works are on madrigalesque texts, and all but three of these are texts by Petrarch. As an example of the madrigalesque texts chosen by Festa, I quote one of the two poems not by Petrarch--the anonymous madrigal Amor, che me tormenti.

Amor, che me tormenti
 E me a presenti il bel sguardo suave,
 Di quella che di me pietà non have,
 Perchè non mostri a lei sì spesso il foco
 Che me consuma el core,
 Come a me mostri sua beltà infinita?
 Forsi che saperia che cosa è amore
 E come se sostrage a poco a poco.
 Un che lontan dela speranza sia,
 Hai dura sorte mia.
 Madonna, me non cura et certo vede
 Che altro non regna in me, che amor et fede.

This poem, like the madrigalesque texts set by Cara, expresses the sentiments typical of the early madrigals of

¹³³The other works are Perchè al viso d'amor, a setting of a madrigal by Petrarch in Motetti e canzone. Libro primo (ca. 1520), and Quando el suave mio fido conforto on a canzone of Petrarch. The latter work is presented without attribution in both Bc 21 and in Fn 164. It is attributed to Festa in Gallico-Bc 21, p. 13.

Verdelot and Costanzo Festa with an elegance of phrase rarely attained in true frottola poetry:

Love, who torments me
 And presents me the sweet, gentle glance
 Of her who has no pity for me,
 Why do I not show her so often the fire
 Which consumes my heart,
 As, to me, she shows her infinite beauty?
 Perhaps she knows what love is
 And how it is destroyed little by little.
 One who is far from hope,
 You have my cruel plight.
 My lady cares not for me, and doubtless sees
 That only love and faith rule within me.

Festa's only non-madrigalesque text is also contained in DorC I (1526):

L'ultimo di de maggio,
 Un bel matino per la fresca rosata,
 Da vinti damigelle accampagnata,
 Ogn'una innamorata,
 Gentil, accorta, et bella.

Tandarindondella.

Oimè, che l'è pur quella
 Che m'ha ligato il cor che me l'ha tolto
 Con la beltà del suo splendente volto.

This text is a villotta grande, complete with lilolela (the function fulfilled here by the text, "Tandarindondella").

The last day of May,
 A beautiful morning with its rosy freshness,
 The lovely girl went out into the garden
 Accompanied by twenty [other] young girls,
 Each in love,
 Comely, wise, and lovely.

Tandarindondella.

Alas, for it is she
 Who has bound my heart and has taken it
 With the beauty of her radiant face.

In this poem, the sentiment expressed is considerably lighter than that seen in Amor, che me tormenti. Not only

is there the line of nonsense syllables typical of the villota, but there is only a hint of the pain of love which forms the theme of the madrigalesque text.

The same light sentiments are expressed in the two villote incatenature included in DorC I (1526), Un cavalier di Spagna and Vrai diu d'amor. The latter strings together no less than five folk songs to form its almost nonsensical text:

Vrai diu d'amor chi me conforterà
 Che'l amor si ma lassa
 Farira fararirum
 Sum fora di presum
 O faralilalum
 Ch'io sum fora di presum
 Et ho cantando ogni hora
 O tient a l'ora
 A l'umbre d'un bel [pino]¹³⁴
 Ucelino, bel ucelino
 Come sa tu ben cantar
 Farililum farirerum....¹³⁵

Thus DorC I (1526) presents a cross-section of types of texts in the frottola of the 1520's, a period which saw the genre move away from purely frottolesque texts and towards madrigalesque poetry on the one hand and towards the inclusion of folk elements on the other. In both of these trends Cara played an extremely important part, although he shows less of an inclination toward the true villotta than did other composers of the decade.

¹³⁴Not in DorC I (1526); taken from Bc 21, no. 46.

¹³⁵Lines 1, 4, 8, 9, and 10 are separate folksongs. See Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. III, pp. 70-73.

CHAPTER IV

CARA AND THE MUSIC OF THE FROTTOLA

Much has been written on the musical style of the frottola. The research of Rudolph Schwartz, covering the period from 1886 to 1935, and that of Walter Rubsamen, from 1941 to the present, has clarified the general characteristics of musical style so that the modern scholar may begin with rather clear ideas as to the general nature of the repertory.¹

These studies, however, are examinations of either the entire repertory or else of a rather large cross-section of that repertory. Schwartz, for example, is concerned almost exclusively with the repertory of Petrucci's prints. Both Schwartz and Rubsamen tend to generalize on the basis of a large body of material that includes many composers, an approach that tends to present simplifications of the stylistic nature of the genre.

The present study examines the nature of the music of one composer, and generalizes from that basis. Through this process Cara emerges as a subtle formalist whose best works

¹Schwartz-Frottole, -Formenproblemen, -Nochmals, and -PeF; Rubsamen-Sources and, most particularly, his study, "From Frottola to Madrigal," in Haar-Chanson.

are carefully crafted. In other respects, such as harmony and dissonance treatment, his techniques seem typical of those of his contemporaries. I shall consider the areas of length, form, the individual voices, texture, rhythm and meter, harmony, and text expression. Greatest attention will be given to those areas, such as form, in which Cara seems to be most important.

Length

The frottola is essentially a small form with the setting of a given text tending to be short and extremely economical. In spite of this tendency, the performance of a given composition will be long or short depending not so much on the length of the musical setting, but rather on the repetition pattern within the strophe and, more important, on the amount of text that is to be sung. The musical setting of Aiutami, ch'io moro (PeF VII [1507]), for example, is only nine measures in length, but six strophes are included in the print and six statements of the setting are therefore necessary. Thus, in performance, this work will be fifty-four measures in length.

Conversely, the length of many settings is a spurious one; that is, the printer or composer often includes repeats of both text and music in the setting. The barzioletta, Fugga pur chi vol amore (PeF VIII [1507]), includes music for both the ripresa and the refrain, although the refrain is equal, both musically and textually, to the first half of

the ripresa. In the print, therefore, the work seems falsely to be longer than its neighbors.

A general trend toward increasing length in frottola settings is evident, however. The settings from the period 1510-1520 tend to be longer than those in the earlier Petrucci repertory, and the works that appear first in the 1520's are longer still.² Aiutami, ch'io moro (PeF VII [1507]), mentioned above, is one of Cara's shortest works (only 9 measures) while Veramente, ogni doglia (DorC II [1531]) and Doglia, che non aguagli (Vnm 1795) are two of the longest, 77 and 91 measures, respectively. Both of these last settings are through-composed and set madrigalesque texts.

Form

Form within the general frottola repertory is in one sense simple, in another, complex. Poetic form tends to govern musical form, and thus settings of a given verse type will have certain formal elements in common that will not be shared with settings of a different verse type. This is true in a general sense: barzioletta settings will be easily distinguishable from strambotto settings and so on. It is logical, therefore, to group settings of a particular text form in a discussion of musical forms.

²A notable exception is Cara's Del mio sì grande, from DorC I (1526), which is only eight measures in length.

Within these broad guidelines, there is a considerable variance in the composer's response to his chosen text. Several ways may be chosen to set a barzelletta or a strambotto. The question of how much text is to be set to music and how much left to repetition is a problem that was solved by the composers in various ways, as was the problem of the amount of musical material to be used in the setting. It would be theoretically possible, for example, for a composer to use only one theme for the setting of any text which has lines all of the same length, just as it would be possible for him to use a different melody for each line of text. To my knowledge the former never occurs, while the latter is chosen principally for strambotto and oda settings among frottola verse and for all types of madrigalesque texts.

Some repetition of thematic materials is inherent in most frottola verse because of its strophic nature. This means that any multi-strophic poem will impose some sort of order on a musical setting, even if the single strophe is through-composed. In reality, the composer tends to employ repetition also within the strophe and thus to impose an order both on the level of the individual stanza and within the entire setting.

It is in this matter that Cara distinguishes himself, for he emerges as a master of subtle repetition schemes. His reaction to a given text form varies widely, but is always logical. One must take issue with Rubsamen's characterization of frottola repetition as being for the

sake of economy.³ With Cara, at least, repeats are generally either for the sake of poetic structure or else serve to create an autonomous musical structure. The more intricate the poem in terms of rhyme-scheme and structure, the more intricate is Cara's elaboration of it.

Nonripresa frottola forms

The Strambotto

In the ottava-rima structure of the strambotto there are basically three methods of elaboration that are suggested by the text-form and chosen by composers. First, only two of the eight lines need be set, with the music stated four times. Second, music for the first two lines and the last rhyming couplet may be supplied; the resulting structure is AAAB. Third, music for each couplet may be provided; the resulting structure is through-composed. Cara's seventeen strambotti reveal all of these possibilities: eleven set only one couplet, four elaborate the entire poem, and one provides music for the first and last couplets.⁴

There seems to be no chronological pattern in Cara's choices. Aimè, ch'io moro (Pn 676), Arma del mio valor (PeF IX [1509]), Caro sepolchro (AntF IV [1517]), and Del mio sì grande (DorC I [1526]) all share the same practice of putting only the first couplet to music.

³Haar-Chanson, pp. 58, 68, and 82. See pp. 217-18.

⁴The same music is used for both Guardando alli occhi

Within the three general types, Cara chooses different methods of elaboration. In strambotto settings of the first type he may choose any number of melodies to set the text. Thus, Del mio sì grande, the simplest work, contains only one brief melody for each line, the entire setting being only eight measures long.

More typical is a group of strambotti for which Marchetto composes three melodies: one for the first line of text, and two for the second. In the sources themselves, the third unit is generally untexted so that it may have served as an instrumental interlude. Typical in this respect, although it contains a particularly short interlude, is Caro sepulchro mio:

Ca-ro se-pul-chro mi - - o che as-con-di e-

chiv-di, che as-con - - di e chiv - - di

In-nan-ci el tem - - po per mia a-cer-ba-pe - -

- na, per mia a-cer-ba pe-nag-cer-ba pe - na.

Ex. 1. Caro sepulchro mio (AntF IV [1517]), Cantus.

toi and Se ben è'l fin.

The structure of this work may be represented as follows:⁵

Text: A B A B A B A B
 Music: 1 2+3 1 2+3 1 2+3 1 2+3

Within this same pattern, Cara may write two phrases for each line of text (e.g., ?Me stesso incolpo [PeF IV]), or he may use five different melodies (e.g., 1+2+3/4+5 in Vedo ogni selva [PeF VII]), or he may add a coda with a new section, as L'ardor mio grave (PeF VII [1507]):

Text: A B A B A B C C
 Music: 1 2+2.1 1 2+2.1 1 2+2.1 1 2+2.1+3

Dilecto albergo è tu (PeF IV [1505]) is the only setting in which Cara elaborates the first and last couplets. The first couplet, repeated three times, contains three phrases while the last contains a new melody repeated twice, an obvious method of emphasizing the closing rhyme-scheme:



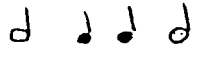
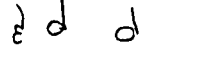

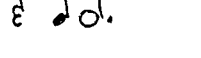


Text: A B (etc.) C C
 Music: 1+2 3 4 4

⁵Melodic units (i.e., phrases or melodies) are represented by Arabic numerals. A number with a decimal figure after it indicates that the section in question is a variant of the original section, e.g., 1.1 is the first variant of the first melody of the work. The sign + is used to join two or more melodic elements which set the same line of text. The lower case letter following these numerals indicates a part of the melody. Thus 1b is the second section of the first melody, while 2a is the first half of the second melody. Obviously, the designation of what constitutes a variant is a partly subjective decision. For this study I have not marked as variants phrases in which the changes are extremely slight and constitute only brief and incidental variations on the original phrase. For example, a phrase that varies only one rhythmic grouping (two minims as opposed to a semibreve) is treated as a strict repetition. On the other hand, I have included as variants phrases which retain only the general melodic outlines and rhythmic patterns of the original phrase.

Most interesting are Cara's strambotto settings in which he elaborates all eight lines of the strophe. These settings are through-composed, and since Cara's texts contain only a single strophe, the final result is a through-composed form.⁶

Text: A B A B A B C C
 Music: 1a+1b 2+1b.1 3 4 5 6 7 8+9

Cara's subtle handling of this through-composed form is best seen in the strambotto-lauda Vergine immacolata (PeL II [1508]), in which he unifies the setting through the use of two rhythmic "head-motives," one for the first rhyme and another for the second:⁷

		<u>Text</u>	<u>Music</u>
3 2		A	1
		B	2
		A	3
		B	4
		A	5
		B	6
		C	7
		C	8

⁶Vergine immacolata (PeL II [1508]). For three multi-strophic strambotti by Tromboncino, see p. 100n.

⁷Modern edition: Jeppesen-PeL, pp. 86-87.

The clearer motive here is A, for it remains constant throughout the setting; B maintains the use of an initial rest throughout, and the final C returns to the rhythm of the motive of A, thus rounding out the piece.

In all three types of strambotto settings the respective segments are detached in various ways. In Aimè, ch'io moro, for example, both poetic lines and caesurae within lines are articulated through the use of corone.

A musical score for the strambotto 'Aimè, ch'io moro'. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff has a treble clef and a common time signature. The melody is written with quarter and eighth notes. Above the staff, there are three 'corone' (breath marks) indicated by a semi-circle with a vertical line through it. The lyrics are: 'Ai - mè, ch'io mo - ro per te ————— don - na cru - -'. The second staff continues the melody with the lyrics: '- - - de - - - - le'. There are two sharp signs (#) above the staff, indicating a key signature change.

Ex. 2: Aimè, ch'io moro (Pn 676), Cantus, mm. 1-12. In O caldi mei sospiri (PeF IV [1505]), on the other hand, Cara separates the two verses set by a rest in the Cantus and Bassus, while the inner voices have no pause.

A musical score for the strambotto 'O caldi mei sospiri'. It consists of four staves of music. The first two staves are in treble clef, and the last two are in bass clef. The first staff has a common time signature. The melody is written with quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are: 'fi - di com - pa - gni Ren - de - te'. There is a rest in the Cantus and Bassus parts, indicated by a horizontal line with a vertical line through it.

Ex. 3: O caldi mei sospiri (PeF IV [1505]), mm. 6-10.

The Capitolo

Cara's two capitolo settings De che parlerà (PeB I [1509]) and Nasce la speme mia (PeF IX [1509]) are relatively simple settings. Both are constituted of three short melodies which set the text more or less syllabically and which may have some thematic relationship between them:

De che parlerà

Text: A B A

Music: 1 2 3

Nasce la speme

Text: A B A

Music: 1 2 2.1

Both settings are problematic, however: each contains a final line of text without music. How is this final verse to be treated? Reasoning that the capitolo is one of the text forms most allied with the concept of formes fixes,⁸ one of the other "Aeri da capitoli" might be sought to provide a model for a solution. Unfortunately, this is not the case. I have located four of these capitoli in the Petrucci repertory that carry the rubric "Aer de capitoli" or "Modus dicendi capitula." They present a series of varied solutions, or else present problems of their own analagous to those of Cara's settings. (See the following page, Table 7.)

Excepting Poichè son, these "Aeri" present no real difficulties. None of the solutions presented can be applied analagously to De che parlerà or Nasce la speme, for each of which Cara supplies only three of the required

⁸See p. 106n.

TABLE 7
 FORMAL SOLUTIONS OF PETRUCCI'S "AERE DE CAPITOLI"

Source	Capoverso	Composer	Form	Remarks
PeF I (1504), f. 46r	Ben mille volte	Pesenti	A B A 1 1.1 2	lacks concluding quatrain
PeF IV (1505), f. 55v	Un solicito amor	Lurano	A B A . X 1 2 2.1 3	last line labelled "La fin"
PeF VIII (1508), f. 55v	Deh non più mo	Zesso	A B A X 1 2 3 4	Text not underlaid correctly in print. B is placed under both 1 and 2.
PeF XI (1514), f. 46r	Poichè son	Lulinus	A B A 1 2 3	Text concludes with quatrain, the piece presenting thereby the same problem as Cara's capitolo settings.

four phrases of music. It seems most probable, with respect to Cara's pieces, that either the last phrase of music was repeated for the final line, or, less likely, that the last line was repeated three times with each of the musical phrases.

The Sonnet

Cara sets some twelve sonnets, the sources for which range from PeF IV (1505) to DorC I (1526).⁹ Since the sonnet is a poem of a single strophe, one might expect to find through-composed settings for it. On the contrary, composers generally chose not to set it in this way; rather, they seized on the natural subdivisions of the form into octave and sextet and, at the most, set half of these sections, i.e., a quatrain and a tercet. With Cara, however, even such an abbreviated method of setting is used only once, the composer preferring to set only a quatrain and to repeat this music for the tercets. A typical formal setting follows:

Text:	A	B	B	A	A	B	B	A	C	D	C	D	C	D
Music:	1	2	2	3	1	2	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3

The repetition of the second phrase, B, was accomplished by notating a repeat sign that, of course, was to be omitted in the tercets. Ten of Cara's sonnet settings take

⁹I was unable to consult one sonnet, Questa umil fera (JudM [1526]). The identification of the piece as a sonnet by Petrarch is made in Jeppesen-JudM, p. 9.

basically this formal scheme, although two elaborate it somewhat. Se per chieder mercè adds a final phrase of music to which the performer was to repeat the last line of text. The musical form, taken from PeF VIII (1507), may be represented as follows:

1 ||: 2 :|| 3 || 4

This form is exceedingly clear in PeF VIII, but through the omission of the second double bar in PeB I (1509) the form is rendered less clear in that source. It is perhaps this omission which leads Disertori to misrepresent the form of the work in his modern edition of the Bossinensis books.¹⁰

The music, together with the underlaid text, takes the following form in PeF VIII:¹¹

se per chie-der mer-cè gra-tia s'im-pet-ra Con fle-bi-Io con el
li pa-ro-lee mes-ti-gi-cen-ti Hav-rei fat-to spes-zar un cor-de-
suon de miei gra-vi la-men-ti
pe-tra. Fe-li-ce'è ben [chi da tal guer-ra scam-pa scam-pa.]

Ex. 4: Se per chieder mercè (PeF VIII [1507]), Cantus.

¹⁰Disertori-PeB, p. 349, indicates that the final line of text is to be sung in the first quatrain. He also omits the third line of this quatrain from the printed text.

¹¹Only the first three words of the final line are underlaid in PeF VIII, the remainder appearing at the conclusion of the residual text at the bottom of the page.

For ?S'io sedo al ombra, found in both PeF V (1505)¹² and in PeB II (1511), Cara also adds an additional phrase of music. This phrase serves a different function in each of the sources, however. In PeF V, the additional phrase serves to set the last section of the final line of text for each unit, while in PeB II it serves as a repetition of the entire line.

PeF V

A	B	B	A
1	1.1	2	3+3.1

PeB II

A	B	B	A	(A)
1	1.1	2	3	3.1

Whichever of these solutions is employed, there remains a formal problem with regard to the underlay of the tercets. Is the final line of each tercet to be repeated twice, (C D C C C
1 1.1 2 3 3.1), or is the performer to return to some mid-point in the music for his setting of the tercets? Einstein, who deals with precisely this problem, offers yet a third solution: "...in the execution of the tercets either the melody [and text?] of one of the first four-measure couplets was sung, or else the first line of the text was repeated."¹³ Any one of these answers is possible, of course, and it is impossible to come to a definite conclusion. It may be remarked, however, that only one of the solutions does not destroy the structure of the text, and that is the return to some interior point in the setting. This idea is perhaps

¹²Attributed to "B.T." in the tavola, but to "Marcheto" over the music.

¹³Einstein-Madrigal, vol. I, p. 102.

strengthened slightly by the presence of corone at the end of the first and second lines of the original setting. If the return is made to the second line, the form is maintained nicely:

Text: C D C D C D
 Music: 2 3 3.1 2 3 3.1

Cara sets one sonnet, Castiglione's Cantai mentre nel core (AntF III [1513]), for which he composes music for both the first quatrain and the first tercet:

A B B A A B B A C D C C D C
 1 2 2 3 1 2 2 3 1.1 1.1 4 1.1 1.1 4

While providing more music, the work remains simply a schematic setting into which any sonnet may be placed. Cara, like all the frottola composers, did not view the higher literary content of the sonnet as a challenge to create a musical work that might mirror that content. Such an approach is symptomatic of frottola composers in regard to forms other than the sonnet. The general concern and sympathy was to render a setting which reflects the poetic structure rather than content.

The Oda

Cara's four settings of ode generally present somewhat simple formal solutions. For Signora, un che v'adora (CanF II [1519]), in fact, Cara simply writes a different melodic phrase for each of the four lines of the strophe.

Text: a a b B
 Music: 1 2 3 4

The music is repeated for the succeeding four strophes.

Considering Marchetto's other oda settings, it may be that the extreme simplicity of this piece results from the endecasyllabic length of the final line. In the other settings, each containing a shorter final line, Cara repeats the last line of text: With Si come che'l bianco cigno (PeF I [1504]), for example, he elaborates the poem in the following manner:

Text:	a	b	b	c	(c)
Syllables:	7	7	7	5	5
Music:	1	2	3	4	5

This repetition provides more of a feeling of finality than would a single setting of the final verse.

Marchetto's Udite, voi finestre offers a slightly more complicated solution to the problem of the final line. The poem, rhyming abbc, has three septisyllabic lines followed by a concluding line of four syllables. Marchetto, however, sets the text as though it were a tercet of two septisyllabic and one endecasyllabic lines by eliding the last two lines of each strophe. He then repeats the last two lines together as a coda:

U-di - te voi fi - nes - tre, Quel che pion - gen - do par - lo, Per - chè de ri - con - trar - lo

Mi par tem - po Per - chè di - ri - con - trar - lo Mi par tem - - po.

Ex. 5: Udite, voi finestre (PeF I [1504]), Cantus.

The poetic and musical structures of this work may be represented as follows:

<u>Poetic Structure</u>	<u>Musical Structure</u>
Rhyme: a b b c	Rhyme: a b C (C)
Syllables: 7 7 7 4	Syllables: 7 7 11 11
	Phrases: 1 2 3 3.1

Frottola Forms with Ripresa

Frottola forms with ripresa are considerably more subtle in their poetic form, and Marchetto's settings of them are accordingly more complex than are his settings of nonripresa forms. Nevertheless, certain categories of formal types are suggested within each text form.

The Barzelletta

On the broadest level, there are basically two ways in which frottola composers treated barzellette. They might adopt the simple solution of writing music for only the ripresa and the refrain and use the same music for the text of the stanza. Alternately, they might set both the ripresa and the stanza, allowing this structure to be repeated for each strophe.

Of these two solutions, the former, simpler solution was the one that was chosen more often.¹⁴ It seems extremely significant, therefore, that Cara most often chose the alternate means. Of his forty-nine barzellette, thirty-

¹⁴Schwartz-Frottole, p. 433.

seven set both ripresa and stanza, while only twelve set the ripresa and refrain alone.¹⁵ Moreover, over half of these simpler settings are in PeF I (1504), thus leaving only five settings of the simpler type in later years. It is clear, therefore, that Cara preferred the more involved setting, particularly in the years after the appearance of Petrucci's Frottole libro primo.

Within each of the two broad categories are found many variations as to exactly what melodic material is included in each section. These variations are dependent both upon the structure of the text and on the more abstract "musical" decisions of the composer; the greater number of variations, of course, are possible in those pieces which set both ripresa and stanza.

Within the simpler type of setting are two sub-groups, those with volte of two lines, and those with volte of four lines. Typical of the former group is Defecerunt, donna, hormai from PeF I (1504). Petrucci's form for this piece is as follows:

$$\|: A : \| \quad B \quad \| \quad A'$$

This musical structure is adapted to the poetic structure by omitting the repeat sign in the ripresa and using it in the mutazioni:

^{15?} Ostinato vo seguire and In eterno voglio amarti have the same music, and are counted here as only one composition.

De-fe-ce - - runt, don-na, hor-ma-i Si-cut fu-mus di - - es me - i;
 Se di-sce-sa dal — ciel se - i, Au - di vo-cem de mei gua-i, de
 — mei gua-i. De-fe-ce - - runt, don-na, hor-ma-i Si - cut fu - mus
 di - - es me - - i di - - es me - i.

Ex. 6: Defecerunt, donna, hormai (PeF I [1504]),
 Cantus.

Revealed here is the frottola composer's rigid adherence to the barzioletta form. Within the ripresa both middle lines, having the same rhyme, are set to the same music, and the symmetrical couplets of the mutazioni are likewise set to a repeated musical section.

	<u>Poetic Structure</u>	<u>Musical Structure</u>	<u>Melodic Units</u>
<u>Ripresa:</u>	<u>a</u>	A	1
	<u>b</u>		2
	<u>b</u>	B	2
	a		3a+3b
<u>Refrain:</u>	<u>a</u>	A'	1
	<u>b</u>		2+3b
<u>Mutazioni:</u>	<u>c</u>	A	1
	<u>d</u>		2
	<u>c</u>	A	1
	<u>d</u>		2
<u>Volta:</u>	<u>d</u>	B	2
	a		3a+3b
<u>Refrain:</u>	<u>a</u>	A'	1
	<u>b</u>		2+3b

The barzioletta setting of a poem with a four-line volta is similar to the form discussed above, although extra

repeat signs are necessary to allow for the extra lines of text. Thus, in Oimè el cor (PeF I [1504]), the pattern of repeats is as follows:

||: A A' :|| A' ||: B :||: A :|| A' A''

This more complicated structure again omits the repeats for the ripresa and the refrain:

	<u>Poetic Structure</u>	<u>Musical Structure</u>	<u>Melodic Units</u>
<u>Ripresa:</u>	a	A	1
	b	A'	1.1
	b	A'	1.1
	a	B	2
<u>Refrain:</u>	a	A	1
	b	A'	1.1
	b	A''	1.2
<u>Mutazioni:</u>	c	A	1
	d	A'	1.1
	c	A	1
	d	A'	1.1
	d	A'	1.1
<u>Volta:</u>	e	B	2
	e	B	2
	a	A	1
<u>Refrain:</u>	a	A	1
	b	A'	1.1
	b	A''	1.2

The preceding form is even more precise and closer structurally to the text than is the first example. Here Cara uses only two themes and their variants placed so as to emphasize the poetic structure. As in Defecerunt, donna, hormai, he elaborates the middle lines of the ripresa with the same music (here 1.1). Cara repeats the last line of the refrain, writing for it a slight variant (1.2) of the melody immediately preceding it (1.1). The structure is further emphasized through the use of the same melodies for the two mutazioni (1 1.1/1 1.1), and through repeating the

melody for the two lines of the concatenazione (1.1/1.1)
and the two center lines of the volta (2 2).

Oimè el cor, oimè la tes - ta. Chi non - a - ma non — in - ten - de Chi non - fal - la
non — se - men - de: Do - poel fal - loel pent - ir re - s - ta. Oimè el cor, oimè la
tes - ta. Chi non - a - ma non in - ten - de, Chi non a - ma non — in - ten - - de.

Ex. 7: Oimè el cor, oimè la testa (PeF I [1504]),
Cantus.

Cara's form is not always so concise. In Glie pur gionto (PeF I [1504]) he composes four different melodies for the ripresa, and in Non è tempo d'aspectare (*ibid.*) he uses three melodies for the ripresa (1 2 2 3) and then composes a fourth melody for the last section of the refrain (a b (b) = 1 2 4).

Those barzellette of Marchetto's that provide music for both ripresa and stanza show considerably more variation in the way he handles the material. Indeed, although it is possible to establish categories within the barzellette, there is an almost endless variety of formal scheme. The number and placement of themes, for example, is rarely exactly the same in two settings. This practice is a mark both of the variety possible within a rigidly structured form, and of Cara's ability to utilize these possibilities.

These "through-composed" settings (i.e., those which set both ripresa and stanza) range from pieces that are so economical in their use of musical material that they almost might have been written as settings with music for only ripresa and refrain, to pieces that have completely different music for the mutazioni and volta. The musical layout in the print, regardless of the type, is typically the following:

<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>	<u>Refrain</u>
A B	: C :	D	A (or A B)

The next stanza would then begin with the mutazioni, again at C.

Hor venduto ho la speranza (PeF I [1504]) exemplifies a barzelletta wherein Cara chooses to repeat the material of the ripresa in the mutazioni:

<u>Poetic Structure</u>	<u>Musical Structure</u>	<u>Melodic Units</u>
<u>Ripresa</u> :	a b b a	A B
<u>Mutazioni</u> :	c d c d	A
<u>Volta</u> :	d a	C

1
 2
 3
 4+5

 1
 2
 1
 2

 6
 7

The only difference between this setting and the simpler setting is that Cara composed new music for the volta.

At the other end of the spectrum is Ogni ben fa la fortuna (PeF III [1505]), in which Cara repeats phrases only in the mutazioni and concatenazione:

	<u>Poetic Structure</u>	<u>Musical Structure</u>	<u>Melodic Units</u>
<u>Ripresa:</u>	a	A	1
	b		2
	b	B	3
	a		4
<u>Refrain:</u>	a	A'	1
	b		2.1+1.1
<u>Mutazioni:</u>	c	C	[5 6]
	d		
	c	C	[5 6]
	d		
<u>Volta:</u>	d	D	6]
	a		7

Here is new music for both mutazioni and volta. Cara has disregarded the demands of symmetry in the ripresa and has, instead, composed a different theme for each line. In spite of this, his concern with form is evident, particularly in the refrain. In this instance, Cara's aim is evidently an "abstract" musical one; in extending the final line, he elects to use a variant of the first melodic unit. In so doing he assures a sense of return to beginning material at the close of each repetition, a return that is not occasioned by any poetic consideration, but rather by a musical one.

This musical sense is manifest throughout Cara's works. With In eterno io voglio amarte (PeF I [1504]), for example, he takes the rather unusual step of setting the last line of the ripresa with the same music as the first line (1 2 3 1+4). Such a pattern--seemingly an obvious one since it follows exactly the rhyme-scheme--is not used by Cara elsewhere. In eterno contains this pattern because the latter half of the ripresa is to be the refrain, rather than the first half. Cara thereby ensures that the piece will

conclude with a reference to the opening statement:

	<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Refrain</u>
Text:	a b <u>b</u> a	<u>b</u> a
Music:	1 2 3 1+4	3 1+4

Cara also changes the traditional structure of the mutazioni in some works. The most usual method of treating this section was to write two melodies, each of which would be repeated for the second couplet, a technique employed in most barzellette by Cara as well as other frottolists. Quei che sempre (PeF III [1505]) shows the pattern changed only slightly through varying the last line (1 2 1 2.1). In Deh, non più (PeF VII [1507]), Cara varies the pattern still more by composing a wholly new melody for the final line (4 5 4.1 6), although here and in all but one of the similarly treated settings, he is at pains to maintain the structural importance of the concatenazione by using the same musical phrase for both the last line of the mutazioni and the first line of the volta.¹⁶

Dela impresa mia (PeF IX [1509]), for example, shows an elaboration of each line of the mutazioni with a different musical phrase; the last of these is used for the first line of the volta:

¹⁶Forsi che si (PeF III [1505]) is the single exception.

Ques-to mar nos - - tro dei qua - le Gli pen-sier ra - ro ri - e -
 sce sì non fos-se al-cun ma - le Dal de - sio per for-
 E nel cor qual ha-
 ra e - sce;
 no al pesce.

Ex. 8: Dela impresa mia (PeF IX [1509]), Cantus,
 mm. 19-34 (mutazione and concatenazione).

This form may be represented as follows:

	<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>
Text:	a b b a	c d c d	d a
Music:	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8	8 4

Examples such as Dela impresa mia should be separated from those variations in form that are occasioned by a variation in poetic structure. In O mia ciecha e dura sorte (PeF I [1504]), for instance, the poetic structure of the mutazioni is cddc instead of cdcd. Cara follows this structure with the musical form 4 5 5 2.1, again retaining the last melody (2.1) for the first line of the volta. Such a divergence from the normal musical form derives from divergences from the normal poetic structure, whereas those discussed immediately above derive from considerations outside verse structure, that is, from purely musical considerations.

Cara's handling of melodic material in four-line volte is similar to that he gives to mutazioni. Always rhyming deea or deeb, such volte are consistently set so that the two middle lines have the same music. The first line customarily--but not always--uses the same music as the last line of the mutazioni, while the last line of the volta may or may not refer back to the ripresa.

1) Text: d e e a 2) Text: d e e b
 Music: 6 7 7 6 Music: 4.1 5 5 2¹⁷

This last line is usually linked musically to the refrain in such a way that the transition from volta to refrain is musically identical to the transition from ripresa to refrain; that is, the final line of the volta is set either to the same music as the last line of the ripresa or to some variant of it. Thus in Bona dies, bona sera, from PeF VII (1507), the form is the following:

	<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Refrain...</u>	<u>Volta</u>	<u>Refrain</u>
Text:	a b a a	a b...	d a	a b
Music:	1 2 2 3	1 2	4 3	1 2
	┌──────────┐		┌──────────┐	
	└──┘			

In one instance Cara carries this relationship one step further. In Ala absentia (PeF V [1505]), the musical content of the volta (lacking a concatenazione) is the same as the musical content of the first half of the ripresa. Since

¹⁷1) ? Per dolor mi bagno il viso (PeF XI [1514]);
 2) Rocta e l'aspra mia cathena (PeF V [1505]).

the refrain is the last two lines of the ripresa, the result is that the volta and the refrain together will equal musically the ripresa. The rhyme scheme of the volta, to emphasize this relationship, is a b, a scheme utilized earlier in the first two lines of the ripresa:

	<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>	<u>Refrain</u>
Text:	a b <u>a b</u>	c d c d	a b	<u>a b</u>
Music:	1 2 3 4	5 6 5 6	1 2	3 4
	└──────────┘		└──────────┘	

Those barzelletta settings by Cara that include folk material are not as carefully structured as his other compositions in the form. This is a necessary corollary to the use of a folk tune in the ripresa, since the melodies in this section are not Cara's own. Moreover, excluding Chi la castra (PeF IX [1504]), Cara's six barzellette including folk tunes delay the ripresa until the end, a circumstance that obviates any necessity for a separate refrain.¹⁸

Certain structural repetitions, such as those typical of the mutazioni and concatenazione are maintained. For example, Per fugir d'amor (Maz II [1518]) has the following form:

	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>	<u>Ripresa</u>
Text:	a b a b	b c c d	d e e d
Music:	1 2 1 2	2.1 3 3.1 4	5 6 6 5.1
	└──┘ └──┘	└──┘	└──┘

¹⁸Cara's six barzelletta-settings with folk tunes are listed in Table 4, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

There remains one "barzelle" by Cara that has an extremely problematic form. Se gl'il dico che dirà is an unicum in AntL (1520), where the form is as follows:

Text: a b b a f a b b a . || (textless) dal segno
 Music: 1 2 3 4 1 2 4 5 . || 3 4

Several problems are inherent in this scheme: first, no indication is given as to how much music is to be repeated at the repeat sign; second, no text is underlaid after this sign; last, what music is to be repeated from the dal segno marking?

These problems may be solved, at least on a tentative basis, through recourse to two other sources. The text itself is recorded in MAc A.I.4 (f. 123r-v) where it is included among the "frottole," in this context meaning "barzelle." Tromboncino's different setting of the text appears in PeF VIII (1507), where the form is that of a barzelle with only two rhymes. Only the ripresa and refrain are treated:¹⁹

	<u>Poetic Structure</u>	<u>Musical Structure</u>	<u>Melodic Units</u>
<u>Ripresa:</u>	<u>a</u>	A	1
	<u>b</u>		2
	b	B	2
	a		3
<u>Refrain:</u>	<u>a</u>	A'	4
	<u>b</u>		5
	b		3.1+6+7

¹⁹A modern edition of Tromboncino's work after PeF VIII is included in vol. II, pp. 267-70. The piece is also available in a modern edition of the lute tablature in Disertori-PeB, pp. 276-77.

<u>Mutazioni:</u>	b	A	1
	a		2
	b	A	1
<u>Volta:</u>	a		2
	b	B	2
	a		3
<u>Refrain:</u>	<u>a</u>	A'	4
	<u>b</u>		5
	<u>b</u>		3.1+6+7

From these sources it is apparent that the text was originally a barzelletta, and that Antico, probably working from a corrupt source, omitted sections of the text and a repeat sign. Text omissions do, in fact, occur in other pieces in the Antico repertory. Within the same print, for example, no less than six other textual omissions or jumbings are found.²⁰

The barzelletta form of Cara's Se gl'il dico che dirà is clarified by adding text to the final section, and by placing a repeat sign in the edition:

	<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Refrain</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>	
Text:	<u>a b b a</u>	<i>f</i> <u>a b</u> [:]	b a		[b a] <u>dal</u>
Music:	1 2 3 4	1 2 [:]	4 5	:	3 4 <u>segno</u>

²⁰The textual errors in AntL are as follows: 1) Lines 4-6 are lacking from the strambotto, Acqua non è l'umor. 2) Only nine of the requisite fourteen lines of the sonnet, Più volte fra me stesso, are included and these are not in the correct sequence. 3) Lines 3 and 9-14 of the sonnet, Se alcun tempo da voi, are missing. 4) The strambotto, Se la lumacha, contains only two lines of a second strophe. 5) Lines 9-14 are missing from the sonnet, Movesi il vechiare. 6) The strambotto, Glie pur cocente, contains only two lines of a second strophe. With one exception, all of these texts are found complete in the concordant sources listed in Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, p. 133. The single exception, Movesi il vechiare, is taken from Petrarch-Rime, XVI.

When written out, the form of the work then becomes a barzelletta much like Tromboncino's, with the exception that Marchetto's piece treats both ripresa and stanza:

	<u>Poetic Structure</u>	<u>Musical Structure</u>	<u>Melodic Units</u>
<u>Ripresa:</u>	<u>a</u>	A	1
	<u>b</u>		2
	<u>b</u>	B	3
	a		4
<u>Refrain:</u>	<u>a</u>	A	1
	<u>b</u>		2
<u>Mutazioni:</u>	b	C	4
	a		5
	[b]	[C]	[4]
	[a]		[5]
<u>Volta:</u>	[b]	B	3
	[a]		4
<u>Refrain:</u>	<u>a</u>	A	1
	<u>b</u>		2

The Canzonetta

Cara lavishes on his canzonette little of the formal subtlety accorded to his barzelletta settings. The canzonette are rather straightforward pieces, generally with through-composed strophes, although occasionally a strophe will contain a repeated strain. With two exceptions, these pieces require little study.

With respect to form, the first group of canzonette to consider are those with a refrain of a single line which is a part of the quatrain structure of the strophe, as follows:

Aiutami, ch'io moro (PeF VII [1507])

Text:	<u>a</u>	b	b	<u>a</u>	c	c	c	<u>a</u>
Music:	1	1.1	1.1	1	1	1.1	1.1	1

Chi l'haria mai creduto (PeF IV [1509])

Text: a b b a c d d c
 Music: 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

La Fortuna vol cosi (PeF I [1504])

Text: a b b c a d d e
 Music: 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4

Even here, in these simplest settings, Marchetto occasionally adds a unifying element by combining motivic fragments into varied statements, not only in the Cantus, but in the accompanying voices as well. Aiutami, ch'io moro utilizes three phrases which are repeated throughout the short setting (see Example 9, page 200).

The second group of canzonette, those with single-line refrains that are not a part of the quatrain structure, are equally simple:

?Crudel fuggi se sai (AntF III [1513])

Text: a a a a a b b b a a
 Music: 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5

La non vol perchè non me ama (AntF IV [1517])²¹

Text: a b b a a (a) c d d c c (c)
 Music: 1 2 2 3 4 5 1 2 2 3 4 5

Si che la vo seguire (PeF XI [1514])

Text: a b B A a c d D C c
 Music: 1 2 3 4 5 1 2 3 4 5

²¹It is not clear whether the second strophe and those following it should read cddc c(c) or cddc a(a). The first line of each strophe begins with the phrase La non vol..., and the refrain for each strophe is printed only as La non vol. For the text, see vol. II, p. 162.

Ex. 9: Aiutami, ch'io moro (PeF VII [1507]).

Much closer to the barzioletta are those canzonette which have refrains of two lines. In essence, they might be viewed as barzioletta settings with two-line mutazioni and volte. Arguing against this interpretation are two facts: first, poems of this type are not grouped with barziolette in the Mantuan Ms. A.I.4; second, Cara seems to treat them as a different genre. They are, for Marchetto at least, much simpler structures. Little of the subtleties of form

found in his barzellette are present in the canzonette, and the character of the melodies in the latter settings tend to be livelier and articulated through the inclusion of rests between them, a characteristic not common in barzelletta settings.²²

Cholei che amo cosi (PeF IX [1509])

Text:	a	a	a	<u>a</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>a</u>	b	b	b	b	<u>a</u>	<u>a</u>
Music:	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5	

D'ogni altra haria pensato (PeF VII [1507])

Text:	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	b	a	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	c	c	c	a	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>
Music:	1	2	2	3	1	4	1	2	2	3	1	4

Two canzonette with variant forms remain. One is a canzonetta of the first type that, however, requires a repetition of the first strophe at the conclusion of the final strophe:

Deh, dolce mia signora (PeF VII [1507])

Text:	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>a</u>	c	c	c	<u>a</u>	...	m	m	m	<u>a</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>a</u>
Music:	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1		1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1

The second is similar to Deh, dolce mia signora except that it seems to call for a repeat of the entire first strophe at the conclusion of each strophe. There is a repeat sign at the end of the musical setting and each strophe concludes with a return to the original rhyme:

²²For further on these melodic characteristics, see p. 220.

Chi me darà più pace. (PeF I [1504])

	<u>Refrain</u> (Strophe 1)	<u>Strophe 2</u>	<u>Refrain</u>
Text:	a b b a	c c c a	a b b a
Music:	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

The Villotta

Cara's villotte divide themselves into two groups, the first representing the villotta **piccola**, and the second, the villotta grande.

In the three villotta piccole, the texts are extremely short, and accordingly the musical settings themselves are brief. Discalza e discalzetta is eighteen measures long, E da poi che'l sol, thirteen measures, and Le son tre fantinelle, twenty-three measures.²³ Moreover, these pieces, with the exception of Le son tre fantinelle, are not strophic, so that the length will not be augmented through repetition.

The frottola is a Cantus-dominated genre. The melodic interest is clearly centered in that voice, and one is justified thereby in speaking of thematic content of the Cantus. With the villotta, however, this system is not valid. First, the folk tune appears in the Tenor rather than in the Cantus; second, the Tenor begins by itself in each of the villotte piccole.

²³All from DorC I (1526).

Although the lower voices are not texted in DorC I (1526), it seems likely that they were in fact sung, for the Cantus part itself does not contain the entire text, and the textual incipit in the lower voices is carefully selected so that a given voice begins with the text appropriate to the moment of its entrance. Thus, the voice entrances in Discalza e discalzetta have the following pattern:

Cantus:	"discalzetta d'amor"
Altus:	"e discalzetta d'amor"
Tenor:	"Discalza e discalzetta d'amor"
Bassus:	"e discalzetta d'amor"

The villotta must be contrasted, therefore, with the frottola. The former may not be considered to be Cantus-dominated, since each of the other voices plays an important role, the Tenor in particular carrying the folk tune on which the work is based.

The formal schemes of these pieces are extremely elastic, a necessary concomitant to the inclusion of a folk tune throughout the work: the quatrain of E da poi che'l sol is through-composed, while Discalza e discalzetta uses repeated sections only for Cara's repetition of the final two lines of the poem.

With Cara's two villotte grande, ?Quando lo pomo vien (Maz II [1518]) and Se trovasse una donna (JudF I [1526]), other factors influence structural description.²⁴ ?Quando lo pomo vien is based on a point structure, i.e., alternating

²⁴Se trovasse una donna is not included in the following discussion, as it is an incomplete setting.

passages of imitation and homorhythmic writing. The following analysis is based on that of Torre Franca:²⁵

Altus, Cantus, Bassus and Tenor in imitation	Quando lo pomo vien da lo pomaro Se'l non è maturo Non se posselo madurare
Tenor and Bassus	La luna luse
Cantus and Altus	--el cor mi struse
Altus, Tenor, and Bassus	Un pe'in aqua
Cantus, Altus, and Bassus	--e l'altro in barcha
Altus, Tenor, and Bassus	Un braccio al collo
all	--la man in sen
all (nio)	O traditora, perchè non me vustu ben?

The points of contrast are clear: the opening imitative section, the section of dialogues, and the concluding, basically homorhythmic, nio. Quando lo pomo vien, while typical of the villotta and sharing many structural similarities with the early madrigal, is atypical of Cara's works, both formally and textually. Part of this dichotomy of type is a natural byproduct of the villotta a dialogo, but it is so far removed from Cara's usual compositional techniques, that one may surmise that the piece is not by Cara, but by Tromboncino or Pesenti.²⁶

Problematic Texts

Cara's two problematic text-settings contain formal solutions that are definitely frottolesque. In Si oportuerit (PeB II [1511]), with its opening two-line Latin text, the form seems to require a refrain. As presented by

²⁵Torre Franca-Segreto, p. 127.

²⁶See p. 135.

Petrucchi, however, this point is not made clear:

Text:	a	b	c	d		d	c	(c	c)
Music:	1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8

Two quatrains (effe/ghhg) follow: Where are these quatrains to be placed? The obvious placement is the first section up to the stanghetta (double line), but such a placement would mean that the section following the stanghetta would be performed only once. Given Cara's careful attention to structure, it would seem more logical for the quatrains with parallel rhyme (cddc/effe, etc.) to be set to the same music. Such an interpretation, however, calls into question the significance of the stanghetta, normally used to show either the end of a refrain, the end of a piece, or the beginning of a repeated section. The last possibility may certainly be rejected, as there is no repeat sign after the stanghetta.

It appears that the second line of text and its melodic phrase offer a key to at least a tentative conclusion. The line is only five syllables in length, and the melody, repeated once, is either too short (without the repeat) or too long (with the repeat) to set comfortably the octosyllabic lines of the remainder of the text. This leads to the hypothesis that the original two-line Latin opening is to be set to this music alone, and that no other text is to be underlaid there. It is possible that the melodic and textual material up to the stanghetta is to be used as a

refrain. Such an interpretation fits both the poetic sense of the verse and the formal outlines of Cara's setting.²⁷

	<u>"Refrain"</u>	<u>Residium</u>	<u>"Refrain"</u>	<u>Strophe</u>	
Text:	a b c d	d c c c	a b c d	e f f e	etc.
Music:	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8	

O se havesse la mia vita (AntF IV [1517]) is also a refrain form. The poem consists of a series of tercets, which Cara expands in the setting to a quatrain through repetition of the final lines, and a two-line refrain.

	<u>Strophe</u>	<u>Refrain</u>	<u>Strophe</u>	
Text:	a b b (a)	b b (b)	b c b (b)	etc.
Music:	1 2 3 4+3b	6+3b 6+3b	1 2 3 4+3b	

Madrigalesque Forms

Wide variance in form is seen in those late works of Cara that take ballate, canzoni, or madrigals as texts. Marchetto may abide by the text form in one work, while in another of the same verse type, he may choose to disregard the poetic form entirely and create a through-composed musical form that is structurally independent of the text.

A study of the late works reveals that Cara's forms during the last decade of his life were madrigalesque forms. Parallel musical structures taken from the works of Verdelot and Sebastian Festa, now shown to be among the earliest madrigalists, reveal clearly the similarities in structural

²⁷For a translation of the text, see p. 154.

approach among the three composers.²⁸

The Ballata

Cara's ballate settings are typical of his later works; several adhere closely to the text-form. Thus, for example, in Piangie la donna mia (DorC I [1526]), he allows the naturally tripartite form of the ballata mezzana with three-line volta to suggest a tripartite ABA scheme for the music.

Ex. 10: Piangie la donna mia (DorC I [1526]), Cantus.

The form of this work may be represented as follows:

²⁸ Essential works on the structure of Verdelot's madrigals include Hersh-Verdelot and Slim-Cn 1578. On Festa, see Rubsamen-Festa.

	<u>Poetic Structure</u>	<u>Musical Structure</u>	<u>Melodic Units</u>
<u>Ripresa:</u>	a	A	1
	a		2
	B		3
<u>Mutazioni:</u>	c	B	4
	D		5
	C	B	6
	d		4
	C		5
	D		6
<u>Volta:</u>	e	A'	1
	e		2
	B		3+7+8

The musical symmetries of Piangie la donna mia are directly dependent upon the textual symmetries. The use of the same music for ripresa and volta is made possible not only by the fact that each section contains three lines, but also because the length of each of these lines corresponds exactly (aaB=eeB). The same symmetrical relationship within the mutazioni makes possible the use of the same music for the two piedi (cDC=dCD).

In Se non soccori, amore (DorC II [1531]) the mutazioni are less symmetrical and the setting is accordingly through-composed within this section. The ripresa and volta, however, also asymmetrical, are given essentially the same music, for Cara repeats septisyllabic lines where necessary so that the overall form remains ABA.

	<u>Poetic Structure</u>	<u>Musical Structure</u>	<u>Melodic Units</u>
<u>Ripresa:</u>	a	A	1+1.1+1.2
	B		2a+2b
	B		3

	<u>Poetic Structure</u>	<u>Musical Structure</u>	<u>Melodic Units</u>
<u>Mutazioni:</u>	C	B	4
	d		5
	e		6
	D		7
	c		8
<u>Volta:</u>	E	A	9
	F		1+1.1+1.2+2a
	b		2b
	b		3
	b		

Cara's subtlety may be seen especially clearly in the volta, for here he rearranges the opening material to fit lines of differing length. The first part of the melody of the second line of the ripresa (2a) is set with the text of the last part of the first line of the volta so that the second line, shorter than its equivalent in the ripresa, may use the second half of the melody (2b).

Ripresa 1 1.1 1.2 2a
Se non soc-cor-ri, a-mo-re, Se non soc-cor-ri, a-mo-re, se non soc-cor-ri, a-mo-re la vi-ta

Volta
E se non che'l cor stas-se, E se non che'l cor stas-se ad o-gni her se-co, ad o-gni her

Ripresa 2b 3
mi-a, la vi-ta mi-a do-gni sus-tan-tia pri-va, Re-me-dia, cun glie ch'io

Volta
se-co Io non sar-ci più vi - - va, Tan-to dal mio bel sol

Ripresa 7
res - - sti vi - va.

lx. 11: Se non soccori, amore (DorC II [1531]), Cantus, mm. 1-13 and 33-46.

The composition of ballata-settings in tripartite form was certainly the traditional manner of treating the text-form. The anonymous setting of En biancha vesta (a ballata minore), for example, is set musically in precisely the same fashion, so that both ripresa and volta share the same music, while the four-line mutazioni is given only two melodies.²⁹ Tripartite settings were also a compositional technique favored by composers of the early madrigal such as Pisano and Verdelot.³⁰

Verdelot's Se dimostravi apieno (RISM 1534/16), a ballata mezzana, follows a strict ABA form,³¹ and Pisano's Una donna l'altrier (Fc 2440) uses the same music for the last line of the ripresa and the last line of the volta.³² Similarly, Sebastian Festa's Perchè quel che mi trasse (DorC I [1526]) utilizes the same music for both piedi of the mutazione, and the same music for line two of the ripresa and line two of the volta.³³

More typical of the early madrigal are compositions that are more nearly through-composed; Cara also set ballate

²⁹Bu 2216, p. 97.

³⁰On Pisano, see D'Accone-Pisano and D'Accone-Early; on Verdelot, in addition to the works cited on p. 207n, Bragard-Etude and Bragard-Verdelot.

³¹Hersh-Verdelot, p. 125.

³²D'Accone-Early, p. 99.

³³For a modern edition of Festa's work, see vol. II, pp. 282-84.

in this manner. In Qual meraviglia, o donna (Vnm 1795), a treatment of Sanazzaro's ballata mezzana, Cara employs virtually no repetition. This is rather surprising, for the poem is a variant of the ballata mezzana form in which all lines are septisyllabic, and thereby amenable to any type of repetition the composer saw fit to use.

Verdelot, who also uses Qual meraviglia, composes a symmetrical setting that uses the same music for both piedi and a variant of the first theme of the ripresa for the volta. Since Verdelot's madrigal is not available in modern edition, I reproduce here a transcription of his cantus:³⁴

Qual ma-ra-vi-glia, o don-na, Se al mio da voi par-ti-re
Di vi-ta io vol-si-g-sci-re. Da lei vos-tre-chia-ho-ra, Che
son de leiel du-e stel-le, U-scir ve-dean-si fuo-ra Le la-gri-me si
bel-le Ch'in-in-cer-to in voi de-si-re Ch'io me sen - - tei
mo - - ri - re. Ch'io me sen-tei mo - ri - re.)

Ex. 12: Verdelot, Qual meraviglia, o donna (RISM 1536/7), Cantus.

³⁴For the entire madrigal, see vol. II, pp. 285-88.

The form of this work follows closely the poetic form:

	<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>	
Text:	a b b	c d c d	b b	(b)
Music:	1 2 2.1	3 4 3 4	1.1 1.1	5

Cara's setting, on the other hand, ignores the poetic symmetry:³⁵

	<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>Volta</u>
Text:	a b b	c d c d	b b (b)
Music:	1 2 3	4 5 6 7	8 9 10

It is evident, at least in this setting, that Cara was the more forward-looking composer, for contemporary through-composed ballate are relatively common in the early madrigal. Pisano's Già mai non vider gli occhi (Fn 164) and Son io, donna (Fn 164), for example, are both through-composed.³⁶

Cara applies the same technique to Alma gentil (DorC I [1526]), to Si bella è la mia donna (DorC II [1531]), and to Veramente, ogni doglia (DorC II [1531]). All are through-composed in spite of textual symmetries that seemingly would have attracted a frottola composer habituated to following rather subtly the form of a given poem.

³⁵For a modern edition of Cara's setting, see vol. II, pp. 256-60.

³⁶D'Accone-Florentine, vol. I, pp. xvif., 43-46, and 56-58.

Cara's ballata-madrigals manifest the same tendencies as his freer ballate. Cangia spera mia voglia (AntF IV [1517]), a poem much like Qual meraviglia, o donna in its unvarying septisyllabic lines, is completely through-composed except for the final rhyming couplet, which includes a repetition.

	<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>"Volta"</u>
Text:	a a	b c b c	c d d (d d d)
Music:	1 2	3 4 5 6	7 8 8 9 10 11

Perchè piangi, alma (DorC II [1531]) is also very nearly through-composed, for Cara repeats material only in the coda, a repetition that is clearly structural and not poetic, as the two lines set to the melody do not rhyme:

	<u>Ripresa</u>	<u>Mutazioni</u>	<u>"Volta"</u>
Text:	A a	b c B C	c d d (d d)
Music:	1 2	3 4 5 6	7 8 9 10 7.1

The Canzone

Cara's canzone, Ecco colui che m'arde (CanF II [1519]), conforms more closely to the poetic form, using virtually the same music for both sections of the fronte, and elaborating adjacent rhyming couplets in the sirima with the same music. Marchetto then repeats both text and music of the concluding couplet with the resulting form of AAB:

	<u>Fronte</u>						<u>Sirima</u>						
Text:	a	b	C	a	b	C	D	e	e	D	f	f	(f f)
Music:	1	2	3	1.1	2	3	4	5	5	6	7	8	7 8

While this setting does in general follow the poetic form, Cara ignores it in two instances, both of which are found in the sirima. First he sets the two rhyming endecasyllabic lines of the sirima (D...D) to different music, and second, he sets the final septisyllabic couplet (f f) with two different phrases of music, preferring to obtain symmetry through the repetition of both lines as a coda.

This same sort of organization is seen in the earliest madrigals. Verdelot's setting of Machiavelli's canzone, Quanto sia lieto il giorno (Cn 1578), treats the fronte in exactly the same manner as does Cara, although the symmetry of the immediate repetition of a musical phrase is lacking in the sirima, perhaps because the poem includes no adjacent rhyming couplets in which the lines are of the same length.³⁷

	<u>Fronte</u>						<u>Sirima</u>					
Text:	a	b	C	a	b	C	c	D	d	e	E	(E)
Music:	1	2	3	1.1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	8 coda

The Madrigal

Cara's few madrigal settings are similarly forward-looking, being for the most part through-composed. Repetition of musical material for rhyming couplets is relatively common, in accordance with other early madrigalists.³⁸

? Fiamma amorosa, published first in AntF III (1513),

³⁷Modern edition: Slim-Cn 1578, vol. II, pp. 341-43. For other modern editions, see Slim-Cn 1578, vol. I, p. 225.

³⁸Hersh-Verdelot, pp. 146-151.

is already very nearly through-composed. Only in lines nine through eleven is material repeated. Cara chooses not to repeat material in rhymed couplets:

Text:	a	B	B	C	D	A	D	E	e	A	F	F
Music:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	5	1	2	8	9

More striking is [?]Amor, se de hor in hor in which Marchetto uses virtually the same form as Verdelot chooses to set the text (^ABc 21 and RISM 1533/2):³⁹

Text:	A	b	b	A	c	c	(c etc.)
Music:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 etc.

The character of the two settings is much the same. Characterizing both are the leap on "Amor," a general movement in minims (quarter-notes in the transcription), and descending dotted pattern in the second tercet:

Ex. 13: Cara, Amor, se de hor in hor (AntF IV [1520]), Cantus.

³⁹The original setting is ascribed to Cara in AntF IV (1517) and to Tromboncino in AntL (1520).

Ex. 14: Verdelot, Amor, se d'hor in hor (Bc 21, no. 17), Cantus.⁴⁰

More important than any similarities between the two settings, however, is Cara's (or Tromboncino's) disregard for the tercet structure of the trecento-like madrigal. Neither the two rhyming endecasyllabic lines (A...A) nor the adjacent rhyming couplets (bb and cc) share the same music.

Three of Cara's madrigal settings do contain rather more repetition, although all are through-composed on a broader scale. [?]Non al suo amante (DorC I [1526]) maintains the tercet-structure of Petrarch's text by repetitions of non-adjacent rhyming lines:

Text:	A	B	A	B	C	B	C	C (C)
Music:	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6 7

Poich'al mio largo pianto (Vnm 1795), with its brief text, is extended through the repetition of the final line.

⁴⁰For the entire madrigal, see vol. II, pp. 289-91.

Only the concluding rhyming couplet contains repeated material:

Text: a a B c c (c)
 Music: 1 2 3 4 4 5

Doglia che non aguagli (Vnm 1795) is more complex. Cara repeats adjacent rhyming couplets and treats the rhyme EFEF in the traditional manner of a mutazioni in a ballata:

Text: a B B c D D C E F E F g g H h (h)
 Music: 1 2 3 4 5 5 6 7 8 7 8 9 10 11 12 12.1

This detailed examination of the relationships between text and music reveals several facets of Cara's compositional technique. First, his sense of structure is perceptive and keen. He is able to repeat sections with the same music and to rearrange melodies to fit other texts. More important is the realization that, both textually and structurally, Cara's later settings are early madrigals. While such may not be true of all elements in the pieces, it does hold for these two areas, text and structure. Cara shows the same variety and subtlety in the choice and manipulation of texts as do the early madrigalists. Rubsamen's characterization of "economical" or "haphazard" repetition in the frottola and of "structural" repetition in the early madrigal must be modified on two counts.⁴¹ 1) Slim has shown that Rubsamen's approach is most likely overly

⁴¹See p. 173.

simplified in the case of Verdelot,⁴² and 2) the preceding discussion indicates that Rubsamen's statement does not hold for the later frottole of Cara, or indeed for Cara's works in general.

The Individual Voices

Cara's frottole are written almost entirely for four voices, except for one piece, Fugga pur chi vol amore (PeF V [1505]) (a5), and the lute intabulations which utilize a three-voice texture by omitting the Altus.⁴³

The Cantus is the most important part and was probably written first. It is this voice that, up until the development of the villota around 1520, is generally the sole bearer of the text.⁴⁴

The uppermost voice tends to be rather simple and to set the text in a syllabic manner, although brief melismas are relatively common.



Ex. 15: Rinforzi ogn'hor (PeF IV [1505]), Cantus,
mm. 1-7.

⁴²Slim-Cn 1578, pp. 162-163.

⁴³One further piece, Oimè el cor, forms a different sort of exception to the general rule of four-voiced scoring. This work is included in PeF I (1504) with four voices, but in Fc 2441 (not Fc 2440, as listed in Engel-Lied, p. [3]), a3, without the Altus.

⁴⁴For exceptions, see pp. 221-222.

The only settings of Cara which include extensive melismas are those strambotti set in the traditional melismatic style, although Cara seems inclined towards setting even the strambotto in a more declamatory fashion.⁴⁵ In these melismatic sections, text underlay is often troublesome:

Io son l'ocel che so - - pra
i ra-mi d'o - - - - - ro

Ex. 16: Io son l'ocel (PeF IV [1505]), Cantus, mm. 1-16.

The Cantus is also generally conjunct in its movement with a range of slightly more than an octave and utilizes relatively simple rhythmic patterns. The Cantus of Vedo ogni selva is typical; the rhythms are simple, the range covers only an octave (c' to c''), and wide leaps are avoided within a poetic line:

Ve-dog-gni sel-va ri-ves-tir le fron-di, ri-ves-tir le -fron -
di, [le fron - - - - di] Et o-gni pra-to, et o-gni pra-to di
fio - - ret-ti a - dor - no.

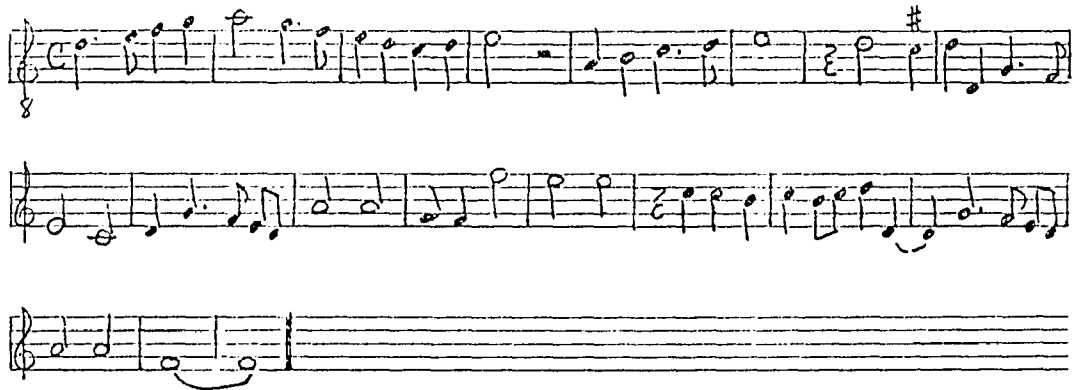
Ex. 17: Vedo ogni selva (PeF VIII [1507]), Cantus.

⁴⁵For the two styles of the strambotto, see Bridgman-Frottola, pp. 65-66 and 75-76.

This melody, written for a strambotto, is also typical of Cara's melodies for odes and canzonette, in that the phrases are articulated through rests. In barzellette, on the other hand, Marchetto prefers to articulate the phrases in a more subtle manner. Works of the latter type tend to have passages separated for the most part only by the use of semi-breves at cadence points.⁴⁶

The lower voices of the frottola contrast sharply with the Cantus; they have a different rhythmic character, they tend to be more disjunct, and their range may be greater.

The two middle voices of the frottola tend to be considerably more active than the Cantus and to include frequent leaps. The Altus of O se avesse la mia vita may be taken as a typical example:



Ex. 18: O se avesse la mia vita (AntF IV [1520]),
Altus, mm. 19-36.

The range of the above example is equally striking, for it extends from c to a', i.e., a thirteenth. The range of the Tenor of Sù, sù, sù, sù mia speme is similarly wide,

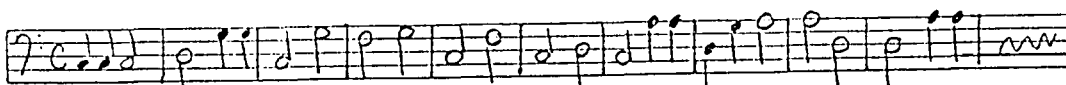
⁴⁶For a typical barzelletta, see Ex. 6. Ex. 5 presents the Cantus of an oda while Ex. 9 presents a canzonetta.

extending from f to c" :



Ex. 19: Sù, sù, sù, sù mia speme (PeF VI [1506]),
Tenor, mm. 56-76.

The Bassus provides yet another contrast in melodic style, for it has all of the qualities of an harmonic bass, moving generally in longer notes and leaping by fourths and fifths. A brief passage from the Bassus of Marchetto's Bona dies, bona sera is sufficient example:



Ex. 20: Bona dies, bona sera (PeF VII [1507]), Bassus,
mm. 1-10.

The three lower voices of the frottola are generally not texted, and it is often difficult to underlay these parts. This circumstance, together with the wide range and disjunct character of the voices, seems to indicate clearly that the lower voices were intended as instrumental parts. Even those works in which the lower voices move in a homorhythmic fashion seem to be instrumental; Pirrotta sees these parts as indicating accompaniment by a single string instrument, such as a lute or viol.⁴⁷

The few frottole with underlaid texts in the lower

⁴⁷Haar-Chanson, p. 76-77.

voices must be regarded as exceptions. For instance, Cara's Forsi che sì suddenly provides texts in the lower voices at one point, resulting in a dialogue:

The image shows a musical score for three voices: Cantus, Altus, and Tenor. The Cantus part is on the top staff, the Altus on the middle, and the Tenor on the bottom. The time signature is 3/2. The Cantus part has the text "For - - si che sì" underlaid. The Altus and Tenor parts have the text "For-si che no" underlaid. The score shows a dialogue between the voices.

Ex. 21: Forsi che sì (PeF III [1505]), Cantus, Altus, and Tenor, mm. 9-12.

The remaining text is not underlaid.

In Vnm 1795, on the other hand, the majority of the texts are underlaid in all voices, a circumstance that may be part of a trend in the 1520's whereby manuscripts frequently contain texts in all voices and contemporary prints do not.⁴⁸ Such practice, however, does not necessarily imply that the parts were vocal in all cases. Indeed, many of the pieces present rather severe problems in the matter of text underlay. The lower parts of Piangie la donna mia, for instance, are texted in Vnm 1795, although the two inner voices are among Cara's most active.⁴⁹

In a very few instances, a pre-existent voice may be borrowed by another composer. Such borrowing, along with

⁴⁸Fn 164 and Bc 21, for example, are texted in all voices while DorC I (1526) is not.

⁴⁹See Ex. 37 for these voices.

the use of a folk tune in the Cantus or Tenor, represents the only employment of the technique of a cantus prius factus in the frottola repertory. To illustrate: The Altus of Cara's Glie pur gionto (PeF I [1504]) appears as the Cantus of Tromboncino's Non val aqua (Ibid.); and Erasmus Lapidica [?] ("Rasmo") constructs an incatenatura in PeF IX (1509) by combining the Cantus of Marchetto's Pietà, cara signora (PeF I [1504]) and the Cantus of Tromboncino's La pietà chiuso ha le porte (PeF II [1505]).⁵⁰

Pie-tà, ca-ra si-gno-ra ch'iò-son già qua-si
 La pie-tà ha chiu-so le por-te Al mio du-ro e gran la-men-to
 mer-to
 Per u-

Ex. 22: Pietà, cara signora-La pietà, Rasmo (PeF IX [1509]), Cantus and Tenor, mm. 1-12.

Texture

Intimately related to the character of the individual voices is the texture of Cara's frottole. The four-voice framework of the frottola remains fairly constant except in

⁵⁰Lapidica's work is scored in vol. II, pp. 271-76.

sections of imitation and in the villote a dialogo, where voice pairing is an integral part of the genre. Reduction in the number of voices for the sake of contrast is almost completely absent from Cara's frottole until the very latest period. In these works from the 1520's, Cara occasionally reduces the texture to two or three voices. Perchè son tutto foco (Vnm 1795) is scored for Cantus or Tenor alone in several passages.⁵¹

Ex. 23: Perchè son tutto foco (Vnm 1795), mm. 1-5.

Two exceptions may be noted to the general characteristic of stability of vocal forces. The first is the five-voice Fugga pur chi vol amore (PeF VIII [1507]) wherein the texture is reduced to four voices throughout the mutazioni by omission of the Altus. In the second, S'io sedo al ombra (a4), Cara sets the first two lines with only intermittent accompaniment by the lower voices:

⁵¹Mm. 1-4, 9-10, 45-48, and 54-55.

The image shows a musical score for a four-voice setting. It consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line, written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second and third staves are also in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music is in a common time signature (C). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as minims, crotchets, and quavers, along with phrasing marks like slurs and accents. There are also some accidentals, including a B-flat in the third staff.

Ex. 24: ?S'io sedo al ombra (PeF V [1505]), mm. 1-8.

Within the prevailing four-voice style may be found essentially three separate textures, both in the frottole of Cara and that of the North Italian frottola tradition in general. The simplest texture is homorhythmic, a texture in which all voices move more or less together. Also used often is a basically non-imitative contrapuntal style that includes momentary fragments of incidental imitation in the manner of the later Burgundian chanson. Finally, there are whole passages (although not whole pieces) that are clearly imitative in a structural way, for example, the opening line of text set in point of imitation.

Modern scholars have tended to de-emphasize the importance of the last two textures. Rubsamen writes that "the inner parts of barzellette and ode...often demonstrate a semipolyphonic independence, but the basic structure remains

homophonic."⁵³ Everett Helm notes that "the [contrapuntal] activity is of a specious kind; the voices are not making real polyphony but rushing about from one harmony note to another."⁵⁴ No matter what may be one's judgment on the technical level of this "rushing about," the texture represents something quite different from the simplest homorhythmic style.

Cara writes many pieces in a simple homorhythmic texture or in a slightly animated variant of it. Such pieces span the entire period of his compositional activity, from the early Io non compro più (PeF I [1504]) to Sonno che gli animali (AntF III [1513]), and to the strambotto, Del mio sì grande (DorC I [1526]). In this matter, there seems to be no easily discernable trend, although the very earliest works seem to be more nearly homorhythmic and later pieces, more complicated. In works of the 1520's, Cara tends to return to the simple texture and to alternate it with imitative polyphony.⁵⁵ The barzelletta, Pietà, cara signora, from the early PeF I of 1504, may be cited as one of the more homorhythmic of Cara's works:

⁵³Haar-Chanson, p. 56.

⁵⁴Helm-Secular, p. 400.

⁵⁵See pp. 231-35 for a discussion of this alternation.

Ex. 25: Pietà, cara signora (PeF I [1504]), mm. 1-6.

For the majority of his works, Cara leans more towards a generally non-imitative contrapuntal texture with brief passages of incidental imitation. The greater degree of activity is assigned to the Altus and Tenor, while the Cantus carries the melody in longer notes and the Bassus provides harmonic support in notes of similar value. An illustrative example is Si ben sto lontano, in which the following occurs three times (imitative passages bracketed):

Ex. 26: Si ben sto lontano (PeF IX [1509]), mm. 4-7;
see also mm. 8-11 and mm. 20-23.

Amerò, non amerò shows the three lower voices all active and taking part in the imitation which, though brief, is exceedingly clear:

Ex. 27: Amerò, non amerò (PeF XI [1514]), Altus, Tenor, and Bassus, mm. 1-4.

The height of Cara's non-imitative contrapuntal style is reached in the treatment accorded his own barzioletta, Ala absentia, and in the strambotto, L'ardor mio grave. In the former, all voices are almost equally active, the opening section being non-imitative and the second, imitative (see Example 28, page 229).⁵⁶ L'ardor mio grave contains brief sections of imitation throughout the entire work. Perhaps the most striking imitative passage involves the Altus and the Tenor.

Ex. 29: L'ardor mio grave (PeF VII [1507]), mm. 29-31, Altus and Tenor.

⁵⁶For the second section, see Ex. 48.



Ex. 28: Ala absentia (PeF V [1505]), mm. 1-6.

Cara's style in these pieces seems to derive from the non-imitative contrapuntal style of the later Burgundian chanson and to represent a simplification of it. Indeed, there are many elements of similarity between frottola and chanson, perhaps the most important of which is the similarity in the role of the individual parts.

In this matter, it is important to note that, although the Cantus and Bassus of the frottola often tend to form a rhythmic pair, it is the Cantus and Tenor that form an harmonic pair. Whether the frottola is of the homorhythmic or contrapuntal type, the Cantus and Tenor consistently make coherent harmonic logic. At important cadence points, the two voices form the basic armature of the cadence, moving either from the sixth to the octave or from the third to the unison. Throughout each phrase, the two voices are generally written in such a way that they are self-sufficient. The intervals between them tend to be thirds and sixths moving

to an octave or a unison at the cadence; fifths within phrases are rare, and the voice-leading is careful.

Cara's Ala absentia is a typical example. Within the first six measures of the work, the Cantus-Tenor pair cadences twice, first (mm. 2-3) moving from a minor seventh to an octave, and second (mm. 5-6), from a minor third to a unison. The prevailing interval within the phrases is the third or its inversion, the sixth.



Ex. 30: Ala absentia (PeF V [1505]), Cantus and Tenor, mm. 1-6.

To this two-voice structure the frottolist would add the (Contratenor) Bassus and the (Contratenor) Altus. Of the two added voices, the Bassus was by far the more important. In lute intabulations and in many of the early frottole it is the Altus, not the Bassus, that is lacking.⁵⁷

The nature of the added voices is made clear in the same Ala absentia (see Ex. 28): The Bassus tends to provide the harmonic underpinning, while the Altus either duplicates pitches already present in the other voices or provides relatively "unimportant" fifths within phrases and thirds in cadences.

⁵⁷See the three-voiced frottole in Pn 676 and Mt 55, for example.

The nature of these voices emphasizes the similarities between the frottola and the later Burgundian chanson.⁵⁸ Both genres make use of non-imitative contrapuntal techniques with occasional brief imitative passages; both are essentially treble-dominated and feature a Cantus-Tenor pair. To this structure, both add a Bassus for harmonic support and an Altus to fill in the harmonies.

There are, of course, differences. The chanson is considerably more complex rhythmically and contains a Cantus considerably more melismatic than that of Cara's frottole. It is precisely here that the frottola represents a simplification of chanson technique.

In a few of Cara's later compositions, particularly those that set madrigalesque texts, Cara tends to change the non-imitative texture of the Burgundian chanson by simplifying it or by replacing it with an alternation of imitative procedures and homorhythmic writing. [?]Non al suo amante is the sole example of a completely homorhythmic setting, all but one of its phrases being separated by simultaneous rests. The first two of these phrases are a sufficient example (see Ex. 31, page 232).

This texture is precisely that current in the early madrigal and in the chanson nouvelle. It is seen in the

⁵⁸On the stylistic nature of the later Burgundian chanson, see Brown-Transformation, pp. 79-83, and the same author's contribution to Haar-Chanson, pp. 6-11.

The first system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second and third staves are for the lute, with a 6/8 time signature and a C-clef on the second line. The bottom staff is the bass line, with a C-clef on the fourth line. The music is written in a style characteristic of the early madrigal, with a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes.

The second system of the musical score also consists of four staves. It begins with a sharp sign (#) above the first staff, indicating a change in key signature. The notation continues with similar rhythmic patterns as the first system. The system concludes with a double bar line and a fermata-like symbol (a wavy line) on each of the four staves.

Ex. 31: ?Non al suo amante (DorC I [1526]), mm. 1-9.

works of both Verdelot and Sebastian Festa, the latter called by Rubsamen "perhaps the most progressive Italian participant in the early development of the madrigal"⁵⁹ (see Ex. 32, page 233). Indeed, the style of ?Non al suo amante is sufficiently unlike any other work of Cara's to justify questioning the attribution to him. On the basis

⁵⁹Rubsamen-Festa, p. 125.

Ex. 32: Amor, che me tormenti, Sebastian Festa,
(DorC I [1526]), mm. 1-6.60

of style, it seems much more likely that the work is by Sebastian Festa. The homorhythmic, chanson-like texture of the work is clearly not that of either Cara or Tromboncino. It is, however, perfectly consistent with the style of Festa, as seen not only in Amor, che me tormenti, but also in O passi sparsi, Perchè quel che mi trasse (both from DorC I [1526]), and others.⁶¹

During the later period, Cara, does, however, use imitative procedures for his settings. Si bella è la mia donna

⁶⁰For the complete work, see vol. II, pp. 277-81. For similar textures in Verdelot, see Amor, se d'hor in hor, vol. II, pp. 289-91.

⁶¹? Non al suo amante is ascribed to Tromboncino on f. 12v of DorC I (1526), but to Cara on f. 13r-v. One further fact tends to point to Festa as the composer of the work: It is included anonymously in Bc 21 (no. 37), where it is immediately followed by Festa's Amor, se vuoi ch'io torni. The Ms. moreover, of Florentine provenance, contains six other works attributable to Festa, but none to either Tromboncino or Cara.

opens with a point of imitation and then continues in a homorhythmic manner;

The image shows two systems of handwritten musical notation for four voices: Soprano (top), Alto (second), Tenor (third), and Bass (bottom). The time signature is 8/8. The first system (mm. 1-10) begins with a point of imitation, where the voices enter in sequence. The second system continues with a homorhythmic texture, where all voices move together in parallel motion.

The image shows two systems of handwritten musical notation for four voices: Soprano (top), Alto (second), Tenor (third), and Bass (bottom). The time signature is 8/8. The first system (mm. 1-10) begins with a point of imitation, where the voices enter in sequence. The second system continues with a homorhythmic texture, where all voices move together in parallel motion.

Ex. 33: Si bella è la mia donna (DorC II [1531]),
mm. 1-10.

Doglia, che non aguagli (Vnm 1795) is more systematic.

Cara opens it with a clearly imitative section (the voices entering in the order of Tenor, Bassus, Cantus, and Altus). The second poetic line is set in a non-imitative polyphonic texture; the third line, in imitation; and the fourth line, homorhythmically. The middle section is also basically

homorhythmic, but at the last poetic line, Marchetto reduces the texture and includes a section of antiphonal writing:

Ex. 34: Doglia, che non aguagli (Vnm 1795), mm. 74-81.

The type of imitation found at the opening of Si bella è la mia donna and Doglia, che non aguagli involves a reduction in the number of voices and the successive entry of each of the voices in turn; it should be contrasted with the incidental imitation found in Cara's earlier frottole. The former is clearly a structural device included for the sake of contrast; the latter serves no structural function and merely serves to enliven the basically non-imitative fabric of the piece.

Structural imitation is uncommon in Cara's works and nowhere does it form the basic compositional technique of a piece in the manner of certain early madrigals. Verdelot's Con lacrim' et sospir' (Cn 1578), for example, is based primarily on imitative techniques.⁶²

⁶²For a modern edition of Con lacrim' et sospir', see

Side by side with Cara's later works that adopt madrigalesque textures are pieces that adhere to the more frottolesque texture of non-imitative polyphony. Qual meraviglia, o donna shows the typical inner voices of Marchetto's earlier frottole:⁶³

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Qual meraviglia, o donna'. It consists of four staves of music. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second and third staves are lute accompaniment, both with a treble clef and a 6/8 time signature. The bottom staff is a bass line with a bass clef. The music is written in a style characteristic of the early madrigal, featuring a frottolesque texture with non-imitative polyphony. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, accidentals, and a repeat sign at the end of each staff.

Ex. 35: Qual meraviglia, o donna (Vnm 1795),
mm. 6-10.

Cara's texture in his later works, therefore, only occasionally approaches that of the early madrigal. In certain pieces his choice of texture, form, and texts make his works the equivalent of Verdelot's or Sebastian Festa's madrigals, while in others, his basic style of writing remains frottolesque.⁶⁴

Slim-Cn 1578, vol. II, pp. 350-52. The piece is analyzed in the same work, vol. I, pp. 166-68.

⁶³For another instance, see Ex. 37.

⁶⁴It is true that many of the early madrigals have a texture that is frottolesque. See Hersh-Verdelot, pp. 185-89 and Verdelot's Qual meraviglia, vol. II, pp. 285-88 below. It would be false, however, to see this texture in Cara's


Rhythm and Meter

The great majority of Cara's frottole are in tempus imperfectum cum prolatio minor, either at integer valor or, as is more usual, diminutum. Several pieces, however, require ternary division of the breve throughout; these settings span the entire period from the early Petrucci repertory through the very latest source of Cara's music. For example, Udite voi finestre (PeF I [1504]) is written with the mensuration sign Φ ; Tante volte si, si, si (PeF XI [1514]), with $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$; and Se non soccori, amore (DorC II [1531]), with \bigcirc .

Cara also uses triple subdivisions to good effect within pieces noted in imperfect time. In his own Ala absentia (PeF V [1505]) Marchetto sets the mutazioni in proportio tripla while both the ripresa and the volta are in tempus imperfectum diminutum ($\Phi 3$ and Φ respectively). The alternation in Forsi che si (PeF III [1505]) is just the opposite. Here, the basic mensuration is $\Phi 3$, but the mutazioni and the first line of the volta are written in Φ . This arrangement serves to emphasize the concatenazione, and serves also to bring out the formal structure of the work.

The rhythmic structure within these mensurations tends to be rather straightforward with little use of involved

works as an attempt to write in the style of the madrigal for such texture is present in his works from all periods.

syncopations. Indeed, this seems to be a hallmark of frottola composition, and one of the factors which distinguishes it from the contemporary works of oltremontani. Simple rhythmic syncopations are generally restricted to the pattern of  and used principally in cadential patterns. Certain more complex forms are found, however, and these serve to enliven both the melody line and the lower parts. In Fugga pur chi vol amore, for example, the Cantus uses simple patterns to good effect:



Ex. 36: Fugga pur chi vol amore (PeF VIII [1507]),
mm. 9-16, Cantus.

In Piangie la donna mia, the middle voices are considerably more involved:

Ex. 37: Piangie la donna mia (DorC I [1526]), mm. 17-23, Altus and Tenor.

Such rhythmic complexities are, however, an exception to the normally simple rhythmic framework of Cara's frottole, a framework that is entirely typical of the frottola in general.

Harmony

The harmony of Cara's frottole seems carefully thought out, with the chords often related by a fourth, fifth, or third. Combined with this characteristic is a preference for sonorities containing both the third and the fifth above the bass note. This procedure is particularly evident in Cara's more homorhythmic compositions, such as Sonno che gli animali:

Ex. 38: Sonno che gli animali (Maz III [1518]),
mm. 1-6.

Since all of the sonorities in this example contain both the third and the fifth, the vertical structure is a clear one. Both here and in Cara's frottole in general, there is a decided preference for such a full sonority, in which the majority of chords include the third, even at the final cadences. The careful construction of the bass part as the structure upon which the sonorities are built and the clearly tonal relationships between these sonorities invite

analysis by means of the modern system of Roman numerals.⁶⁵

An examination of the levels of cadence points is a clear indication of such a practice. In the early Non è tempo d'aspectare (PeF I [1504]) Marchetto constructs the final cadences of each section so that they fall on I and interior cadences, so that they fall on V. Here, as in all of Cara's works, the cadences are coincidental with the ending of a poetic line:⁶⁶

Section:	Ripresa		Refrain
Text:	<u>a</u> b b a		<u>a</u> b
Cadence Level:	F C C F		C F

This simple scheme is more complicated in O mia cieca e dura sorte (PeF I [1504]), a setting that treats both ripresa and stanza:

Section:	Ripresa		Mutazioni	Volta
Text:	a b b a		c d d c	c a
Cadence Level:	D(-3) A a D		d a a a	d A

The primary level here is D, as it is on this pitch that the ripresa closes. Marchetto has constructed the cadences so

⁶⁵This is not to imply that Cara or the frottolists were composing consciously within the more modern system of functional tonality. Nevertheless, the analysis of such works by this system clarifies certain elements in the music that are left unexamined otherwise, and it therefore has been deemed worthwhile to include such a study here. Essentially the same points have been made in relation to the contemporary Florentine repertory in D'Accone-Coppini, p. 58. Some of the language used here is borrowed from Professor D'Accone.

⁶⁶In the following charts a capital letter of a cadence level indicates the presence of a major third; conversely, a lower case letter indicates a minor third. A (-3) or (-5) indicates the absence of the third or fifth.

that the stanza (mutazioni and volta) are at the dominant level. Each return to the refrain, in this work equivalent to the entire ripresa, will be accompanied by a shift from A to D, that is, from dominant to tonic.

Such clear and simple plans continue throughout Cara's works. The late Poichè in van (DorC I [1526]), for example, has cadence points exclusively on I and IV in a pattern similar to Non è tempo above:⁶⁷

Section:	Mutazioni	Volta	Ripresa
Text:	a b [a b]	b c	c d (c) (d) e (e)
Cadence Level:	G C G C	C G	C G C G G G

There is a tendency in later works to elide cadences. Perchè piangi, alma (DorC II [1531]) contains many points in which the cadence structure is disguised through the continuing movement of the lower voices. The following example shows two such instances (mm. 1-2 and 5 of the passage quoted; see Example 39, page 242).

The types of cadences found in Cara's works are typical of the frottola in general. Rhythmically, these are, for the most part, feminine cadences, the rhythm of which matches the general rhythm of Italian poetry with its stress of the penultimate syllable of the word. Often, but not always, these cadences will contain a repetition of the same pitch in the Cantus (see Example 6, mm. 3, 6, 9, etc.).

Harmonically, the most common cadence for closing is a V-I movement with an octave leap in the Bassus. Such a

⁶⁷For an explanation of the formal peculiarities of Poichè in van, see p. 128.

Ex. 39: Perchè piangi, alma (DorC II [1531]), mm. 12-17.

cadential pattern almost certainly derives from the Burgundian chanson:

Ex. 40: Ochi mei, lassi (PeF IV [1505]), mm. 39-41.

Octave leap cadences continue throughout Cara's works. Even the late works that treat madrigalesque texts occasionally include them.⁶⁸ Such cadences are also found in a few early

⁶⁸E.g., Veramente, ogni doglia (DorC II [1531]).

madrigals. Sebastian Festa's Perchè quel che mi trasse (DorC I [1526]), for example, includes octave leap cadences as both medial and final.⁶⁹

Occasionally Marchetto chooses to conclude with other types of cadences. A plagal cadence as a final is particularly common in those pieces where the Cantus concludes before the lower voices and sustains the finalis as an inverted pedal:

The image shows a musical score for four staves. The top three staves are vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) and the bottom staff is the bass line. The music is in 2/4 time. The score shows a plagal cadence on the finalis 'a' (G4) in the soprano part, which is sustained as an inverted pedal while the other voices conclude. The cadence is marked with a [C] in a box. There are also some time signature changes from 2/4 to 3/2 and back to 2/4.

Ex. 41: Ochi dolci (PeF IX [1509]), mm. 31-33.

In Perchè piangi, alma (DorC II [1531]), Marchetto concludes with a phrygian cadence on a.

Interior cadences are of the same types. Found are 1) octave leap cadences (e.g., La virtù se vol seguire, mm. 9-10 [Pn 676]); 2) authentic cadences (e.g., Aimè, ch'io moro, mm. 5-6 [Pn 676]); 3) phrygian cadences (e.g., Donne, habiati voi pietate mm. 7-8 [PeF VIII]); and 4) plagal cadences (e.g., Rocta è l'aspra, mm. 4-5 [PeF IX]).

⁶⁹See vol. II, pp. 282-84, mm. 10-11 and 30-31.

Cara's dissonance practice also utilizes the full range of available types. The most common dissonance is the suspension, and this most often at the ends of phrases. Also found are passing tones, both accented and non-accented, and anticipations.⁷⁰ Often, Marchetto includes a species of "double suspension" in the cadences so that two notes will be dissonant simultaneously:

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are "voi ch'io mo - - ra." The Soprano part has a note with a fermata. The Alto part has a note with a plus sign. The Tenor part has a note with a plus sign. The Bass part has a note with a fermata. The score illustrates dissonances and suspensions between the voices.

Ex. 42: Deh, dolce mia signora (PeF VII [1507]),
mm. 14-16.

This instance is remarkable in that the a in the tenor voice has no preparation and is "dissonant" with the bass both at its beginning and ending; that is, it starts as a 6-5 suspension over the c and is altered to a 7-6 suspension over the bass note of B. The suspension in the Altus, on the other hand, is normal, the e beginning as a third over the

⁷⁰The various types of dissonance in the frottola and the harmonic style have been studied in Schwartz-Frottole, pp. 451-61. The remarks in Jeppesen-PeL, pp. XXXV-XLVI concerning the lauda are also applicable.

bass note c, becoming a fourth over the B, and resolving to the third.⁷¹

Occasionally found also are double passing tones in which two voices are dissonant both with themselves and with one or more of the other voices. In Amerò, non amerò, for instance, there is the following pattern:⁷²

The image shows a musical score for the phrase "vo - gliò las - sa - re". It consists of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second and third staves are instrumental parts, each marked with "++" below them, indicating dissonance. The bottom staff is a bass line. The music is written in a simple, handwritten style.

Ex. 43: Amerò, non amerò (PeF XI [1514]), mm. 8-9.

In this instance the passing tones are dissonant with each other, and both b's are dissonant with the c in the Bassus.

These two types of dissonance are remarkable only in that they are not in accord with the later "Palestrina style," for passages are found in the works of other frot-tola composers as often as they are found in Cara.⁷³ Indeed,

⁷¹This same type of "unprepared suspension" has been found and remarked upon in the contemporary Florentine repertory. See Galluci-Festival, vol. I, pp. 177-78.

⁷²Also included is another example of a double suspension in Altus and Tenor, m. 8.

⁷³See, for example, the double suspensions in

dissonance practice in the frottola is an area in which there seems to be a high consistency of style, and a common vocabulary shared by virtually all composers.

Text Expression

The frottola tends to be expressive of the form and general content of its verse as opposed to being expressive of an individual word or phrase. Instances of specific word painting are not unusual in Cara's frottole, however, and they occur in both early and late works. Occurrences may be grouped into several types, according to musical technique.

Most common is word-painting within a single voice. A melisma may be used to set off the meaning of a given word such as "variare" in Non è tempo d'aspectare:

The image shows a musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in a style characteristic of the frottola, with a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics 'O-ghni co-sa va - ri - a - re' are written below the staff, with hyphens indicating the syllables. The word 'variare' is set to a melisma, where the notes for 'ri-a-re' are significantly longer and more ornate than the preceding text. Below the staff, the text reads: 'Ex. 44: Non è tempo d'aspectare (PeF I [1504]), Cantus, mm. 13-18.'

Since this passage is repeated with the text of each stanza, the effect is lost in the repetitions, but the word painting stands out clearly in the ripresa.

Cara's Se non fusse la speranza includes an extended melisma to the word "speranza." In this instance, the word-painting will remain throughout each stanza, as ripresa, mutazioni, and volta are given separate treatments:

Tromboncino's Si è debile il filo (PeF VII [1507]); Modern edition: Rubsamen-Sources, pp. 53-56; mm. 16 and 34.

E mi pas - co de spe - ran - za, de

Ex. 45: Se non fusse la speranza (PeF VII [1507]),
mm. 10-14.

Long notes may be used to underscore the meaning of the text. In [?]Ostinato vo seguire, repeated long notes are used to emphasize the meaning of the first word of text:

Os - ti - na - to vo se - gui - re

Ex. 46: [?]Ostinato vo seguire (PeF IX [1509]), Cantus,
mm. 1-4.

The entire polyphonic complex may also be utilized for expressive purposes. In the following example, the imitative opening points up the meaning of the word, "fugga":

Fug-ga pur chi vol a - mo - re Che io per

Ex. 47: Fugga pur chi vol amore (PeF VIII [1507]),
mm. 1-4.

In his Ala absentia, Marchetto chooses the technique of soggetto cavato to emphasize the words "sol la fe," which

are sung to the solmization syllables, sol, la, and fa, in imitation:

Ex. 48: Ala absentia (PeF V [1505]), mm. 7-11.

Particularly important are those examples of text expression that occur in Cara's later settings of madrigal-like texts, for it is a characteristic of the early madrigal to attempt to set the meaning of individual words.⁷⁴ Such text expression is found in Marchetto's later works, although some of these sections employ decidedly frottolesque means. Perchè piangi, alma sets the meaning of the phrase, "Tanta letitia de la speme," by moving to proportio tripla in all voices (see Example 49, page 249). This passage is considerably more expressive than the same passage in an anonymous setting from Bc 21; it is also

⁷⁴Slim finds that "more than half of the madrigals in the Newberry partbooks contain passages wherein the composer intensifies the meaning of the text...." Slim-Cn 1578, vol. I, p. 173.

Tan-ta le-ti-tia de la spe-meha-re-i

Ex. 49: Perchè piangi, alma (DorC II [1531]),
mm. 24-28.

considerably less madrigalesque:⁷⁵

mi-o." Tan-ta le-ti-tia de la spe-meha-re-j

mi-o." Tan-ta le-ti-tia de la spe-meha-re-j

mi-o." Tan-ta le-ti-tia de la spe-meha-re-j

mi-o." Tan-ta le-ti-tia de la spe-meha-re-j

Ex. 50: Perchè piangi, alma, Anonymous (Bc 21),
mm. 18-21.

Other, more nearly madrigalesque, word-painting is also included in Cara's later works. Perchè piangi, alma itself

⁷⁵For a modern edition of the anonymous Perchè piangi, alma, see vol. II, pp. 292-95.

contains a melisma on "riso" (m. 20). Se non soccori, amore (DorC II [1531]) contains a melisma on "dolce" (mm. 15-16) and a particularly low melisma (from a' down to b) on the word, "grave" (mm. 27-28). Doglia, che non aguagli includes the following passage on the invocation, "O fede."

O fe-de, O fe-de, O fe-de, O fe-de,
 O fe-de, O fe-de, O fe-de, O fe-de,
 O fe-de, O fe-de, O fe-de, O fe-de,
 O fe-de, O fe-de, O fe-de, O fe-de

Ex. 51: Doglia, che non aguagli (Vnm 1795), mm. 48-55. Qual meraviglia, o donna (Vnm 1795) utilizes melismas in both Cantus and Tenor to paint the word "morire" (mm. 46-49). Perhaps most striking, however, is Marchetto's setting of the word, "haymè," in Poich'al mio largo pianto (see Example 52, page 251).

Further examples could be sighted, but the thrust of these is clear enough: madrigalesque text-expression is occasionally present in Cara's later works, although it is by no means a consistent enough occurrence to warrant calling it an integral part of Marchetto's later style. Rather, Cara, as he does with regard to texture, occasionally adopts a style which may be termed "madrigalesque."

Hay-mè, hay - mè, hay-mè, hay - mè, hay - mè, col piant' — il co-re

Hay-mè, hay-mè, hay-mè, hay - - mè, col pian - to il co -

Hay-mè, hay-mè, hay-mè, hay-mè, col pian-to il co - re — col -

Hay-mè, hay-mè, hay-mè, hay-mè, [hay-mè] col pian-to il co - re col pian -

Ex. 52: Poich'al mio largo pianto (Vnm 1795), mm. 14-18.

This statement is true of Cara's later works in general. His early and middle works reveal him as the master of the genre, particularly in regard to formal schemes. His later works are consistently madrigalesque in both their texts and their structure. Less often they are also madrigalesque with respect to texture and text expression. Marchetto remains essentially a frottolist.

CONCLUSIONS

One fact is apparent from this study of the frottola and one of its major composers: Marchetto Cara is clearly central to any discussion of the frottola. Cara seems to have been the most important musician at Mantua, the center of frottola production. He served as maestro di cappella there for both Francesco and Federico Gonzaga, and, as such, was apparently in charge of the entire musical establishment of the city, both the bodies concerned with sacred music and those concerned with secular music. His frequent trips to perform in centers in Northern Italy assured the dissemination of works as did the inclusion of his works in all but four of the prints dedicated to the frottola from 1504 to 1531.

Cara is equally important for purely musical reasons. His sensitivity to the poetry and his subtle responses to the demands of the verse are remarkably rich and varied. His ability to create self-sufficient musical forms within the confines of the frottola make him perhaps the most imaginative composer of the genre.

This statement is true both in the earlier and later periods of the frottola. From PeF I (1504) onwards, Cara is concerned with presenting as subtle a representation of the verse form as possible. Symptomatic of this concern is his

consistent choice of a musical framework for barzellette that treats both ripresa and stanza, rather than the more usual treatment of ripresa alone. Particularly outstanding in this respect is Cara's Ala absentia (PeF V [1505]), for which the composer wrote both the music and the verse. Here, Marchetto erects a structure that reflects in detail both the form and content of the verse.

Cara seems less important in the earlier portion of the trend toward more flexible text forms in the frottola. In this matter, he must take a second place to Tromboncino and perhaps also to Michele Pesenti; both of these composers were already setting "madrigalesque" verse in the first decade of the sixteenth century.

The roles of the three composers are reversed, however, in the last period of the frottola. In the prints and manuscripts after 1520, it is Cara who emerges as the most important composer. After 1520, Pesenti is represented by only one madrigalesque composition while Tromboncino is represented by two, both of which are also ascribed to Cara. Marchetto, on the other hand, has no fewer than fifteen such pieces in the prints and manuscripts after 1520.

These works are madrigalesque in more than choice of text. Structurally, they are early madrigals, for parallel forms may be found in the works of Verdelot and Sebastian Festa. With regard to texture and style, the works of Cara are not generally madrigalesque, tending to keep a typically active frottolesque texture in the inner

voices. Occasionally, however, he does utilize the madrigalesque devices of opening imitation and text-expression.

In summary, Cara's importance rests on three separate foundations: his position as maestro di cappella in Mantua, his subtle handling of the various forms of the frottola, and his strong affinities with the early madrigalists.

APPENDIX: DOCUMENTS

The Archivio di Stato in Mantua contains a rich fund of documentary evidence on the music of the Gonzaga family and on Marchetto Cara, their maestro di cappella. It is from this archive that eighty of the eighty-four documents included here were taken. (The remaining materials derive from sixteenth-century published sources.) Owing to the exigencies of time, I was unable to include Ferrarese documents in my study.

Of the eighty Mantuan documents, there are two that I have not included in this appendix. Documents 23 and 25, I was not able to transcribe in full due to scribal peculiarities and my own inexperience in the handling of primary materials. Portions of these two documents are reproduced in facsimile in the appropriate position.

All other material is transcribed and all portions relating to music are included here. The documents are ordered in chronological sequence and carry both a document number and a digest number. The latter refers to a digest in which is included a brief summary in English of the relevant material in a given letter. This section precedes the documents themselves.¹

¹This system is a modification of one used in Krautheimer-Ghiberti.

Words and passages that I was unable to transcribe are indicated by the symbols "[...]" or "[....]." Words of which I am unsure are followed by the designation "[?]," and deletions of unimportant material are indicated by "... " or "...."; words added for the sake of clarity are enclosed in brackets. I have resolved abbreviations without comment and have added diacritical marks to the words where necessary; capitalization and punctuation are those of the original documents.

I should like to thank the staff of the Archivio di Stato in Mantua and particularly Dottore Roberto Navarrini for their help in deciphering problematic words and passages in the documents. I should also like to thank the Dottoressa Laura Loi and Paola Morini whose tesi di laurea provided the basis for this documentary study² and their advisor, Professore Claudio Gallico, both for his kindness in allowing me to study the two tesi, and also for his gracious hospitality to me during my stay in Mantua.

²Loi-Mantova and Morini-Mantova

DIGEST OF DOCUMENTS

1. (Doc. 1) 24 May 1494. Bernardino da Urbino writes to Isabella d'Este concerning a stanbotino composed several days before at Mantua by Cara. He sends Isabella a calata which is sung very loudly at Rome and which he has modified a bit for her, also adding a fourth voice. (partially published: MGG-Cara, col. 823)
2. (Doc. 2) 15 January 1495. Marchetto Cara writes to Francesco Gonzaga apologizing for having postponed sending the songs on the "delightful and polished strambotti."
3. (Doc. 3) 10 August 1495. Isabella apologizes to Francesco for keeping "Marchetto Cantore" with her rather than sending him back to the Marchese, as she feels that her husband does not have time to listen to singing. [Francesco had led the Italian forces against Charles VIII of France at the Battle of Fornovo at the beginning of July and was still in the field.]³ (published: Davari-Mantova, p. 59f.)
4. (Doc. 4) 8 May 1499. Giulio d'Este sends Isabella a group of hurriedly-written songs for her to give to Cara. Giulio says that Cara is expecting the pieces and asks the composer to put them in better form.
5. (Doc. 5) 24 May 1499. Francesco asks the Treasurer to give "Marchetto's boy" new clothes. (published: Bertolotti-Musici, p. 16)
6. (Doc. 6) 28 May 1499. Francesco gives to Cara 109 "Bobulcari" of land in the contrada [neighborhood] of Dosso de'Mori in the vicarate of Gonzaga and 106 "Bobulcari" in the contrada of Frasanello near Sermide in return for his having eased Francesco's "grave cares" for the city and in time of war. (partially published: Davari-Mantova, p. 60)
7. (Doc. 7) 22 March 1501. Francesco presents Cara with a gift of forty ducats.
8. (Doc. 8) 3 December 1501. The unnamed writer asks for fifty ducats for Cara's wife "Zahan" [Moreschi] who has been ill for many months.
9. (Doc. 9) 25 August 1502. Francesco presents Cara with a gift of two hundred and forty ducats.

³Mantova-Storia, vol. II, pp. 100-108.

10. (Doc. 10) 2 September 1502. Bernardo Bembo writes to Francesco from Verona saying that he has received the verses of "Venus and her son" [Cupid] for "Marco cantor, your servant and our Veronese." (published: Cian-Bembo, p. 90f.)
11. (Doc. 11) 21 December 1502. Isabella writes to her husband that Giuliano de' Medici, Carlo Bembo, and "monsignor Belochio" have been in Mantua for four days, and that they have heard Marchetto and his wife sing.
12. (Doc. 12) 30 April 1503. Tolomeo Spagnuolo writes to Isabella enclosing several pieces by Cara. The composer asks to be excused for the hasty writing in the pieces, as everything must be done in a hurry. The words of the pieces are notated "as usual, on a page of one of the little notebooks."
13. Two letters from Lorenzo da Pavia concerning Cara at Venice.
- a. (Doc. 13) 4 September 1503. Lorenzo writes to Isabella in Ferrara that Marchetto and Giovanna [Marchetto's wife] are in Venice. They have sung beautifully and the Venetians say they have never heard more beautiful music. (partially published: Einstein-Madrigal, vol. I, p. 52, and Davari-Mantova, p. 61)
- b. (Doc. 14) 28 September 1503. Lorenzo writes that Marchetto and Giovanna are feeling better.
14. (Doc. 15) 8 November 1503. Marchetto asks Francesco to forgive him for not joining him [in the field] but says that he has been ill and has no strength. Moreover, the streets are full of assassins. Cara looks forward to the day when the Marchese will have conquered his enemies.
15. (Doc. 16) 28 January 1505. Galeotto sends a new "belzereta" [barzioletta] to Isabella which he asks her to give to Cara. (partially published: Davari-Mantova, p. 62)
16. Two letters concerning the illness of Cara's wife.
- a. (Doc. 17) 31 July 1505. Cara writes to Francesco thanking him for twelve days leave and apologizes for not returning from Verona, but says that his companion [wife] is ill with a fever.
- b. (Doc. 18) 1 August 1505. Francesco writes to Cara telling him to feel free to remain in Verona until his wife has recovered from her illness, even though the time allotted for his leave is past. (published: Bertolotti-Musici, p. 20)
17. Two letters concerning Cara's stay in Parma.
- a. (Doc. 19) 26 January 1506. Francesco writes to Cara [in Parma] chastizing him for having stayed away from court for eight days too long, in spite of Cara's promise

to return. Francesco writes that Marchetto has previously been obedient to the wishes of the Marchese, and that he will therefore confine himself to this admonition.

b. (Doc. 20) 29 January 1506. Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga writes to his father the Marchese apologizing for keeping Marchetto in Parma, but says that "Messer Galeozzo" has asked Cara to stay to sing a mass.

18. (Doc. 21) 29 May 1507. Francesco writes to Isabella from Milan asking that she, their son Federico, and Cara's wife join him in Milan the following Tuesday.

19. (Doc. 22) 20 November 1507.⁴ Francesco gives Cara a house and grounds in the Contrada Pusterla in Mantua.

20. Two documents concerning the gift of a house to Cara.

a. (Doc 23) 1 ? 1508. Francesco gives Cara a house in [Vicolo] Santa Agnese.

b. (Doc. 24) N.D. [1508]. Cara writes to Francesco thanking him for the gift of the house in Santa Agnese. He is apparently having problems with the workmen [?] for he writes that he does not want to pay them anything and asks the Marchese to order them to cease their demands or else Cara will have to sell the house.

21. (Doc. 25) 4 May 1509. Last testament of Cara's wife Giovanna Moreschi de Novara.

22. (Doc. 26) 30 January 1510. Marchetto has returned from Venice with "Zo. Francesco da Milano," Testagrossa, and Bussetto, where the musicians have entertained the imprisoned Marchese.

23. (Doc. 27) 30 August 1510. Francesco gives Cara 120 ducats.

24. (Doc. 28) 2 December 1510. Cesare Gonzaga asks Isabella to have Cara write the music for a "madrigaletto" which he is enclosing, and that the music make up for the insufficiency of the words. He also asks for the music to the sonnet which begins "Cantai." (partially published: Canal-Mantova, p. 673f. and Einstein-Madrigal, vol. I, p. 52.)

25. Two documents concerning the transfer of Ferrarese singers to Mantua.

⁴No date is given on the document. In doc: 78, which reaffirms Cara's claim to the house, the date of the original transaction is given as 20 November 1507.

- a. (Doc. 29) 20 March 1511. Francesco writes to Ferrara, at the request of Cara, asking that the belongings of Bidone, Zoan Francesco, Cornelio, and Masino be transferred to Mantua. (published: Bertolotti-Musici, p. 22.)
- b. (Doc. 30) 20 March 1511. Francesco writes to Ferrara, again at the request of Cara, saying that he has called Bidone to Mantua for five or six months. He is to sing in the cappella every day. (partially published: Bertolotti-Musici, p. 28.)
26. (Doc. 31) 26 August 1511. Isabella writes to the Marchese of Bitonto, saying that she has sent him some of Marchetto's pieces many days ago, but has heard nothing. She asks if the Marchese has received them.
27. (Doc. 32) 22 January 1512. Amico della Torre writes to Federico Gonzaga at Rome that Marchetto is to marry one of Isabella's ladies "la Leale" the following Sunday, but that it is to be a simple service. (partially published: Davari-Mantova, p. 60.)
28. (Doc. 33) 24 August 1512. Francesco writes Cara asking him to intercede with the "clerics of the Apostolic chamber" because a certain Ilario Turlorone, a singer in the Marchese's chapel, has renounced a benefice.
29. A series of letters dealing with Cara's visit to the Duke of Milan at Cremona and at Milan.
- a. (Doc. 34) 18 November 1512. Agostino Sementio writes from Cremona asking Francesco to send Cara and Roberto [D'Avanzini] to the Duke of Milan, Massimiliano Sforza. Francesco had promised to send them the previous Monday or Tuesday, but they have not yet arrived. Sementio writes that the Duke is displeased and has nothing to do for recreation. Massimiliano adds a postscript requesting Cara and Roberto.
- b. (Doc. 35) 23 November 1512. Francesco asks Agostino to apologize to Massimiliano for the delay in sending Marchetto to him. The Duke is in Cremona, which is presently under seige. The Marchese writes that Cara is "timid and cowardly of spirit" and that the composer fears artillery "more than the devil." Roberto is to accompany Cara. (partially published: Bertolotti-Musici, p. 20.)
- c. (Doc. 36) 26 November 1512. Sementio writes to Ptolomeo, secretary to Francesco Gonzaga, that he may come to Mantua the following Sunday. Marchetto and Roberto have arrived in Cremona, as Sementio writes that they have performed after dinner for a few people in the Duke's chambers, and that all were highly pleased. The two musicians are to accompany Massimiliano to Milan.

- d. (Doc. 37) 27 November 1512. Cara writes to Francesco saying that he is at Cremona and asking whether the Marchese wants him to go on to Milan with the Duke, or if he would prefer that Cara and Roberto return to Mantua. He asks for an immediate reply, as Massimilliano plans to leave for Milan any day.
- e. (Doc. 38) 28 November 1512. Francesco writes to Massimilliano giving his permission for Marchetto and Roberto to go to Milan, asking that the Duke allow them to return soon, as his only recreation is to hear them sing.
- f. (Doc. 39) 1 December 1512. Cara writes to Francesco that he will accompany Massimilliano as far as Milan, but then asks to be allowed to return to Mantua, as he prefers to serve the Marchese.
- g. (Doc. 40) 9 December 1512. Francesco hopes that the Duke is enjoying Cara and Roberto and asks him to send them back to Mantua as Cara is maestro of the Marchese's chapel and he needs him for the "feasts of Christmas." The singers of the chapel are much the worse for the absence of "their head and maestro."
- h. (Doc. 41) 14 December 1512. The writer [Sementio?] writes to Francesco that Marchetto has told him that he does not want to go on to Milan, but apparently he is going, as the writer adds that the Duke and his party should be in Milan within ten or twelve days, and that they will send Marchetto and Roberto back to Mantua then.
- i. (Doc. 42) 15 December 1512. Sementio writes to Francesco that Massimilliano has said that he will allow Cara to return to Mantua as soon as the party reaches Milan.
- j. (Doc. 43) 17 December 1512. Francesco writes to Sementio that he is awaiting the return of Marchetto, his Maestro di cappella, as without him it is impossible to "make solemn the feasts of Christmas" with the singers of the chapel.
- k. (Doc. 44) 6 January 1513. Francesco asks for the return of Marchetto and Roberto from Milan, as he is ill and wants music for recreation. He particularly wants his singers because he is forced to stay in bed.
- l. (Doc. 45) 14 January 1513. Francesco writes to Isabella saying that he has received a letter from Milan which displeases him. In spite of the promise given by Cara to Isabella and Francesco's repeated demands for the musician to return to Mantua, Cara is to remain longer in Milan. Francesco suspects that Marchetto prefers Milan to Mantua and asks his wife to intercede. The

Marchese reiterates his complaints of his health, but says that he believes that he will recover completely.

m. (Doc. 46) 14 January 1513. Francesco writes to Massimiliano saying that he hopes the Duke will enjoy the visit of Isabella and writes that he would be very happy indeed if the Duke would send Marchetto and Roberto back to Mantua, saying that he will be happy to send them back to Milan another time.

n. (Doc. 47) 14 January 1513. The Marchese writes to Cara that he is happy that the Duke of Milan has said that he would send Marchetto and Roberto back to Mantua, but that he is displeased at Cara's refusal to return, for he has never known a time when he has needed recreation more than now in the time of his infirmity. He orders Cara to leave Milan with or without the permission of the Duke.

o. (Doc. 48) 14 January 1513. Francesco asks Sementio to find Cara and Roberto and to have them return at once, as he needs them to soothe him in his illness.

p. (Doc. 49) 15 January 1513. The Duke writes to Francesco that he had decided to allow Marchetto and Roberto to return, but, having learned of the impending visit of Isabella to Milan, he has decided to keep them there until she arrives.

q. (Doc. 50) 25 January 1513. Massimiliano is sending Marchetto and Roberto back to Mantua. He apologizes for keeping them so long, and accepts all of the blame for their long stay.

30. (Doc. 51) 19 February 1513. Marchetto asks Francesco to aid a Don Francesco, a tenor in the Marchese's chapel, who is "at the end of his life," by giving him a benefice, through Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga, the Marchese's brother. (partially published: Canal-Mantova, p. 673.)

31. (Doc. 52) 30 October 1513. Galeotto sends Francesco a capitolo in dialogue and asks the Marchese to have Marchetto set his "belzerette" and other songs. The capitolo concerns "one who speaks with a spirit." (partially published: Davari-Mantova, p. 62.)

32. (Doc. 53) 16 January 1514. Angelo Maximi writes to Statio Gadio at Mantua saying that his viola will not be sent for two or three months, and sends his greetings to Cara.

33. Two letters between Federico Gonzaga and Cara concerning some new poems.

a. (Doc. 54) 13 September 1514. Federico writes that he has found some new poems at the market in Gonzaga

which are not yet finished being printed. He praises their quality by saying that it has been many years since such beautiful verses have been written. He asks Cara to compose something fine for the verses and to come and stay with him in Gonzaga while he is composing the pieces. (published: Bertolotti-Musici, p. 21.)

b. (Doc. 55)⁵ 14 September 1514. Cara thanks Federico for sending him so many new works which appear to be "of the time of the learned Dante and the delightful Francesco [Petrarch?]," and thanks Federico for asking him to compose music for them, but pleads a fever. Cara complains at having to stay at home, for the pieces composed in the valley of marzetta [?] are "molto più aierose" than the pieces composed "in camera." Cara writes that the printer will furnish the work this month and that he will then compose for Federico a duo "a5 of blows and counter-blows." (partially published: Bertolotti-Musici, p. 21.)

34. (Doc. 56) 26 October 1515. The Marchese gives Cara fifty gold ducats made by Giuliano of Ferrara.

35. (Doc. 57) 6 November 1515. Marchetto and another singer entertain visiting Venetian ambassadors by singing with lute accompaniment.

36. (Doc. 58) 7 December 1515. Cara writes to Federico concerning the recalling of "Dominichino Maestro de canto" for the Marchese's chapel. Federico has previously said that he has enough singers for the present, even though Dominichino was a member of his father's chapel. Cara asks not to be held at fault in allowing the singer to remain in the chapel and, calling on Roberto as his witness, asks to be stricken off the list of Federico's servants if Cara himself is not loyal to him.

37. Two letters of Ippolito Calandra to Federico in Rome concerning works of Cara.

a. (Doc. 59) 9 May 1516. Calandra writes to Federico sending new canzone and sonetti, which he has found in spite of the fact that Marchetto has written nothing, as he professes "the greatest fatigue in the world." Calandra says that he will try to find more.

b. (Doc. 60) 16 May 1516. Calandra writes that Marchetto is now feeling better and that he has brought several new things for the Marchese. Moreover, he has

⁵14 September 1514 is the date given on the outside of the letter. The dates "tra le 15 e 16 die" in the body of the letter are evidently a joke, as much of the letter is humorous in nature.

promised to compose four books with his songs and the words and to be more humble in the future.

38. (Doc. 61) 10 June 1516. Galeotto sends Isabella a capitolo in dialogue for three persons and asks her to have Marchetto furnish music for it when he has the time. (partially published: Einstein-Madrigal, vol. I, p. 52; Canal-Mantova, p. 673, etc.)
39. Two letters concerning four books of new works by Cara.
- a. (Doc. 62) 14 June 1516. Marchetto sends Federico some love poems without music, saying that someone has written to Federico from Mantua speaking badly of Cara, but that Federico will learn that he has no more faithful servant. Cara promises to send four song books of new works to Federico in France. (partially published: Canal-Mantova, p. 673.)
- b. (Doc. 63) 2 August 1516. Cara writes to Federico sending him four books of frottole and promising to send him four more books of new pieces and to make them "more beautiful." (partially published: Davari-Mantova, p. 62, where it is mistakenly dated 11 August 1516.)
40. (Doc. 64) 1 November 1516. The Marchese of Bitonto writes to Isabella acknowledging the receipt of the songs newly composed by Marchetto and says that they are of such beauty that they honor music. They are treated by all as "cose sacre." "Jacovo Sinazzaro" sends his respects. (partially published: Canal-Mantova, p. 674.)
41. (Doc. 65) 27 April 1518. Isabella sends to Andrea Cossa in Casale Monferrato a lute which he is to give to his Marchese, saying that she knows the latter has wanted "a good, large lute." She sends one which has been played for a time by "our Marchetto," and which was found originally in Venice.
42. (Doc. 66) 18 September 1518. A letter of introduction for an unnamed bearer. The writer says that the bearer is a Mantuan employee of his printing press who wants a print from Mantua. He also asks the receiver, Mario Equicola, to ask Cara to send him the music he has composed on the writer's verses. Cara has apparently given the piece to all of his friends, including Calandra.
43. (Doc. 67) 9 October 1518. Angelo Testagrossa writes to Federico from Casale Monferrato requesting that he be allowed to enter the Marchese's service in Mantua. He cites his service to Federico's father, saying that he prefers remaining in his native land to going to France with the Queen. He writes that he has a good set of lutes, a "beautiful case of flutes and another of krummhorns, and another instrument which is called a fagot which is a beautiful thing." Testagrossa

speaks of a young Frenchman who sings very well, plays the viol, and can improvise as well. He has spoken to Marchetto concerning returning to Mantua. (partially published: Bertolotti-Musici, p. 231.)

44. (Doc. 68) 13 January 1519. Isabella writes to the Cardinal of Aragon in Rome saying that she has not sent the song which he requested earlier, as "these excellent musicians need time to compose, correct, and write down their pieces." Marchetto hopes that the Cardinal will be pleased with the piece.

45. Two letters of Federico concerning Cara and other musicians.

a. (Doc. 69) 15 May 1523. Federico writes to Cara telling him to bring Pozzino, Zoppino, Agostino della viola, and their sons to Marmiolo the following morning, telling them to bring their instruments. Federico says that he will write to the horse master at Mantua so that the musicians may have a wagon for their trip.

b. (Doc. 70) 15 May 1523. Federico asks the horse master for a carriage for Agostino della viola and Cara to come to Marmiolo the following morning.

46. (Doc. 71) 23 October 1523. Federico asks the treasurer to purchase lute strings and give them to Cara or Roberto.

47. Two letters of Leonora d'Urbino concerning Cara.

a. (Doc. 72) 25 January 1524. Leonora asks for several "Citaroni" of the sort that Federico's musician padre Michele Veronese has suggested and asks him to send Marchetto for several days.

b. (Doc. 73) 14 February 1524. Leonora thanks Federico for the "cytheroni" and for sending Marchetto so promptly.

48. (Doc. 74) 7 March 1524. Isabella writes to the Podestà of Sermide requesting that he force Marchetto's debtors to make good their debts which originated when Cara was "among the farmers in the Abbacy of Felonica."

49. (Doc. 75) 15 March 1524. Isabella writes to Cara concerning a piece which he has refused to give to a certain "Signor Costanzo," even though now all of the singers of Mantua sing it and "a thousand ladies' men and lazy rascals have it." Costanzo is in an unimaginable rage over the situation and has decided to make a joke of Cara in order to vindicate himself.

50. (Doc. 76) 14 September 1524. Isabella writes to Turotto asking him to go to Gonzaga immediately and to get the instruments of Marchetto, Roberto, Pozino, and Zoppino which were

left there when Isabella transferred from her villa at Gonzaga to that at Marmirolo.

51. (Doc. 77) 1 January 1525. In as much as Cara was loved by Federico's parents and was given by them a home and fields, Federico declares Cara and his issue citizens of Mantua in eternity.

52. (Doc. 78) 12 January 1525. Federico reaffirms Cara's deed to the house in the Contrada Pusterla in return for value received.

53. (Doc. 79) 12 March 1525. Cara writes to Isabella at Rome sending, at her request, five of his madrigals, some of which, he says, are already known in Rome. He promises to send her some others which are not known there very shortly. Both he and his wife are in good health. (published: Gallico-Bc 21, p. 34.)

54. (Doc. 80) 2 June 1525. Hieronymo Gabloneta writes Federico that Cara is in Padua and is ill with "his gout," but that he is slightly better. Partly because of the "beastly heat," Cara is a little confused.

55. (Doc. 81) 1528. Baldesar Castiglione in Il Libro del Cortegiano describes Cara's playing.

56. (Doc. 82) 1533. Pietro Aretino, in Il Marescalco, a play about life at the Mantuan court, mentions a madrigal sung to Cara's music.

57. (Doc. 83) 1545. Aaron lists Cara as a "cantore al liuto."

58. (Doc. 84) 1567. Bartoli includes Cara as the only native Italian in a group of composers who, after Josquin, has "taught the world how to compose music."

Doc. 1, Dig. 1

24 May 1494

Busta 2445

Provenance: Gonzaga

From: Bernardino da Urbino

To: Isabella d'Este

Ill.ma madonna mia io ho inteso per mes.r Zohanfrancesco quanto ha dessiderio la S.V.ra havere canti novi e esso pallazo me domandò uno stanbotino de Marchetto facto poci dì a Mantua benchè a noi non para troppo solenne. Como sia el mando volontiera ala Ex.tia V.ra e insieme con quello una calata che se canta forte assai a roma e anchora noi l'inpiastramo un pocho per chè so che la S.V.ra la farà parere bona la mando benchè l'abia tolta e notata per udirla dire e poi li ho gionto quello consonante: ma el contralto la facto uno che haveme qui. Cusi como è la do di bona voglia ala S.V.ra proferendomi sempre di essere fidel servitore di quella acadindo alto de nomo se ben li fussi pena de non stimarla quando facto a piacere ala ex.tia V.ra ala quale di continuo meraccomando. Gonzage die 24 madij 1494.

Servitor

Don Bernardino de Urbino

Doc. 2, Dig. 2

15 January 1495

Busta 2448

Provenance: [Mantua?]

From: Marchetto Cara

To: Francesco Gonzaga

Inclite ac illustris domine: se io non exestimasse a V.ra excel.sa S. esser noto: esser in assai molesta valitudine per la quale ho tanto differito in mandar li canti sopra quelli soavi et politissimi strambotti jo harei quasi timore de non esser impuisito de [...] verso questa excell.tia Signoria. Tra ala quale jnvero tanto [...] che più insoportabile displicentia mi porge il non poter ad [...] satisfar quel là come fu sempre il mio desire [?] disio che quello sento nele proprie membre per la mala Carnal sonna ma mi porgie sidutia e non è [?] darj la prendoss. sig.a che quella che harà per valeat vostra exel.sa signoria.

xv Januarij 1495.

Marcus Carra servitor

Doc. 3, Dig. 3

10 August 1495

Coppialettere

Busta 2992, Book 5, f. 72r, no. 293

Provenance: Mantua

From: Isabella d'Este

To: Francesco Gonzaga

Ill.mo Domino N.ro

Ill.mo S. mio. La S.V. non se maraveglierà ne imputarà Marcheto Cantore se lo stato più tardo a ritornare a lei che'l non tolse termine: perchè io l'ho retenuto meco confidandome che la S.V. per non habere tempo de attender a cantare: Non le debbi haver molesto anzi la prego che quando cussì sia che la non habia bisogno de lui. Voglia essere contenta de remandarmelo: che l'haverò de gratia ala quale me raccomando.

Mantue x augusti 1495.

Doc. 4, Dig. 4

8 May 1499

Busta 1187

Provenance: Ferrara

From: Giulio d'Este

To: Isabella d'Este

Ill.ma domina Soror etc. Mando ala S.V. cum questa li canti
che vui me chiedete: liquali sono notati in freta¹; ma
quella li poterà dare a Marchetto et farli fare in migliore
forma: perchè anche a lui promessi mandarli et cussi epsa
ha [...] et epso venirà a remanere satisfati....

Ferrarie VIII Maij 1499.

Julius Estensis²

¹The words "in freta" are inserted in the letter above
the line apparently as an afterthought.

²The right side of the letter is faded almost to the
point of illegibility.

Doc. 5, Dig. 5

24 May 1499

Coppialettere
Busta 2909, Book 163, f. 91v
Provenance: Gonzaga
From: Francesco Gonzaga
To: The Treasurer

Thesaurario

Charissime noster: volemo che faciati fare al ragazzo de
Marchetto che canta uno Turchotto¹ ala franzosa cum le
viste denanti de Zambelotto, uno zuppone de seta uno paro
de calce et una beretta: et fati che subito el sia expedito.
Gonzage XXIIII Maij 1499.

¹Zuppone appears before the word Turchotto, but is
crossed out.

Doc. 6, Dig. 6

28 May 1499

Libro Decreti, Book 27, f. 145r-v

Provenance: Mantua

From: Francesco Gonzaga

For Marchetto Cara

Pro Marcho de Carra
Veronensis. Donatio
Bobulcarum 109 possitarum
in Contrata dicta il Dosso
de Mori Sive il campolongo
sub vicariatu Gonzageum
aliarumque Bobulcarum 100
circiter in Contrata dicta
il Frassanello sub Postes-
taria Sermedi existentium.

De consensu nostro

Franciscus Marchio Mantue etc. Quum in relaxandis animis
compertis habuerimus duces ac Imperatores tam graecos quam
romanos ac cartaginenses delectatos fuisse lira et cantibus
quo et cure civiles et bellice leviores facilioresque vide-
rentur, hos profecto immitantes oblectati ingenio probita-
teque dulcedine cantus et lira, pericia et gravia componen-
dorum cantuum quibus marchus de Cara civis Veronensis
musicus jam diu apud nos clarens et degens et domi et foris
nostra pectora curis civilibus et bellicis gravia et
anclantia tranquilla letaque ore jocunda sepe numero reddi-
dit, ea propter amplectantes divinam illam gratitudinem
que omnium virtutum reliquarum princeps et parens est.
Vagore nostro arbitrij et de plentitudine potestatis nostre
quibus publice fungimur In dicta nostra Civitate mantue
totoque civis marchionatu et districter ac omni altro meliori
modum via jure causa et officio quibus melius et validius
possumus jureque proprio et Imperpetuo ac sine ulla contra-
dictione affictus [...] census aut ali cuius alteriis onoris

Doc. 6, cont'd.

et servitutis Titulo et nomine donationis inter viros que ullo unquam Ingratitudinis vicio reocari seu Infringi voleat per nos heredes et successores nostris damus tradimus et donamus predetto marchio pro se et heredibus suis et successoribus unam peciam terre pretue arative et vallive bubulcharum cantum nove vel circa positam In territorio gonzage In contrata ubi dicitur el dosso di mori sue et campo longo Penes viam cuis ab uno latere magnificus dominus Cirangelistam de zovedinis a secundo, aliam viam comunis a tercio, resinum a quarto, Egrediam de nuvolono a quinto, Benedictum bonaltum pro juribus a sexto [?] de fortinis illo de rosettis a spetimo, Rainaldum ab octave, Magnificum Andream spagnolum a nono, et predictum Benedictum bonalturos a decimo. Inter pro omni jure et utili dominio unius pecia terre bubulcarum cantum vel eidem site In potestaria sermedi In contrata apellata el Frassanello penes venturinum de giardino mediantum via ab uno latere petri Nantonum boldinum a secundo, Jeronimus a columba a tercio, Rodianum a quarto, Possatum davarum a quinto, ad nos spectante et pertinente Inter viros salveo sempre jure cures sermedi civis presentas pecia terre est per heudum honorificum damus Acadimus et donamus ut Infra quia sub In [...] domus eundem moribum ac filios eius heredes et successoresque sois de ipsa pecia terre utris qualificata et confinata ad habendum tenendum et possidentum et quicquod sibi Marchio eiusque heredes et successoribus perpetuo [...] faciendum Quo aut ad secundam pectiam terre quantum est pro dicto jure et utile dominio

Doc. 6, cont'd.

una cum omnibus qui Infra predictos continentur confines
 vel alies si qui foret veriores accessibus Ingressibus et
 egressibus suis vijs [...] dono date habent supra se infra
 seu Infra se In integrum omnique jure et actione ipsis rebus
 donatis ac nobis pro eis modo aliquo spectante et pertinente
 et etiam cum exemptione omnium et quorum cumque colonorum
 qui de presenti colus seu laborans dictas present pecias
 terrarum aut In Futuris[...] colent et laborabunt Qui quidem
 coloni de cetero exempti sunt et Immunes aut omnibus [...]
 et oneribus realibus personalibus atque nostris tam inpositis
 giram Imponentes eredes modo et forma quibus coloni et
 laboratores aliorum tecum et possessorium nostrorum exempti
 sunt et Immunes ac etiam cum omni comodo utilitate et
 emolumente quod precipetur et percipi poterit ex accusis
 damnorum Dandorum In dicta pecia terre sermedi tantum que
 dabentur per camparium seu aliam personam Idoneam....

Mantue xxviiij Maij 1499.

Hectore
 Stephano
 Hermolares
 Benedetto

Ptolemeus spectabilis sindi-
 cis Mantue domine subscripsit
 Antimachus

Doc. 7, Dig. 7

22 March 1501

Libro mandati No. 1, f. 53r
Provenance: Mantua
From: Francesco Gonzaga
For: Marchetto Cara

pro Marchetto

Mandato ecc. Spectabilis Syndicus Marchionalis assignet et assignare debeat nobili Marco de Cara cognominato Marchetto prefati Ill.mi Domini noster cantori tot condemnatos exigibilis quod [...] summas librarum quadraginta ducati auri dominatio suo eundem Marchetti munifice condonavit, pro extrahendis quibusdem civis pignoribus ab usuris....
22 Martij MDi.

Antimachus

Doc. 8, Dig. 8

3 December 1501

Busta 2457, f. 126r
 Provenance: Mantua
 From: ?
 To: Francesco Gonzaga

Ill.mo ac Ex.mo principi
 domino; domino francischo de
 gonzaga mar.ne Mantuae ne
 domino singul.mo ecc.

Ill.me ac ex.me princeps: a quella se ricore la fidellissima
 serva di quella: dona Zahana moglie de marcheto Cantore
 como già più mesj fa è infirma et havendo lej disensato
 quelle poche facultade qualj li hanno dato V.S. per aituarse
 et confidandosse che non tanto è la prompte servitude sua
 quanto è la benignitade e Elementia Regna In quella Et
 Videndo lej gravata dal male et non esserle più subsidio
 alcuno nisi mediante il brazo dil aiuto de V.S. aseguatade
 prega quella se dignj havirla per Ricomandata in et de ducatj
 quindicj et de quello piaque a V.S. aciò che per mal guarda
 ley non venga al meno abey che a quella fineresse non dare
 disturbo a V.S. niente dimeno la forza dil malle cosi la
 stringe si che essendo inpiacer dj quella se signj subito
 darli expedizione alla cuj divote se ricomando.

Mantuae 3 decembris 1501.

Doc. 9, Dig. 9

25 August 1502

Libro mandati No. 3, f. 62r

Provenance: Mantua

From: Francesco Gonzaga

For: Marchetto Cara

pro Marchetto Cara

Mandato ecc. Spectabilis Massarolus Marchionalis ex
condemnationibus pro cum exactis seu exigendis det ac dare
debeat Nobili Marco de Cara Musico cognomine Marchetto
duge[n]to sexaginta auri quos eidem prefatus Ill.mus D.
noster munificio donavit Contrarijs non obstantibus quibus
cunque.

Egidius Spagnolus prefati Ill.mi D. nostri Cancellarius
ad eius mandatum Excellente spectabilis Mediolanu ut in
Supplicatum Filo constant chinographo parte eius amanato.
Scripsit xxv Augusti MDij.

Doc. 10, Dig. 10

2 September 1502

Busta 1440, f. 226r
 Provenance: Verona
 From: Bernardo Bembo
 To: Francesco Gonzaga

Ill.me princeps etc. per ser Marco Cantore vostro familiare et nostro Veronese ho ricevuto i versi de Venere et figlio. Di quali ne ho havuto a piacere molto perchè sonno deliciosi. et ben quadranno al facto. Ma più m'hariano piacuti fusseno stati di Venere a Marte figurando la persona vostra vero simulacro desso: exorandovi spretis deliciis et blanditiis a non più curar le Insidie del figliuolo in questi tempi bisognosi de la rarissima nonchè singular persona vostra altissima a la redemption et salute de la religion nostra....Ne rendo immense gratie a la ex.a vostra piena de benignità e fede perspicua.

Ho ritrovato qui la terra tuta in preparatione darme et giostre a domanj et ogni dì farsi prove. A la qual ne die intervignir etiam el nostro Illustre luogotenente. Però se io pensasse poter invitar V.S. a Cosa degna de lej: troppo volentiera ne la pregaria a sconzarsi qui sto poco de Camino et per quej pochi giorni. Aziò che simel atto fusse illustrato da la sua presentia. Non di meno perchè facilmente poria essere che'l spettacolo havesse più decoro per la virtù e probità di giostranti che per molte preparatorie che si sogliano in simel atti: piacendo così a V.S. de vignirci existimo che questa città ve ne harà immenso obligo. Et Io sopra tutti immortale. Ma non senza quella Ill.ma Madamma ala qual Helena sua più che dir vi

Doc. 10, cont'd.

possa si Raccomanda. Offerendoli et a V. Sig. questo palazzo
per suo hospitio El qual ben che indegno de tanti principi
per la amplissima condition loro Ampero dignissimo per fede
et per merito de la gratia poro de capirli troppo che prompte
e condecentemente. A la cuj gratia semper si Raccomanda.

Secundo septembris 1502 raptissime
manu festina.

Bernardus Bembus doctor
et Verone pretor

Doc. 11, Dig. 11

21 December 1502

Coppialettere
 Busta 2993, Book 14, f. 71r
 Provenance: Mantua
 From: Isabella d'Este
 To: Francesco Gonzaga

La ill.ma laura parti luni per andare a Bologna: cosi
 hogi parti il Signor Zoanne il qual ritornarà [quando]
 l'intenderà a ex. a proximarsi a mantua; gionsi qui luni uno
 Mons.re di Bilocho Francese et homo del nostro chiarissimo
 domine [?] quali veni da venetia: Hollo facto alloggiari
 in corte et honorare più che ho potuto et essendo heri
 convidata a cena cum Madonna Francesca Torcella lo condussi
 meco insieme cum il Magnifico Juliano Medici quale pasando
 per qui s'è fermato quatro giorni a vedere Mantua et lo
 magnifico messer Carlo Bembo: quale era venuto in campag-
 nia de monsignor Belocho: spasso che gli ho dato questi
 dui di è stato a fargli udire cantare Marcheto e la
 mogliera: quali meritatamente gli sono ultra modo piaciuti:
 Se cum questa non serrano tre de altri procede perche
 ognuno expecta a scrivere per jacomo de hadria: il quale
 veniza poi informato de quanto altro mi accorerà: et ac-
 comandandomi in bona gratia de V. cel. insieme col N.ro
 puttino: et pregola me raccomandi alla Ill.ma madonna de
 ore in penserò.

Mantue xxi decembris MDII.

Doc. 12, Dig. 12

30 April 1503

Busta 2461
Provenance: Mantua
From: Tolomeo Spagnolo
To: Isabella d'Este

Ala Ill.ma et Ex.ma Madama
Marchesana di Mantua Signora

Ill.ma Madonna mia: Marchetto mi ha pregato mandi ala
Ex.tia V. questi canti facendo sua scusa se son mal notati
e pocho diligentemente scritti: perchè ogni cosa ha facto
in fretta per servire presto quella:

Cosa alcuna nova lui dice non haver doppo la partita di
Vostra Celsitudine perhò che niente ha composto: Le parole
de li canti sono annotate in una cartha da per se in uno de
li quadernetti.

Mantuae ultimo Aprilis MDiii.

Schiavo Tolomeo

Doc. 13, Dig. 13a

4 September 1503

Busta 1440, f. 295r
Provenance: Venice
From: Lorenzo da Pavia
To: Isabella d'Este

Alla Ill.ma et ex.ma Signora
mio La signora Marchisana de
Mantova

Illustrissima madona:

Marcheto e la giovane è giuntoe invero la ecelencia di
madona duchesa n'a grandissimo piacere, cantano pura bene
beado che li pò sentire quei da venecia concludeno non
avere mai a sentito melio....

a dî 4 de septembre 1503.

Vostra Lorenzo da Pavia in
Venecia

Doc. 14, Dig. 13b

28 September 1503

Busta 1440, f. 296r
Provenance: Venice
From: Lorenzo da Pavia
To: Isabella d'Este

Alla Ill.ma et ex.tia S.ra mia
La sig. Marchisan de Mantua

Illustrissima madona:

Marcheto e la giovane comencano stare bene e giovane
crestofano se comenca a dolere de le done. se vole onzere
adeso non altro per questa. de continuona me recomando ala
ecell. vostra. Vale.

a dì 28 siptembre 1503.

fidelissimo servitore

Lorenzo da Pavia in Venezia

Doc. 15, Dig. 14

8 November 1503

Busta 2461

Provenance: Mantua

From: Marchetto Cara

To: Francesco Gonzaga

Ill.mo et ex.imo unico mio signore per un altro mia. per franceschino Avisai. V. ex.tia del successo de landata mior avenecior al Servizio de la ex.ma madonna duchessa la quale per rispetto de V. Celsitudine ne ha mostra ogni gratitudine conveniente ala grandezza de la bontà [?] de sua ex.tia nel mondo rarissima: Al presente per sua dandomi che Vostra signoria Ill.ma. habia intesa lo infortunio de la inopportuna infirmita mia laquale mi ha lassato de ogni mia forza debilissimo. La suplico humilmente se digni ametermi la scusa del non esser comparso ne venuto al [...] como sapea essere intention de quella per esser poi avebo successa la morte de questo altissimo pontifice per la quale como Vostra ex.tia sa: tucte le strate e vie in tal sonno rotte et occupate da assassini fora de ogni mio proposito per non essere avebo naturalmente troppo valent [...] homo al maneggiar de le arme e nella intender como se havute le assuete mie forze et rasetato le vie senza alcuna dillatione di tempo mio. Sforzarò avenire ala debita ubidiencia de V. ex.tia Signoria senza la presencia de laquale quella pote esser certa che io sonno como uno corpo senza aria e privo di ogni riposo: in questo meglio Humilmente me ricomanderò a vostra ex.tia per laquale priego el gloriosissimo redemptore che li dia triumphal victoria contra lo inimico como non nesto perrò in alcun dubbio per li animosi et cesarei sei

Doc. 15, cont'd.

progressi li quali spero habiamo ad essere quelli che Cavino
de servitù la obligata e schiavo poneretta Italia al tutto
sposa de la ex.ma signoria v.ra. Que feliciter valeat.

Mantuae die viij novembris 1503.

Humilis. servitor
Marchettus Cara

Doc. 16, Dig.15

28 January 1505

Busta 745
Provenance: Casale Monferrato
From: Galeotto del Carretto
To: Isabella d'Este

A Ill.ma et ex.ma madama la
marchesana de mantua....

Ill.ma & ex.ma madonna signora mia [...] io per contemtarlo
gli mando per esso una belzeretta nova quali prego se degni
darla al nostro Marchetto. Et al ex.tia V. humilmente me
recomando.

Casale die 28 Januarii 1505.

Ill.ma E.V. humil servo
[Galeotto]¹ de carreto

¹Page torn at this spot.

Doc. 17, Dig. 16a

31 July 1505

Busta 1441, F. 249

Provenance: Verona

From: Marchetto Cara

To: Francesco Gonzaga in Goito

Ill.mo principi et unico domino
meo domino marchioni Mantue In
Goito

Ill.mo principe et unico mio signore: cum ogni debita et humile comendatione: perchè havea impetrado de la Ill.ma S.V. gratia per zorni 12 pigliar mutacione de [...] insieme cum la mia compagnia et più per reustauracione de la sanitate de lo servo fastidio et per haver consilio de alcuni medici nostri liquali se adoperamo volentieri in proveder ala sanitate sua: vedendo io essendo passato el tempo de lo termine dato et concesso per la Ill.ma Signoria vostra: ho voluto come vero et fidel servitore di quella mandar et far intendere per non parendo ala Ill.mo S.V. (pretermissa ogn'altra cosa) debiamo tornare non obstanite la malatia de la dita sua di quella, siamo pronti visto el comandamento a ritornare: vero è che le preditti medici fatto el consilio voleano pigliasse l'aqua de calder: ma per la febre agionta sono al quanto retardati. Niente de meno se remetiamo ala ex.tia vostra quel che vol facciamo intesa la opinione statim sereno parati ad obedir a ricomandandoce di continuo ala Ill.ma S.V. la quale dio langamente la confervi felicissima et in prosperitate.

Ex Verona die ultimo iulij 1505.

E.D.V. Servitor Marchettus

Doc. 18, Dig.16b

1. August 1505

Coppialettere
Busta 2913, Book 187, f. 80v
Provenance: Mantua
From: Francesco Gonzaga
To: Marchetto Cara

A Marchetto cantor

Marchetto: Quantunche sia passato il termine che vi dessimo di star fora di questa terra siamo contenti perhò che gli restati anchor quanto serà il bisogno per far guarire vostra moglie al che non mancharete di cosa alcuna non vi pigliando affanno di noi perchè vi diamo bona licentia e se possemo altro per la salute sua ricercatine che non siamo mai per mancarvi.

Mantuae primo Augusti MDV.

Ptolemeus

Doc. 19, Dig. 17a

26 January 1506

Coppialettere
Busta 2913, Book 189, f. 91r
Provenance: Mantua
From: Francesco Gonzaga
To: Marchetto Cara

A Marcheto Cantor

Marchetto: Se ben tu ti raccordi heri fu octo giorni
passati che dovevi retornare a mi secondo ne prometesti,
non sapendo nui dove si proceda questa tua tardità. de che
si maravigliamo molto et tanto più perchè te havimo trovate
sempre a nui obediante. Ni è parso per la presente nostra
darti questa admonicioni: aciò non ne daghi più causa de
reseriverti.

Mantuae xxvi Januarj 1506.

Ptolemeus

Doc. 20, Dig. 17b

29 January 1506¹

Busta 1368

Provenance: Parma

From: Giovanni Francesco Gonzaga

To: Francesco Gonzaga

Ill.mo ac ex.mo Domino D. patri
meo obser.mo Domino Marchesj
Mantuae

Ill.me ac ex. Domine D. patre obser.me: Per una de V.S.
che hora me è pervenuta alle mantua intendo quanto lei
prehende admiratione ch'io non habbia resa risposta alcuna
alla sua lettera nelle gli me commeteva gli donesse reman-
dare Marchetto che havea preterito che termina da quella
insignato. De che ne ho ricevuto quel de piacere et affanno
che debitamente recevere debbio per non havere io manchato
della debita diligentia et servitù: perchè subito hebbe
la lettera de V. ex. fece de mia propria mano la risposta
ad tucte le parte che lei me scriveva: Alla parte de Mar-
cheto significai ad prefata S.V. che al Sire Messer Galeaz-
zo piacque pigliare se curta de retardar la per far cantare
una messa: ne da me è stato retenuto oltra el volere de
quella per che ogne mio piacere si è de satisfare alli soi
mandati....

De V.S. Parmae xxviiiij Januarii 1506.

Obedientissimo Figliolo et
Servitor Joanne
Francesco de Gonzaga di man
proprie.

¹Davari incorrectly marks date as 28 January at top of letter.

Doc. 21, Dig. 18

29 May 1507

Coppialettere
Busta 2914, Book 197, f. 32v
Provenance: Milan
From: Francesco Gonzaga
To: Isabella d'Este

Ill.me Domine nostre

Ill.ma S. Heri sera circa alle ventiquattro hori giungessio [?] in milano scontati in via da molti S.ri e gentilhomini accompagnati alla casa nostra ovè allegiamo: Tutta questa matina siamo stati col Re che ni ha summamente acavezati: et havemo inteso che marti ad ogni modo si cominciava le giostre: E perhò V.S. si voglia partir dimani senza indugia et far ogni cosa per giunger qua marti proxima che viene e seco mani Federico nostro figliol e la moglie di Marcetto: non altro havemo che scrivergli se non che a lei tutti ni dovamo.

Milano xxviiiij Maij MDVij.

Doc. 22, Dig. 19

[20 November] 1507¹

Libro decreti No. 33, f. 166v-167r

Provenance: Mantua

From: Francesco Gonzaga

For: Marchetto Cara

Pro Marco Carra Musico. Donatio
 Petie Terrae Casamentive cum Domo
 supra site in Contrata Pusterle
 Civitatis Mantue.

Francesco ecc. Quum nostri semper fuerit instituti quos-
 cunque virtutibus claros diligere et favoribus nostris pro-
 sequi maxime de nos benemeritos ut est Egregius Marcus carra
 Musicus noster excellens qui non solum ob eius virtutes
 nobis chetuis existit sed etiam ob eiusdem maximam in nos
 sedulitatem et studium ei liberalitatem nostram impertiri
 decrevimus Iccirco ex certa nostri scientia, et motu proprio
 de nostrae potestatis plenitudine qua publice fungimur in
 hac nostra Civitate Mantue eiusdemque Marchionatu, et de-
 strictu per nos heredes et successores nostros iure proprio
 et in perpetuum ac in liberum et expeditum alodium damus
 Tradimus et donamus eidem Marco suisque heredibus domum seu
 petiam terrae infra positam et confinatum per Syndicum
 nostrum nomini et de mandato nostro acquisitam ab illis de
 maiantis per pretio ducatorum sexcentum auri. Salvis alijs
 confinibus verioribus si qui forent, itaque ammodo ipse
 Marcus possit et valeat ipsam petiam Terrae habere, tenere
 et possidere, eaque utris frui et gaudere unam cum omnibus
 et singulis que infra continent confines et cum omnibus et
 singulis que ipsa petia terre hec supra seu infra se orbus-
 que viribus et actionibus eidem petie terrae spectantibus
 et pertinentibus [...] redimus et concedimus dicto Marco in

Doc. 22, cont'd.

eumque transferimus et mandamus oram iura, omnesque actiones et rationes reales et personales ac generis et maneriei cuiuscumque que et quas quales et quantas nosmet ante presentem donationem in ipsa petia habebamus, tenebamus, et possidebamus nostrique iuris erat et esse poterat adversus unamquamque personam cum collegium et universitatem occasionem utris (Hecnon promittimus per nos heredes et successores nostros eidem Marco sui que heredibus presentem in rem suam propriam Itaque ammodo rationibus et actionibus utris cassis ipse marcus suis que heredes ipsius petiie terre)² ut permittit donate consti tuentes eundem Marcum procuratore in rem suam propriam Itaque ammodo rationibus et actionibus utris cassis ipse Marcus sui que heredes possint et valeant agere, petere, causari excipere et vindicare ac omnia alia et singula quae et prout nos ipsi ante presentem donationem dicere, facere potramus occasione utris. Hec non promittimus per nos heredes et successores nostros eidem Marco suis que heredibus presentem donationem ac omnia et singula in presenti decreto contenta apposita et infrascripta perpetuo firma, rata, et grata habere et tenere sub fide veri et legalis principis et sub obligatione bonorum nostrorum presentium et futurum volumusque presentem donationem et presens decretum valere et tenere mandantes quibuscunque officialibus nostris Ut hanc et hoc observet et ab alijs quantum eis inest observari inviolabilitus faciant Aliquibus legibus statutis et ordinibus maxime requirentibus insimiationem in donationibus que excedunt a legibus taxatam in Contrarium

Doc. 22, cont'd.

facientibus non obstantibus quibus obstantibus aut obstare
valentibus de prefata nostri scientia et animo deliberato et
plenitudine potestatis nostre qua publice fungimur utris
derogamus et derogatum esse volumus et mandamus et si talia
forent de quibus spetialis mentio foret habenda vei fieri
debuisset in quorum fidem ecc.

Petia terrae da qua supra

Una petia terre Casamtive cum domo supra cuppata, murata, et
solerata cum curte horto et puteo posita in Civitate Mantuae
in contrata Pusterlae penes viam comis ab uno latere Scopam
Crucifixi a secundo.

Magnificus Antimachus chirurgum a tercio.

¹No date given on document; date included in Doc. 78.

²Portion in parentheses crossed out by scribe.

Doc. 23, Dig. 20a

1 ? 1508

Estensioni Notarili 1508, f. 101v-102r

Provenance: Mantua

For: Marchetto Cara

[Not transcribed; see the following page for a partial facsimile.]

[The page contains dense, handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a 17th-century manuscript. The text is oriented vertically on the page and is mostly illegible due to the high contrast and grain of the scan. It appears to be a single column of text.]

• 16 •

1743

Doc. 24, Dig. 20b

n.d. [1508?]

Busta 2472

Provenance: Mantua

From: Marchetto Cara

To: Francesco Gonzaga

Ill.mo signor mio e patrone: vostra ex.tia per gratia et
innato humanità de quella altre volte me mise in la casa
de santa agnese e per haverli la Ill.ma S. vostra action
dentro in dita casa mai non me son inclinato adarli niente
se che prego vostra ex.tia si vogli degnare farli inibir
perchè essendo a stretto a pagare tal fitto me seria
necessario a vendere la casa che me ha donata vostra Ex.tia
ala quale de continuo me ricomande.

E. Domino Vostro humil servo

Marchus de Cara

Doc. 25, Dig. 21

4 May 1509

Archivio Notarili
Notaio Gian Francesco Carminati
Provenance: Mantua
For: Giovanna Moreschi

[Not transcribed; see the following page for a partial
facsimile.]

Doc. 26, Dig. 22

30 January 1510

Coppialettere

Busta 2995, Book 23, ff. 72v-74r

Provenance: Mantua

From: Bernardo Capilupro

To: Giacomo d'Atri, Count of Pianella, in France

Comiti Planelle

...Da Venetia sono ritornati Marchetto el Testagrossa Zo: Francesco da Milano et Bussetto: perchè stavano là con gran spesa con rarissime et molto difficili commodità de andare dal Signore et sua Signoria ha mandato con loro Zorzino si per essere debile et infermo: accio che'l se [...] si accio ch'è essendo lui apro [...] al cavalcare guarito che'l sij el possa attendere ad maneggiare gli cavalli de sua signoria si ch'è le restata sola cioè senza alcuno di suoi: l'è vero che hanno dato speranza de darli Julio: noi fra tanto ne restamo molto scontente pensando che mentre sua signoria stà in questa solitudine non deve esser mai se non in suspirij. Questi tutti ni accertano che'l stava meglio de la persona, che'l sij anchora stato poi che l'è là: Il Folenghino è restato là amalato d'un piede: remandaremo là presento el Bussetto. Andò anche là questi di Ludovico Fontana [...] per pigliare certe commisioni circa le spese occorre [...] et ordinarie de la corte....bene valete.

Mantue. XXX Januarij MDX.

B. Capilupro

Doc. 27, Dig. 23

30 August 1510

Libro mandati No. 11, f. 89v

Provenance: Mantua

From: Francesco Gonzaga

To: Marchetto Cara

Pro Marchetto Musico

Mandato ecc. Spectabilis Syndicus [?] Ill.mus Dominus
noster prefatus. Donaverit Nobili Marchetto Musico ac ex.
Cameraris condemnationem ducatorum centum viginti factam de
joanne Antonio et Francino Lentantibus in dosso de Asula:
Ex quibus [ipse] consequutus fuerit ducatos quadraginta
auri: et de Residuo pro Ill.mum Dominum nostrum fuerit
dispositum: prefatus Dominus noster mandat per P. de
Bartolomeo de Lazaris detto el Mantuano pro satisfatione
integra [....] ducatorum centum viginti: quam sic fuit et
est intentio. Ill.mi D.N. prefati [....] Amycus de la
Turre secretarius Recomendatione spectabilis D. Sindici et
prout propter eius minutam.
in filcia scripsit xxx Augusti MDX.

Doc. 28, Dig. 24

2 December 1510

Busta 1290
 Provenance: Modena
 From: Cesare Gonzaga
 To: Isabella d'Este

Ill.ma Signora et Patrona la
 Signora Marchesana di Mantua

Ill.ma Signora mia: se io volessi dire a Vostra Ex.tia et desiderio grande su [...] tengo di ottenere una gratia da lei....Hor senza più diversi tanto la gratia che desidero ottenere da V. ex.tia è che la si degni comandare a Marchetto che faccia uno aria a questo Madrigaletto il quale li mando qui incluso, et farlo di sorte che il Canto suplisca a la insufficientia de le Parole: Se gratia un puro cor merito mai. Prego V. S. mi faccia questa et li ne sarò obligato fino al dì del judizii. La suplicarò anchora si degni mandarmi quello aria del sonetto Cantai. no li Parrà strano ch'io a questi tempi vada dietro a tal cosa: CHE MARZE HA SOL LA SCORZA, EL RESTO AMORE: basso le mani di V.S. et a la sua bona gratia sempre mi raccomando cum speranza a questa volta di resposta.

In Modena: 2 xbris MDX.

El desideroso di ottenere questa
 gratia da V. ex.tia: Servo
 Cesare Gonzaga

Doc. 29, Dig. 25a

20 March 1511

Coppialettere
Busta 2917, Book 213, f. 89r
Provenance: Mantua
From: Francesco Gonzaga
To: Benedetto Brugiaie at Ferrara

Domino Benedicto Brugie R.ne
Marchetti de Cara Musici

Magnifice Amice noster charissime. Restano anchor di nostri cantori che conducessimo questi di alli servitij nostri a condure da Ferrara le loro robbe Messer Bidone fra Zoan Francesco Cornelio e Masino: quali hora vengono là a questo effetto: Perhò pregamovi quanto possemo ad volergli fare gli mandati de possere retrare gli loro letti de quella città con quella prompteza che havemo fede in vui, e che festi fare alli altri a nostra complacentia: che parimente ne restaremo gratificati da Vui: et a tutti gli vostri commodi ne offerimo.

Mantuae XX Martij MDXI.

Doc. 30 , Dig. 25b

20 March 1511

Coppialettere
Busta 2917, Book 213, ff. 89v-90r
Provenance: Mantua
From: Francesco Gonzaga
To: Duke of Ferrara

D.no Duci Ferrarie ex R.ne
Marchetti de Cara musici

Ill.me Principe et Ex.me Domine Cognate et fratre honoran-
dissime: Passando gli dì passati de qui Messer Bidone et
per amore dela S.V. per esserle lui servitore et per rispetto
dele virtù sue lo raccogliessimo appresso de noi, et tenemolo
qui con grande piacere con animo perhò sempre de renderlò
alli servitij di quella tutt'hora che le piacerà: et che
l'habbia più ocio de attendere al spasso de la musica, che
adesso la non ha. pregamola ben quanto possemo ad essere con-
tenta che'l stij con noi quelli cinque o sei mesi che la
parirà de concedercilo: che l'haremo grattissimo da lei:
et promette mole de rimandarlelo tutta volta che la vorrà.
ne le deve spiacere che fra tanto el presente[?] Messer Bidon
sta appresso de noi: che ogni dì lo facemo cantare in la
nostra capella: et a questo modo l'exercita la voce sua:
che la S.V. sa quanto importa: et seria pur male, che un
tale homo per non se exercitare perdesse la voce o peggio-
rasse. si che la prefata S.V. viene a depositarci appresso
et Messer Bidon, et la virtù sua: et noi haveremo pari
cura de l'uno et l'altra. Alla S.V. de core ne raccomandiamo.
Mantue. XX Martij MDXI.

Doc. 31, Dig. 26

26 August 1511

Coppialettere

Busta 2997, Book 33, f. 52 r-v

Provenance: Portu [?]

From: Isabella d'Este

To: The Marchese of Bitonto

Al S.r Marchese de Betondo

Ill. et ex. S. nostro cusino et come fratello carissimo:
sono molti giorni che non havemo scritto a V.S. per non
havere havuto nuntio: hora che ci è acascato lo presente
exhibitore havemo voluto scrivere questa Nostra a V.S. per
avisarla del ben stave nostro: Desiderando essere avisate
da Lei del suo: che ni stiamo in gran expectatione: Giù
più et più giorni fanno scrivessimo una nostra a V.S. et li
mandassimo alcuni canti di Marchetto: ma non havemo mai
havuto risposta alcuna: pregamola ce volij avisare se là
li ha havuto o non che non havendogli havuti geli remandare-
mo quando anche li habbi havuti ni serà grato intenderlo:
offerrendoni sempre a tutti soi piacere dispositissime:
pregandola ni facci raccomandate allo Ill.mo S. suo Patre:
et sua Consorte et allei stessa:
ex Portu xxvj Augusti MDXI.

Doc. 32, Dig. 27

22 January 1512

Busta 2485
Provenance: Mantua
From: Amico Della Torre
To: Federico Gonzaga

D. meo praecipio: domino
Federico de gonzaga marchioni ac
marchionali progenito ac [...]
Roma

Ill.mo Sire mio: Due Donzelle de la Ill.ma madonna vostra
matre novamente sonno sta maritade: videlicet la Ghera in
Maestro Baptista Cremascho medico: et la Leale in Marchetto
Cantore. et credo [?] che dominica proxima a venire se
sposaranno: ma credo cum poca solemnità perchè cussì el
tempo la ricerca....

Mantuae xxiij januarii 1512.

De V.S. Suo Amycomes

Doc. 33, Dig. 28

24 August 1512

Coppialettere
Busta 2919, Book 222, f. 18r
Provenance: Mantua
From: Francesco Gonzaga
To: Marchetto Cara

Ill. domino Federico Gonzagae
[...] Marchetti Musici

Franciscus ecc: Desideramo sopramodo che messer Ilario
Turlurono nostro Cantore di capella consequisca uno suo
intento: quale è che'l possi expedire alcune sue bolle di
uno certo beneficio che gli è sta renuntiato: Però volimo
che tu mandi in nome tuo statio o altro che a te parerà
a proposito alli signori Clerici de la Camera Apostolica
pregando strictamente le sue signorie gli piaciano adesso
nostro cantor rellaxare ditte bolle come più amplamente gli
dirà Messer Innocentio suo procuratore e sollicitatore
obtinendo lui questo a piacere da li prefati Signori Clerici
che reputamo nostro proprio quanto di qualunque altra cosa
che di presenti ti poressimo ricercare. Bene vale.

Mantuae xxiiiij Augusti MDXij.

Doc. 34, Dig. 29a

18 November 1512

Busta 1640

Provenance: Cremona

From: Agostino Sementio; postscript by Massimiliano
Sforza, Duke of Milan

To: Francesco Gonzaga

Ill.mo principi et R.mo Domino
obser.mo Domino Marchioni Mantua

Ill.mo et Ex.mo S.re nostro observan. in lettera dal Ill.mo S. Duca continui mi stimula per la venuta di Marchetto e Roberto per che'l disse V. Ex. havermi promisso de mandarli lunedì o martedì prego quello a mandarli subito. perchè al presente [...] S. duca. qual sta in continui fastidij senza alcuno piacere et questo loro musico eccellente sarà a gran delectatione del Ill. S.re qual me ha comisso che faria le sue raccomandatione a V. Ex. che I merita [?] la amo da patre et similite la Ill.ma Madama da bona matre. Et io a suo bene gratia me raccomando.

Cremona 18 novembre 1512.

Servitor Augustinus Sementius

Sig.re Marchese prego V.S. voglia mandarme Marcheto e Roberto sicome patre V.S. havea promisso a Messer Augustino Somenco mio cavalier et como a promesso subito remandarli et ciò haverò qualche cosa ad vo piaser sicome ch'io lo farò di bono animo et V.S. Ricomanda ecc.

al vostro fiolo Maximiliano

Ducha de Milano

Doc. 35, Dig. 29b

23 November 1512

Coppialettere
Busta 2919, Book 224, f. 20v
Provenance: Mantua
From: Francesco Gonzaga
To: Agostino Semenzio

Domino Augustino Somentio

Magnifice Eques amice noster char.mo: Il tardare a mandare Marchetto nostro musico alla Ex. del Duca non è già stato perchè ci l'havessimo scordato, ne perchè non habbiamo sollicitato esso Marchetto a venire, ma perchè le tanto timido et vile di animo: che intendendo che'l Castello tirava artegliarie: le quale lui teme più che'l diavolo: e'l non ha mai havuto ardire di venire in pericolo, alla fine l'havemo assecurato con dargli a intendere che guinto che'l fosse in Cremona el Castello non tirava più: così che'l se ha pur lassato inviare. La M.V. presenterà mo in nome nostro lui et Roberto alla Ex. del Duca: facendola scusa nostra de la tardità. Appresso havendo noi inteso che'l Signor Duca ha honorata la prefata M.V. de la dignata....

Mantuae xxiiij Novembris MDxij.

Doc. 36, Dig. 29c

26 November 1512

Busta 1640

Provenance: Cremona

From: Agostino Sementio

To: Ptolomeo, secretary to Francesco Gonzaga

Mag. tanquam fratri honor.
domino ptolome Marchioni [...]]
pro secretario

Magnife tanquam fratri honor. non me extenderò più ultra per hora in ringranare lettere de Sig.re et la Magnifice V. de la congratulatione fano con mi ma la reservarò a boca alla mia venuta le quale penso sarà dominica: Verum est che quanto sonno e vaglio serà sempre a servitio de sua Ex. e piacere de V.M. quale tengo per honorare fratello. Marchetto e Roberto se sonno presanti a lettere del S. Duca al quale io farò la excusatione a me scritte. quale accepto per bona haverò tanto desiderio che venesseno che li parse una hora cento anni che havesse cenato per oldirli e cossì postposto ogn'altra facendo dopo cena [li]¹ olditi in sua camera con poche persone cum summa delectatione. Ne si pote satiar de laudarli io preso li condurà fin a milano poi li presenterà e racomandarà....

Cremona 26 Novembris 1512.

Servitor Augusti Semenzo

¹Hole in letter; "li" supplied by editor.

Doc. 37, Dig. 29d

27 November 1512

Busta 1640
 Provenance: Cremona
 From: Marchetto Cara
 To: Francesco Gonzaga at Mantua

All. Ill.mo et Ex.mo signor
 e patro n mio [...] el S.
 Marchese Mantua

Ill.mo et ex.mo signor mio patrone ovservan.mo che da Messer
 augustino Somenzo V.S. indenderà quanto volentierij el S.
 ducha ma have visto per rispetto de quella e perchè sua
 ex.tia voria che ruberto e mi andassimo seco fino a millano
 non havendone altra commissione da V.S. me parso scriverli
 queste poche parole pregandola voglia dignarsi farne inden-
 nero quello havemo a farò e più presto che si po perche el
 S. ducha sta per partire de di ndi¹ per quanto se intender
 ala presenta. S.V. Ruberto e mi de continuo se recomman-
 diamo.

Cremone die 27 novembre 1512.

El fidel servitor de V.S.

Marchetto Cara

¹i.e., di in di, from day to day.

Doc. 38, Dig. 29e

28 November 1512

Coppialettere

Busta 2920, Book 225, f. 20r

Provenance: Goito

From: Francesco Gonzaga in Goito

To: Massimiliano Sforza, Duke of Milan

Ill.mo et ex.mo domino Duci
Mediolani

Ill.me et Ex.me domine Nepos et Tanquam Fratres honorissime:
 Poi che vostra Ex. ha tanto grato havere presso di lei per
 qualche giorni Marchetto et Ruberto mei cantori, io anche
 che desidero ogni piacere et commodo de quella son molto
 contento che li vengano suo et la compagno fino ad Milano.
 Ma la prego bene che gionta che lei serrà a Milano. la
 voglia licenciarli et lassarli tornar a Mantua, perchè in
 verità posso male pigliare altra recreatione che de udirli
 qualche fiata et il stare senza essi me è rencresevole si
 che starò inexpectatione che li vengano con sua bona
 licentia quando intenderò lei essere a milano. alla quale
 di continuo mi offerisco et racomando.
 Godij xxviiij Novembris MDxij.

El vostro servitor
el Marchese de Mantua

Doc. 39 , Dig. 29f

1 December 1512

Busta 1640
Provenance: Cremona
From: Marchetto Cara
To: Francesco Gonzaga

Al Ill.mo et Ex.mo signor mio
patrone obser.mo El Signor
Marchese de mantua

Ill.mo et ex.mo signor mio patrone obser.mo per una de V.S.
ho inteso quanto la me comette così farà compagnia al S.
duca fino a millano et al termine che là me dà pigliaro
licencia desideroso ritornar a servir La S.V. quale sola
amo et adoro e sforzarò mi farli honor più che potrò. et
ala bona gratia sua de continuo ruberto e mi se recoman-
diamo.

Cremona die j decembris 1512.

Lo humil servitor de V.S.

Marchetto

Doc. 40, Dig. 29g

9 December 1512

Coppialettere

Busta 2919, Book 224, f. 27r

Provenance: Mantua

From: Francesco Gonzaga

To: Massimiliano Sforza, Duke of Milan

Illu.mo et Ex.mo Duci Mediolani

Ill.me et Ex.me D.ne Nepos et Tanquam Fratres [...]: Ho commiso subito veduta la littera di V. ex.tia a maestro Rigo mio Tronbono che'l venghi ad quella: et facci quanto quella gli comandurà et questo come desideroso che son sempre de farle ogni piacere et comodo: la S.V. me se ne servi a suo piacere: la prego ben che mo che la deve havere pigliato piacere assai di Marchetto, la sia contenta di remandare lui et Ruberto che per essere esso desiderarii in queste feste di natale di possere oldire gli mei cantori la musica di quali è manca et diminuta molto per la absentia del capo et maestro loro. Alla Ex.tia vostra con tutto el core me recomando.

Mantuae viiiij decembris 1512.

Doc. 41, Dig. 29h

14 December 1512

Busta 1640

Provenance: Cremona

From: [Agostino Sementio?]

To: Francesco Gonzaga

Ill.mo princeps et Ex.mo Domino
observan.mo Domino Marchioni
Mantua

Ill.mo et Ex.mo S. nostro¹ observan. Resbondendo a questo
V. ex. m'ha stretto per due sue gli dico havere parlato
con lettera del S. Duca circa el licentiare Marchetto quale
m'ha ditto volerlo omnino condure fin a Milano et gionto
la subito li farà qualche dono. e poi Li mandarà. penso
che fra deci o dodezi zorni saremo a Milano e gionti pro-
curarò la sua venuta insieme Messer Roberto....

Cremona 14 Decembris 1512.

¹mio written above line.

Doc. 42, Dig. 29i

15 December 1512

Busta 1640
Provenance: Lodi
From: Agostino Sementio
To: Francesco Gonzaga

Ill.mo princeps et Ex.mo Domino
observan.mo Domino Marchioni
Mantua

Ill.mo et Ex.mo S. mio observan.mo: ricevuto la lettera da
V. Ex. con la copia de la patento....

circa Marchetto: L'Ex. del prefato S. Duca ha letto la
lettera che L'Ex. V. me scrive et ha ditto che gionto a
milano omnino lo lassarà venire....

Laude xv decembris 1512.

Ill.mo D.V. servitor Augustino
Sementino

Doc. 43, Dig. 29j

17 December 1512

Coppialettere
Busta 2920, Book 225, f. 38v-39r
Provenance: Mantua
From: Francesco Gonzaga
To: Agostino Semenzio

Domino Augustino Somencia

Magnifice Eques amice noster carissime: le lettere di v
et di viiiij et xiiij del presente...[abbiamo ricevuto]....
Alla parte di Marchetto dicemo che l'aspettaviamo con desi-
derio per il piacere di lui de che hora restomao [sic]
privi et perchè essendo lui Maestro de la nostra Capella
non potremo per l'absentia sua fare solennizare le feste di
questo natale come era nostro diesiderio grandissimo con
la musica di nostri Cantori, non dimeno poi che la Ex. del S.
Duca, ha deliberato di condurlo seco fin a Milano. anchora
che ci incresca a restare privi di questo piacere che non
havemo il maggiore n'haveremo patientia ma pregamo ben la
Magnifitia Vostra che la voglia pigliare questa cura lei di
farlo rimandare più presto che sia possibile cioè gionto
che sia la Ex.mo S. Duca a Milano poi che non lo possemo
sperare più presto....

Mantuae xvij xbris MDxij.

Doc. 44, Dig. 29k

6 January 1513

Coppialettere
Busta 2919, Book 224, f. 57r-58r
Provenance: Mantua
From: Francesco Gonzaga
To: Agostino Sementio

D. Augustino Somentio

M.ce Eques Amice Noster carissime:

....De la honorevole Intrata di Lo Ill.mo S. Duca in Milano.
havemo quel piacere che si ricercha alla affinita et sui-
sierato amore que obsequentia portamo a S. S.ria a Cui non
in serra gravi farci spesso raccomandato: vedendo con
quello destro modo si ricerca, di far Marchetto et Roberto
che vengano a darce qualche recreatione, che dovete sapere
quanto ce incomodo il non haverli convendoce stare continuo
ne la Camera et per la maggior parte dil tempo nel letto....
Mantuae sexto januarii MDxiiij.

Doc. 45, Dig. 291

14 January 1513

Coppialettere
 Busta 2919, Book 224, f. 63r-v
 Provenance: Mantua
 From: Francesco Gonzaga
 To: Isabella d'Este

Ill.mae Dominae Nostrae

Ill.ma et Ex.ma domina Consors nostra amantissima: Dapoi l'altra nostra che scrivessimo heri a V.S. havemo recevuto littere da Milano da le quali restamo poco satisfacti: perchè vedemo che se ni slonga la ritornata di Marchetto contra la promessa datani et la nostra grand'instantia che'l fosse licentiato de là: et quasi semo in sospetto che se piglij in questo berta de noi: che non meritamo già, et ne restamo con gran dispiacer: perchè in questa fastidiosa cura del nostro male, in la quale semo privi de tutti gli altri piaceri: riceveressimo gran recreatione da esso Marchetto però haveremo piacere che la S.V. subito ricevuta questa, voglia far ogni instantia perchè subito el sia licetiato dal Signore Duca: aciò che'l se ne venghi a noi perchè noi deliberamo che o licentiato o no el ritorni a noi: ma serà pur miglia se la S.V. operarà che'l se parti con bona gratia di sua Ex.tia. Altro non havemo di novo: Loyse et Ferrante stanno meglio. Et noi anchora semo in gran speranza et quasi in certenza di totale convalescentia. V.S. attendi a stare sana alla quale ne raccomandiamo. Mantuae xiiij Januarii MDXiiij.

Doc. 46, Dig. 29m

14 January 1513

Coppialettere
 Busta 2919, Book 224, f. 63v-64r
 Provenance: Mantua
 From: Francesco Gonzaga
 To: Massimiliano Sforza

Ill.mo D.no Duci Mediolani

Ill.me et Ex.me D.ne Nepos et tanquam Fratres hon.me: Se
 la Ex.tia vostra ha piacer de la venuta là de la Ill.ma
 madonna mia consorte: perchè niuna altra cagion l'ho lassa-
 ta venir volentieri se non per fare cosa grata ad essa V.
 Ex. Haveria ben havuto gran piacere che la S.V. mi havesse
 remandato Marchetto et Roberto: perchè se mai n'hebbi
 bisogno l'ho adesso: essendo privo d'ogni altro piacere
 et recreatione di questo mio male. Se non scrissi de loro
 in la lettera mia: So per la certa intentione datemi che
 V.S. era per mandarli presto: et credeva che dovessero già
 esser in via anci che la Ex. V. ricevesse la mia littera:
 però la prego quanto posso che la voglia subito licentiarli
 che possino venire se in altro tempo la gli vorà più et
 quella et tutti gli altri mei servitori seranno al servizio
 di quella. alla quale quanto di core possa me raccomando.
 Mantuae Xiiiij Januarii MDXiiij.

Doc. 47 , Dig. 29n

14 January 1513

Coppialettere
Busta 2919, Book 224, f. 64r
Provenance: Mantua
From: Francesco Gonzaga
To: Marchetto Cara

Marchetto de Carra

Marchetto: havemo ben piacere che la Ex.ia del Duca habbi veduto voluntieri voi et Roberto et vi [?] habbi facto careze: perchè altra il nostro rispetto la vostra virtù il merita: ma non può essere senza nostro grandissimo dispiacere la tanta tardità vostra a venire: perchè non havemo alcun piacere ne recreatione: ne ce conoscessimo mai havere tanto bisogno de la presentia vostra quanto hora che stamo in letto per la nostra nova purgatione in questo male, però volemo che fati nova instantia et gagliarda per havere licentia di venire et quando la ni sia differita pur: se ne partireti anche senza havere havuto licentia: non ne discontanteremo de noi. Bene valete.

Mantuae xiiiij januarij 1513.

Doc. 48, Dig. 290

14 January 1513

Coppialettere
Busta 2919, Book 224, f. 64v-65r
Provenance: Mantua
From: Francesco Gonzaga
To: Agostino Sementio

Domino Augustino Sementio

....Circa et far dare de Marchetto et Ruberto perchè male
potremo tolcrare la absentia et privatione sua non ritro-
vando altro refrigerio alla indispositione nostra pare a la
loro musica. pregamo quanto efficacemente possemo V. pre-
fata M. ad voler procurare che ce siano subito remandati
acisi tanto più presto recreati dal loro spasso. potiamo
recuperare ò saltem spassar meglio la mala indispositione
nostra. et da Vostra Magnifice l'haveremo molto grato que
bene valeat.

Mantua 14 Januarij 1513.

Doc. 49, Dig. 29p

15 January 1513

Busta 1616
 Provenance: Milan
 From: Massimiliano Sforza
 To: Francesco Gonzaga

Ill. et ex. D. Tanquam pater
 amamissimo D. Marchioni Mantua

Ill.mo tanquam pater amamissimo: havevamo deliberato reman-
 dare all S.V. Marchetto e Roberto per no tenirli più
 absentia da lei ma havendo inteso la venuta dela Ill.ma
 madonna Marchesana nostra matre observantissima, ne parso
 piliare questa seguita de tenirli ancora fin alla sua venuta.
 e tanto più che havendono avisato V.S. essere contenta che
 la presente madonna Marchesana venghi e non ha scritto cosa
 alcuna sopra el particolare desso Marcheto però la pregamo
 voglia essere venuta. Alla quale ne offerimo e racomandamo.
 Mediolani 15 januarij 1513.

Ringratiando V.S. amava del
 Sonno [...]

voster filius Maximilianus
 Sforza, Vicecomes Dux Milano

Doc. 50, Dig. 29q

25 January 1513

Busta 1616

Provenance: Milan

From: Massimilliano Sforza

To: Francesco Gonzaga

Ill.mo et Ex. Domino assivi
 tanquam prifata nostro honoran-
 dissime D. Francesco Gonzaga
 Mantua Marchioni

Ill.me et excel.e Domine tanquam pater honorissime: reman-
 damo alla S.V. Marcheto et compagno suoi musici quali savemo
 retenuto più de quello era la intentione dessa non l'im-
 portava alla loro negligentia ma a noi che li havemo con-
 fidentmente retenuti per proximi nostri existimando che la
 v. s. ne avesse ad essere ben contenta cossi la ringra-
 tiamo del haverne compiacuto de loro fin ad quest' hora che
 ce li rimandiamo ad ciochè anche lei non habia ad rimanere
 privata de li piaceri suoi. offerendosi anchora noi dove in
 simile o maggiore cosa li possiamo gratificare a farlo sempre
 con optimo animo. Attestando alla S.V. che non poteriamo
 restare più satisfatti de epsi, de quello siamo et habiamo
 causa de pregare la S.V. che ultra ogni altro rispetto che
 anche complacentia nostra li voglia havere per ricomandar.
 Date Mediolano die xxv januarij 1513.

voster filius Maximilianus
 Sforza Vicecomes Dux Mediolano

Doc. 51, Dig. 30

19 February 1513

Busta 2487

Provenance: Mantua

From: Marchetto Cara

To: Francesco Gonzaga

Al Ill.mo et Ex.mo signor el
signor marchese domine Mantua
patrone obser.mo.

Ill.mo et ex.mo Signor mio e patrone: La S.V. intendero
como quel povero prete del quale zuan maria parlò ierj ala
S.V. per don francesco cantor de quella si trova nel ex-
tremo de la sua vita e facendo lo omnipotente signor dio
altro de lui prego e suplico la S.V. se vogli degnar aiutar
don francesco vostro tenorista in contentendo de questo
beneficio a luj ma darà speranza a tuti li altri de haver
qual che bene per che quando haveramo qualche ben fermo ne
basta l'animo farli di falebon parte de la provisione como
già altre volte ò ditto a V.S. e se quello lo vola per sua
inata bontà aiutarlo del ditto beneficio bisogno far subito
intender ali signor canonici che non facino atto animo ne
in pulito ne in scritto ne etiam la S.V. li composti che
nisuna persona togli tenuto de dito beneficio senza
licencia de la S.V. e perchè essi cononicj se excusamo che
monsignor Reverendissimo fratello de V.S. promessione da
loro del primo cacante e per tanto e bisogno che la S.V. far
degni far scriver una bona e caldo litera monsignor car-
dinale che li vogli compiacer de dito beneficio a vostra S.
ala quale de continuo mi ricomando.

Mantuae die 19 febrarij 1513.

Lo humile servitor de V.S.
Marchetto

Doc. 52 , Dig. 31

30 October 1513

Busta 746

Provenance: Trent

From: Galeotto del Caretto

To: Francesco Gonzaga

Ill.mo princeps Ex.mo domino
 Francesco de gonzaga marchese
 Mantue....

Ill.mo et ex.mo S. mio obervan.mo:

....io mando del aqua al Marchetto una cosa mia e occorso in manere uno capitulo in dialogo de uno che parla cum un spirto qual mando cum qualche altri [?] se quello piacerà a la ex.tia V. ne sarò gran letitia: se [...] non sarà bono può [?] al ritornato proposito lo potrà straciare o farne cibo [?] a Vulcano se altro posso per quella preghola humilmente che mi rimandar una voglia nel registro dei [...] soi minimi servitori. Suplico bono la Ex.tia V. voglia constringe Messer Marchetto mi voglia far partecipe de qualche suo canto che havendolo già mandato in più voler [...] mie belzerette et altri canzoni novi lustro [?] mi par che non me lasso lusania [?] ch'io perdo a panni. Altro non mi voglio dire [?] non che baso la mano a la Ex.tia V. laqual idio conservi in sanitate e longa vita.

ex Tridino die 30 octobris 1513.

Ill.mo ex.tia V. humilio servitor
 Galeot de carreto

Doc. 53, Dig. 32

16 January 1514

Busta 862
 Provenance: Velletri
 From: Angelo Maximi
 To: Statio Gadio

Al Nobile messer Statio como
 fratello honorando

Honorande Tanquam fratres salvus sis: la viola vostra
 verrà con quelle del Signor Federico non se porranno per
 doi o tre mesi mandare ma omnino le mandarò. Dite al
 Signore che non se maraviglie se non li ho mandato l'oglio
 reale che me iunse alle cugule perchè ho trovate certe
 pelle de vitello et folle conciare et mandarò li guanti e
 l'oglio insieme: Ce ne saranno anche doi paia per voi
 Qualche volta quando state burlando col Signore recordative
 de me che sapete che son più vostro che mio. Me recom-
 mandarete a messer Joan Jacono, a Messer Mario, ma credo
 sia andato con madamma a Milano, a Madonna Madalena alla
 bona, al messer a Federico e Benedecto et dite a tucti et
 doi che io me lamento de loro che non me scriveno un verset-
 to, ma so la causa et a tucti li altri de casa: a Marchetto
 et Jeronimo che sona, al signor Joanfrancesco, al Signor
 Aloisi, al nostro messer Tholomeo me raccomandarete: se
 volesse nominarli tucti non me bastaria tuota la carta de
 Velletri. Di ve contenti.

In Velletri a dì de Iennaro 1514.

El vostro Angelo de Maximi

Doc. 54, Dig. 33a

13 September 1514

Coppia lettere
Busta 2920, f. 77r
Provenance: Gonzaga
From: Federico Gonzaga
To: Marchetto Cara

Messer Marco cantore

Messer Marco Essendo stato questa matina qua in Gonzaga sul mercato ho ritrovato alcune belle cose novamente composte ma non anchor finite dal stampatore et per la novità lor non ho potuto partir di lassarle finir de stampare. Credo ben che sono molti anni che non vedeste per cosa nova simil compositione e perchè altro che io non ha di queste copia alcuna, mi fareti grandissimo piacer ad tererle presso voi ne lassarle veder ad alcuno che voglio se ne faciano honore. In questo mezo vi prego vogliati affaticar l'ingegno vostro et ponervi tutta l'arte per far qualche bel Canto sopra, ma perche summamente desidero che faciati il canto di bizaria in excellentia et che non siati distratto da altri pensieri et fastidij mi fareti gran gratia ad venir qui ad star con me, in piacer che ve in invito et vi faccio di quarta et perchè vi aspetto ad ogni modo che al altro mercato che ci farà qua il stampator mi porterà il fine e la parte che vi resta. Alli comodi vostri me offero sempre.

Gonzagae xiiij septembris MDXiiij.

Doc. 55, Dig. 33b

14 September 1514

Autografi
 Busta 6
 Provenance: Mantua
 From: Marchetto Cara
 To: Federico Gonzaga

Al Ill.mo et excell.mo Signor el
 signor federico da gonzaga
 patrone suo obser.mo In gonzaga.
 MDxiii; sept. Di Marchetto
 Cantor

Ben si può gloriar la signoria V. Ill.ma et excell.mo signor
 et patron mio de tali et tante opere novamente composte
 che pervenute siano in le sancte mani vostre che veramente
 pareno antique et al tempo docti danti et delectevolj
 franceschi parturite et elimate ma molto più me posso
 gloriar io de la humanità de V.S. Ill.ma Habia electo me
 debile honoratore a tante opere dil che infinite grazie: et
 perchè V.S. Ill.mo me fa intender la carestia quale è de
 tali compositure Haverò molto bene cura a questo che non
 vadino in loco del mondo et già ho parlato a rizolo quale
 me habia a fare una chiave che non sia debile amor forse
 e difficile sotto la quale inviolata le voglio conservare fin
 tanto che me ritrovi in termine de potere servir a V.S.
 perchè veramente adesso mi trovo cum la febre di sorte che
 non mi lassa pensar acose nè festive nè iocose e molto più
 me rincesse esser amalato per non poter servir V.S. che
 per la propria de saventura mia che tanto volentierj serej
 venuto fori cum el cinque vale in mano quanto cosa del
 mondo sapendo ben io che le cose composte in sù la val de la
 marzetta sono molto più aierose de quelle composte in came-
 ra in questo mezo: El stampatore venirà fornita l'opera

et io per la dio gratia guarirò ovè que vi voglio far su un
duo a cinque a botte e risposte che mai fu fatto simel
cosa in laude e gloria de v.ra S. Illma a la quale de con-
tinuo me ricommando.

Date Mantuae tra le 15 e le 16 die eodem tre man e tre pan
1514.

E V. Ill.mo D. servitor Dui bezi ala ventiano ala mantuano
mezo quatro duine e un bagatino.

Doc. 56, Dig.34

26 October 1515

Libro mandati, No. 14, f. 103r

Provenance: Mantua

From: Gaspar Feltrius

For: Marchetto Cara

pro Marco de Carra musico

Mandato ecc. de Mulcta ducatorum ducentorum auri de Iuliano de Ferraria facta. Dentur et assignentur ducati quinquaginta auri spectabili Marco de Carra Ex.ti musico Ill.mi Domini nostri. Quum eius Ex.ti. dono dari iussit contrarijs non obstantibus quibuscumque. Gaspar Feltrius cancellarius mandate Domino ex recomendatione spectabilis Domini Antonij pendalia Marchionali Sindici scripsit 26 octobris MDXV.

Doc. 57 , Dig. 35

6 November 1515

Source: Sanuto, Marino. Diarii.
Vol. 21, cols. 281-83

Provenance: Brescia

From: Piero Soranzo, Zuan, and Vettor

To: Marco Contarini and Zacaria el cavalier

Sumario di una letera di sier
Piero Soranzo qu. sier Zuan qu.
sier Vettor, data in Chiari in
brexana a di 6 Novembrio 1515,
nara il suo viazo va con li
oratori a Milan drizata a sier
Marco Contarini qu. Zacaria el
cavalier.

Siamo intrati in Mantoa, e come intrassemo, ne vene assai
baroni e torze incontrata, e ne menò in uno palazo benissimo
adornato con forneimenti d'or da leti e tutto profumato e
forte ben ordine. Poi andati a cena, inanti pasto, marza-
pani e terzia, pesse, torte, tortelli, rafioli de diverse
sorte et modi, et ovi fatti in più de mille savori, et con-
fetti infiniti, e vini, di 8 sorte, e canti e soni. La
matina si ave una bellissima messa con soni, canti, organi,
et li cortesani ne erano intorno facendone bonissima cera
et invidava a veder diverse case. Poi si andò a palazo
dove era il signor Marchese, e avanti si aproximasemo al
palazo, sentivamo profumi bonissimi, e intrati nel palazo,
era adornato con bellissime depenture da la spaliera in su
forte bellissime di man dil Mantegna. E fato riverentia al
signor, ne fece benigna ciera. Era in una camera forte
adornata, sentato al focho con tre ventagi che non li lassa-
va andar uno pelo adosso, con tre terribelissimi levrieri
intorno et infiniti falconi e zirfalchi in pugno li intorno,

Doc. 57, cont'd.

e su per le spaliere erano quadri che erano retrati li soi belli cavali e belli cani, e lì era uno nanino vestito d'oro. Tolto licentia da soa signoria, andasemo a veder il palazzo. In una camera era depinto le vitorie e fati l'avea fato, e il bason auto quando fu fato capitano di la Signoria nostra. Poi intrati in certe camere, forse diexa una dentro l'altra, tutte benissimo in hordine, e tutte si andava per scale in buovolo una in su l'altra in zoso, e su tutte le porte a modo uno armaro che se sera, erano retrati li soi favoriti naturali e bellissimi. E andamo in una loza che havea una veduta di uno zardino forte grande quanto se potea vardar e forte bellissimo: poi visto uno loco con uno altar dove el signor dice le sue devotione. E andati poi a disnar benissimo pur a spese dil signor Marchese, con una bellissima credenziera d'arzenti bellissimi e di gran valuta. Poi disnar si visitò nel domo el cardinal fradelo dil signor, et anche lì vedesemo un bello palazzo e bele cose: saria longo a nararle. E li oratori andati a casa, parte de nui andasemo in castello da la Marchesana e lì vedesemo un bellissimo palazzo più de li altri e forte adorno e con bele damisele, e vetemo le armature del signor, ch'è una bella cossa, et poi uno armaruol de zoje forte bellissime e di gran valuta; poi la grota dove li era una infinità di belle cose; poi andamo a veder la stala dove era bellissimi cavali da forse 150 cavali di pretio e più da altra tanti da mior marchato e più di 100

Doc. 57, cont'd.

polieri; e poi si andò a cena benissimo preparato, e poi
 cena vene in camerino Marcheto e un altro con do lauti, che
 disse certe canzone che mai si senti meglio. La matina poi
 si montò a cavallo e vene da 10 cortesani acompagnarne fino
 a uno castello si chiama Goito, bellissimo, con più di 100
 camere tutte fornite et con coltre di seda et ogni camera
 havea uno letto et una cariola aparechiata, credendo si vo-
 lesse alozar la note; ma li oratori non volseno perchè non
 erano securi, et venisemo a Montechiari, e li disnasemo, che
 fo Domenega. Era tra li altri uno cortesano Alexio molto
 bellissimo favorito del signor, e certi falconeri, quali
 andò per le campagne per far volar. Era l'altro favorito
 missier Alfonso tutti do zoveni e bellissimi, e benissimo a
 cavallo, e ben vestiti, e niun pol più di questi do col
 signor Marchese, e comandano più ch'el Marchese, e li fe'
 gran careze invitandoli al ritornò li, et cussì parlando
 borino uno càvriole, e li cani del dito missier Alfonso
 l'amazò. E zonti al castello di Montechiari, ditto missier
 Alfonso e li altri tolseno licentia. E scrive, partiti che
 i fo da Goito, e zonti a Montechiari, a do hore di note
 zonse uno trobeta dil Marchese, el qual dise da parte del
 signor, cho non havendo voluto alozar, che l'havea fato apa-
 rechiar da zena e mandata qui; la qual fo dedeli 3, pizoni
 para 100, fasani para 30, cavriuoli 12, caponi para 20,
 marzapani 20, torze 15 grande, torze 40, candele 100, vin,
 pan, confeti scatole 30 de quelle quadre. Li ambassadori

Doc. 57, cont'd.

disse non voleva acetar, che ha bastato a soa signoria averli fatto le spese in casa sua, che'l ne vol far anche in casa nostra, et maxime di zere e fetti, e per che nient non lo voleva acetar. Il trombeta, visto questo, lassò le some e dete di piedi al cavallo e andò via.¹

¹The source of the above letter is the modern edition of Sanuto's Diaries. Federico Stefani, et al., eds. I Diarii di Marino Sanuto. Vol. 21. Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1887.

Doc. 58 , Dig. 36

7 December 1515

Busta 2491
 Provenance: Mantua
 From: Marchetto Cara
 To: Federico Gonzaga

Al Illustrissimo et excellen-
 tissimo signor el signor Fede-
 rico da Gonzaga...suo obsevan-
 dissimo

Ill.mo et excell.mo signor mio e patrone: già molti giorni
 hebbi una littera de V.ra Signoria per la qual me facea
 intendere che volessi esser cum lo Ill.mo signor vostro
 patre e disponer S. Ex.tia per amor de nostra signoria
 volesse e fusse contenta recogerre messer Dominichino
 Maestro de canto di V.S. nel numero de li soi cantori de
 capella. S. Excell.tia me respose che per adesso non potea
 far la spesa e che sua ex.tia havea cantori assaj per adesso
 et io li ritornai a redire che sua S. almanco per questa
 volesse V.S. in questo farle contenta. Sua Ex.tia mi
 rispose che mai per tempo alcuno non era per manchare a
 Vostra. S. nè dì nè nocte de tutto quello haver sua ex.tia
 al mondo ma in questo caso non lo potea sua signoria farlo
 per tanto genibus flexis suplico e domando de gratia V.ra
 S. non pensasse qualche volta che io fusse causa non haverlo
 lassato acceptar nel numero de li altri cantori de capella
 che mai più non seria contento quando parlai a la excellencia
 del signor vostro patre de questo caso. Roberto se retrovò
 alla presentia de ditto signor vostro patre e sentì molto
 bene minutamente tutto quello disse sua excellencia e quando
 vostra signoria venirà a Mantoa, Ruberto quale è servitor de
 Vost. S. suisseratissimo potrà render bona testimonianza di

Doc. 58, cont'd.

questo: Ma se mai vostra signoria se degnarà far qualche prova di la propria mia vita e de le cose che là non me ritrovi costante e fidele al' hora là me privi de la sua optima e benigna gratia e me scangeli giù de la lista de soi servitorj et ancor che sia indegno insufficiente servitor di V.ra S. mai l'animo mio serà quieto finatanto non haverà satisfatto in qualche altra cosa V.ra S. ala quale de continuo humilmente mi ricomando:

Mantue die 7 decembris 1515.

humile servitor e schiavo de
V.S.
Marchetto

post scripta: vero ẽ Ill.mo signor mio caso che subito quando [?] io hebbi la litera de V.S. parlai miser ptolemeo de questo caso e dissi a sua mag.tia et io volea usar ogni arte et ogni diligencia per tenir vostra signoria: Ma sua mag.cia desiderosa di e notte farli a piacer subito li rescrisser lo animo mio me rincesse fino ala morte non sia stato vero quello che scrisse a nostra S. sua mag.cia.¹

¹The postscript is a separate slip of paper attached to letter.

Doc. 59, Dig. 37a

9 May 1516

Busta 2494

Provenance: Mantua

From: Ippolito Calandra

To: Federico Gonzaga in Rome

Ill.mo et ex.mo signor et patron
mio obs.mo il Sig.re Federico da
Gonzaga primogenito Marchionale

Ill.mo et ex.mo signor et patrone mio observandissimo per
una altra mia scritta ala S.ri V.ra habbia intesso il ben
star del Ill.mo S.re V.ro patre et anchora aviso la Sig.ria
V.ra come Sua Sig.ria sia pur adesso meglio del usato et
così madama V.ra matre el li signori vostri fratelli.
Mando a la Sig.ria V.ra alcune cose Zovè canzone e sonetti
benchè messer Marcheto non me a mai voluto dar niente [a
causa] de la più gran fatica del mondo a cavarli una cosa
dale mane ma ho habuto questi pochi et io le mando alla
Sig.ria V.ra Io ne cercarò manda a la Sig. V.ra uno di quelli
libri che ò scritto ala S.V. per una altra mia. Il magni-
fico messer Tolomeo se recomanda alla S.V. et mio barba ho
non altro baso la bella mane ala Sig.ria V.ra per mile
volte.

Mantue die IX Maij MDXVI.

De V.ra Sig.ria servo e schiavo
Hippolyto Calandra

Doc. 60, Dig. 37b

14 May 1516

Rusta 2494
 Provenance: Mantua
 From: Ippolito Calandra
 To: Federico Gonzaga

Ill.mo et Excellentissimo sig.
 et Patrone mio observandissimo
 il Signor Federico da Gonzaga
 primogenito Marchionale

Ill.mo et excellentissimo sig.re et patrone mio observandissimo io ho recevuto doue littere dela Sig.ria V.ra le qualle me sono state gratissime da Bertolomeo dento hora messer marcheto è venuto piacevole et a portate alcune cose che credo la Sig.ria V.ra le abbia abute et ha promeso da voler fare quatro libri et farli li sui canti et le parole et mandarle alla Signoria V.ra et il dice se le stato negligente fin mo che per la venire il serà più umille. Li cavalli de la Sig.ria V.ra stano benisimo che io lo domandato a messer Zouanne Ratto quale è adeso a mantua et se a recomanda alla Sig.ria V.ra per mille volte et così ancora il maestro da stalla di la Sig.ria V.ra et Mateo sè recomanda alla Sig.ria V.ra et basa le mane aquella. Ho cerco per tutti li librari se hanno libro de bataglia dela stampa dil paganino non ho mai trovato libraro che ne habia ma ne fo ligare di altra sorte et per il primo meso che acade io le mandarò alla Sig.ria V.ra Madona Magdalena ringrati la S.V. de le sue recomandatione et basa le mane alla Sig.ria V.ra et la dice che la fa bello il giardino perchè la dice quando

Doc. 60, cont'd.

la Sig. V.ra serà a Mantua la vole che quella habia uno
bello Giardino....

Mantue die xvi Maij MDXVI.

De V. Ill.ma S. servo e schiavo

Ippolito Calandra

Doc. 61, Dig. 38

10 June 1516

Busta 746

Provenance: Pontestura

From: Galeotto del Carretto

To: Isabella d'Este

A la Ill.ma et ex.ma madama la
Marchesana de Mantua dama
Colendissima. Mantua

Accendendo a Francesco crasso presente latore transferirsi a Mantova mi è parso far parte del debito mio a basare la mano a la ex.tia V. et visitarla cum questa mia perchè non mi è concesso puoterla vedere in persona, madonna mia Ill.ma et a ciò non si persuada che in tuto habia denosta l'aire del componere et declinare dal mio solito costume de visitarla cum qualche mia nova composizione. Gli mando el presente capitulo in dialogo de tre persone quale se gli parirà che possa star fra li altri io suplico la ex.tia V. se degni farli fare un canto da Marchetto quando in lui sarà l'opportunità de farlo. Gli significo ancora che da me non parte el summo et continuato desiderio ch'ò de venir da quella a farli la dovuta humil reverenza et s'el ciel mi presterà grazia ch'io possa haver tempo venirli et che i tempi siano fora di sospetto de guera spero de venir da quella a la cui grazia umilmente me racomando.

Pontestura die 10 junii 1516.

De la ex.tia V. humil servo
Galeotto del Carretto

Doc. 62, Dig. 39a

14 June 1516

Busta 2494
 Provenance: Mantua
 From: Marchetto Cara
 To: Federico Gonzaga in France

Al Illustrissimo e eccellentissimo
 il signor Fedrico da Gonzaga
 patron mio observandissimo

Ill.mo s. mio et patrone observandissimo. Per miser iacono Suardino mando alcune cosette d'amore senza canto perchè m'è stato dito che vostra Ill.ma S. se dilecta de parole amorse e se non serano como quella merita la se degnarà, perdonarmi et acceptar la mia fede e servitù qualle fin ch'io vivo ho dedicato a V.ra S., et poi la morte anchor se sarà possibile, ma miser Soardino dirà a bocha molto meglio la servitù qualle ho a Vostra S. che non saperei scrivere perchè so che le stato dito scritto da Mantoa a V.ra Ill.ma, malle de mi. Ma io spero col tempo che quella cognoserà che Marcheto vi è e sarà fidelissimo servitore Signor mio dolcissimo per la prima posta che venirà in Franza mandarò quatro libreti de canto a V.ra S. de cose nove per satisfar parte del debito ch'io cum Vostra Signoria ala qualle genibus flexis per mille e mille volte mi ricomando.

Ex. Mantue die quataor decimo mensis juniij 1516.

L'humille servitore de V.ra S.

Marchetto Scrisj

Doc. 63, Dig. 39b

? August 1516

Busta 2494

Provenance: Mantua

From: Marchetto Cara

To: Federico Gonzaga in France

Ill.mo et ex.mo signor el signor
 Federico da Gonzaga patrone suo
 obser.mo

Ill.mo et exell.mo segnor mio e patrone obser.mo ecc. per
 monsignor el vescovo de La guarda servitor de V.S. li mando
 quatro libretti di canto ciò frottole e se non serano como
 merita la ex.tia V.ra quella se degnarà perdonarmi et
 aceptar la fede e servitù mia un altra volta che ne faccia
 far quatro altri li farò far più belli e de altre cose nove
 secundo che se andarà componendo Altro non so che scriver
 a V.ra exell.tia se non che io e tutta Mantoa desidera veder
 V.S. che lo onnipotentj Idio li dona gratia che presto la
 possa venire a iluminare le anime nostre che sono a linbo
 con gratia perde la majestà cristianissima. Altro non
 scrivo a Vostra exell.tia se non che atenda a far bona cera
 e star sano e alegro e se me venirà ale mano èt ala bona et
 optima gratia sua mi ricomando.

Mantua die ij augustj 1516.

Lo humile servitor de V.S.

Marchetto

Doc. 64 , Dig. 40

1 November 1516

Busta 809
 Provenance: Naples
 From: Marchese of Bitonto
 To: Isabella d'Este

[Alla Ill.^{ma} S.ra mia [la
 Signora] Marchesana de Manthoe

Ill.^{ma} signora mia tacerò de dir ad V.S. Ill.^{ma} quanto son remasto contentissimo de la gratia me ha facto de mandarme sue lettere perchè tengo che in tucto ne imparte la potria regradiar quanto devo. Ben sto laudando il signor nostro del dono convelescere che la S.V. Ill.^{ma} fa: supplicandolo doni compimento ad omne suo desiderio.

Ho ricevuto cum questa ultima lettere de V.S. Ill.^{ma} scripta a XV de ottobre li canti composti de Marchetto novamente: et ultra che sonno de tal perfectione che bastariano honorar la musica essendo mandati da V.S. Ill.^{ma} omne un desidera viderli como fusseno cose sacre. Lei po pensare qual obbligo sia il mio tanto de li cantj quali se ha dignato Mandarme et multo più per la memoria che la S.V. Ill.^{ma} dimostra havere de me suo servo et affectionatissimo. Io il ricordo che tengo de quella non è mancho che quello ha epsa de se medesma essendoli totalmente affecti nato et deseoso farli sempre servizio.

Li primi canti et quisti ultimi ho havuto: li secundi so andati in sinistro como V. S.ra Ill.^{ma} per sua lettere ha indicato. Però de tuctj aprimente ne baso ad quella le mane supplicandola si altra cosa mova le occorrerà me ne fazza degno: Lo signor mio patre la Marchesa mia. Io et li altri nostri basamo a V.S. Ill.^{ma} le mane; cussì anche fa lo signor

Doc. 64, cont'd.

Jacovo Sinazzaro il quale parlando cum lo signor mio patre
de le muse sempre la S. S. Ill.ma se trova nel mezo como
quella che tene in omne virtù il primo loco.

Neapolis primo novembris MDXVJ.

Supplico la S.V. Ill.ma se degni far donare questa alligata
lettere nel monasterio de San Vincenizo perchè l'haven ad
gracia acceptissima.

De Ill.ma S.

Multo servitore

Il Marchese de Bitonte

Doc. 65, Dig. 41

27 April 1518

Coppialettere

Busta 2997, Book 35, f. 61r-v

Provenance: Mantua

From: Isabella d'Este

To: Andrea Cossa in Casale Monferrato

D. Andreae Cosse

Magnifice Amice noster carissime. Per lo presente nullat-
 tero nostro a posta mandiamiovi uno liuto et una cassetta
 con aque odorifere. Pregamovi che in nome nostro vogliati
 presentare el liuto al Ill.mo S. Marchese dicendo a S. Ex.tia
 che già sono alcuni giorni che intendessimo che havea desi-
 derio di havere un bono liuto grosso et che ritrovandone
 noi haverne uno bono qual ha adoperato un tempo el nostro
 Marchetto ce parso mandarlo a sua ex. anchor che como dicemo
 sia stato adoperato, pensando, quella debba extimare più
 la bontà desso che la bellezza. Havemolo ben fatto accon-
 tiare meglio si ha potuto. Et quando non ce fossimo diffi-
 date di ritrovami uno di la bontà di questa in venetia¹
 haveressimo ben fatto ogni diligentia perchè sua ex.tia fosse
 servita. Ma credemo non si haveria trovato el meglio ne
 forsi cussi bono. S'el satisfarà al Ill.mo S. Marchese in
 sentiremo grandissimo piacere quando non sua Ex. accetterà
 al bono animo nostro dispositissimo sempre et desideroso di
 fare piacere a quella alla quale me raccomandate. Appreso
 vi pregaro che quando lo ill.mo signor Gioanne da Gonzaga
 nostro cognato qual'è partito per andare alla corte di
 Franza giungerà lì vogliate per parte nostra pregare sua
 S.ria che, quando non sia con incommodo suo vogli fare

Doc. 65, cont'd.

suso uno de soi mulli per sopra soma la cassetta de aque
che mandiamo, quale farà poi consignare allo Ill.mo Federico
nostro figliolo al quale le mandiamo per donare là al re....

Mantue xxvij Aprilis 1518.

¹in venetia inserted in margin.

Doc. 66, Dig. 42

18 September 1518

Busta 1644

Provenance: Milan

From: "Il suo cittadino"

To: Mario Equicola

Al molto virtuoso messer Mario
Equicola [...] quanto fratello
horno.mo

Mario: il latore di questa sarà un servitore del stampa
nostro il quale è mantovano et forse per qualche suo bisogno
il favore vostro li poterà giovare et però quanto posso ti
prego non li vogli mancare che mi farà: cosa molto grata
per che il stampa lo desidera et io ardo di farli piacere
oltre di questa te prego chi vogli pregare et sollicitare
Marchetto che mi mandi il canto che ha fatto sopra le mie
stanze che in mio nome li diede il Bandello et anche mi pia-
cerà che in pigli la cura di mandarmili, per la [...] ¹ di
esso dand[oli] ¹ a tutti li toi amici et precipriamente al
S.re Calandra desidero se essere raccomandato sta sano et
ricordevole di me.

in Milano xviiij settembre 1518.

Il suo Cittadino

¹Hole in letter.

Doc. 67, Dig. 43

October 1518

Busta 746

Provenance: Casale Monferrato

From: Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa

To: Federico Gonzaga

Ill.mo et ex.mo signore Federico
de Gonzaga patron suo obs.mo et.
ect. In Mantua

Ill.me et ex.me signor et patron mio: Poi che la sorte e
i celi me han privato del lo Ill.mo signore mio patrone dil
che la S.V. sa lo bono amore qual mi dimostrava sua S. et
avendo preduto ogni mio ben et ogni mia speranza io non so
da chi recorerme se non ne li brazia de V.S. Como alevo et
servitor anticho de la Casa de gonzaga. Vero è che li di
passati lo Ill.mo S.V. patre commisse a messer Marcheto che
me dovesse servire a Genova per farne ritornare ala patria
et al servitio di sua s. Ma già era conzio con la s. de s.
marchese misere di V.S. Et però non ne fu fato niente. Io
credo quanto quella recercasse con la signoria de madama
parendo che V.S. avesse a piacer de la venuta mia credo che
sua S. si contentarebe et me averia piacere perchè insignase
a S.V. & al s. don Ferrante et cossi al s. Alvisè fratelli
di quella et in questo modo la signoria di madama mi satis-
farebe et la S.V. si serviria de mi et io venendo da V.S.
subito vi averò messo in ponto una bona compagnia di viole
di liuto; non vo dir altro che la S.V. ne ha informato aviso
ala S.V. Como el me ho restato tuti li instrumenti a mi ne
le mane cioè el mio liuto vecchio et li dui grandi con
cinque violoni bonissimi. Et io desideroso per l'amore
quale porto a V.S. voria volentieri venire da quella con li

Doc. 67 cont'd.

diti istrumenti qualli starano molto meglio a presso di V.S. che non capitassero in altro mano perchè son certo capitano male iterum aviso V.S. chel c'è ancora una bellissima cossa di flauti et un altra de storte et un altro istrumento qualo si chiama un fagot che è una bellissima cossa non dubito se la S. v. li domanderà li averà ogni cossa si che prego V.S. me voglia dar aviso del tuto et del bono animo di quella verso di me quello ho a fare perchè quanto invitò in quel castello non posso soffrire che non pianga et mi creppa il core pensando a quel chio perduto si che signor mio caro vogliate esser causa che cosse mie restan sepolte in Mantoa la dove mi sono alevato et nutrito vinti et tre anni si che io son disposto de vivere et morire appresso di V.S. Se da quella non manca prego la S.V. quando quella manderà a domandare li diti istrumenti quella si degni dimandarmi anchora mi et se quella non mi vol dimandare mi avisa la via ch'io debo tenere perchè esendo in Casali non mi gode niente il core. Io già partito per la mano homini da bene che me venebero aconciare in Franza con la regina ma non voglio andarli perchè non voglio abandonar la patria mia. Si che tuto el mio fondamento et stabilità è posta in V.S. Ala quale di continuo me ricomando.

Casali 9 octobris 1518.

De V. Ill.ma S. Fidel servitor

Jo Angelo Testagrossa

Ill.mo signor e patron mio. Ali di passati in camera del

Doc. 67, cont'd.

Ill.mo s. Marchese passato proposi de quel garzon francese
al servitio de V.S. da poi la partita di quella el me fu
dato alogiare in casa mia, insieme con l'organista suo com-
pagno per chiarire V.S. io lo trovato un imbriacone et
ignorante [sembra] ch'il sia il vero quel che lui cantava
erano cosse che lui sapeva a mente. Io comprendendo il
desiderio di V.S. me capitato un giovane astisano quale lui
è di questa sufficientia lui bon musico et intende bene et
canta bene la parte et è sicuro in la musica imo cola viola
d'archo lui sona bene la sua parte et che parte si voglia
improvviso et hor sonando e cantando el compagno quanto can-
tasse fuoro del ordino nel componere assai experto poi se la
S.V. Acadesse andar in Francia e in che patria se voglia lui
ha sufficiente per forierò et canzicherò cavalcator vero
ancora per sustenire et solicitare una causa in Roma basta
che quelli officii che S.V. rechiedano a un praticcho e bon
servitore lui ne armatissimo si che s. mio questo è homo da
non lasarlo non obstante quel ch'io dito che lui sa che
cossa ò a servire la persona d'un principe in Camera e per
tuto per che lui è alevato a tal scola che'l sa quel che se
possa sapere si che la S.V. potrà dir de aver avuto un bon
servitore. Circha ali istrumenti la S.V. faccia presto per-
chè quella et ch'io insieme non ne restamo senza non altro
se non che quella me habia per ricomandato como quel alevo
et bon servitore di Casa di Gonzaga e di V.S. et ect.

Doc. 68, Dig. 44

13 January 1519

Coppialettere

Busta 2997, Book 36, f. 17v

Provenance: Mantua

From: Isabella d'Este

To: The Cardinal of Aragon in Rome

Rev.mo Cardinali Aragonie

Rev.mo et Ill.mo monsignor mio. Non ho più presto mandato a V.S. Rev.ma et Ill.ma il canto sopra quella che già sono più giorni la mi mandò per fare fare: perochè più presto non si è finita che ben V.S. pò sapere questi eccellenti musici voleno tempo per componere, corregere et elinare le loro compositioni. Però se son tardata quella se degnava, intesa la causa excusarmi. Hora la mando qui inclusa. Il nostro Marcheto dice che piacendo a V.S. Rev.ma et Ill.ma ni haverà grandissimo contento. Pur quando fosse altrimenti se offeresse farla di novo in altro modo, lui et io desideramo intendere la recepta di esso canto: et appresso come gli serrà satisfatto. Raccomandome a V.S. Rev.ma et Ill.ma et la prego se degni servirsi di me; che la non mi potria far maggior piacere.

Mantuae xiiij Januarii MDXviiiij.

Doc. 69, Dig. 45a

15 May 1523

Coppialettere
Busta 2928, Book 276, f. 9v
Provenance: Marmiolo
From: Federico Gonzaga
To: Marchetto Cara

Domino Marco de Cara

Messer Marco. Volemo che voi insieme col Pozzino Zoppino et
Messer Augustino da la viola con suoi figlioli veniate
dimane matina qui a Marmiolo a disnar con noi facendo
intender alli preditti che portino li loro instrumenti da
sonar et da cantar et acciò che possiati venir commodamente
scrivemo al Maestro di stalla di Madama Ill.ma nostra madre
che vi faci haver una carretta di quelle di sua Ex. Però vi
aspettamo senza alcun fallo.

Marmioli xv Maij 1523.

Doc. 70, Dig. 45b

15 May 1523

Coppialettere
Busta 2928, Book 276, f. 9v
Provenance: Marmiolo
From: Federico Gonzaga
To: Hieronimo Andriasio

D. Hieronimo Andriasio

Spectabile ecc. Volemo che pregati Madama Ill.ma nostra madre in nostro nome che voglia esso contenta di accomodarme Messer Augustino da la Viola et Messer Marco nostro musico d'una de le sue carrette per poter venire dimane matina qua a noi et havuta la commisione provvederete che la ditta carretta stij al ordine acciò che possino haverla ad ogni sua requisitione. bene valete.

Marmioli xv Maii 1523.

Doc. 71, Dig. 46

23 October 1523

Coppialettere
Busta 2965, Book 24, f. 75v
Provenance: Orzinuovi
From: Federico Gonzaga
To: Treasurer

Domino Thesaurio

Magnifice, etc. Intendo noi che se capitato in Mantua uno
Thedesco che ha corde bonissime di liuto da vendere. Volemo
che ne comprate tante quante montano sei ducati et le
consignate a Messer Marco o a Ruberto nostri musici: bene
valete.

Da li Orci. 23 octobris 1523.

Doc. 72, Dig. 47

25 January 1524

Busta 1070
 Provenance: Pesaro
 From: Leonora d'Urbino
 To: Federico Gonzaga in Mantua

Ill.mo et Ex.mo Domino fratello
 et domino obser.mo Domino
 Federico Marchioni Mantuae
 Capitano generali.

Ill.mo et ex.mo Signor et fratello obser.mo. Sono già
 alchuni mesi che messer Raphael mio secretario mi feci in-
 tendere havere havuto omissione da V. Ex.tia de farli fare
 alchuni citaroni de la sorte che pre. Michele veronese suo
 musico li faria intendere così inteso per me el desiderio
 de V.ra ex.tia gli ordinai che li facesse fare et cometesse
 per parte mia al maestro che usasse ogni diligentia per farli
 boni et di sorte che potessero satisfare alla ex.tia V.ra.
 Et benchè per esser el maestro assai longo et per esser
 stato infermo el predetto messer Raphael se sia tardato sin
 qui ad haverli non dimeno subito che si sono havuti ho
 ordinato che si mandino a V.ra ex.tia alla quale serano dati
 per messer Marcho nostro che sirà anche exhibitore de questa
 mia et si serano boni et satisfacciano a V.ra ex.tia in
 receverò singulare piacere perchè altro non desid[e]ro se
 non de poterli fare cosa grata alla quale de continuo con
 tutto el core mi raccomando et supplico quanto a lei non sia
 incomodo voglia dignarse de dare licentia al predetto messer
 Marcho de venire sin qui a stare alchuni giorni con mi che
 di quel termine gli sarà dato per V.ra Ex.tia per el suo
 ritorno non se preterirà puncto et a me farà singularissima

Doc. 72, cont'd.

gratia quale non dimando già se non che mi sia concessa per
el principio de quaresima che'l possa partire. Quae bene
valeat.

Pisauri XXV Jannarij MDXXIIJ.

De V.ra ex.tia

Obsequentissima Sorella Leonora

Ruvere de Gonzaga Duchessa di
Urbino

Doc. 73, Dig. 47b

14 February 1524

Busta 1070
 Provenance: Pesaro
 From: Leonora d'Urbino
 To: Federico Gonzaga

Allo Ill.mo et Ex.mo signor mio
 et fratello [obsevandissi]mo il
 Signor Marchese de Mantua

Ill.mo et ex.mo signor mio et fratello obser.mo. Io piglio
 securtà de recerchare et pregare V.ra Ex.tia ad satisfare al
 desiderio de li amici et servitori nostri con quella confi-
 dentia che lei mi da in satisfare così promptamente alle
 dimande mie come hora mi scrive haver fatto in compiacere
 Messer Salvato de li Galeatij de Eugubio de lo offitio de la
 appellazione lì: doppo el presente vicario et el signor
 Ranaldo da Mathelica in accettare un suo figliolo alli
 servitij de V.ra Ex.tia delchè la rengratio con tutto el core
 come de due gratie singulare or me concesse.

Che li cytheroni mandati a V.ra ex.tia siano indicati
 boni et gli habiano satisfatto mi è stato de summo contento
 così la pregho che potendo lei in alchuna cosa servirse di
 me dal canto de qua voglia recercarmi che sempre mi sfor-
 sarò in tutto quello che serà possibile de satisfarla: et
 de la licentia data a messer Marcho per contento mio ne
 base la mano a V.ra ex.tia ala quale di continuo mi rac-
 comando. Quae bene valeat.

Pisauri XIII february MDXXIII.

De V. Ill.ma

Obsequentissima sorella

Leonora Duchessa de Urbino

Doc. 74. Dig. 48

7 March 1524

Coppialettere

Busta 2999, Book 45, f. 66r

Provenance: Mantua

From: Isabella d'Este

To: Giovanni Battista, Podestà of Sermide

Potestate Sermidi

Spectabile Joan Baptista: Marchetto mi ha fatto intendere
havere molti debitori in quella potestaria per causa di robbi
dategli nel tempo che esso tra fattori alla Abbatia di
Felonica, Perilchè non potendo venire lui alla satisfattione
così presto come sona il bisogno suo volemo et vi commetemo
per questa nostra che gli administrati summaria et expedita
ragione con maggiore celerità et memore spesa che sia
possibile contra qualunque di essi, suoi debitori
facendovi lui constare li crediti suoi si come ricercano
li termini della iusticia. Et bene valeat.

Mantue VIJ martij 1524.

Doc. 75, Dig. 49

15 March 1524

Connia ordine e misti
Busta 2929, Book 278, f. 95r
Provenance: Mantua
From: Isabella d'Este
To: Marchetto Cara

A Marchetto cantore

Spectabile ecc.: intendemo che quel canto che seti stato tanto renitente a dare al signor Costanzo et che da lui vi è stato tanto dimandato hora se ritrova in mane di ogniuno et il Fratino et tutti quanti cantori di Mantua lo cantino et mille galioffi et poltronieri lo hanno et che'l sia vero li nostri cantori ne lo affermano per la qual cosa il predeto signor Costanzo è in tanta colera con voi che in maggiore non potria essere. Et ha giurato ogni modo vendicarse di questo et farvi una tal burla et di tal maniera che in effetto conoscati il dispiacere grande che l'ha di questa cosa.

Mantue XV Martij 1524.

Doc. 76, Dig. 50

14 September 1524

Coppialettere
Busta 2929, Book 279, f. 64v
Provenance: Marmiolo
From: Isabella d'Este
To: Turotto

Al Turroto

Turotto volemo che subito havuto questa nostra lettera tu
me mandi li instrumenti da sonare di Marcho Roharto Pozino
e Zoppino nostri musici che forono lassati li quando venimmo
da Gonzaga et fa che non sia fallo provedendo che subito
siano qui et bene vale.

Marmioli XIIIJ septembris 1524.

Doc. 77, Dig. 51

1 January 1525

Libro decreti, No. 37, f. 56 r-v

Provenance: Mantua

From: Federico Gonzaga

For: Marchetto Cara

Pro Nob. Marco de Carra musico

De consensu nostro

Federicus ecc. S.R.E. ac Ex.mae Rei publicae Florentinae
Capitanus Generalis innumeris sollicitudinibus principum
fatigatus ut fit animus, ut dentur ad negotia redditus ala-
criores, musices studio si delectatur quis iuris non prohibet
tantoque principis illius laudi dignior existimandus est
quanto artis peritiores adhibet, Epaminundam et Alexandrum
Magnum non modo musica delectatos sed illius scientissimos
scimus. Franciscus genitor noster Ill.mus preclarissimum
musicum Marcum de Carra veronensem ita amavit, ut omnium
horarum amicum habuerit, donaveritque domo et agro, cuius
possessione satis vivent honeste. Nos vero quod non minus
quam parenti nostro fuerit, gratissimus sit, amamusque
hominem ob morum integritatem et peritiam musicam non vul-
garem, ipsum qui quum tam clarus sit non erit nostrae ditioni
indecor [...] filios nepotes pro nepotes et descendentes
utriusque sexus in infinitum Tenore presentis decreti vigor
nostri arbitrii et de plenitudine potestatis qua publicae
fungimur hac in nostra civitate Mantuae totoque nostro
Marchionatu et districtu ex certa nostra scientia et
animo bene deliberato fecimus, creamus et constituimus cives
nostros mantuanos. Eosque omni civitati hac nostra donamus.
Itaque ipse Marcus eiusque descendentes ut prefertur ammodo

Doc. 77, cont'd.

et in perpetuum omnibus et quibuscumque privilegiis immunitatibus, exemptionibus facultatibus commodis et honoribus uti, frui et gaudere possint sicuti ceteri alii eius nostri legitimi et originarii Mantuae. Non obstante quod ipse Marcus non acquirat aliud immobile in domino nostro vixta antiquam consuetudinem eorumque huius modi civitatis dono donati extitere nam quod iam possidet in Dominio nostro id satis fecisse volumus [...] conditioni, approbamusque omnes acquisitiones et contractus per ipsum [...] factos et factus ac viris donationis eadem factas per prefatum dominum quondam genitorem nostrum ac eas omnes valetate volumus per inde ac si ipse Marcus tunc fuisset [...] legitimus Mantuae. Eius curiae massario generalis ceteris que officialibus nostris presentibus et futuris quatenus presens nostrum decretum civilitatis ac omnia et singula in eo contenta proprio integris inviolabiliter observent et observari faciant non obstantibus legibus statutis perclamantibus ordinibus et quibuscumque aliis in contrarium disponentibus, quibus obstantibus aut [...] nostro obstare valentibus de prefata nostri scientia derogamus et omnino derogatum esse volumus et mandamus etiam si talia forent de quibus hic specialis mentio habenda esset vel fieri debuisset.

In quorum ecc.

Doc. 77, cont'd.

Datum Mantuae primo Ianuarii 1525.

Olimpus Zampus Cancellarius ad
mandatum
Domine recomandatione Domino Marie
Equicole secretarii marchionalis
subscripsit

Co. Otho
Hieronimus Lucensis
Joan Philippus Fontana

Donato de Pretis
Hieronimus Frambertus
Jacomus Gonzagae
M. Equicola

Doc. 78, Dig. 52

12 January 1525

Libro decreti, No. 37, f. 41r-v

Provenance: Mantua

From: Federico Gonzaga

For: Marchetto Cara

Pro Marco de Carra Donatio unum
Domum pro pretio viccatoriu [...]

Federicus ecc. donavit alius Ill.mus d. Genitor noster
felicis recordationis Egregio Marco de Carra musico nostro
Ex.mo domum unam sitam in hanc urbem nostram Mantuae in
contrata Pusterla ut constet decreto tenoris infrascripte
videlicet Franciscus Marchio Mantuae ecc. Quum nostri semper
fuerit instituti quoscunque virtutibus claros diligere et
favoribus nostris prosequi maxime de nobis benemeritos, ut
est Egregius Marcus Carra musicus noster Excellens qui non
solum ob eius virtutes nobis charus extitit sed etiam ob
eiusdem maximam in nos sedulitatem et studium ei liberali-
tatem nostram impertiri decruimus Iccirco excell.ta nostri
scientia et motu proprio de nostrique postestatis. Pleni-
tudine, qua publice fungimur in hac nostra civitate Mantuae
eiusdemque Marchionatu et Dominio per nos heredes et succes-
sores nostros iure proprio et in perpetuum ac in liberum et
expeditum [...] damus, tradimus et donamus eidem Marco suis
heredibus domum seu petiam terrae infra positam et confinatum
per syndicum nostrum nomine et demandamento nostro acquisitam
ab illis de [...] pro pretio ducatorum sexcentum auri salvis
aliis confinibus verioribus si qui forent, ita que ammodo
ipse Marcus possit et valeat ipsam petiam terrae habere
tenere et possidere eaque uti frui et gaudere una cum omnibus

Doc. 78, cont'd.

et singulis quae infra infrascriptos continentur confines et cum omnibus et singulis quae ipsa petia terrae habet supra seu infra se omnibusque viribus et actionibus eidem petiae terrae spectantibus et pertinentibus. Damasque cedimus et concedimus dicto Marco in eumque transferimus et mandamus omnia iura omnesque actiones et rationes [...] et personales ac generis et [...] cuiuscumque quae et quas quales et quantas nosmet ante presentem donationem in ipsa petia habebamus tenebamus et possidebamus nostrisque iuris erat et esse poterat adversus unamcumque personam commune collegium et universitatem occasione ipsius petiae terrae ut premittitur donatae constituentes eundem Marcum procuratorem in rem suam propriam itaque ammodo rationibus et actionibus ut supra cessis ipse Marcus sui que heredes possint et valeant agere petere causari excipere et vendicari ac omnia alia et singula quae et prout nos ipsi ante presentem donationem dicere facere poteramus occasione ut supra. Nec non promittentes per nos heredes et successores nostros eidem Marco suisque heredibus presentem donationem ac omnia et singula in presenti decreto contenta apposita et inserta perpetua firma rata et grata habere et tenere sub fide veri et legalis principis et sub obligatione bonorum presentium et futurorum. Volumusque presentem donationem et presens decretum valere et tenere mandantes quibuscunque officialibus nostris ut hanc et hoc observent et ab aliis quantum eis inest observari inviolabiliter faciant aliquibus legibus

Doc. 78, cont'd.

statutis et ordinibus maxime requirentibus insinuationem in donationibus quae excedunt summam a legibus taxatam in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibus obstantibus aut obstare valentibus de prefata nostri scientia et animo deliberato et plenitudine potestatis nostrae qua publice fungimur ut supra derogamus et derogatum esse volumus et mandamus etiam si talia forent de quibus specialis mentio foret habenda vel fieri debuisset in quorum fidem et robur presens decretum fieri registrari et sigilli nostri maioris appensione muniri iussimus. Datum Mantuae xx novembris MDVII Petia terrae de qua supra. Una petia terrae cum domo supra cupata; murata[e] et solerata cum curte, horto et Tupeo posita in civitate Mantua in contrata pusterla penes unam communis ab uno latere scopam crucifixi a secundo magistrum Antonium della Turre chirurgum a tercio. Statius Gadius Cancellarius recomendatione spectabilis Domini Petri Luchirchi Marchionalis syndici spripsit Stefanus Archipresbiter comes Otho donatus de Petris Iacobus de Anreasijs, Petrus Lichircus Ptolomeus: cui quidem decreto licet [...] fuerit appositum sigillum ob incuriam ipsius Marci tamen cum nos iuderimus illud fuisse signatum ab officialis prefati Ill.mi Domini genitoris et corroboratur manu propria suae excellentiae volumus et declaramus ut eam vim et effectum habeat perinde ac si fuisset sigillatum ac in eo nullum esset defectum. Itaque tenore presentium vigore nostri arbitrii absolutaque potestatis qua publice fungimur in civitate nostra Mantuae totoque eius Marchionatu districtu et

Doc. 78, cont'd.

Domino ex certaue nostri scientia et animo bene deliberato dictum decretum approbamus ratificamus pro ut iacet de verbo ad verbum et quatenus expediat de novo dictam domum eidem Marco damus tradimus et donamus supplentes omnes et quoscunque defectus quos dici aut opponi possent dicto decreto defectionibus prefata sigilli.

In quorum [....]

Datum Mantuae XII Ianuarii MDXXV.

Benedictus Agellus Cancellarius
ad mandatum domini recomandationi
spectabilis domini Ioannis Iacobi
Calandrae Marchionalis secretarii
subscripsit

A. Archidiaconus
Comes Otho.
Donatus de pretis
hieronimi Lambertus

Hieronimus Archidiaconus
Calandra

Doc. 79. Dig. 53

12 March 1525

Busta 2506, No. 403

Provenance: Mantua

From: Marchetto Cara

To: Isabella d'Este in Rome

Ill.ma et exell.ma signora
 [patr]ona mia la signora [?]
 marchesana de Mantoa (Roma).

Ill.ma et ex.ma signora mia e patrona semper obser.ma. Nel partir de V.S. da Mantoa quella se degno comandarmi che io li volessi mandar qualche uno de li mei madricalj e per non preterire li comandamenti di quello io ne li mando cinque de li quali credo ill.ma s. mia che qualched'uno de questi ch'io li mando ne sano qui in roma, ma io do la fede a V.ra Ex.tia che presto presto io ge ne mandarò qualche un altro che non sarà in roma ne un altro loco io li haveria mandati a V.ra S. per questo presente lator ma non li ho limati a modo mio. Ma V.ra Ex.tia stia sopra la fede mia che ge ne mandarò qualcheuno che credo non li spiaceranno. Altro per adesso no mi accade a scrivere a V.ra Ex.tia si non che per nulla e migliara de volte io cum la mia consorte alla bona et optima gratia de quella se ricomandiamo pregando lo altissimo signor idio che la conservi in bona sanità e li doni gratia de ritornar presto sana e salva in mantoa. In Mantua all XII de Marzo MDXXV.

Lo humil servitor de V.S.

Marchetto Cara

Doc. 80, Dig. 54

? June 1525

Busta 1459

Provenance: Padua

From: Hieronymo Gabloneta

To: Federico Gonzaga

Al Ill.mo ex ex.mo mio signore
et patrone obser.mo el signor
Marchese de Mantua

Signore Ill.mo et patrone mio obs.mo....Messer Marcho cantore
è qua in Padova non ben guarito de le sue gotte ma va meff-
liorando ma a un pochino disordinato e veramente io li ho
compassione in questi caldi così bestialj et per me non
credo che in tera alchuna facii masor caldo di quello è
in questa Padua....

Patavii II Junij MDXXV.

De V.S. Fidelissimo servitore
Hieronymo Gabloneta.

Source: Baldesar Castiglione. Il Libro del Cortegiano.
Venice: Bernardin Fabiani, 1559 (first published
in 1528).
Libro Primo, f. 33r.

Vedete la Musica, l'armonie della quale hor son gravi e tarde, hor velocissime, e di novi modi e vie: nientedimeno tutte diletmano, ma per diverse cause; come si comprende nella maniera del cantare di Bidon; la quale è tanto artificiosa, pronta, vehemente, concitata, e di così varie melodie, che i spiriti di chi ode, tutti si commovono, & s'infiammano, & così sospesi par che si levino infino al cielo. Ne men commove nel suo cantar il nostro Marchetto Cara, ma con più molle harmonia: che per una via placida, & piena di flebile dolcezza intenerisce, & penetra l'anime, imprimendo in esse soavemente una dilettevole passione.

¹Although not published until 1528, Il Libro del Cortegiano was finished by 1516.

Doc. 82, Dig. 56

1527¹

Aretino, Pietro. Il Marescalco, Act V, Scene 2.

CONTE: Lasciamo andar questo e torniamo a la sposa: sappi
ch'ella è dotta.

CAVALIERE: Vero è; e quel madrigale, che si canta nuova-
mente ne l'aria di Marchetto, è sua composizione.

JACOPO: Io non canto altro.

MARESCALCO: E poetessa?

CAVALIERE: Ella è come tu odi.

MARESCALCO: Io son chiaro: io le sento, io le veggio;
ella compone? Come le donne si danno a far canzoni, i
mariti cominciano andar gravi dinanzi. E mi chiariro
l'altr'ieri due donzelle leggendo il Furioso, là dove
Ruggiero ebbe la posta da la fata Alcina....²

¹Although not published until 1533, Aretino's Marescalco
was completed by 1527. See Aretino-Tutte, p. 24.

²Quoted from Ibid., p. 94.

Doc. 83. Dig. 57

1545

Aaron, Pietro. Lucidario in Musica
 Venice: Scotto, 1545.
 Libro Quarto, f. 3lv.

CANTORI A LIBRO.

Il Signor Conte Nicolo d'Arco.
 Il Signor Lodovico Strozzi da Mantova.
 Messer Bidone.
 Messer Costanzo Festa.
 Messer Don Timoteo.
 Messer Marc'Antonio del Doge da Vinegia.
 Messer pre Francesco Bisetto da Bergamo.
 Messer pre Gioan Maria da Chiari.
 Messer Gioanni Ferraro da Chaiari.
 Messer fra Pietro da Hostia.
 Messer Girolamo Donismondo da Mantova.
 Maestro Girolamo Lorino da Chiari, maestro de Capella in
 Brescia.
 Messer Lucio da Bergamo.
 Messer Biasino da Pesaro.
 Messer Bernardino, overo il Rizzo della Rocca contrada.

CANTORI AL LIUTO.

Il Signor Conte Lodovico Martinengo.
 Messer Ognibene da Vinegia.
 Messer Bartholomeo Tromboncino.
 Messer Marchetto Mantoano.
 Messer Ipolito Tromboncino.
 Messer Bartholomeo Gazza.
 Il Reverendo Messer Marc'Antonio Fontana, Archidiacono di
 Como.
 Messer Francesco da Faenza.
 Messer Angioletto da Vinegia.
 Messer Iacopo da San Secondo.
 Il Magnifico Messer Camillo Michele Vinitiano.
 Messer Paolo Melanese.

Bartoli, Cosimo. Ragionamenti Accademici
Venice: Francesco de Franceschi Senese, 1567.
Libro Terzo, f. 36r.

Ne crediate che io non sappia che doppo Iosquino ci sono stati molti valenti huomini in questo esercitio, come fu un Giovan Monton, Brumel, Isac, Andreas de Silva, Giovanni Agricola, Marchetto da Mantova, & molti altri, che seguendo dietro alle pedate di Iosquino, hanno insegnato al Mondo come si hà a comporre di Musica.

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MARCHETTO CARA AND THE
NORTH ITALIAN FROTTOLA

Volume II

by

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A Dissertation submitted to the faculty of
the University of North Carolina in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Department of Music.

Chapel Hill

1974

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I. THE SOURCES¹

There are some forty-nine sources that include Cara's frottole. These sources have been divided into the categories of prints and manuscripts and ordered according to the siglum by which they are cited in the body of the text. Included for each source are the title, publisher, and date of prints; the library and shelf number of manuscripts; and the works contained in it by Cara. Also included are the anonymous works attributed to Cara in other sources and the works attributed to other composers in the source in question, but to Cara elsewhere. The works included in each source are listed by their number in the ALPHABETICAL LIST OF WORKS that follows on page 21. Also included are the RISM numbers of prints, any literature that is wholly or largely concerned with a given source, and any complete modern edition of the source.²

¹N. B. A work preceded by a superscript "?" is ascribed to Cara in at least one source, but to another composer in at least one other source. A work preceded by a superscript "A" is anonymous in the source. Finally, a superscript "T" signifies a textual concordance only.

²Jeppesen-Frottola includes a discussion of all sources except where noted in this list. For the sake of brevity, Jeppesen's work has not been included under "Literature,"

A word may be necessary concerning the choice of sigla for manuscripts and prints. The former are relatively simple: they are a combination of the RISM siglum for the holding library and an abbreviated version of the shelf number of the manuscript. Thus, Ms. Q 21 of the Civico Museo in Bologna becomes "Bc 21," and Ms. Magl. XIX, 164-167 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence becomes "Fn 164."

Sigla for prints are slightly more complicated. Much as the writer deplores the proliferation of new sigla, no previous system was found to be satisfactory for the present study. On the one hand, Jeppesen's sigla from La Frottola seemed confusing and not easily remembered, as he has numbered prints by holding library, or rather by holding library at the time he first studied the print.³ Thus, Antico's Frottole intabulate da sonare organi, libro primo, now in the Biblioteca Polesini, is designated by Jeppesen as "Par.," for he first studied the print in Parenzo.

On the other hand, RISM sigla are misleading in another way: recent work, particularly that of Catherine Weeks Chapman, has shown that the dates given in RISM are incorrect in many cases, so that to use them would be to present

but the reader is advised that it contains information on virtually every source included here.

³Jeppesen designates Petrucci's prints, however, with the siglum "Pe."

the reader with a false chronology. Prints are therefore designated by a combination of a portion of the printer's name and the date of publication. Thus, Antico's print mentioned above is designated as "Anto I (1517)," i.e., "Ant(ico's Frottole intabulate da sonare) O(rgani, libro) I."

Prints

<u>Siglum</u>	<u>Source</u>
AntF I (1510)	<p><u>Canzoni nove con alcune scelte di varii libri di canto.</u> Rome: Antico, 1510.</p> <p>RISM: 1510</p> <p>Works attributed to Cara: 50</p> <p>Literature: Einstein-AntF I</p>
AntF II (1520)	<p>[<u>Frottole, libro secondo.</u> Venice: Antico & Giunta, 1520.]</p> <p>RISM: [c. 1516]/2</p> <p>Works attributed to Cara: 79, 80, 88, ?90, 121</p> <p>Einstein-AntF II</p> <p>Observations: Identified as Antico's print in Jeppesen-Orgelmusik, vol. I, pp. 55f. The contents, but not the attributions, are the same as MazF II (1518), <u>q.v.</u> Apparently, editions of the print were published in 1512 or 1513 and 1516.</p>
AntF III (1513)	<p><u>Canzoni, sonetti, et frottole, libro tertio.</u> Rome: Antico, 1513.</p> <p>RISM: 1513/1</p> <p>Reprints: MazF III (1518) & AntF III (1520)</p> <p>Works attributed to Cara: 14, ?29, ?38, 45, 93, 94, 100, 118</p> <p>Works attributed to others: ?21 (to B. T.), ?31 (to Al. M)</p>

Observations: Different attributions in the three editions. This edition not consulted.

AntF III (1520)

Canzoni, sonetti, et frottole, libro tertio. Venice: Antico, 1520.

RISM: 1517/1

Works attributed to Cara: 14, ?31, 45, 94, 118

Anonymous: ?38, 93, 100 (folio missing; in tavola only)

Works attributed to others: ?21 (to B. T.), ?29 (to Alexandro mantuano)

Observations: Reprint of AntF III (1513) & of MazF III (1518), but contains different attributions.

AntF IV (1517 & 1520)

Canzoni, sonetti, strambotti, et frottole, libro quarto. Rome: Antico, 1517 (& Venice: Antico, 1520).

RISM: 1517/2 & 1520/5

Works attributed to Cara: ?6, 13, 15, 36, 53, 74, 98, 101

Observations: Same attributions in both editions.

AntL (1520)

Frottole de misser Bartolomio Tromboncino & de misser Marcheto Carra con tenori & bassi tabulati et con soprano in canto figurato per cantar et sonar col lauto. [Venice: Antico, 1520.]

RISM: [c. 1520]/7

Works attributed to Cara: 36, 81, 83 (incomplete), 100, 101, 104

Anonymous: 13, 15, 53 (folios lacking;
all in tavola only)

Works attributed to others: ?6 (to B.
T.)

Literature: Wolf-AntL

Observations: Identified as Antico's
print in Chapman-Antico, vol. II,
p. 422.

AntO I (1517)

Frottole intabulate da sonare organi,
libro primo. Rome: Antico, 1517.

RISM: 1517/3

Works attributed to Cara: ?21, 45, 79

Anonymous: 14

Works attributed to others: ?38 (to B.
T.)

Literature: Jeppesen-Orgelmusik;
Plamenac-AntO I

CanF II (1519)

Fioretti di frottole, barzelette, capi-
toli, strambotti, e sonetti, libro
secondo. Naples: Caneto, 1519.

RISM: 1519/4

Works attributed to Cara: 36, 53, 115

DorC I (1526)

Canzoni, frottole, et capitoli da
diversi eccellentissimi musici composti;
nuovamente stampati et corretti, libro
primo de la croce. Rome: Pasoti &
Dorico, 1526.

RISM: 1526/6

Reprint: DorC I (1533), incomplete
(RISM: [1531]/3)

Works attributed to Cara: 4, 28, 32, 37, 56, ?63 (to B. T. on f. 12v & to M. C. on f. 13r & v), 83, 87, 127

Observations: Apparently published first before 1524, as Ferdinand Columbus purchased a copy of the no longer extant Libro tertio de la croce at Rome in 1524 (Chapman-Columbus, p. 50).

Chapman-Antico, vol. II, p. 433 corrects the date of the reprint given in RISM.

DorC II (1531)

Canzoni, frottole, e capitoli da diversi eccellentissimi musici, libro secondo de la croce. Rome: Dorico, 1531:

RISM: 1531/4

Works attributed to Cara: 77, 107, 111, 125

Observations: Apparently published first before 1524; see the observations on DorC I (1526) above.

JudF I (1526)

Libro primo de la fortuna. [Rome: Judici, ca. 1526.]

RISM: [c. 1530]/1

Works attributed to Cara: 76, 78, 109, 110

Observations: Altus partbook only. Shown to have originated in Rome from the presses of Judici in around 1526 in Jeppesen-JudM I, pp. 13-17.

JudM I (1526)

Messa, motteti, canzonni novamente stampate, libro primo. [Rome: Judici, 1526.]

RISM: Not in RISM

Works attributed to Cara: 92

Literature: Jeppesen-JudM I

Observations: Cantus partbook only;
print not consulted.

MazF II (1518)

[Canzoni..., libro secondo.] Rome:
Mazochio, 1518.

RISM: Not in RISM

Works attributed to Cara: 80, ?90

Anonymous: 79, 88, 121 (folio missing;
incomplete)

Observations: Contents, but not attributions, are the same as those of AntF II (1520), q.v. The clearest comparison of the attributions is found in Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, pp. 44f. The woodcuts of the music are those of Antico, from AntF II (1520). See Chapman-Columbus, p. 49.

MazF III (1518)

Canzoni, sonetti, strambotti, &
frottole, libro tertio. Rome:
Mazochio, 1518

RISM: 1518

Works attributed to Cara: 14, ?31, ?38,
45, 93, 94, 100, 118

Works attributed to others: ?21 (to B.
T.), ?29 (to Al. M.)

Mod. ed.: Einstein-AntF III (1517).
Einstein has mistaken both the printer
and the date of the edition.

Observations: Contents, but not attributions, are the same as those of AntF III (1513 & 1520), q.v. The clearest

comparison of these attributions is found in Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, pp. 49f. The woodcuts of the music are those of Antico, from AntF III (1513 & 1520), See Chapman-Columbus, p. 49.

PeB I (1509)

Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col soprano in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto, libro primo. Venice: Petrucci, 1509.

RISM: 1509/3

Works attributed to Cara: 7, 18, 22, 25, 46, 49, 52, 64, 72, 84, 85, 102, 103, 108, 114, 119, 123

Anonymous: 17, 73

Works attributed to others: ?26 (to B. T.), ?65 (to B. T.), ?75 (to B. T.)

Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB

PeB II (1511)

Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col soprano in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto, libro secondo. Venice: Petrucci, 1511.

RISM: 1511

Works attributed to Cara: 42, 57, ?66, 80, 91, 116, ?117

Works attributed to others: ?79 (to B. T.)

Literature: Sartori-PeB II

Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB

PeF I (1504)

Frottole libro primo. Venice: Petrucci, 1504.

RISM: 1504/4

Works attributed to Cara: 18, 23, ?26,
43, 46, 47, 52, 64, 72, 73, 84, 103,
106, 114, 123

Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF; Schwartz-PeF

PeF II (1505)

Frottole, libro secondo. Venice:
Petrucci, 1504 (1505 new style).

RISM: 1505/3 (n. st.)

Reprint: 1507 (1508 new style); RISM:
1508/2 (n. st.)

Works attributed to Cara: None

Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF

PeF III (1505)

Frottole, libro tertio. Venice:
Petrucci, 1504 (1505 new style).

RISM: 1505/4 (n. st.)

Works attributed to Cara: 39, 42, 71,
82, 91

Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF

PeF IV (1505)

Strambotti, ode, sonetti, et modo de
cantar versi latini e capituli, libro
quarto. Venice: Petrucci, [1505].

RISM: 1505/5

Reprint: 1507 (RISM: 1507/2)

Works attributed to Cara: 30, 51, 60,
67, 70, 95

Anonymous: ?61

Literature: Ferand-PeF IV

Mod. ed.: Schwartz-PeF

PeF V (1505)

Frottole, libro quinto. Venice:
Petrucci, 1505.

RISM: 1505/6

Works attributed to Cara: 3, ?66, (to D. M. in tavola, but to M. C. over music), 96, ?117 (to B. T. in tavola, but to Marcheto over music)

PeF VI (1506)

Frottole, libro sexto. Venice: Petrucci, 1505 (1506 new style).

RISM: 1506/3 (n. st.)

Works attributed to Cara: 102, 120

PeF VII (1507)

Frottole, libro septimo. Venice: Petrucci, 1507.

RISM: 1507/3

Works attributed to Cara: 2, 12, 20, 24, 25, 34, 50, 54, 58, ?65

PeF VIII (1507)

Frottole, libro octavo. Venice: Petrucci, 1507.

RISM: 1507/4

Works attributed to Cara: 35, 40, 105, 108, 119, 124

PeF IX (1509)

Frottole, libro nono. Venice: Petrucci, 1509.

RISM: 1509/2

Works attributed to Cara: 7, 17, 19, 27, 41, 62, 68, 69, 85, 112, 116

PeF X (1512)

[Frottole, libro decimo. Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1512.]

No longer extant

Works attributed to Cara: None [?]

Observations: See Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. I, p. 32, for the composers represented in this print.

- PeF XI (1514) Frottole, libro undecimo. Fossombrone:
 Petrucci: 1514.
 RISM: 1514/2
 Works attributed to Cara: 5, ?79, 113,
 122
 Literature: Einstein-PeF XI
- PeL I (1508) Laude, libro primo. In. Dammonis.
 Venice: Petrucci, 1508.
 Works attributed to Cara: None
 Literature: Jeppesen-PeL I
- PeL II (1508) Laude, libro secondo. Venice: Petrucci,
 1507 (1508 new style).
 RISM: 1508/3 (n. st.)
 Works attributed to Cara: 9, ?10
 (printed twice; attributed once to M.C.
 and once to B.T.), 11, ?99 (to B.T.
 and M.C.), 126
 Mod. ed.: Jeppesen-PeL
- RazL I (1563) Libro primo delle laudi spirituali da
 diversi eccell. e divoti autori, antichi
 e moderni composti, la quale si usano
 cantare in Firenze.... Raccolte dal R.
 P. Fra Serafino Razzi fiorentino....
 Venice: Rampazetto, 1563.
 RISM: 1563/6
 Works attributed to Cara: None

Manuscripts

<u>Siglum</u>	<u>Source</u>
BAu 21	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. F.X.21. Works attributed to Cara: None Anonymous: 88
BAu 59	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. F.X.59-62. Works attributed to Cara: None Anonymous: 88
Bc 18	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 18. Works attributed to Cara: None Anonymous: 26, 103 (incomplete; Cantus and Altus missing) Observations: Ms. in Choirbook format of the early Cinquecento; Bolognese provenance, partially copied by Giovanni Spataro, maestro di cappella at San Petronio (f. 19v ff). ⁴
Bc 21	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 21. Works attributed to Cara: None Anonymous: ?63 Literature: Gallico-Bc 21

⁴I am indebted to Dottore Sergio Paganelli of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale for this information.

- Observations: Four partbooks, probably of Florentine provenance and probably redacted around 1525.
- Bc 142 Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. R 142.
- Works attributed to Cara: ?8 (to Marcheto in tavola, but to Tromboncino over music), 60
- Observations: Tenor partbook only, copied after 1523 (see Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. II, p. 16).
- Cn Cap Chicago, Newberry Library, Compositio-
di Meser Vincenzo Capirola.
- Works attributed to Cara: 73
- Mod. ed.: Gombosi-Cn Cap
- Observations: Compiled in Brescia around 1517. Original Ms. not consulted.
- Cn 1578 Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. VM 1578 .M 91.
- Works attributed to Cara: None
- Mod. ed.: Slim-Cn 1578
- Observations: Four partbooks, lacking Altus, copied in Florence before 1529.
- Fc 2440 Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Ms. Basevi 2440.
- Works attributed to Cara: None
- Anonymous: 102
- Works attributed to others: ?90 (to Pr. Michael)

Literature: D'Accone-Fc 2440; Gandolfi-Fc 2440; Rifkin-Scribal

Observations: Ms. in choirbook format compiled in Florence during the decade of 1515 to 1525.

Fc 2441

Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Ms. Basevi 2441

Works attributed to Cara: None

Anonymous: 17, 18, 23, ?64, 72, 73, 85, 107

Literature: Rifkin-Scribal

Observations: Ms. in choirbook format, probably copied in the early years of the Cinquecento. Rifkin-Scribal, p. 306 gives its provenance as Milan.

Fn 27

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Panciatichi 27.

Works attributed to Cara: 1

Anonymous: 23, ?26, 51, 55, 72

Observations: Ms. in choirbook format, probably copied in Florence in the early part of the sixteenth century.

Fn 121

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. XIX, 121.

Works attributed to Cara: None

Anonymous: 55

Literature: Ghisi-Poesie

Observations: Ms. in choirbook format of the early sixteenth century, probably

- of Florentine origin.
- Fn 164 . Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. XIX, 164-167.
- Works attributed to Cara: None
- Anonymous: ?90
- Literature: Pannella-Fn 164; Rifkin-Scribal
- Observations: Four partbooks of Florentine provenance, probably originating during the earlier part of the decade, 1520-1530.
- Fn 230 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 230 (formerly Ms. Magl. XIX, 141).
- Works attributed to Cara: None
- Anonymous: 47, 73, ?90, 102
- Literature: Gallucci-Festival; Ghisi-Poesie; Jeppesen-Fn 230
- Observations: Ms. in choirbook format copied in Florence shortly after 1500.
- Fn 337 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 337.
- Works attributed to Cara: ?48
- Anonymous: ?90
- Literature: Gallucci-Festival
- Observations: Bass partbook of Florentine provenance; possibly, because of format, redacted around 1520⁵
- Lbm 3051 London, British Museum, Ms. Egerton 3051.

Works attributed to Cara: None

Anonymous: 44, 71

Literature: Jeppesen-Frottolenhand-
schriften; Rifkin-Lbm 3051; Staehelin-
Lbm 3051

Observations: Ms. in choirbook format,
probably of Northern Italian provenance
and copied around 1500. Jeppesen-Frot-
tola, vol. II, p. 65, and Staehelin-
Lbm 3051 favor a Florentine provenance,
although the repertory is entirely that
of Northern Italy.

MAc A.I.4

Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. A.I.4.

Texts set by Cara: 2, 24, 25, 28, 34,
47, 48, 50, 54, 58, 104, 127

Literature: Gallico-MAc A.I.4

Observations: A single volume con-
taining only poetry. The Ms. served as
a repository for frottola texts in
Mantua, probably around 1505.

MOe 9,9

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. α , F.
9,9.

Works attributed to Cara: None

Anonymous: 1

Literature: Gallico-MOe 9,9; Jeppesen-
Frottolenhandschriften

Observations: Ms. in choirbook format
copied in Padua in October of 1495
(f. 7v).

MOe 11,8

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. γ , L.
11,8.

Works attributed to Cara: None

Anonymous: 110

- Observations: Bass partbook only; because of format, probably copied after 1520.
- Mt 55 Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Ms. 55.
Works attributed to Cara: None
Literature: Jeppesen-Frottolenhandschriften
Mod. ed.: Giazotto-Mt 55; Jeppesen-Frottola, vol. III
Observations: Ms. in choirbook format, probably copied in Milan around 1500.
- Pn 676 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Rés. Vm.⁷ 676.
Works attributed to Cara: 72
Anonymous: 1, 17, 30, 55, 123
Literature: Bridgman-Pn 676
Observations: Ms. in choirbook format copied in Mantua or Ferrara in October of 1502.
- Pthibault Paris, Bibliothèque Genviève Thibault, Lute Tablature.
Works attributed to Cara: None
Anonymous: 23, 26, 72, 82 (two intabulations), 84 (two intabulations), 103
Literature: Thibault-Ms
Observations: Ms. of Northern Italian provenance, probably copied in the first decade of the Cinquecento; Ms. not consulted; Ms. not included in Jeppesen-Frottola.

Rc 2856

Rome, Biblioteca Cassanatense, Ms. 2856.

Works attributed to Cara: None

Literature: Atlas-Transcriptions;
Llorens-Rc 2856Observations: Chansonnier in choirbook
format; probably copied in Ferrara or
Mantua in 1490, the Ms. belonged to
Isabella d'Este.

SGs 463

St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 463-
464.

Works attributed to Cara: None

Anonymous: 24, 53, 115

Literature: Eitner-SGs 463

Observations: Three partbooks copied
by Aegidius Tschudi between 1517 and
1520.

VEcap 759

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms.
DCCLIX.

Works attributed to Cara: 97

Literature: Preston-Verona

Observations: Large Ms. in choirbook
format copied in the early years of the
Cinquecento; contains repertory used
at the Cathedral in Verona.

Vnm 1795

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana,
Ms. Cl. IV, 1795-1798.

Works attributed to Cara: 86, 90

Anonymous: 4, ?6, 13, ?21, ?38, 60,
78, 79, 83, ?90, 105, 114Literature: Jeppesen-Frottolenhand-
schriften; Torre Franca-Segreto

Wlc Wolf

Washington, D. C., Library of Congress,
Ms. M.2.1 .M.6 (Wolfheim Chansonnier).

Works attributed to Cara: None

Literature: Rifkin-Lbm 3051; Staehelin-
Lbm 3051

Observations: Last portion of Lbm 3051,
q.v.

II. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF WORKS¹

1. Aimè, ch'io moro Fn 27, f. 51v; ^AMOe 9,9, f. 91v-92r; ^APn 676, f. 115v-116r.
2. Aiutami, ch'io moro PeF VII (1507), f. 48v; ^TMAC A.I.4, f. 102r.
3. Ala absentia (Cara) PeF V (1505), f. 42v-43r.
4. Alma gentil, che di tua vaga spoglia DorC I (1526), f. 27v-28r; ^AVnm 1795, No. 78.
5. Amerò, non amerò PeF XI (1514), f. 22v-23r.
6. [?]Amor, se de hor in hor (M. Bandello) AntF IV (1517 & 1520), f. 26v-27r; AntL (1520), f. 12v-13r (to B. T.); ^AVnm 1795, No. 19; ^TBc 21, No. 17, etc.
7. Arma del mio valor PeF IX (1509), f. 16v; PeB I (1509), f. 17v-18r.

Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB, pp. 346f.
8. [?]Arsi donna, per voi Bc 142, f. Ov-lr (to Marcheto in tavola, but to Tromboncino over music).
9. [?]Ave Maria, gratia plena PeL II (1508), f. 41v-42r.

¹N. B. A work preceded by a superscript "?" is ascribed to Cara in at least one source, but to another composer in at least one other source. A work preceded by superscript "A" is anonymous in the source. Finally, a superscript "T" signifies a textual concordance only.

- Mod. ed.: Jeppesen-PeL, pp. 68-70.
10. ?Ave Maria, gratia plena
PeL II (1508), f. 17v-18r, f. 47v-48r (to B. T.); ^AF_n 27, f. 3v-4r.
Mod. ed.: Jeppesen-PeL, pp. 82f.
11. Ave victorioso et sancto legno
PeL II (1508), f. 16v-17r; ^TNo. 98 below, with the exception of the first line.
Mod. ed.: Jeppesen-PeL, pp. 28-30.
12. Bona dies, bona sera
PeF VII (1507), f. 41v-42r.
13. Cangia spera mia voglia
AntF IV (1517 & 1520), f. 11v-13r; ^AAntL (1520), tavola only; ^AV_{nm} 1795, No. 83.
14. Cantai mentre nel core (B. Castiglione)
AntF III (1513 & 1520), f. 45v-46r; AntO I (1517), f. 37v-38r; MazIII (1518), f. 45v-46r.
Mod. ed.: Einstein-AntF III, pp. 61f; Plamenac-AntO I, pp. 690-92.
15. Caro sepulchro mio
AntF IV (1517 & 1520), f. 28v-29r.
16. Chi la castra la porcella
PeF IX (1509), f. 9v-10r.
Mod. ed.: Gallucci-Festival, vol. II, pp. 293-96; below, pp. 107-110.
17. Chi l'haria mai creduto
PeF IX (1509), f. 17r; ^APeB I (1509), f. 17r; ^AF_c 2441, f. 47v-48r; ^AP_n 676, f. 28v-29r.

- Mod ed.: Disertori-PeB, p. 345.
18. Chi me darà più pace
PeF I (1504), f. 13v; PeB I (1509), f. 46v; ^AFc 2441, f. 69v-70r.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, p. 11; Disertori-PeB, p. 423; Schwartz-PeF, p. 10.
19. Cholei che amo così
PeF IX (1509), f. 23v.
20. Credul cor, perchè credesti
PeF VII (1507), f. 14v-15v.
21. [?]Crudel fuggi se sai (G. del Carretto)
AntF III (1513), f. 42v (to B. T.); MazF III (1518), f. 42v (to B. T.); missing in AntF III (1520); AntO I (1517), f. 35r; ^AVnm 1795, No. 59.
Mod. ed.: Einstein-AntF III, pp. 56f; Ostoff-Theatergesang, vol. II, pp. 58f; Pirrotta-Orfei, pp. 97f.
22. De che parlerà più
PeB I (1509), f. 49r.
Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB, p. 429.
23. Defecerunt donna, hormai
PeF I (1504), f. 4v-5r; ^AFc 2441, f. 23v-24r; ^AFn 27, f. 23v-24r; ^APthibault, f. 44r.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, pp. 4f; Schwartz-PeF, p. 3.
24. Deh, dolce mia signora
PeF VII (1507), f. 31; ^ASGs 463, No. 162; ^TMac A.I.4, f. 234v.
25. Deh, non più mo
PeF VII (1507), f. 44v-45r; PeB I (1509), f. 14v-15r; ^TMac A.I.4, f. 187r.

- Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB,
pp. 338-39.
26. [?]Deh sî, deh no
PeF I (1504), f. 14v-15r; PeB I (1509), f. 28r (to B. T.);
^ABc 18, f. 14v-15r; ^AFn 27, f. 32v; ^APthibault, f. 25v.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, pp. 12f; Disertori-PeB, p. 363; Schwartz-PeF, pp. 11f.
27. Dela impresa mia
PeF IX (1509), f. 10v-11r.
28. Del mio sî grande
(S. dall'Aquila)
DorC I (1526), f. 14r; ^TMAC A.I.4, f. 63r; ^TMt 55, f. 53v-54r.
29. [?]De non fugir de no
AntF III (1513), f. 44v-45r; MazF III (1518), f. 44v-45r (to Al. M.); AntF III (1520), f. 44v-45r (to Alexandro Mantuano).
Mod. ed.: Einstein-AntF III, pp. 59f.
30. Dilecto albergo è tu
PeF IV (1505), f. 29r; ^APn 676, f. 21v-22r.
Mod. ed.: Schwartz-PeF, pp. 74f.
31. [?]Di più varii
pensier
AntF III (1513), f. 43r (to Al. M.); MazF III (1518), f. 43r; AntF III (1520), f. 43r.
32. Discalza e discal-
zetta
DorC I (1526), f. 26r.
Mod. ed.: Torre Franca-Segreto, p. 450.
33. Doglia che non
aguagli
Vnm 1795, No. 76

34. D'ogni altra haria pensato PeF VII (1507), f. 38r; ^TMAC A.I.4, f. 115r.
35. Donne, habiati voi pietate PeF VIII (1507), f. 37v-38r.
Mod. ed.: Gallucci-Festival, vol. II, pp. 305-310; below, pp. 85-89:
36. Ecco colui che m'arde AntF IV (1517 & 1520), f. 33v-35r; CanF II (1519), f. 42v-44r; AntL (1520), f. 38r-39v.
Mod. ed.: Gasparini-Lavignac, pp. 629-32.
37. E da poi che'l sol DorC I (1526), f. 31v.
Mod. ed.: Torre Franca-Segreto, p. 449.
38. [?]Fiamma amorosa (A. Navagero) AntF III (1513), f. 8v-10r; MazF III (1518), f. 8v-10r; AntO I (1517), f. 22r-24r (to B. T.); ^AAntF III (1520), f. 8v-10r; ^AVnm 1795, No. 21.
Mod. ed.: Einstein-AntF III, pp. 7-10.
39. Forsi che sî PeF III (1504), f. 33v-35r.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, pp. 118f.
40. Fugga pur chi vol amore (a5) PeF VIII (1507), f. 40v-42r.
41. Fugi se sai fugir PeF IX (1509), f. 22r.
Mod. ed.: Ostoff-Theatergesang, vol. II, p. 161.
42. Fugitiva mia speranza PeF III (1504), f. 37v-39r; PeB II (1511), f. 38v-39v.

- Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, pp. 121f;
Disertori-PeB, pp. 540-42.
43. Glie pur gionto PeF I (1504), f. 11v-12r.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, p. 10;
Schwartz-PeF, pp. 8f.
44. Guardando alli occhi toi
(S. dall'Aquila) ^ALbm 3051, 19v-20r. (Musically identical with No. 102 below)
45. Ho che aiuto AntF III (1513 & 1520), f. 5v-7r; MazF III (1518), f. 5v-7r; AntO I (1517), f. 25r-26v.
Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB, pp. 291f; Einstein-AntF III, pp. 4-6.
46. Hor venduto ho la speranza PeF I (1504), f. 6v-7r; PeB I (1509), f. 33r-v.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, p. 6;
Disertori-PeB, pp. 388f;
Schwartz-PeF, pp. 6f.
47. In eterno io voglio amarte PeF I (1504), f. 10v-11r; ^AFn 230, f. 3v-4r; ^TMac A.I.4, f. 210r.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, p. 9;
Kiesewetter-Verdienste, pp. 68f;
Schwartz-PeF, pp. 4f & 44.
48. ? In eterno voglio amarti Fn 337, f. 12v. (Musically identical with No. 75 below)
49. Io non compro più PeF I (1504), f. 9v-10r; PeB I (1509), f. 34r-v.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, p. 8;
Disertori-PeB, pp. 390f;
Schwartz-PeF, pp. 6f.

50. Io non l'ho perchè
non l'ho
(A. Poliziano) PeF VII (1507), f. 40v-41r;
AntF I (1510), f. 28v-29r;
^TMAC A.I.4, f. 206v.
Mod. ed.: Rubsamen-Sources,
pp. 39-41.
51. Io son l'ocel PeF IV (1505), f. 2r; ^AF_n 27,
f. 41r; ^AP_n 676, f. 9r.
Mod. ed.: Schwartz-PeF, pp. 45
and 100.
52. La fortuna vol così PeF I (1504), f. 15v; PeB I
(1509), f. 34v.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, p. 13;
Disertori-PeB, p. 392; Schwartz-
PeF, p. 12.
53. La non vol perchè
non me ama AntF IV (1517 & 1520), f. 14v-
15r; ^AAntL (1520), tavola only;
^ASGs 463, No. 156.
54. L'ardor mio grave PeF VII (1507), f. 30v; ^TMAC
A.I.4, f. 73v.
55. ^ALa virtù se vol
seguire ^AF_n 27, f. 111v-112r; ^AF_n 121,
17v-18r; ^AP_n 676, f. 71v-72r.
(Beginning musically identical
with that of No. 47 above)
56. Le son tre
fantinelle DorC I (1526), f. 20r.
Mod. ed.: Torre Franca-Segreto,
pp. 481f.
57. Liber fu un tempo PeF III (1505), f. 39v-41r; PeB
II (1511), f. 30v-31v.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, pp. 122f;
Disertori-PeB, pp. 522-24.

- Lieti fai li arbori Bc 142, f. 13v. (Second strophe and refrain of No. 60 below)
58. Mal un muta PeF VII (1507), f. 32v; ^TMac A.I.4, f. 234v.
59. Mentre che a tua beltà PeF IV (1505), f. 16r.
Mod. ed.: Schwartz-PeF, p. 60.
60. Mentre io vo per questi boschi ^AVnm 1795, No. 58. (Same composition as Lieti fai li arbori above, but with additional first strophe)
61. [?]Me stesso incolpo (S. dall'Aquila) ^APeF IV (1505), f. 19v.
(Musically identical with No. 99 below)
Mod. ed.: Schwartz-PeF, p. 64.
62. Nasce la speme mia PeF IX (1509), f. 2v.
Mod. ed.: Pirrotta-Orfei, p. 95.
63. [?]Non al suo amante (Petrarch) DorC I (1526), f. 12v-13v (to B. T. on f. 12v, but to M. C. on f. 13r & 13v); ^ABc 21, No. 37; ^TPeF XI (1514), f. 41v-42r (to A. P.)
64. Non è tempo d'aspectare PeF I (1504), f. 3v-4r; PeB I (1509), f. 32v-33r; ^AFc 2441, f. 20v-21r.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, pp. 3f; Disertori-PeB, pp. 386f; Minor-Music, pp. 48-53; Schering-Geschichte, p. 70; Schwartz-PeF, p. 2.
65. [?]Non peccando altro che'l core PeF VII (1507), f. 26v-27r; PeB I (1509), f. 9v-10r (to B. T.).

- Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB,
pp. 326f (to M. C.)
- Non po l'omo Bc 18, f. 11r. (Third strophe
of No. 103 below)
66. ?O bon, egli è bon PeF V (1505), f. 4v-5r (to M.
C. over music, but to D. in
tavola); PeB II (1511), f. 32r-
v.
- Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB,
pp. 504-506; Haar-Chanson,
pp. 254f.
67. O caldi mei sospiri PeF IV (1505), f. 14v.
Mod. ed.: Schwartz-PeF,
pp. 58f.
68. O celeste anime
sancte PeF IX (1509), f. 24v.
69. Ochi dolci PeF IX (1509), f. 15v-16r.
70. Ochi mei, lassi PeF IV (1505), f. 13v-15r.
Mod. ed.: Schwartz-PeF,
pp. 55f.
71. Ogni ben fa la
fortuna PeF III (1505), f. 29v-31r;
^ALbm 3051, f. 24v-25r.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, pp. 115f.
72. Oimè el cor, oimè
la testa PeF I (1504), f. 2v-3r; PeB I
(1509), f. 32r; ^AFc 2441, f. 7v-
8r (a3); ^AFn 27, f. 12v-13r;
^APn 676, f. 11v-12r; ^APthibault,
f. 46r.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, p. 3;
Disertori-PeB, pp. 384f; Engel-
Lied, p. 14; Reese-Renaissance,
pp. 163f; Schwartz-PeF, pp. 3f.

73. O mia ciecha e
dura sorte PeF I (1504), f. 5v-6r; ^APeB I (1509), f. 19r-20r; Cn Cap, f. 9r; ^AFc 2441, f. 36v-37r; ^AFn 230, f. 27v-28r.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, pp. 5f; Disertori-PeB, pp. 352f; Gombosi-Cn Cap, pp. 10f; Parrish-Treasury, pp. 99-104; Schwartz-PeF, pp. 3f.
74. O, se havesse la
mia vita AntF IV (1517 & 1520), f. 10v-11r.
75. [?]Ostinato vo
seguire PeF IX (1509), f. 12v-13r (to B. T.); PeB I (1509), f. 20v-21r (to B. T.). (Musically identical with No. 48 above)
Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB, pp. 354-56.
76. Pensate se'l fu
doglia JudF I (1526), f. 10r-v; ^AVnm 1795, No. 72.
77. Perchè piangi, alma
(J. Sanazzaro) DorC II (1531), f. 7v-9r; ^AVnm 1795, No. 77.
78. Perchè son tutto
foco JudF I (1526), f. 6v-7r; ^AVnm 1795, No. 66.
79. [?]Per dolor mi bagno
il viso PeB II (1511), f. 3v-4r (to B. T.); PeF XI (1514), f. 24v-25r; AntO I (1517), f. 27v-28r; MazF II (1518), f. 4v-6r; AntF II (1520), f. 4v-6r.
Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB, pp. 293f & 459-61; Jeppesen-Orgelmusik, pp. 9*-16*.

80. Per fugir d'amor PeB II (1511), f. f. 9r-v; MazF II (1518), f. 8v-10r; AntF II (1520), f. 8v-10r.
81. Per fugire la mia morte AntL (1520), f. 7v; ^AVnm 1795, No. 74.
82. Perso ho in tutto PeF III (1505), f. 31v-33r; ^APthibault, f. 49r (two different intabulations).
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, pp. 116-18.
83. Piangie la donna mia AntL (1520), f. 46v (incomplete); DorC I (1526), f. 8v-10r; ^AVnm 1795, No. 85.
84. Pietà, cara signora PeF I (1504), f. 14r; PeB I (1509), f. 47r; ^AFc 2441, f. 31v-32r; ^APthibault, f. 46v-47r (two different intabulations); ^TPeF IX (1509), f. 4v-5r (to Rasmo).²
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, p. 12; Disertori-PeB, pp. 424f; Schwartz-PeF, p. 11.
85. Più non t'amo, haybò PeF IX (1509), f. 18v-19r; PeB I (1509), f. 44v-45v.
Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB, pp. 418-20.

²The Cantus of Rasmo's composition is also based on Cara's piece, whereas the Tenor is based on the Cantus of Tromboncino's La pietà chiuso ha le porte (PeF II [1505], f. 28v-30r).

86. Poich'al mio largo pianto Vnm 1795, No. 88.
87. Poichè in van DorC I (1526), f. 14v-15r.
88. Poich'io vedo ^AMazF II (1518), f. 24v-25r;
AntF II (1520), f. 24v-25r;
^ABAu 21, f. 8v; ^ABAu 59, No. 23.
89. Qual meraviglia, o donna (M. Bandello) Vnm 1795, No. 71.
90. ?Quando lo pomo vien PeF XI (1514), f. 3v-4r (to B. T.); MazF II (1518), f. 12v-13r; AntF II (1520), f. 12v-13r; Fc 2440, f. 64v-65r (to Pr. Michael); ^AFn 164, No. 32; ^AFn 230, f. 65r; ^AFn 337, f. 57r; ^AVnm 1795, No. 1.
Mod. ed.: Gandolfi-Fc 2440, Supplement, pp. 12f; Torrefranca-Segreto, pp. 520f.
91. Quei che sempre PeF III (1505), f. 35v-37r; PeB II (1511), f. 37r-38r.
Mod ed.: Cesari-PeF, pp. 120f; Disertori-PeB, pp. 535-37.
92. Questa umil fera (Petrarch) JudM I (1526), f. 13v-14r.
93. Quicunque ille fuit (Propertius) AntF III (1513), f. 31v-32r; MazF III (1518), f. 31v-32r; ^AAntF III (1520), f. 31v-32r.
Mod. ed.: Einstein-AntF III, pp. 39f.

94. Quis furor tanti AntF III (1513 & 1520), f. 32v-33r; MazF III (1518), f. 32v-33r.
Mod. ed.: Einstein-AntF III, pp. 40-42.
95. Rinforzi ogn'hor PeF IV (1505), f. 24v (toM.); PeF IV (1507), f. 24v (to M. C.).
Mod. ed.: Schwartz-PeF, pp. 69f (to M[ichael?]).
96. Rocta è l'aspra
mia cathena PeF V (1505), f. 44v-45r.
97. Salve regina (a3) VEcap 759, f. 67r-68r.
Mod. ed.: Jeppesen-Sacra, pp. 96-99.
98. Salve sacrato et
trionphante legno AntF IV (1517 & 1520), f. 37v-39r; ^TNo. 11 above, with the exception of the first line.
99. ? Sancta Maria, ora
pro nobis PeL II (1508), f. 19v (to B. T. & M. C.); (Musically identical with No. 61 above)
Mod. ed.: Jeppesen-PeL, p. 31.
100. Se alcun tempo da
voi AntF III (1513), f. 42r; MazF III (1518), f. 42r; missing from AntF III (1520); AntL (1520), f. 10r.
Mod. ed.: Einstein-AntF III, pp. 55-57.
101. Se amor non è
(Petrarch) AntF IV (1517 & 1520), f. 5v-6r; AntL (1520), f. 13v.

102. Se ben è'l fin de
la mia vita PeF VI (1506), f. 42v; PeB I
(1509), f. 47r; ^AFc 2440,
f. 5v-6r; ^AFn 230, f. 1r.
(Musically identical with No.
44 above)
- Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB,
p. 428.
103. Se de fede hor
vengo PeF I (1504), f. 8v-9r. PeB I
(1509), f. 31r-v; ^APthibault,
f. 36r. (Same composition as
Non po l'omo above, but with
additional strophes)
- Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, pp. 7f;
Disertori-PeB, pp. 382f;
Schwartz-PeF, p. 6.
104. Se gli'l dico che
dirà AntL (1520), f. 3v-4v; ^TPeF VII
(1507), f. 2v-3r (to B. T.);
^TPeB I (1509), f. 28v-29v (to
B. T.); ^TMAc A.I.4, f. 123r-v.
105. Se non fusse la
speranza PeF VII (1507), f. 47v-49r.
106. Se non hai
perseveranza PeF I (1504), f. 7v-8r.
- Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, p. 7;
Schwartz-PeF, p. 5.
107. Se non soccori,
amore DorC II (1531), f. 4v-6r.
108. Se per chieder mercè PeF VIII (1507), f. 10v-11r; PeB
I (1509), f. 20r-v; ^TMAc A.I.4,
f. 9v.
109. Se quanto in voi si
vede (L. Cassola) JudF I (1526), f. 7v-8r.

110. Se trovasse una donna
JudF I (1526), f. 10v-11r;
^AMOe 11, 8, f. 57v-59r.
Mod. ed.: Torrefranca-Segreto,
pp. 569f (incomplete).
111. Sì bella è la mia donna
DorC II (1531), f. 11v-13r.
112. Sì ben sto lontano
PeF IX (1509), f. 34v-35r.
113. Sì che la vo seguire
PeF XI (1514), f. 2r; ^AVnm
1795, No. 36.
114. Sì come che'l bianco cigno
PeF I (1504), f. 13r; PeB I
(1509), f. 23v; ^AFc 2441,
f. 16v-17r.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, p. 11;
Disertori-PeB, p. 362;
Schwartz-PeF, p. 10.
115. Signora, un che v'adora
CanF II (1519), f. 32v-33r;
AntL (1520), tavola only;
^ASGs 463, No. 149.
116. Si oportuerit me teco mori
PeB II (1511), f. 6v-7r.
Mod. ed.: Disertori-PeB,
pp. 466f.
117. ?S'io sedo al ombra
PeF V (1505), f. 53r (to Marchet
Marcheto over music, but to B.
T. in tavola); PeB II (1511),
f. 48v.
Mod. ed.: Disertori-Recercari,
p. 19; Disertori-PeB, pp. 568f;
Einstein-Madrigal, vol. I,
p. 101.
118. Sonno che gli animali
AntF III (1513 & 1520), f. 5r;
MazF III (1518), f. 5r.

- Mod. ed.: Einstein-AntF III,
pp. 3f.
119. Sum più tua PeF VIII (1507), f. 33v-34r;
PeB I (1509), f. 25v-26r.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, p. xv;
Disertori-PeB, pp. 370f.
120. Sù, sù, sù, sù mia
speme PeF VI (1506), f. 23v-24r.
121. Sventurati, amanti Missing from MazF II (1518);
AntF II (1520), f. 18v-19r.
122. Tante volte sì,
sì, sì PeF XI (1514), f. 25v-26r; ^AVnm
1795, No. 89.
123. Udite, voi finestre PeF I (1504), f. 12v; PeB I
(1509), f. 40v; ^APn 676, f. 54v-
55r.
Mod. ed.: Cesari-PeF, pp. 10f;
Disertori-PeB, p. 410; Schwartz-
PeF, p. 9.
124. Vedo ogni selva PeF VIII (1507), f. 53v.
125. Veramente, ogni
doglia DorC II (1531), f. 9v-11r.
126. Vergine imacolata PeL II (1508), f. 49v-50r.
Mod. ed.: Jeppesen-PeL,
pp. 86f.
127. Voi che ascoltate DorC I (1526), f. 2r; ^TAntF I
(1510), f. 14v-15r (to A. de
Ant.); ^TMAc A.I.4, f. 10v.

III. POETIC CLASSIFICATION OF CARA'S FROTTOLE

Ballata

Alma gentil, che di tua vaga spoglia
?Arsi donna, per voi
Pensate se'l fu doglia
Perchè son tutto foco
Piangie la donna mia
Qual meraviglia, o donna
Se non soccori, amore
Sì bella è la mia donna
Veramente, ogni doglia

Ballata-madrigal

Perchè piangi, alma

Barzelletta

Ala absentia
Amerò, non amerò
Bona dies, bona sera
Credul cor, perchè credesti
Deh, non più mo
?Deh sì, deh no
Dela impresa mia
?De non fugir de no
Forsi che sì, forsi che no
Fugga pur chi vol amore
Fugitiva mia speranza
Glie pur gionto
Ho che aiuto

Hor venduto ho la speranza
 In eterno io voglio amarte
 ? In eterno voglio amarti
 Io non compro più
 Io non l'ho perchè non l'ho
 ? La virtù se vol seguire
 Liber fu un tempo
 Mal un muta
 Mentre io vo per questi boschi
 Non è tempo d'aspectare
 ? Non peccando altro che'l core
 ? O bon, egli è bon
 Ochi dolci
 Ogni ben fa la fortuna
 Oimè el cor, oimè la testa
 O mia ciecha e dura sorte
 ? Ostinato vo seguire
 ? Per dolor mi bagno il viso
 Per fugir d'amor le ponte
 Perso ho in tutto
 Pietà, cara signora
 Più non t'amo, haybò
 Poichè in van
 Poich'io vedo
 Quei che sempre
 Rocta è l'aspra
 Se de fede hor vengo
 Se gli'l dico che dirà
 Se non fusse la speranza
 Se non hai perseveranza
 Sì ben sto lontano
 Sum più tua
 Sù, sù, sù, sù, mia speme
 Tante volte sì, sì, sì

Canzone

Ecco colui che m'arde

Canzone-madrigal

Se quanto in voi si vede

Canzonetta

Aiutami, ch'io moro
 Chi l'haria mai creduto
 Chi me darà più pace
 Cholei che amo così
 ?Crudel fuggi se sai
 Deh, dolce mia signora
 D'ogni altra haria pensato
 La non vol perchè non me ama
 Sì che la vo seguire

Capitolo

De che parlerà più
 Nasce la speme mia

Oda

La fortuna vol così
 O celeste anime sancte
 Sì come che'l bianco cigno
 Signora, un che v'adora
 Udite, voi finestre

Madrigal

?Amor, se de hor in hor
 Cangia spera mia voglia
 Doglia che non aguagli
 ?Fiamma amorosa

? Non al suo amante
Poich'al mio largo pianto

Sonnet

Cantai mentre nel core
? Di più varii pensier
Fugi se sai fugir
Mentre che a tua beltà
Per fugire la mia morte
Questa umil fera
Se alcun tempo da voi
Se amor non è
Se per chieder mercè
? S'io sedo al ombra d'amor
Sonno che gli animali
Voi che ascoltate

Strambotto

Aimè, ch'io moro
Arma del mio valor
Ave victorioso e sancto legno
Caro sepulchro mio
Defecerunt donna, hormai
Del mio sì grande
Dilecto albergo è tu
Guardando alli occhi toi
Io son l'ocel
L'ardor mio grave
? Me stesso incolpo
O caldi mei sospiri
Ochi mei, lassi
Rinforzi ogn'hor
Salve sacrato e triomphante legno
Se ben è'l fin de la mia vita
Vedo ogni selva

Vergine immacolata

Villotta Grande

? Quando lo pomo vien
Se trovasse una donna

Villotta Piccola

Discalza e discalzetta
E da poi che'l sol
Le son tre fantinelle

Problematic Texts

O se havesse la mia vita
Si oportuerit me teco mori

IV. TRANSCRIPTIONS

The following section contains transcriptions of all of Marchetto Cara's works that are not presently available in modern edition.¹ The compositions are arranged chronologically, first prints and then manuscripts. Within each source an alphabetical order is employed. Following Cara's works is a supplement containing eight related works by other composers, arranged in the same way. The advantages of such an arrangement are obvious. The reader may form his own ideas as to a development in Marchetto's style while at the same time he may compare the composer's reaction to different texts at a particular time.

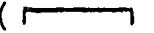


In the transcriptions, the original note values have been halved and modern clefs have been employed. Incipits at the beginning of each piece show the original clefs, signatures, mensuration signs, and nomenclature of voices. Mensuration changes within compositions are indicated in the comments preceding each piece, and the final notes of each work have been represented by whole notes with fermate,

¹Two works are also included that are available in modern edition. These are Chi la castra la porcella (PeF IX [1509]) and Donne, habiati voi pietate (PeF VIII [1507]). The two compositions are scored in Gallucci-Festival.

whether a long or a breve was notated in the original.

Bar lines, rather than mensurstriche, were chosen, and, insofar as possible, the barring has been kept regular throughout. Often a measure of three halves (three semi-breves in the original) was necessary to allow the composition to conclude with a full measure. In such cases, the time signatures have been placed in brackets.

The stanghetta (heavy vertical line) of the original sources has been rendered in two different ways, depending on its function. Where it marks the end of a major section, a double bar has been used; where it forms the beginning of a repeated section, a modern repetition sign has been used.

Ligatures are indicated by a solid bracket (), and coloration by an open bracket ( ). Minor color has been represented by a dotted note group rather than a triplet (♩. ♪).

Editorial accidentals, affecting only the note over which they fall, have been added sparingly according to the following precepts:

1. At cadence points the seventh degree (subsemitonium modi) has been raised if such an alteration does not cause an harmonic tritone or a simultaneous cross-relation.

2. Accidentals have been added to avoid both melodic and harmonic tritones, and simultaneous cross-relations.

3. Flats have been added to B and E in accordance with the maxim, "Una nota super la semper est canendum fa." In cases of conflict with precept 1, precedence has been given to precept 3.

4. When necessary, thirds contained in final cadences and in important medial cadences have been raised to make the third major.

Text-underlay is the choice of the editor. The original orthography has been retained, except in cases in which the meaning of the text would be obscured through the use of the original spelling (e.g., giaccio=g[h]iaccio), but variant spellings in pieces in which all voices are texted have been resolved to the most frequent spelling. The punctuation, capitalization, and diacritical marks found in the texts are added by the editor. Text not included in the original source has been added in parentheses if a repetition was indicated by an iterum sign ("ij"), and with brackets if no indication of a repetition was included in the original.

In general, a given version of a composition has been accepted as the basis of the transcription, and no attempt has been made to create a composite "ideal version." In this way, each transcription represents an historical reality, a piece that was performed substantially in the manner indicated by the transcription. Concordances have been collated, but variants present in them have been accepted only if the primary source is obviously in error. For the primary source, prints have been preferred to manuscripts, not because they are more reliable, but because compositions in them may be given a relatively firm terminus ante quem.

The Works of
Marchetto Cara

1. Ala absentia

Source of Edition: PeF V (1505), f. 42v-43r

Text Form: Barzelletta (M. Cara)

Ala absentia che me acora,
 Io non trovo altro conforto;
 Sol la fe che mia signora
 M'ha promesso o vivo o morto.

Lei promise, et io iurai;
 Altri più mai non amare,
 Sì che donna al mondo mai
 Potrà lei farne lasciare,
 Che fa el spirto vivo ogn' hora,
 Hor cussì lontan a torto.
 Sol la fe....

Forza fu e non mi pento
 L'absentar dal viso santo,
 Benchè focho non è spento;
 Anci abruscio in ogni canto
 Chi mantien che in cor non mora,
 Se fui spinto fuor dal porto?
 Sol la fe....

Altro al mondo io non desio,
 Che la fe promessa e data;
 Non me sia posta in oblio,
 Se ben l'alma è luntanata
 Se l'absentia me divora
 Chi me cangia el color smorto?
 Sol la fe....

Revisions:

1. **Q3** in print.

Ala absentia

47

[Cantus] A - la ab-sen-tia che me a-co - ra

Altus Ala absentia che me a cora

Tenor Ala absentia

Bassus Ala absentia che me a cora

5

Io non tro-vo al-tro con - for - to Sol la

Sol la fe

Sol

Sol la fe che

10

fe che mia si - gno - ra M'ha pro-mes

che mia si - gno - ra

la fe che mia si - gno - ra

mia si - gno - ra m'ha per -

15

So vi - vo o vi - vo mor - to.

m'ha pro-mes-sa vi - - - - - vo mor - to.

m'ha pro-mes-sa vi - - - - - vo mor - to.

mes - so o vi - - - - - vo mor - to.

1) 20

Lei pro - - mis - se et io iu - ra - i Al-tri - -

lei promise

lei promise

Lei promise

25

più mai - - non a - ma - ra. si che - - don - - na

30

al mon-do ma - i Po-tra --- lei far - me la - scia - re

35

Che fa el spir-to --- vi - vo gn' ho - ra Hor cus - si ---

40

lun-tan a tor - to. Sol la fe che-

45

ma si - gno - ra Mi - se - re pro - mes - - so, vi - vo o vi - vo

50

mor - - to.

2. Rocta è l'aspra mia cathena

Source of Edition: PeF V (1505), f. 44v-45

Text Form: Barzelletta

Rocta è l'aspra mia cathena
 Ch'io son fora de preson;
 Darà, dirà d'un dena.

Benedecta si la chiave
 Che m'a perse il lamborinto
 Dove sterei dolor grave
 De pensier diversi cincto
 Hor del nodo d'amor vinto.
 Tolto hai freno al ciecho senso
 Perchè aspinto il focho acenso.
 Iusto sdegno è la ragion.
 Darà, dirà d'un dena.

Le carze dolze e acorte,
 Lieti sguardi e'l parlar grato
 Fuor di tal effecto exorte,
 Ch'ogni cor arian gabato--
 Con tal lacci fui legato
 Perchè amato esserme cresi.
 Ma dapoì che'l vero intesi
 Solsi el nodo e liber son.
 Darà, dirà....

Che non può l'aspro furore
 D'un honesto e iusto idegno
 Quanto puoi un gintil core,
 El qual habia animo e ingegno,
 Lo risciolto con faticha
 Qual sia quello che me dica
 Ch'io lo sei senza rason.
 Darà, dirà....

Io son fuora a dio mercede
 Dele man d'una crudele,
 Che è sue promesse fede
 Qual duragno son le tele.
 La fu falsa e infidele
 Contra me che assai l'amava;
 Fece quel che non pensava
 Pur la ingiuna li perdon.
 Darà, dirà....

Revisions:

1. Other voices read "Benedecta la cathena."

[Cantus] Roc-ta è l'as - pra mia ca -
Alto Roc-ta è l'aspra mia caellena.
Tenor Roc-ta è l'aspra mia caellena
Bassus Roc-ta è l'aspra mia caellena

5
the - - na. Ch'io son fo - ra de pre -
10

15
Son Tu-rà, di-rà d'un, Tu-rà, di-rà d'un [re-na], Du-rà,

30

dir un de-na, dir un de-na,

25

Be - ne - dec - - ta si lu
Do - re ste - - rei do - - lor

Benedecta la cathena

Benedecta la cathena

Benedecta la cathena

30

chia -- ve) che ma per - se il lam -- be -- rin -
gra -- ve De pen - sier di -- ver -- si# cin -

35 40

tu
cto Hor del no - do dia - mar vin - to

45

Tol - to iai fre - no a cie - cho sen - so
Per - ché i pen - to il fo - cho a sen - so.

50

Tu - sto me - gno è la ra - gione. Di - rà, di - rà

55

d'un, l'a-rà, di-rà d'un [de-na], Du-rò, dir un de na, [dir un

60

de-na]

3. Sù, sù, sù, sù mia speme

Source of Edition: PeF VI (1506), f. 23v-24r

Text Form: Barzulletta

Sù, sù, sù, sù mia speme prende el porto;
 Non temer più de fortuna.
 Tu suspir levele ad una,
 Che la nave è gionta in porto.

Ite in pace, o mei suspir,
 E tu, fido mio pensiero,
 Che in mar d'aspri martir,
 Conservasti el legno intiero.
 Più de voi non fa mestiero
 Ch'ora mai me trovo un porto.
 Sù, sù....

Hora el cielo ringratio e lodo
 Ch'io non son come era prima;
 Egli è rotto el duro nono,
 Ne più fazo d'amor stima
 El mio cor più non declina,
 Che la nave è gioncta in porto.
 Sù, sù....

Revisions:

1. Flat in print.
2. Original mensuration sign retained.
3. Flat in print.
4. Original mensuration sign retained.
5. Flat in print.
6. Corona in print.
7. g in print.

[Cantus] Sù, sù, sù, sù mia spe - me pren -

Altus Sù, sù, sù, sù mia speme

Tenor Sù, sù, sù, sù mia speme

Bassus Sù, sù, sù, sù mia speme

5
di el par - to; non te - mer più

10
de for - tu - - na. Tu sus - cir le - -

15

ve - le ad un - a, Che la na - ve è gion - ta

im - por - - to, [è gion - ta im -

25

- por - to.]

2) I - te in pa - ce, o mai

3) 2) Che in rar - ras - pri

30

35

Sus - pir, E — tu, fi - do mio per - sic - ro, Più de voi no(n)
 mar tir, Con - ser - vos - ti el le - gna in - tie - ro.

40A)

— tu mes - tie - ro Cho - ra vai me tra - vagn pre - to Sì, sì,

5) 45

Sì, sì mes que - me pren - di el por - to

50

Non te-mer più de for-tu - - na. Tu sus -

55

per le vo - le ge d' un - a, C'ò - ra na - i me'

60

tro - vo un - - - por - - - to.

65 # 70

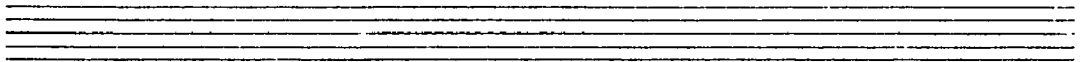


This system contains the first four staves of a musical score. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The music consists of quarter and eighth notes. The second staff continues the melody with similar rhythmic values. The third staff features a bass clef and contains a series of quarter notes. The fourth staff also has a bass clef and contains a series of quarter notes. The system concludes with a double bar line.

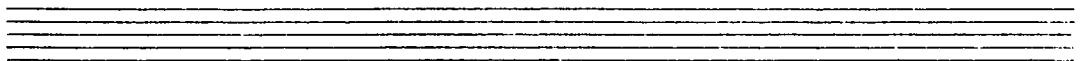
75



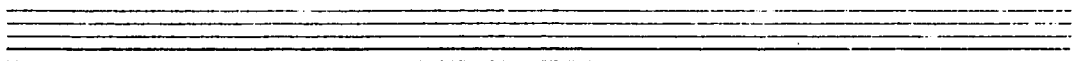
This system contains the next four staves of the musical score. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The music continues with quarter and eighth notes, including some beamed eighth notes. The second staff continues the melody. The third staff has a bass clef and contains a series of quarter notes. The fourth staff has a bass clef and contains a series of quarter notes. The system concludes with a double bar line.



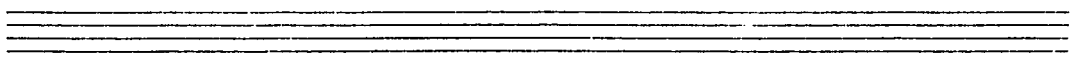
A single empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.



A single empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.



A single empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.



A single empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

4. Aiutami, ch'io moro

Source of Edition: PeF VII (1507), f. 48v

Text Form: Canzonetta

Aiutami, ch'io moro.
 Ti prego non tardare,
 O donna singulare,
 Aiutami, ch'io moro.

Tu poi la vita darmi,
 E anchor felice farmi
 A che più consumarmi.
 Aiutami....

Non pò più hormai il core,
 Arso dal gran dolore;
 Pietà del miser core.
 Aiutami....

Non me tener più in pena,
 Nè in sì crudel cathene,
 Dolce diva e mio bene.
 Aiutami....

Io son sì lasso e stanco,
 E sì ferito al fianco,
 Che sento ogn'hor ch'io manco.
 Aiutami....

Ti mova il mio lamento,
 Se non el mio tormento;
 Non mi lassar più in stento.
 Aiutami, ch'io moro.

[Cantus] Ai-u-ta-mi, ch'io mo-ro. Ti pre-ga n'ni tar-da re,

Altus Aiutami, ch'io moro

Tenor Aiutami, ch'io moro

Bassus Aiutami, ch'io moro

O d'án-na sin-gu-la-re, Ai - u - ta - mi ch'io mo - - ro.

5. Bona dies, bona sera

Source of Edition: PeF VII (1507), f. 41v-42r

Text Form: Barzioletta

Bona dies, bona sera;
 Io credea fosse a bon hora.
 Passa il giorno, passa l' hora,
 E però vien presto sera.

Bona dies, bona sera;
 Io credea fosse a bon hora.

Ergo donna finche poi
 Fa ch'è'l tempo non t'incresca,
 E misura i giorni toi,
 Che mai piglia chi non pesca.
 Presto il fuoco accende lesca,
 Fallo dunque volentiera.

Revisions:

1. Stanghetta in Altus and Bassus only.

[Cantus] Bo-ra

Altus Bona dies, bona sera

Tenor Bona dies, bona sera

Bassus Bona dies, bona sera

5 #

di - es, bo-na se - ra; Io cre-dea fos-se a bon ho -

10 #

ra. Pas-sa il gior-no pas-sa l'ho-ra E, per-hò vien pres-to

30

cre-sca, pes-ca, Pres-ti-jil fuo-co ac-cen-de les-ca, Fal-lo don-are

35

vol-on-tic-ra, ut supra

6. Credul cor, perchè credesti

Source of Edition: PeF VII (1507), f. 14v-15v

Text Form: Barzelletta

Credul cor, perchè credesti
 Quel che creder non dovevi,
 E se inganno in me vedesti,
 Perchè almen non mei dicesti?

Credul cor, perchè credesti
 Quel che creder non dovevi?

Se hai cattiva opinione
 Di me, iusta et innocente,
 Stare io voglio al parangone
 Contra ogniuno mai dicente.
 Et seria falsa indecente
 In la fe giamai mi trovi,
 Son contenta che removi;
 Dami il cor già me desti.
 Credul cor....

Cada il fulgur che me occida
 Se io ti se mai mancamento,
 Ma chi mal d'altrui se fida,
 Ha paura d'ogni vento.
 Tu sai ben che experimento
 Mille volte hai di me facto;
 Tu sai ben che un tristo acto
 Mai in me giamai non vedesti.
 Credul cor....

Cre-dul cor, per-chè cre - des - ti Quel che cre-det -

Credul cor

Credul cor perchè credesti

Credul cor

5

— non do - ve - vi, E se in-gan-no in me ve-des-ti, Per-chè al-mor

10

non rei — di — ce - sti?

15

20 #

Cre-dul cor, per-chè cre - des - ti, Quel che cre-der non do-

25

re - vi non do - ve - vi?

30 #

Se hai ca - ti - vas pin - re Di ne, tu - sta et in - no -
sta re, vo - gli al pa - san - go - re Con - tra - grem - ma - di -

35

In la fe già - mai mi tro - vi,
co: le Son con - ter - ta - che re - mo - vi;
Da - mi il cor che già
Do mi il cor
Do mi il cor
Do mi il cor

40

me des - ti Cre - dul cor,

45

per - chè cre - des - ti, Quel che cre - der - non do - va - vi, non

50 #

do - ve - vi?

The image shows a handwritten musical score on a page numbered 73. The score consists of five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics "do - ve - vi?". Above the first measure of the vocal line is the number "50" and a sharp sign "#". The vocal line features a melodic line with various note values and rests, including a long note with a fermata at the end. The accompaniment consists of four staves below the vocal line, with the first staff showing a bass line and the remaining three staves showing a treble line. The notation is handwritten and includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and accidentals.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

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An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

7. Deh, dolce mia signora

Source of Edition: PeF VII (1507), f. 31r

Text Form: Canzonetta

Deh, dolce mia signora
 Che m'hai cotanto aschivo,
 Se poi tenirme vivo
 Deh, perchè voi ch'io mora.

Ascolta el mio dolore
 Ch'io provo a tutte l'hore;
 S'io t'ho donato el core,
 Deh, perchè voi ch'io mora.

O, mia infelice sorte,
 Troppo crudel et forte,
 S'io provo ogn'hor la morte.
 Deh, perchè....

O, dolce mia nemica,
 Sta doglia mia infinita,
 Se un guardo sol m'aita.
 Deh, perchè....

O mio infelice stato,
 O cor mio tormento,
 Habbi di me peccato.
 Deh, perchè....

Da premio over mercede,
 Al mio servir con fede,
 O, del mio cor herede.
 Deh, perchè....

S'io provo a tutte l'hore
 Affanno, pianto, et focho,
 Ne mai non trovo locho.
 Deh, perchè....

Li toi gentil custumi
 Et quei to vaghi lumi,
 Si fan che mi consumi.
 Deh, perchè....

Hormai ogni aspra fera
Seria mossa a pietade,
E tu con crudeltade,
Disposta sei ch'io mora.

Deh, dolce mia signora
ut supra

Deh, dolce mia signora

5

[Cantus] Deh, dol - ce mia si - gno - ra. Che

Altus Deh, dolce mia signora

Tenor Deh, dolce mia signora

Bassus Deh, dolce mia signora.

mi hai - con - tran - to a - schi - vo, se poi te - nir - me vi -

vo. Deh, per - che voi ah'in mo - ra.

8. D'ogni altra haria pensato

Source of Edition: PeF VII (1507), f. 38r

Text Form: Canzonetta

D'ogni altra haria pensato,
 Non mai di te signora,
 Che in breve e pocho d'hora
 M'havessi abandonato.

D'ogni altra haria pensato,
 Non mai di te signora.

Poichè privato m'hai
 Di dolce e to bei rai,
 Farò mia vita in guai,
 Piangendo lo mio stato.
 D'ogni altra....

O grave mio dolore,
 Ch'a un altro ha dato el core,
 Et io del suo amore,
 Al tutto son privato.
 D'ogni altra....

Io son rimasto morto,
 Solo senza conforto,
 Pensando el grave torto
 Che ogni per te pato.
 D'ogni altra....

Ma s'tu te vol scusare,
 So che'l saprai fare,
 Per doverme scazare
 A torto e gran peccato.
 D'ogni altra....

Ma una gentil persona,
 El servo non abandona,
 Come che tu, Madonna,
 Me hai abandonato.
 D'ogni altra....

D'ogni altra haria pensato

[Cantus] D'ogni altra haria pensato, Non mai di te si-gno-ra,

Altus D'ogni altra haria pensato

Tenor D'ogni altra haria pensato

Bassus D'ogni altra haria pensato

5

Che in bre-vee po-cho d'ho-ra M'ha-mis-si-ban-do - na - to,

10 # #15

D'ogni altra haria pensato, Non mai di te si-gno - - - ra.

9. L'ardor mio grave

Source of Edition: PeF VII (1507), f. 30v

Text Form: Strambotto

L'ardor mio grave è assimilante al pesche
Che in aqua chiara vien suo primo loco.
Cossì nel pecto mio ogn'hor li cresce,
Vivendo di sospir pianto di foco
Nè di abrusciar giamai non li rincesce
Benchè morendo io vadi a poco a poco.
Ma più mi duol se lo mostro el mio tormento
Ch'io getto el tempo e le fatiche al vento.

Handwritten musical score system 1, measures 1-4. The system consists of four staves. The top staff contains a melodic line with a fermata over the first measure and a measure rest in the second. The second staff contains a bass line with a fermata over the first measure. The third staff contains a melodic line with a fermata over the first measure. The fourth staff contains a bass line with a fermata over the first measure. A handwritten annotation "b = con." is written above the first measure of the second staff. The number "20" is written in the top right corner of the system.

Handwritten musical score system 2, measures 5-8. The system consists of four staves. The top staff contains a melodic line with a fermata over the first measure. The second staff contains a bass line with a fermata over the first measure. The third staff contains a melodic line with a fermata over the first measure. The fourth staff contains a bass line with a fermata over the first measure. The number "25" is written in the top right corner of the system.

Handwritten musical score system 3, measures 9-12. The system consists of four staves. The top staff contains a melodic line with a fermata over the first measure and a sharp sign (#) above the first measure. The second staff contains a bass line with a fermata over the first measure and a sharp sign (#) above the first measure. The third staff contains a melodic line with a fermata over the first measure. The fourth staff contains a bass line with a fermata over the first measure. The number "30" is written in the top right corner of the system.

10. Mal un muta per effecto

Source of Edition: PeF VII (1507), f. 32v

Text Form: Barzelledda

Mal un muta per effecto
 El suo proprio naturale;
 Ben far no, ben si pò male
 Ad ogn'un al suo dispecto.

Mal un muta per effecto
 El suo proprio naturale.

Ogni cosa sua natura
 Seguitar e de mestiero;
 Non è arte nè misura
 Che mai faci el falso vero;
 Non è bianco quel ch'è nero,
 Come chiar vede la vista;
 Non si pente un alma trista
 Cangie el tempo pur suo aspecto.
 Mal un muta....

L'armelin per non manchiarse
 Pria al nemico vien in mano;
 Mal la rana vile aparse
 Lieta fori del paltano;
 Chi è gentil, chi è vilano
 Ala fin si manisfesta;
 Non arar la regal vesta
 Cangie el tempo pur suo aspecto.
 Mal un muta....

Mille prove ò già fatto io
 In costei d'amor ver priva,
 In cui posi el pensier mio
 Per voleria tener viva;
 E nel mondo faria diva
 D'alta eterna e d'amor fama;
 Ma el sul mal el tristo brama,
 Cangie el tempo pur suo aspecto.
 Mal un muta....

Mal un mu-ta per ef-fec-to El suo prop-rio

Mal un muta per effecto

Mal un muta (per) effecto

Mal un muta per effecto

5

na-tu-ra-le; Ben far no... ben si pò ma-le

10

Ad ogn'un al suo dis-pec-to. Mal un mu-ta per ef-

15

fec-to El suo prop-ria na - tu - ra-le, El suo prop-ria

Musical score for measures 15-19. It consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is the piano accompaniment. The third and fourth staves are additional accompaniment parts. The music is in 2/4 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#).

20

na tu - ra - le,

Musical score for measures 20-22. It consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is the piano accompaniment. The third and fourth staves are additional accompaniment parts. The music is in 2/4 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#).

Four sets of empty musical staves, each consisting of five lines, arranged vertically.

11. Donne, habiati voi pietate

Source of Edition: PeF VIII (1507), f. 37v-38r

Text Form: Barzioletta (Canto carnascialesco)

Donne, habiati voi pietate
 Desti poveri galeotti;
 Gran bisogno ne a condotti
 A chiedervi caritate.

Sotto forza d'un tiranno,
 Nui solchamo un tempo el mare,
 E quel fusse el nostro affanno
 Seria longo il racontare,
 Perchè anchor di po il stentare,
 Diventiamo in povertate.
 [Donne habiate....]

Revisions:

1. sic
2. Clef change to fifth-line c'.
3. Clef change to fourth-line c'.
4. c#' added by editor.

[Cantus] Don-ne, ha-bi-te voi pie-ta-
Alto Donne, habiate voi pietate
Tenor Donne, habiate voi pietate
Basso Donne, habiate voi pietate

te Des-ti po-ve-ri ga-le-ot-ti; Gran bi-

so-gno ne ha con-dot-ti A chie-der-vi

15

ca - ri - ta - te.

2.)

This system contains measures 15 through 19. It features a vocal line with the lyrics "ca - ri - ta - te." and a piano accompaniment. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). A second ending bracket labeled "2.)" spans the final two measures of this system.

20

This system contains measures 20 through 24. The vocal line consists of five whole notes, each with a fermata. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support with various rhythmic patterns and chord changes.

25

This system contains measures 25 through 29. The vocal line features four whole notes with fermatas. The piano accompaniment includes a section with a tremolo effect in the right hand and a melodic line in the left hand.

30 35

Sot - to
E
quel
to

Sotto forza.

Sotto forza.

40

for - za
fus - so / el
d'un
nos - tro / of - fan - no

Noi
se - ria
sol - cia - mo
un
lan - na / il

Sotto forza.

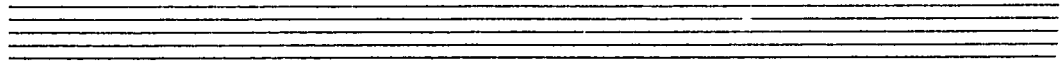
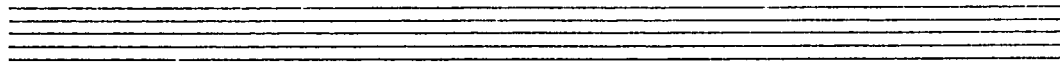
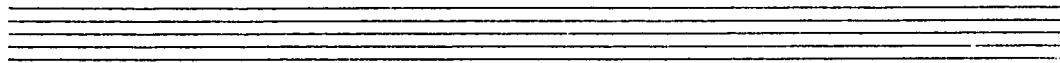
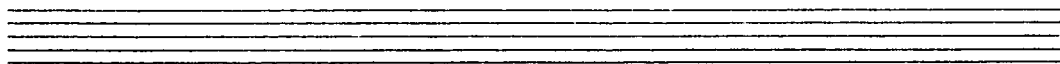
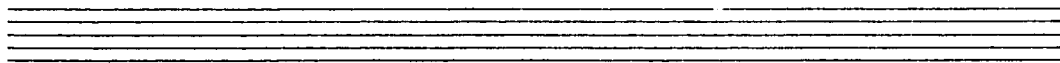
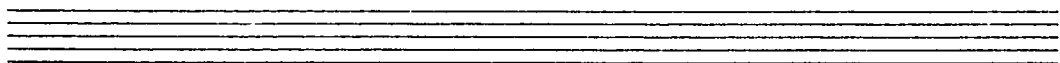
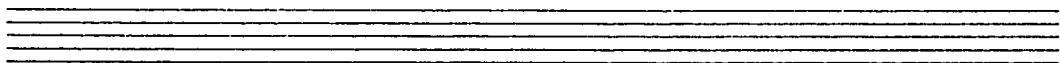
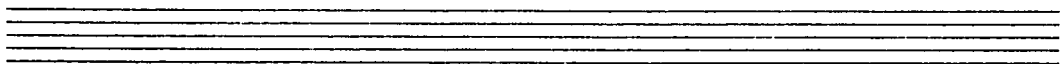
45

tem - po
re / ma - re
Per - ché
gn - chor / di
po / il / sten -

50

ta - re, Di - vi - tia - me in po - ter - - ta - - te.

capitulum



12. Fugga pur chi vol amore

Source of Edition: PeF VIII (1507), f. 40v-42r

Text Form: Barzelletta

Fugga pur chi vol amore
 Che io per me seguir il voglio
 E di lui più non mi doglio
 Hor ch'io son in suo favore.

Fugga pur chi vol amore
 Che io per me seguir il voglio.

Mai non persi la speranza
 Se ben hebbi qualche affanno;
 Hor va iusta la bisanza,
 Nè li trovo alcun inganno;
 Ristorato ho ogni mio danno;
 Questo ramo è frutto e fiore.

Fugga pur chi vol amore
 Ch'io per me seguir el voglio.

Se di lui giamai mi dolsi,
 Non bisogna farne scusa;
 Lui el volse et io el volsi
 Fra gli amanti questo susa,
 Non sia alchun più che la cusa.
 Seggua....

Più non curo del passato
 De sospiri e di mei pianti;
 Son io adun tratto ristorato.
 Questa è usanza degli amanti
 Hor convien che rida e canti
 E dimostri quel che ho in core.
 Seggua pur....

Revisions:

1.. g in print.

2. g in print.

3. All voices have a long at the end of the prima pars.

4. Breve rest in print.
5. Breve rest in print. R[udolph] S[chwartz] brackets the last d in the Munich copy of the print and retains the original length of the rest.
6. The text here is abbreviated and reads "Ch'io." Both times previously it reads "Che io."
7. g in print.

Fugga pur chi vol amare.

[Cantus] Fug-ga pur chi vol a-mo-re

Altus Fugga pur chi vol amare

Tenor Fugga pur chi vol amare

Concordance Fugga pur chi vol amare.

Bassus Fugga pur chi vol amare.

5 Che io per me se-guir il vo

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of five staves. The top staff is the vocal line, with lyrics: "- glio E di lui più non mi do - - glio". A fermata is placed over the word "più" with the number "10" written above it. The second staff is the right-hand piano accompaniment, and the third staff is the left-hand piano accompaniment. The bottom two staves are empty.

Two empty musical staves, one above the other.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of five staves. The top staff is the vocal line, with lyrics: "Hor ch'io son in su - o fa - -". A fermata is placed over the word "son" with the number "15" written above it. The second staff is the right-hand piano accompaniment, and the third staff is the left-hand piano accompaniment. The bottom two staves are empty.

Two empty musical staves, one above the other.

vo-re, Fug-ga. pur chi voi a-mo - - re.

This system contains a vocal line and three piano accompaniment staves. The vocal line has lyrics: "vo-re, Fug-ga. pur chi voi a-mo - - re." The piano accompaniment consists of three staves with various rhythmic patterns and accidentals (flats).

20

Che io per me se-guir il vo - - gliu, [vo - -]

This system begins with a measure rest of 20 measures. It contains a vocal line and three piano accompaniment staves. The vocal line has lyrics: "Che io per me se-guir il vo - - gliu, [vo - -]". The piano accompaniment continues with complex rhythmic and harmonic structures.

25 3)

Secunda Pars

30
 Mai non per - - si la spe - - ran - - za Se ben heb -
 Hor va lu - - sta la bi - - san - - za Ne li tro -
 8 Mai non persi la speranza
 8 Mai non persi la speranza
 Mai non persi la speranza

35 b

- bi qual - che af - fan - no;
voal-cun in - gan - no;

Ris - to - ra - to hog - gni mio -

dan - - no; Ques - to ra - - mo è frut - to e -

4)

40

fio - re, Fug - ga pur chi vol a -

45

mo - re che io per me se - guir el vo -

50

- gliò, [vo - - - gliò.]

7)

13. Se non fusse la speranza

Source of Edition: PeF VIII (1507), f. 47v-49r

Text Form: Barzelletta

Se non fusse la speranza,
Io serei de vita privo;
Questa speme me tien vivo
E mi pasco de speranza.

Se non fusse la speranza,
Io serei de vita privo.

Questa speme è bona herba
Che non perde sua radice;
La mia sorte è ogn'hor più acerba,
E pur spero esser felice.
Non è al mondo un più infelice,
E pur vivo con speranza.
Se non fusse....

La speranza fa tal frutto,
Che da prima alquanto è duro;
Ma se poi non è destrutto,
Al suo tempo vien matuto.
E non teme del futuro,
Chi ha del frutto de speranza.
Se non fusse....

Revisions:

1. Semiminim in print.

[Cantus] Se non fus-se la spe-ran-za, Io se-rei
Altus Se non fusse la speranza.
Tenor Se non fusse la speranza.
5 Basso Se non fusse la speranza.

This system contains the first four staves of the musical score. The top staff is for the Cantus part, followed by Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are written below each staff. A sharp sign (#) is placed above the second measure of the Cantus staff. The music is in 4/4 time and begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#).

de-ni-tu pri-vo; Que-sta spe - ra - zion non vo
#

This system contains the fifth and sixth staves of the musical score. The lyrics continue from the previous system. A sharp sign (#) is placed above the second measure of the fifth staff. The music continues in the same key signature and time signature.

10 E mi pas-co de --- spe - ran - za, de-
b

This system contains the seventh, eighth, and ninth staves of the musical score. The lyrics continue. A flat sign (b) is placed above the second measure of the seventh staff. The music continues in the same key signature and time signature.

15 # #

spe - ran - ra. Se noi fus - se la spe - ran - za,

Se noi fus - se

Se noi fus - se

Se noi fus - se

20

Io se - rei de - vi - ta pri - vo, [Io se - rei de vi - ta pri -

#

25 #

Secundu pars

2) - - vo.] Questa spe - me è u - na bo - na ter - ba
la mia san - te è o - gn'or piu a - cer - ba,

Questa spe - me

Questa spe - me

Questa spe - me

30

#

(Chorus) per - do - mi - ni - cu - di - ce; In - glo - ri - a - do - mi - ni - ce
 E per - se - cen - tes - si - fe - li - ci.

35

b

li - ce, E per vi - vo con - spe - ran - ti.

40

75

- za, con Spi - ri - tu - us Dom - ni - ce, la - san - c - tu - s,

So - ni - tus
 So - ni - tus
 So - ni - tus

50

To se-rei le vi-ta pri-va, [To se-rei de vi-ta pri-va]

This system contains a vocal line and two piano accompaniment staves. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "To se-rei le vi-ta pri-va, [To se-rei de vi-ta pri-va]". The piano accompaniment features a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first staff of the piano part has a 7/8 time signature. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and a fermata at the end of the first phrase.

This system continues the musical score with a vocal line and two piano accompaniment staves. The vocal line has a fermata over the final note. The piano accompaniment continues with similar rhythmic patterns. There are some handwritten annotations in the piano part, including a circled sharp sign and a bracketed section labeled "oct".

This section of the page contains five empty musical staves, providing space for further notation.

14. Vedo ogni selva

Source of Edition: PeF VIII (1507), f. 53v

Text Form: Strambotto

Vedo ogni selva revestir le frondi,
Et ogni prato di fioretti adorno.
Apollo spande gli dorati e biondi
Suoi crini tal che lieto e ogni contorno.
Neptuno a quietato ha le sconfiate ondi;
E benivol a nauti e notte e giorno.
Sol questo amor crudel non da mai fine
A suoi tormenti e al'aspre e gran ruine.

[Cantus] Ve - ni o, i salva ri - ves - ti - ta - te

Alto Ve - ni o, i salva

Tenor Ve - ni o, i salva

Bassus Ve - ni o, i salva

This system contains the first four staves of the musical score. The vocal parts (Cantus, Alto, Tenor, Bassus) all begin with the lyrics "Veni o, i salva". The piano accompaniment is written on a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The music is in a common time signature.

fron - di, ri - ves - ti - ta - te - fron - di, [te

This system contains the fifth and sixth staves. The vocal parts continue with the lyrics "fron - di, ri - ves - ti - ta - te - fron - di, [te". The piano accompaniment continues with chords and melodic lines. A measure rest of 15 is indicated above the vocal staves.

fron - di, et o - mni - po -

This system contains the seventh and eighth staves. The vocal parts conclude with the lyrics "fron - di, et o - mni - po -". The piano accompaniment continues with chords and melodic lines. A measure rest of 15 is indicated above the vocal staves.

20

25



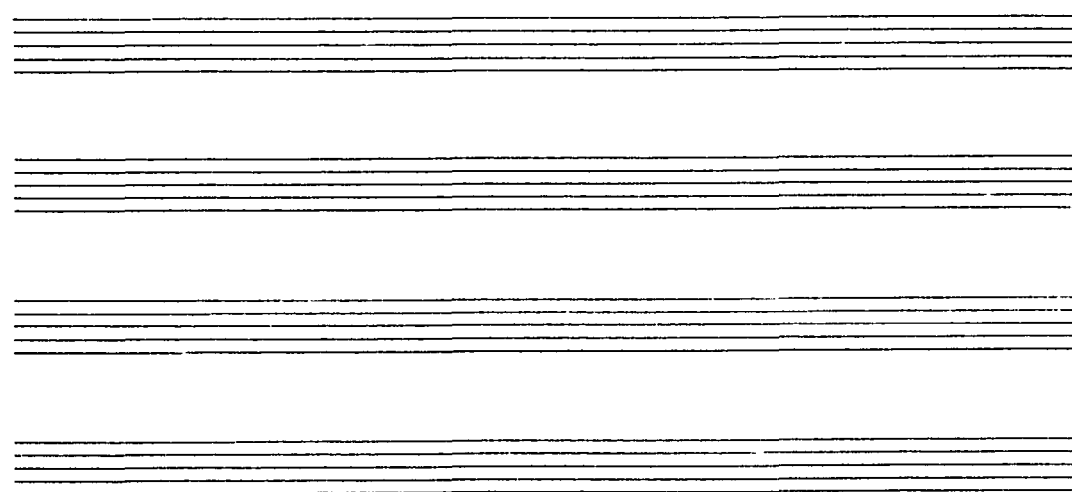
to, a - ni pro - to di fi - lii ge - ni - ti

This system contains the first five staves of a musical score. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is a piano accompaniment. The third staff is empty. The fourth and fifth staves are also piano accompaniment. The system ends with a double bar line.



a - dor - no.

This system contains the next five staves. The top staff has lyrics and a fermata over the word 'no.'. The second staff is piano accompaniment. The third staff has a sharp sign (#) and other notes. The fourth and fifth staves are piano accompaniment. The system ends with a double bar line.



Four sets of empty musical staves, each consisting of five lines, arranged vertically.

15. Chi la castra la porcella

Source of Edition: PeF IX (1509), f. 9v-10r

Text Form: Barzelletta (Canto carnascialesco)

Chi la castra la porcella,
Sù, sù, za, za, ferri accuti;
Per tagliar siam pronti tutti
Che bon mastro ogn'un sapella.

Chi la castra la porcella,
Con za lavez, o con za lavez,
Chi la castra la porcella.

Nostre bolze è ben fornire,
Postiam star al parangone,
Se noi bisogno havete
Pianteren nostro pongione;
Poi cum gran discretione
Conzarem vostra padella.
Chi la castra....

Vi daremo un bel coperchio
Di lavezi fermo e sodo,
Se poi rotto haveti el cerchio,
Conzarenlo cum bon modo;
Cum inzegno e cum tal chiodo
Che quadrato a sua capella.
Chi la castra....

Horsù za se gli è dirotto
Testi o altri che s'incapa,
Vi metiem senz'altro motto
Quattro ponti in una chiapa;
Se per tempo poi s'è schiapa,
Sarem pronti a pontar quella.
Chi la castra....

Revisions:

1. $\phi 3$ in all parts.
2. ϕ in all parts.

[Cantus] Chi la castra la por-cel - la, chi, chi, ca, ca,
Alto Chi la castra la porcella
Tenor Chi la castra la porcella
Basso Chi la castra la porcella

5
fer - ri a - co - ti; Per ta - gliar ciam pro - ti tu -

10
ti Che bon mas - trop - anon sa - pel - la. Chi la castra -

stra la por - cel - la, Con za - la - vez, o con za - la - vez,

Chi la cas - - - stra la por - cel - la, Mo - stre hol - ze è ben for
Se di noi bi - ss - gnò - ha -

ni - rei, Pos - siam star al pa - ran - go - ne, Poi com
ve - te Por - te - ren no - - stro por - gin - no;

1) $c' = d.$ 30 2)

gran di - - sse-tio-ne 1) Con-zo-rem' vo-stis, pa-del-la.

1) 2)

ut supra

16. Cholei che amo cosi

Source of Edition: PeF IX (1509), f. 23v

Text Form: Canzonetta

Cholei che amo cosi
 Come amo proprio mi,
 Me a ditto fino a qui:
 No, no, mo dice si.
 Hi, hi, hi, hi, hi, hi;
 No, no, mo dice si.

Si che anch'io voglio che
 La me ami como se,
 Onde che hormai non è
 Amante equal a me.
 Hi, hi....

Ma pur contentarà
 Poi sapia che vorà,
 Che quel che non se sa,
 Quasi anchor non se fa.
 Hi, hi....

Cho-lei che amo co-sì co-me a - mo prop-rio mi,

Cholei che amo così

Cholei che amo così

Cholei che amo così

Me a dit-to fi-ni qui: No, no, no di-ce--sì Hi, hi, hi, hi, hi, hi, No,

no, no di-ce sì, [no, no, no-di--ce sì]

17. Dela impresa mia amorosa

Source of Edition: PeF IX (1509), f. 10v-11r

Text Form: Barzelletta

Dela impresa mia amorosa
 Nasce ogn'hor tanto martire,
 Che una vita sì penosa
 Troppo è grave da tenere.

Questo mar nostro dei quale
 Gli pensier raro riesce,
 Si non fosse alcuno male
 Dal desio per forza esce,
 E nel cor qual hano al pesce
 Sempre in vita dolorosa.
 [Dela impresa....]

Se col viver pien d'affanni
 Un languir come al sol neve,
 Cum penar de cento anni
 Per portar un suspir breve;
 Ben ne sia el morir men greve
 Dela vita aspra e noiosa.
 Dela impresa....

Gli occhi sol ben pianger denno
 Se d'amor morir conviensi,
 Che nei tor la strata tenno,
 Hai desir ciechi e accensi
 E smarirno drieto hai sensi,
 L'alma sì che mai non posa.
 Dela impresa....

Revisions:

1. Text underlay in print: "troppo è" under mm. 15-16;
 "grave da tenere" under mm. 17-18.
2. Semibreve divided for text underlay on repetition.

Dela impresa mia amorosa

[Cantus] De - - la im - pre - sa mi - a mi -

Altus Dela impresa mia amorosa

Tenor Dela impresa mia amorosa

Bassus Dela impresa mia amorosa.

ro - sa Nos - ce - gin' hor tan - to mar - ti - re, Cheu - na

vi - ta si pe - no - sa. 1) Trop - pe è

5 15

The musical score is handwritten and consists of five systems of staves. The first system includes vocal parts for Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus, with lyrics 'De - - la im - pre - sa mi - a mi -'. The second system continues the vocal parts with lyrics 'ro - sa Nos - ce - gin' hor tan - to mar - ti - re, Cheu - na'. The third system shows piano accompaniment for the first system. The fourth system continues the piano accompaniment for the second system. The fifth system shows piano accompaniment for the third system, with lyrics 'vi - ta si pe - no - sa. 1) Trop - pe è'. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p' and 'b'.

1

grat - te - ni - re. # 20 20

Ques - to mar

25

tro dei qua - le gli per sic

30

sce, Si non fos - se al - cun ma - le 30 30 30

Dal de -
 E nel

2) 35

sio per cor-age-sce, Cor-pto in vita do-
cor qui in no-gre-sce

#

- la-ro - sa. ut

Soprano

18. Fugi, se sai fugir

Source of Edition: PeF IX (1509), f. 22r

Text Form: Sonnet

Fugi, se sai fugir, che fugir tanto
 Tu non potrai che non ti gionga amore.
 Fugi, se sai fugir, che a tutte l'hore,
 Cum l'ale del desio te sarò accanto.

E se ben scampi non tene dar vanto,
 Perchè vincer fugendo e poco honore
 Per premio adunque ch'io te diede il core,
 Tu voi crudel ch'io mi consumi in pianto.

L'amor ch'io t'ho portato ogn'un l'intende,
 Quel che portasti a me tu sola el sai
 El qual quanto sia stato hor si comprende.

Questo perchè io non te ami non sarai,
 Però che un ver amor dove faccende
 Pur una volta non si amorza mai.

[CANTUS] Fu-gi, se sai fu-gir, che fu - gir tan to

Altus Fugi, se sai fugir

Tenor Fugi, se sai fugir

Bassus Fugi, se sai fugir

5

Tu non pot-rai che non gion-ga a - no - re,
Fu-gi, se sai fu-gir, che a tut - te l'ho - re, Cum là - le

10

del de-si - o te so - rà ac - can - to.

19. Ochi dolci

Source of Edition: PeF IX (1509), f. 15v-16r

Text Form: Barzelletta

Ochi dolci, o che almen scorto,
Ben avesse in voi l'errore;
O, che mai conforme il core
Fusse stato io da poi morto.

Ochi dolci, o che almen scorto.

Se l'error compreso avesse
In voi falsi e dolci invista,
Non harei tanto interesse
Del ben perso al'alma trista.
E se al cor pietade mista
Fusse stato la dolcezza,
Che in voi vidi mancho aspreza,
Maria el mal che per voi porto.
[Ochi dolci....]

Se anchor morto per voi fusse,
El di primo v'è mirai,
Harian fine le percosse
Che ho per voi hor più che mai;
Ma da voi io me n'andai
Col cor stolto e ciechi sensi,
Qual farfalla ai lumi accensi,
Onde io sento e pato a torto.
Ochi....

Horsù adunque io son pur gionto
Cum vostra escha e mio fallire,
A quel aspro extremo ponto
Che più duro che'l morire.
Ma non vo però fugire
Vhe le infamia intrar in campo,
E fugir per haver scampo,
Che vil vita è un viver corto.
Ochi....

Se'l mio cor vi diede,
Non pò haver cum voi bon merto;
Merti almancho la mia fede
Chol martir per voi sofferto,
Ne me fazi hormai più incerto,
Se mai degio uscir d'affanni
Che'l servir col perder li anni,
Vien da servo pocho accorto.
Ochi....

[Cantus] O - chi dol - ci, o che alren sar to,
Altus Ochi dolci
Tenor Ochi dolci
Bassus Ochi dolci

The first system of the musical score consists of four vocal staves and a piano accompaniment staff. The vocal parts are labeled [Cantus], Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The lyrics for the vocal parts are: [Cantus] "O - chi dol - ci, o che alren sar to,"; Altus "Ochi dolci"; Tenor "Ochi dolci"; Bassus "Ochi dolci". The piano accompaniment is written in a treble clef with a common time signature (C). The music features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some rests and dynamic markings.

Ben ha - ves - se in voi l'er - ro - re; O che mai con - fer - negil ca -
5

The second system of the musical score continues the vocal parts and piano accompaniment. The lyrics for the vocal parts are: "Ben ha - ves - se in voi l'er - ro - re; O che mai con - fer - negil ca -". The piano accompaniment continues with similar rhythmic patterns and includes a measure rest marked with the number 8.

re Fus - se sta - to io da poi non to. O -
10

The third system of the musical score concludes the vocal parts and piano accompaniment. The lyrics for the vocal parts are: "re Fus - se sta - to io da poi non to. O -". The piano accompaniment continues with similar rhythmic patterns and includes a measure rest marked with the number 8.

15

chi dol-ci, o che al-men scor - - to.

20

Se l'er-ror com-pre-sen-ha-res-se Tra-ici fal-sie dol-ci-ri-
 Non ha-rai tan-to-ign-o-te-res-se Dal ben per-so al'ol-mia

25

vis-ta tris-ta E se al cor pie-ta-de mis-ta Fu-se sta-to
 Che in voi vi-di

30 #

la dol-ces-sa,
mon-chag-s-pro-za,
Ha-rin el mol-ble per
voi per -

35

to,

20. O celeste anime sancte

Source of Edition: PeF IX (1509), f. 24v

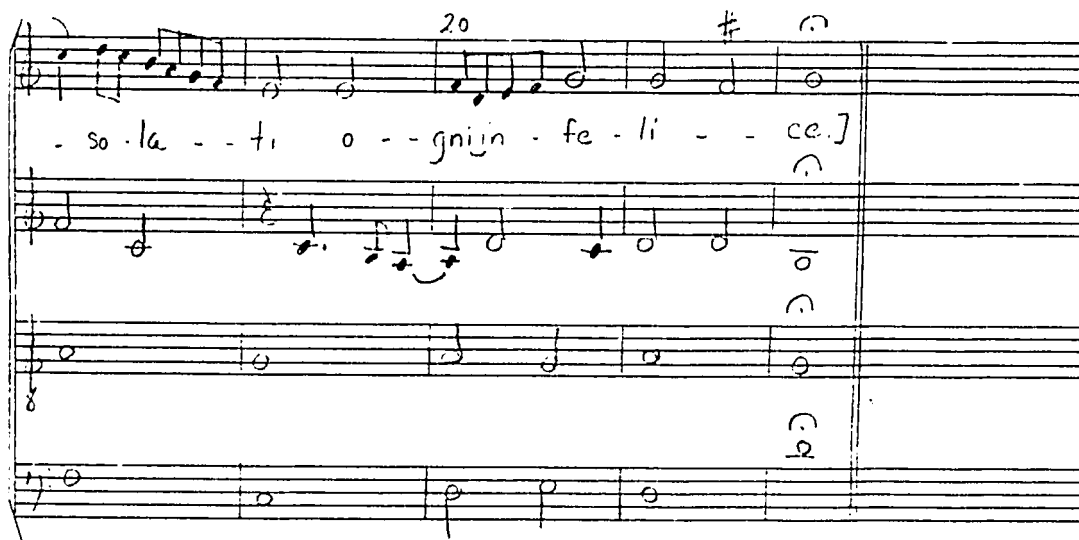
Text Form: Oda? [Lauda?]

O celeste anime sancte,
Coregeti chi mal dice;
Vendicate iniutie tante;
Consolate ogni infelice.

[Cantus] O ce - les - te a - ni - me sanc - te,
Altus O celeste anime sancte
Tenor O celeste anime sancte
Bassus O celeste anime sancte

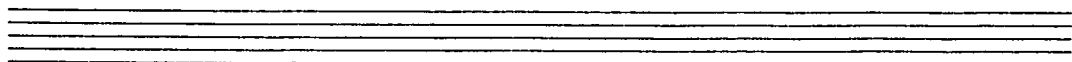
Co - re - ge - - ti mal di - ce; Ven - di - ca - te in - iu - tie

tan - te; Con - so - la - ti o - gni in - fe - li - ce, [con.

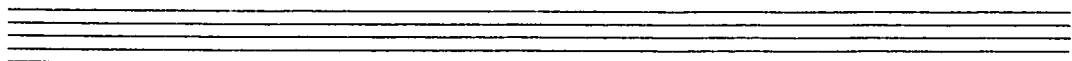


Handwritten musical score for a vocal line. The lyrics are: - so - la - - ti o - - gni in - fe - li - - ce.]

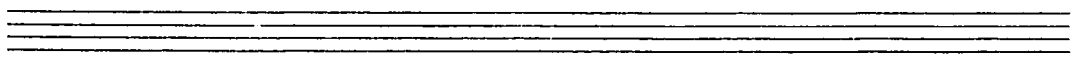
The score consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the notes. The second staff is a piano accompaniment line, starting with a treble clef. The third staff is a piano accompaniment line, starting with a bass clef. The fourth staff is a piano accompaniment line, starting with a bass clef. The music is written in a simple, handwritten style.



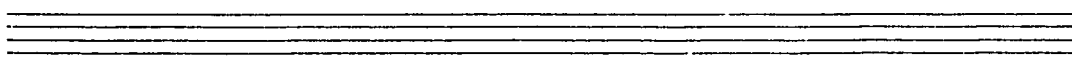
Empty musical staff.



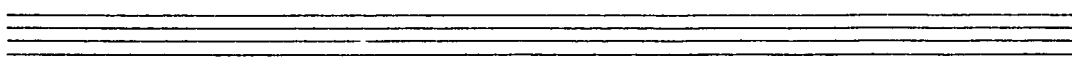
Empty musical staff.



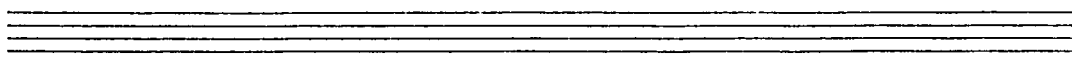
Empty musical staff.



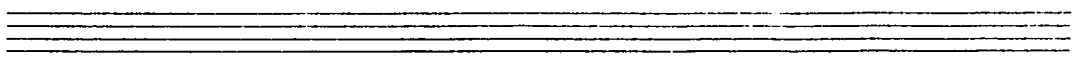
Empty musical staff.



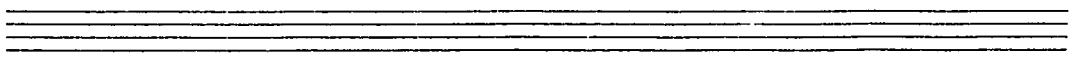
Empty musical staff.



Empty musical staff.



Empty musical staff.



Empty musical staff.

21. Sì ben sto lontano

Source of Edition: PeF IX (1509), f. 34v-35r

Text Form: Barzelletta

Sì ben sto lontano alquanto
 Non pensar ch'io cangia amore;
 T'ho scolpita in mezzo il core,
 E sei meco in ogni canto.

Son pur tuo come al ciel piace
 Nè d'altrui mai esser voglio
 Nel mio cor, scolpita g[h]iace,
 La passion de tuo cor doglio,
 Già per questo non mi scioglio.
 Sì ben sto lontano alquanto....

La cagion chi son absente,
 El tuo honor e tu lo sai
 Testimonio è di presente
 El mio cor ch'io ti donai;
 Vivo in pene accerbe e guai.
 Sì ben sto lontano alquanto....

Revisions:

1. Dotted semiminim in print corrected to dotted minim in Munich copy by modern hand.
2. g# in print.

[Cantus] Si ben sto lon - ta - no alquan - to

Altus Si ben sto lontano alquanto

Tenor Si ben sto lontano alquanto

Bassus Si ben sto lontano alquanto

5 Non pen - sar ch'io can - - gia - mo - re; Tho sei - pi -

10 ta in mez - ze) co - re, E sei me - co) in o - gni can -

15 20

to. Si ben sto lon - ta - ne al. quan - to Non pen - sar ch'io

25

can - - giu - mo - re; non pen - sar ch'io can - - giu -

mo - re, [can - giu - mo - - re.]

22. Amerò, non amerò

Source of Edition: PeF XI (1514), f. 22v-23r

Text Form: Barzioletta

Amerò, non amerò,
Debo amar o non amare;
Voglio amar, voglio lassare
Che almen lieto canterò.

De la da po, de za da pa,
Tu ghe anderè, non ghe anderò.

Non sia il ver ch'io l'ami mai
Che non cura il mio tormento;
Anzi gode el mio lamento
E se ride di mei lai.
Ma se amor mi darà guai,
Dime poi commo farò.
De la da po....

Gli è pur vaga, gli è pur bella;
Se gli è bella, gli è crudele,
Se gli è un tossico odi un mele
Debbo adunque arder per ella
Sforzarammi la mia stella,
S'io vorò s'io non vorò.
De la da po....

El convien abandonarla
Poteremo, non poteremo;
Amarem, non amaremo;
Horsù adunque ad adorarla
Che mi è forza a seguitarla,
Fin che vivo resterò.
De la da po....

Revisions:

1. Seminim in print.

[Cantus] A - me - rò, non a - me - rò, De - bo - a - mar

Altus Amerò non amerò,

Tenor Amerò non amerò,

Bassus Amerò non amerò,

Detailed description: This system contains the first five staves of the musical score. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics. Below it are three staves for vocal parts: Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The bottom staff is the piano accompaniment. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: [Cantus] A - me - rò, non a - me - rò, De - bo - a - mar.

o non a - ma - rò; Vo - glia - mar vo - glia las - sia - re

Detailed description: This system contains the next five staves of the musical score. The vocal line continues with the lyrics: o non a - ma - rò; Vo - glia - mar vo - glia las - sia - re. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern. The key signature remains one sharp (F#).

10 #
Che - al - mi - le - to can - te - rò. De lo a - a - pi, de - za - da -

Detailed description: This system contains the final five staves of the musical score. The vocal line begins with a measure rest (10) and then continues with the lyrics: Che - al - mi - le - to can - te - rò. De lo a - a - pi, de - za - da -. The piano accompaniment continues. The key signature changes to two sharps (F# and C#).

15

po, Tu ghe gnan-de rù, non ghe an-de - rù, se tu da po, da za da po,

Tu ghe an-de - re n n ghe an-de - rù.

23. Sì che la vo seguire

Source of Edition: PeF XI (1514), f. 2r

Text Form: Canzonetta

Sì che la vo seguire
 E niuna alta offesa
 Levar mi po dala mia anticha impresa
 Quando non fusse ben certo di morire.
 Sì che la vo seguire.

Sì che'l vero ch'io l'amo
 Assai più che me stesso,
 Ma maggior don dal ciel mi fu concesso,
 Quando tanto amo lei e me disamo.
 Sì che'l ver....

Sì che l'è al mondo sola,
 [Gita] le belle bella^a
 [Che] chi la mira sua benigna stella
 Fa felice ciaschun ma il cor l'invola.
 Sì che l'è al mondo....

Sì che'l ver ch'io moro
 Ben mille volte al giorno;
 Ma tasto in vita chol pensier ritorno,
 Pensando a la beltà che in terra adoro.
 Sì che'l ver....

Sì che'l stentar mi piace
 Ne perchè stenti o viva,
 Pensando per la dolce alma mia diva;
 Da tal guerra d'amor nasce mia pace.
 Sì che'l stentar....

Sì che la vo seguire
 Che quel volto divino
 Seguo per election e per destino,
 E ogni dilecto avanza il mio martyre.
 Sì che la vo....

^aBracketed words are partially illegible in print.

Si che lo vo seguire

[Cantus] Si che la vo se - qui - ro

Alto Si che la vo seguirò?

Tenor Si che lo vo seguire

Basses Si che lo vo seguire

This section contains the first four staves of the musical score. Each staff has a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are: [Cantus] Si che la vo se - qui - ro; Alto Si che la vo seguirò?; Tenor Si che lo vo seguire; Basses Si che lo vo seguire.

no - neglitar af - fe - sa Le-var mi po da - la mi gior-

This section contains the next four staves of the musical score. The lyrics continue: no - neglitar af - fe - sa Le-var mi po da - la mi gior-

ti-chi-jm-phe-sa Quando non s'è ben cer-to di mo-

This section contains the final four staves of the musical score. The lyrics continue: ti-chi-jm-phe-sa Quando non s'è ben cer-to di mo-

20 25

ri - re. Sì che la - se -

This block contains the first system of a musical score, spanning measures 20 to 25. It features a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line begins with a whole note 'ri' followed by a half note 're.' in measure 20. In measure 21, it starts with a half note 'Sì', followed by a quarter note 'che', a quarter note 'la', and a half note 'se' in measure 22. The piano accompaniment consists of a right hand with a steady eighth-note pattern and a left hand with a similar eighth-note pattern. The system concludes with a double bar line at the end of measure 25.

qui - re.

This block contains the second system of the musical score, spanning measures 26 to 28. The vocal line begins in measure 26 with a half note 'qui' followed by a half note 're.' in measure 27. The piano accompaniment continues with the same rhythmic patterns as in the previous system. The system concludes with a double bar line at the end of measure 28.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

24. Tante volte sì, sì, sì

Source of Edition: PeF XI (1514), f. 25v-26r

Text Form: Barzelletta

Tante volte sì, sì, sì
 Et in cambio haver un no;
 Son cagion che insino a qui,
 Io non ho quel che non ho.

Tante volte sì, sì, sì
 Et in cambio haver un no.

Ogni giorno un bel dimando
 Et un sì sempre mi paga,
 Et per non sapere il quando
 Questo al cor me mortal piaga,
 Che dal sì la incerta paga,
 Fa ch'io mor' stando cusì.
 Tante volte....

Se'l sì, sì fusse presente
 Como a tempo da venire,
 Viverai più lietamente
 Con men doglia e men martyre;
 Ma per sempre sì, sì dire
 Questo sì non fa per me.
 Tante volte....

Tanto sì senza altro fare
 Son pur doglie troppo extreme,
 Ch'io mi vedo consumare
 In dubiosa e incerta speme,
 Perchè a quel che sì mi preme
 Gionger mai non vedo el dì.
 Tante volte....

Un sol sì che habi mio affecto
 Mi farà lieto e contento,
 Sì del don che tanto aspetto
 Sol daramme in pagamento,
 Altramente a far lamento,
 Son constretto notte e dì.
 Tante volte....

[Cantus] Tan - te vol - te si, si, si, Et in

Altus Tante volte si, si, si

Tenor Tante volte si, si, si

Bassus Tante volte si, si, si

cam - bio ha - rer un noi; Son co - qui che si - no a

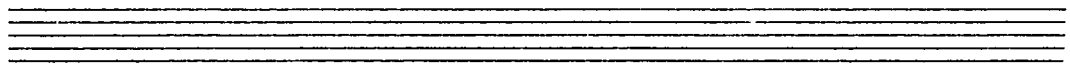
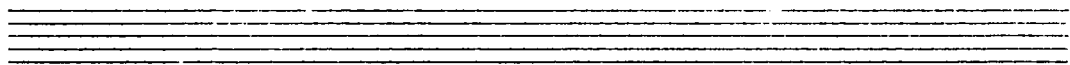
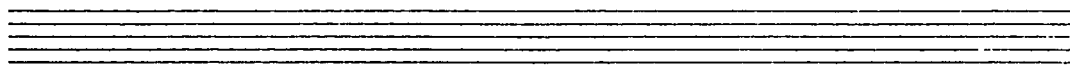
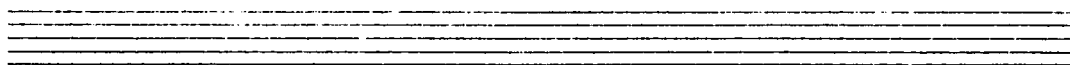
qui, Io non ha - quel - che non ha.

20

Tan-te vol-te si, si, si, Et in cam-bi-a-ver un

25

no; Et in cam-bi-a-ver un no.



25. Signora, un che v'adora

Source of Edition: CanF II (1519), f. 32v-33r

Text Form: Oda

Signora, un che v'adora
 E'l vostro nome honora
 Vita è l'[u]no^a amor palese,
 Acciò in error non l'infaciate o ese..

Se'l more un poco honore,
 Harete a tutte l'ore;
 Nè dir potrete mai
 Sono m'acorsi de mei tanti guai.

Che dio che son quel io
 Che hagio ogni pensier mio;
 In voi fermo et intenso,
 Nè vivo se di vuoi sempre non penso.

Io fui preso de vui,
 Da quel begli ochi dui
 Che invidia sanno al sole
 Alhor che quello comparar si vole.

De te in gran beltate
 Regna, et non crudeltate
 Dunque picta mia diva,
 Che più bella de voi non è che viva.

^aFirst letter illeggibile in print.

Signora, un che vadorra

[Cantus] Si-gno-ra, un che vado-ra El vos-tra no-

Altus Signora, un che vi

Tenor Signora, un che vi

Bassus Signora, un che vi

me ho-no - - ra Vi-talè vno-g-mor-pa-le-se, Ac - ciò in ex-cel-sis non in fa -

cia-teo e-se.

26. Poich'io vedo

Source of Edition: AntF II (1520), f. 24v-25r

Text Form: Barzelletta

Poich'io vedo, ahi tristo, e lasso,
 Ala dolce mia armonia,
 Non si move un cor di sasso
 Et bisogna è forza sia.
 Che'l tenor bassi el bordon
 Et che scorda da buffon
 Su li canti marterel.

Tuolo in man, dan dan dan dan,
 Dan, dan, che le balzan.

Revisions:

1. Stanghetta placed one breve too soon in Cantus.
2. One "dan" deleted from print.

Poich'io vedo

143

5

[Cantus] Poi-ch'io ve - do, ah! tris - to! e lo s -

Altus Poich'io vedo

Tenor Poich'io vedo

Bassus Poich'io vedo

10

so, A - la dol - ce mia ar - mo - ni -

15

a, Non si mo - ve un cor di sa -

1) 20

so Et bi - so - gna è for - za si - a

25

Che i te - nor - - - bas - si! bor - dor Et - che

30 35

scor - da da bu - fon Su - li can - ti ma -

40

ta - rel. Two-lojin man, two-lojin man, dan don dan, ³⁾two-lojin man, Dan,

45

dan, che le bul - con.

27. Sventurati, amanti

Source of Edition: AntF II (1520), f. 18v-19v

Text Form: ?

Sventurati amanti
[No text after incipit.]

Revisions:

1. Note partially illegible in print.

5

[Cantus] Sven - tu - ra - ti, a - man - ti

Altus Sventurati

Tenor Sventurati, amanti

Bassus Sventurati, amanti

10

15

20



This system contains the first four measures of the piece. It features four staves: a vocal line at the top, a piano accompaniment with a treble clef and a '2' time signature, a bass line with a treble clef and a '2' time signature, and a bass line with a bass clef. The music is in 2/2 time. Measure 1 starts with a whole note chord. Measure 2 has a half note chord. Measure 3 has a half note chord. Measure 4 has a half note chord. A sharp sign (#) is placed above the second staff in measure 3.

25



This system contains measures 5 through 8. It features four staves: a vocal line at the top, a piano accompaniment with a treble clef and a '2' time signature, a bass line with a treble clef and a '2' time signature, and a bass line with a bass clef. The music is in 2/2 time. Measure 5 has a half note chord. Measure 6 has a half note chord. Measure 7 has a half note chord. Measure 8 has a half note chord. A sharp sign (#) is placed above the first staff in measure 5, and another sharp sign (#) is placed above the first staff in measure 8.

30 35



This system contains measures 9 through 12. It features four staves: a vocal line at the top, a piano accompaniment with a treble clef and a '2' time signature, a bass line with a treble clef and a '2' time signature, and a bass line with a bass clef. The music is in 2/2 time. Measure 9 has a half note chord. Measure 10 has a half note chord. Measure 11 has a half note chord. Measure 12 has a half note chord. A sharp sign (#) is placed above the second staff in measure 11, and another sharp sign (#) is placed above the second staff in measure 12.

40 #

Musical score for measures 40-44. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is the treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff is the alto clef. The third staff is the bass clef with a first fingering '1)' above the first measure. The bottom staff is the bass clef. The music features a variety of note values including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

45

Musical score for measures 45-49. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is the treble clef. The second staff is the alto clef with a slur and a first fingering '1' above a group of notes. The third staff is the bass clef with a slur and a first fingering '1' above a group of notes. The bottom staff is the bass clef. The music continues with various rhythmic patterns and rests.

50

Musical score for measures 50-54. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is the treble clef. The second staff is the alto clef with a first fingering '1' above a group of notes. The third staff is the bass clef with a first fingering '1' above a group of notes. The bottom staff is the bass clef. The music concludes with various rhythmic patterns and rests.

55

Handwritten musical notation on a five-staff system. The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The first staff contains a melodic line with eighth notes. The second staff contains a bass line with quarter notes. The third staff contains a melodic line with eighth notes. The fourth staff contains a bass line with quarter notes. The fifth staff contains a bass line with quarter notes. The notation is handwritten and includes various musical symbols such as stems, beams, and note heads.

A series of ten empty musical staves, each consisting of five horizontal lines, arranged vertically on the page.

28. ?Amor, se de hor in hor

Source of Edition: AntF IV (1520), f. 26v-27r

Text Form: Madrigal (M. Bandello)

Amor, se de hor in hor la doglia cresce,
Anci è fatta immortale,
Chi finirà el mio male?
Lasso che in vita de dolor non si esse,
Se doverà finire,
Me converà morire.

A - mur, se de hor in hor la do - glia cre - sce,
 Amor, se de hor in hor
 Amor, se de hor in hor la do - glia
 Amor, se de hor in hor

5 An - ci è fat - ta in mor - ta - le, Chi fi - ni - rà il mio ma - le? Las -

10 So che in vi - ta de do - lor non sies - se, se do - ve - rà fi - ni - re,

15

Me con-ve-rà mo-ri-re, se do-ve-rà fi-ni-re, Me con-ve-rà

20

mo-ri-re, mo-ri-re, Me con-ve-rà mo-ri-re,

25

Se do-ve-rà fi-ni-re, Me con-[ve-rà mo-ri-re.]

29. Cangia spera mia voglia

Source of Edition: AntF IV (1520), f. 11v-13r

Text Form: Ballata-madrigal

Cangia spera mia voglia
Che non si mor per doglia;

Et si fiere novelle,
Passan per gli ochi al core
Da le due luci belle.
Cercan prender d'amore,
Tal fecondo favore,
Che levi el gran martyre
Se non si può morire.

Revisions:

1. Breve divided for text-underlay.
2. f' not dotted in print.
3. d in print.

Cangia spera mia voglia

[Cantus] Can - - - gia Spa - ra mia
Altus Canglia spera mia voglia
Tenor Canglia spera mia voglia
Bassus Canglia spera mia voglia

15 10
vii - - - glia Che non si mai più di - glia
15 10

Et si fie - re no - vel - - -
15 10

20

le, Pas-san per gli'o-chi al co -

25 1) #

re Da le du-e lu-ci bel-le;

30 35

Cer-can pren-der d'a-mo-re, Tal fe-con-

Tal fecundo favore

Tal fecundo favore

Tal fecundo favore

41

-do fa - - vo - re, che le - vi el gran mar - ty - -

45

re Se non si può mo - ri - - re, che le - vi el

50

55

gran mar - ty - re Si non si può mo - ri - re,

60 #

Che le-vi [può el gran mar - ty - - re.]

This system contains four staves of music. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is a piano accompaniment. The third and fourth staves are additional accompaniment parts. The music is in 8/8 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#).

65

This system contains four staves of music. The top staff is a vocal line. The second, third, and fourth staves are piano accompaniment parts. The music continues in 8/8 time and one sharp key signature.

Five sets of empty musical staves, each consisting of four staves, are provided for further notation.

30. Caro sepulchro mio

Source of Edition: AntF IV (1520), f. 28v-29r

Text Form: Strambotto

Caro sepulchro mio, che ascondi e chiudi
 Innanci el tempo per mia acerba pena
 Le vaghe membra de li spirit'ignudi,
 Che sono giunto a vita più serena,
 Poichè mei giorni son sì amari e crudi,
 E per morte troncata è la cathena,
 Hor che mia vita a poco a a poco manca,
 Raccogli anchora in te mia carne stanca.

Revisions:

1. Signum congruentiae in all voices in print.
2. Clef-change to fourth-line c'.
3. Minim in print.

Caro sepulchro mio

5

[Cantus] Ca-ro Sepul-chro mi-o,

Altus Caro sepulchro mio

Tenor Caro sepulchro mio

Bassus Caro sepulchro mio

Detailed description: This system contains the first four staves of the musical score. The top staff is for the Cantus part, with lyrics 'Ca-ro Sepul-chro mi-o,'. Below it are three staves for the vocal parts: Alto ('Caro sepulchro mio'), Tenor ('Caro sepulchro mio'), and Bassus ('Caro sepulchro mio'). The music is in common time (C) and begins with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Cantus part starts with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, C5, D5, E5, F5, G5, and a final half note G5. The vocal parts follow a similar melodic line, with the Alto part starting on a lower pitch and the Bassus part on the lowest.

10

Che as-scen-di e-chi-di che a-scen-

Detailed description: This system contains the next four staves of the musical score. The lyrics are 'Che as-scen-di e-chi-di che a-scen-'. The Cantus part continues with a half note G5, followed by quarter notes A5, Bb5, C6, D6, E6, F6, G6, and a final half note G6. The vocal parts continue with a similar melodic line, with the Alto part starting on a lower pitch and the Bassus part on the lowest.

15

- di e-chi-di In-non-ci el tem-po

Detailed description: This system contains the final four staves of the musical score. The lyrics are '- di e-chi-di In-non-ci el tem-po'. The Cantus part continues with a half note G6, followed by quarter notes A6, Bb6, C7, D7, E7, F7, G7, and a final half note G7. The vocal parts continue with a similar melodic line, with the Alto part starting on a lower pitch and the Bassus part on the lowest.

13

per mia a-cer-ba pe - na per mia a-cer-ba

2)

25

pe-na a-cer-ba pe - n[a]

3)

31. La non vol perchè non me ama

Source of Edition: AntF IV (1520), f. 14v-15r

Text Form: Canzonetta

La non vol perchè non me ama,
 La non vol che'l suo amor sperì.
 O fallaci mei pensieri,
 Debbio amar chi me difama?

La non vol perchè non me ama.

La non vol c[he] ogni hor me fugge,
 La non vol perchè non cura,
 Questa pena accerba e dura
 La qual sempre el cor me strugge.
 La non vol....

La non vol trarmi d'affanno.
 La non vol mei guai finire,
 Perchè d'ogni mio martyre
 Si nutrica e del mio danno.
 La non vol....

La non vol che più la adori.
 La non vol più ch'in lei pensi
 Per tenerme in pianti immensi;
 La mia vita è in gran dolori.
 La non vol....

La non vol ch'io vorrei
 Se non vol farmi contento,
 Non giamai si aperto mento
 Ch'io non l'ami e sperì in lei.
 La non vol....

Revisions:

1. Longa in print divided for text-underlay.

La non vol per ch'è non me ama

[Cantus] La non vol per - ch'è non me a - ma,

Altus La non vole perchè non me ama

Tenor La non vol perchè non me ama

Bassus La non vole perchè non me ama.

5

La non vol ch'è'l suo a - mor spe - ri. Debb'io a - mar chi me

O fol - la - ci mei per - cie - ri.

10

di - fa - - ma? La non vol per - ch'è non me a - ma,

15

Handwritten musical score for measures 15-19. The score consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics: "La non vol per-chè non re-a - - ma." A first ending bracket labeled "1)" spans the final two measures. The second staff is a piano accompaniment in 8/8 time. The third and fourth staves show harmonic support with various chords and melodic lines.

20

Handwritten musical score for measures 20-23. The score consists of four staves. The top staff contains a melodic line with a sharp sign (#) above the second measure. The second staff is a piano accompaniment in 8/8 time. The third and fourth staves show harmonic support with various chords and melodic lines.

Four sets of empty musical staves, each consisting of five lines, arranged vertically.

32. O, se havesse la mia vita

Source of Edition: AntF IV (1520), f. 10v-11r

Text Form: Canzonetta [?]

O, se havesse la mia vita
 Che mi tien, quella ch'è morta:
 O dio mio, o dio che vita!
 O mia vita, o tempo, o scorta
 Che mi tien quella che è morta!

O, se havesse quella scorta
 Lui scorso, o tanto tempo;
 O dio mio, o dio che scorta!

O, se havesse ancor quel tempo
 Che mi tenne un tempo vivo;
 O dio mio, o dio che tempo!

Di quel tempo resto privo,
 Resto privo de la scorta,
 E son senza vita e vivo.

[Cantus] O, se ha - ves - se la mia - vi - ta

Altus O se havessè la mia vita

Tenor O, se havessè la mia vita

Bassus O, se havessè la mia vita

Detailed description: This system contains the first four staves of the musical score. The top staff is the vocal line for the Cantus part, with lyrics 'O, se ha - ves - se la mia - vi - ta'. The second staff is for the Alto voice, with lyrics 'O se havessè la mia vita'. The third staff is for the Tenor voice, with lyrics 'O, se havessè la mia vita'. The fourth staff is for the Bass voice, with lyrics 'O, se havessè la mia vita'. The piano accompaniment is shown on the bottom two staves, with a treble clef and a common time signature.

5
Che mi tien quel - la - ch'è mor - ta! O di,

Detailed description: This system contains the fifth through eighth staves. It begins with a measure rest of 5 measures. The vocal line continues with the lyrics 'Che mi tien quel - la - ch'è mor - ta! O di,'. The piano accompaniment continues on the bottom two staves.

10 # #
mi - o, dio - che vi - ta! O - - - dio - mi - - o, O

Detailed description: This system contains the ninth through twelfth staves. It begins with a measure rest of 10 measures. The vocal line continues with the lyrics 'mi - o, dio - che vi - ta! O - - - dio - mi - - o, O'. The piano accompaniment continues on the bottom two staves, ending with a fermata on the final note.

15 20

di-o che vi - ta! O mia vi - ta,

25

O — tem - po o scor - - ta

30

Che mi tien quel-la che è - mor-ta que - la — che è mor-ta, che

35 # #

mi tie(n) quel-le — che — è mor - - ta!

The musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics. The second staff is a piano accompaniment in treble clef. The third staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The fourth staff is a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

33. Salve, sacrato e triumphante legno

Source of Edition: AntF IV (1520), f. 37v-39r

Text Form: Strambotto (Lauda)

Salve, sacrato e triumphante legno,
 Per cui saperse e'l ciel chiuse l'inferno.
 Salva, tu che salvasti el mondo, degno^a
 D'esser dannato al foco sempiterno,
 Come tu aiuti l'universo indegno
 Et muti el mal perpetuo in ben eterno.
 Così noi te pregamo benchè indegni
 Ne aiuti et al fin salvarne degni.

Revisions:

1. c' in print.

^a"Degno" capitalized in print as first word of next line.

Salve, sacro e triumphante legno

5

[Cantus] Sal-ve, sac-ra-toe tri-um-phan- -

Altus Salve, sacro e triumphante legno

Tenor Salve, sacro e triumphante legno

Bassus Salve, sacro e triumphante legno

10 1)

te le - - gno, Per cui sa-per-se e'l

15

ciel chiu - - se lin-fer-no, chiu - se lin-fer-

no. 20

Sal - va, tu che sal - vas - ti el mon -

25

do, de - gno Des - ser dan - na - to gi fu - co sem -

30 35

- pi - ter - no, Co - me tu aiu - ti l'un - ni - - ver -

70

so in-de-gno Et mu-ti-el mal per-pe-tu-

45

o in ben-e-ter-no, Co-sì noi te pre-ga-

50

mo ben-chè in-de-gni Ne aiu--

55

Musical score for measures 55-60. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics: "- ti et al fin sal - var - ne de - gni, et". A fermata is placed over measure 60. The second staff is the alto line, the third is the tenor line, and the fourth is the bass line. The music is in a common time signature and features a mix of half and quarter notes.

65

Musical score for measures 65-70. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics: "al fin sal - var - - - ne de - gni.". A fermata is placed over measure 70. The second staff is the alto line, the third is the tenor line, and the fourth is the bass line. The music continues with various rhythmic patterns and rests.

70

Musical score for measures 70-75. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line with a long note and a fermata. The second staff is the alto line, the third is the tenor line, and the fourth is the bass line. The music features complex rhythmic figures and rests.

Handwritten musical notation on four staves. The notation includes notes, rests, and bar lines. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The third and fourth staves have bass clefs and a key signature of one flat. The notation is spread across two measures, with a vertical bar line separating them. There are some handwritten annotations and corrections visible.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

34. Se amor non è

Source of Edition: AntF IV (1520), f. 5v-6r

Text Form: Sonnet (Petrarch)

Se amor non è che dunque quel ch'io sento,
Ma se glie amor per dio che cosa equale,
Se bona onde è l'effetto aspro e mortale
Seria onde è sì dolce ogni tormento;

Se mia voglia ardo un del pianto a lamento,
Se mal mio grado il lamentar che vale,
O viva morte o delectoso male,
Come puoi tanto in me sì nol consento?

E si'l consento a gran torto mi doglio
Fra sì contrari venti infra la barba,
Mi trovo in alto mare senza governo.

Si lieve di saver d'error si charcha,
Che medesmo non so quel che mi voglio,
Et treme a meza estate ardendo il verno.

Se amor noi è

[Cantus] Se a-mor non è che don-que quel ch'io sen - to,

Altus Se amor non è che donqua quel ch'io

Tenor Se amor non è che donque quel ch'io

Bassus Se amor non è che donqua quel ch'io

5

Ma se-gie-giam per ad-i-o co-sa e-qua-le,
 [Se bo-na-gion-de è let-fet-to as-proc mor-ta-le] [se-ria-gion-de sì dol-ci

10

o - gni tor - men - toj]

35. Se gli'l dico che dirà

Source of Edition: AntL (1520), f. 3v-4v

Text Form: Barzelletta [?]

Se gli'l dico che dirà,
Dirà forse che mal fo;
Se me'l dice gli dirò
Che la mor constretto m'ha.

Si glie'l dico che dirà,
Dirà forse che mal fo;
Donque, haymè, io tacerò
La passion che amor mi da.

5

Se gli'l di - co che di - - rà,

D tuning

La rocc del soprano nel canto avoto

10 #

Di - rà for-si che — mal — fo; Semel di-ce

15 #

gli di - - rò Che la

20 *f.* 25

mor con-stret - to — m'ha. Si gli'e'l di -

30

co che di - - rà, Di - rà for - si che

(#) 35

mal ²⁾ _(f); Don - que, hay - mè, - io ta - ce - rà

40 (#)

La pas - sion, la - pas - sion - - che - a - mor

45 50 #

mi da,

55

Handwritten musical notation on three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The middle staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

p *p*

[da] segno]

Ten empty musical staves, each consisting of five horizontal lines, arranged vertically below the first three staves.

36. Alma gentil, che di tua vaga spoglia

Source of Edition: DorC I (1526), f. 26v-28r

Text Form: Ballata Mezzana

Alma gentil, che di tua vaga spoglia,
E di toi bei costumi il mondo ornasti,
E al tuo partir in pianto mi lasciasti.

Solea con la beltà starsi honestate
Alla dolce ombra di toi chiari sguardi,
E dentro al divin volto
Che'l ciel diede et hor per se l'ha tolto,
E ciascun pareo dir la tua beltade
Minor vedrai si poi d'amor non ardi,
Ma pur la castitade
Agli honesti pensier sol dava loco,
Onde aspetti aguaghando il g[h]iaccio al foco.
Tanti cuor fatti innamorati et casti,
Quante volte ad altrui tu te mostrasti.

Revisions:

1. Two G's in print.
2. First two notes of measure missing from print; taken from Vnm 1795, No. 78.
3. d in print.

[Cantus] Alma gentil, che di tua vaga spingias, E

Altus Alma gentil

Tenor Alma gentil

Bassus Alma gentil

5

di toi bei ces-tu-mil mon-do or-nos-ti, E al tuo par-tir in pian -

2)

1)

10

to mi la-sos-ti. So-lea con la bel-tà - star-si ho - nos-ta - te

15

Al - la dol - ce - ym - bra di toi chia - ri san - di, E den - tro al di -

20

- vin - vol - to. Ch'el ciel die - de et hor - per se l'ha tol - to, E

25

cia - scun pa - - rea dir la tua bel - ta - de

la tua beltade

la tua beltade

la tua beltade

30 35

Mi - nor ve - drai si poi d'a - mor non ar - di, [poi d'a - mor non ar -

40

di,] Ma pur la cas - ti - ta - de A - gli ho - ris - ti per - sior sol da - va Is -

45 #

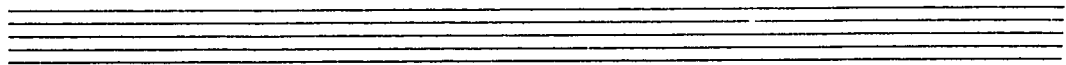
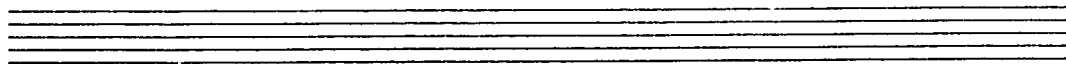
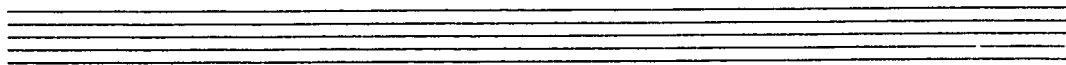
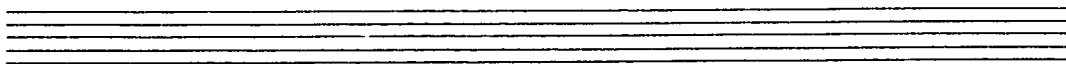
co On - deas - pet - ti a - gua gha(n) - do il gha(n) - cio al fo - -

50

co. Tan-ti cuor fat-ti in-na - mo - ra - - ti e cas-ti, Quan-te vol-

55

- te ad-al-trui tu te nos-tros - - ti.



37. Del mio sì grande

Source of Edition: DorC I (1526), f. 14r

Text Form: Strambotto (S. dall' Aquila)

Del mio sì grande et del tuo amor sì poco,
 Non ha difetto amor ma tua natura.
 Ch'io veggio frutti in un medesimo loco,
 L'un dolce e l'altro mai non si matura;
 Veggio la cera e'l fango ad un sol foco,
 L'una se liquefà, l'altro se indura:
 Così cocendo noi d'un foco amore,
 Tu te indurasti, a me anzi se sfece il core.

Revisions:

1. b' in print.

Del mio sì grande

[Cantus] Del mio sì gran-dee del tuo a - mor sì po - co,

[Altus] Del mio sì gran-dee

[Tenor] Del mio sì gran-dee

[Bassus] Del mio sì gran-dee

Non ha di - fet-to a-mor ma tua na - to - - ra

The musical score is handwritten and consists of four staves for voices. The first staff is for the Cantus part, the second for the Altus part, the third for the Tenor part, and the fourth for the Bassus part. The lyrics are written below the notes. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures (e.g., 3/2, 2/2, 3/4), and accidentals (sharps and naturals). There are also some performance markings like '5' and '8' below the notes.

Four empty musical staves are provided at the bottom of the page, likely for additional notation or as a placeholder.

38. ?Non al suo amante

Source of Edition: DorC I (1526), f. 12v-13v

Text Form: Madrigal (Petrarch)

Non al suo amante più Diana piacque,
Quando per tal ventura tutta ignuda
La vide in mezzo delle gelide acque;

Che a me la pastorella alpestra e cruda
Posta a bagnar un legiadretto velo,
Che a l'aura il vago et biondo capel chiuda;

Tal che mi fece hor quando egli arde il cielo,
Tutto tremar d'un amoroso gielo.

Revisions:

1. Sic. Bc 21, No. 37, has d'.

Non al suo amante

[Cantus] Non al suo a-man-te più Di-a-na proe-que, Quo-do per tal ven-

Altus Non al suo amante

Tenor Non al suo amante

Bassus Non al suo amante

5

tu-ra tut-ta i-gnu-da La vi-de in mez-zo del-le ge-li-

10

de ac-que; Che me la pas-to-ral - la al-pes - tra e ru - da Po-

15

20 #

sta a bagnar un le-giad-ret-to ve - - lo, Che a lau-ra-til va-go et bion-do

25 # #

ca - - pel chiu-da. Tal che mi fe-ce hor a'io'n-do e-gliar-dei cir -

30

lo, Tut-to tre-mar d'un a - mo - - ro - so giu - lo, Tut -

35

to trem-mor-dun a-mo-ro - - so gie - - lo.

The musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is a piano accompaniment. The third and fourth staves are also piano accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as treble clefs, time signatures (3/4, 2/4, 4/4), and accidentals (sharps). The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

An empty musical staff consisting of five horizontal lines.

39. Piangie la donna mia

Source of Edition: DorC I (1526), f. 8v-10r

Text Form: Ballata Mezzana

Piangie la donna mia^a
 Quando da lei partia
 E suspirava invece de parole.

Erave il sol presente
 Et per pietà di noi, pianse egli anchora,
 Et suspirando, andò verso occidente;
 La pioggia e'l vento alhora
 Bagnomi el caldo, e spesso è il sole ardente;
 Poi raiugommi et riscaldo in poc'hora.
 Ma non ha l'aqua o il vento,
 El foco d'amor spento;
 Nele lachryme mie mai siuga il sole.

^aLower voices read "piangea."

15

do vrr-se-x-ci - - den - te; Ma non ha l'acqua o'l ven-
is - cal do-in - pic' ho - ra. Ma non a l'acqua o'l vento
Ma non ha l'acqua o'l vento
Ma non ha l'acqua o'l vento

20

to El fo-c-dà-mor spen-to; Ne-le la-chry-me mie mai siu-ga il so - le,
Ne-le la-chry-me mie mai siu-ga il so - le,
Ne-le la-chry-me mie mai siu-ga il so - le,
Ne-le la-chry-me mie mai siu-ga il so - le,

25

Ne-le la - chry - me mai siugai il so - - le, Ne - le la - chry - me.
Ne-le la - chry - me mai siugai il so - - le,
Ne - le la - chry - me.
Ne-le la - chry - me mai siugai il so - - le,
Ne - le la - chry - me.

30

mie mai siu - ga. — il so - le.

40. Poichè in van

Source of Edition: DorC I (1526), f. 14v-15r

Text Form: Barzioletta

Poichè in van mia mente segna
 El passi ho sparsi al vento,
 Da qui innanti più contento,
 Canterò senza vergogna:

Vegnando da Bologna,
 La scarpa mi fa male;
 Tandarondaridunda.

Non sia alcun che in donna sperì
 De trovar picta giamai
 Che fallaci illor pensieri
 Sempre so perchè pervai.
 Hor che amor me'l fai
 Canterò senza vergogna:
 Vegnando da Bologna....

Revisions:

1. Mensuration sign in print: "3."

Poichè in van

[Cantus] Poi-chè in van mia men-te se-gra El pas-si ho

Altus. Poichè in van

Tenor Poichè in van

Bassus Poichè in van

Detailed description: This system contains the first four staves of the score. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is for Alto, the third for Tenor, and the fourth for Bass. The piano accompaniment is on the bottom staff. The music is in 4/4 time and includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

5 10

spar-si al ven-to, Da qui in-nan-ti più con-ten-to, Can - - te-rò

Detailed description: This system contains the fifth and sixth staves. The vocal line continues with lyrics. The piano accompaniment continues on the bottom staff. Measure numbers 5 and 10 are indicated above the staff. The music includes slurs and ties.

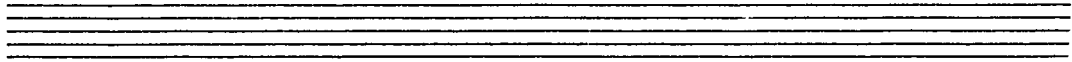
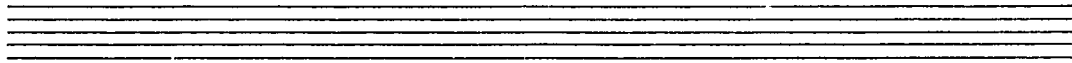
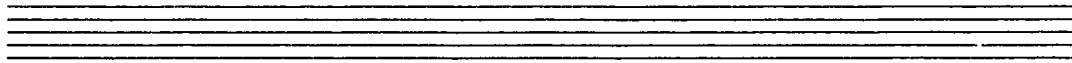
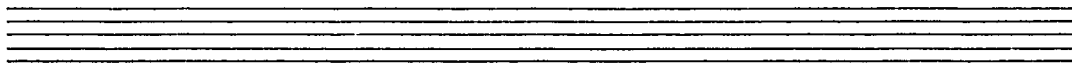
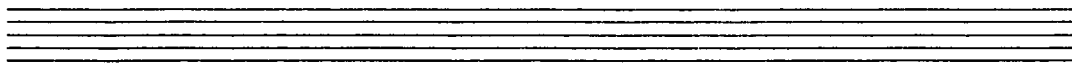
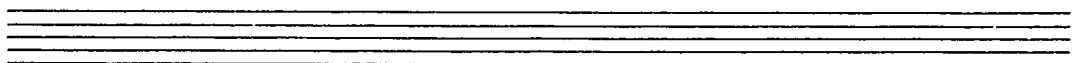
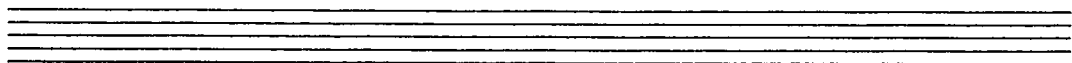
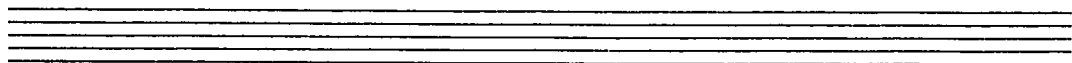
1) 15

sen-za ver - - go-gna: Ve-gran do da-Bo-lo-gna ha - scar-pe

Detailed description: This system contains the seventh and eighth staves. The vocal line continues with lyrics. The piano accompaniment continues on the bottom staff. Measure numbers 15 and 1) are indicated above the staff. The music includes slurs and ties.

mi fa ma-le; Tan-do-ron-da - ri - - - don-da.

The image shows a musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are "mi fa ma-le; Tan-do-ron-da - ri - - - don-da." The piano accompaniment consists of four staves, with the right hand playing a melody in the upper two staves and the left hand playing a bass line in the lower two staves. The music is in 4/4 time and features a simple harmonic structure with a clear melodic line in the voice and piano.



41. Voi che ascoltate

Source of Edition: DorC I (1526), f. 2r

Text Form: Sonnet

Voi che ascoltate i dolorosi pianti
 Del mio passo e giovanil errore,
 Movetivi a pietà del mio dolore
 [Che sospirar me fa con dolor tanti.

Et voi felici et infelici amanti,
 Lassarte ogni speranza hormai d'amore
 Et or sola virtù drizzate il core,
 Lassandogli amorosi et dolci canti,

Perchè morte crudel presto ne fura
 Nostra caduta et fragile speranza,
 Ogni mondan piacer passa e non dura.

Virtù fa l'homo eterno per usanza
 Che da po morte è chiusa in sepultura
 Quella seguendo con perseveranza.]^a

Revisions:

1. This line of text set to the next phrase of music in print.

^aText incomplete; bracketed portion taken from MAC A.I.4, f. 10v.

[Cantus] Voi che ascol-tatei-do - lo - ro - si pian - ti

Altus Voi che ascoltate

Tenor Voi che ascoltate

Bassus Voi che ascoltate

5

Del mio pas-sa-to e gio-ve-ni er - ro-re,
 1) Mo-ve-ti a pie-tà del mio do - lo-re [Che sus-pi-

10

rar me fa con do-lor tan - ti].

42. Perchè piangi, alma

Source of Edition: DorC II (1531), f. 7v-9r

Text Form: Ballata-madrigal (J. Sannazaro?)^a

Perchè piangi, alma, se dal pianto mai
Fin non sperì a tuoi guai?

"Per questo sol piang'io:
Che sa gli affani mei
Promettesse riposo al pianto mio."
Tanta letitia de la speme harei
Che pianger non potrei.
"Però for di speranza
Lacrimar sol m'avanza."

Revisions:

1. Mensuration sign "♩" in print.
2. e in print.

^aFor the problems with the ascription of this poem, see vol. I, p. 162.

Perchè piangi, alma

[Cantus] Per - chè pian - gi, al - ma, se dal

Altus Perchè piangi, alma

Tenor Perchè piangi, alma

Bassus Perchè piangi, alma

5

Detailed description: This system contains the first five measures of the piece. It features four vocal staves (Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus) and a piano accompaniment staff. The lyrics are 'Per - chè pian - gi, al - ma, se dal'. A measure rest of 5 is indicated above the Cantus staff.

pian - to mai Fin non spe - ri a tuoi -

15 #

b

Detailed description: This system contains measures 6 through 10. The lyrics are 'pian - to mai Fin non spe - ri a tuoi -'. A measure rest of 15 is indicated above the Cantus staff, and a sharp sign (#) is placed above the final measure. A bass clef (b) is shown below the piano accompaniment staff.

gua - - i? " Per que - sto sol piang' i - o: Che sa gli a-

15 #

Detailed description: This system contains measures 11 through 15. The lyrics are 'gua - - i? " Per que - sto sol piang' i - o: Che sa gli a-'. A measure rest of 15 is indicated above the Cantus staff, and a sharp sign (#) is placed above the final measure.

20 #

fa-ni me - i Pro-me-tes-se ri - - so al pian - to mi - o."

[d=0.] 1) 25 [a=d] 30

Tan-ta le ti - tia de la spe-nigha-re - i Che piain-geri
de la speme harai
de la speme
de la speme harci

25

non po - - tre - i. "Pe-rò for di spe-ran-za for

di spe-ron-za lac-ri-mar sol ma van-za, La-cri-mar sol ma-

van-za, sol ma - - van-za 2) La-cri-mar sol

ma - - van - - za. 45

43. Se non soccori, amore

Source of Edition: DorC II (1531), f. 4v-6r

Text Form: Ballata Mezzana

Se non soccori, amore,
 La vita mia d'ogni sustantia priva,
 Remedio alcun gli e ch'io resti viva.

E'l nutrimento mio dolce e [su]ave^a
 Che da begli occhi cari
 E da le acorte parolette nasce,
 Troppo m'è longe onde dogliosi e amari
 Sono i mei giorni, e grave,
 M'è questa vita ch'altro non la pasce.
 E se non che'l cor stasse ad ogni hor seco,
 Io non sarei più viva
 Tanto dal mio bel sol mi dol star priva.

Revisions:

1. The "e" deleted from "amore" by the editor.
2. f not dotted in print.

^a"Su-" only in Tenor

Se non soccorsi, amore

[Cantus] Se non Soc-cor - ri a - mo - re, Se non Soc - cor - ri, a - mo - re,
Altus Se non
Tenor Se non
Bassus Se non

5
Se non Soc - cor - ri - g - tor' La vi - ta mi - a, La vi - ta mi - a d' - gni su - stan - tia cri -

10
va, Re - me - dia al - cun - ghe - chio - res - sti vi - va.

15

E'l nu-tri-mon-to mi-o dol - - ce - - e [su]a - - ve Che

[su]ave

e suave

[su]ave

20

da be-gli oc-chi ca-ri E da le-a-cor-te pa-ro - let - - to - - na -

#

25

sce, Trop-po miè lon-ge, Trop-po - - mè lon-ge on-de dlo-glio-sie-a-ma-ri

So-no-i nei giór-ni, e gra - - ve, M'è ques - ta vi - ta ch'al

30

- - tro non la pa - sce. E se non ch'èl

35

cor stas-se, E se non ch'èl cor stas-se ad a-gniar se-co, ad a-gniar

40

se-co, Io non sa-rei più vi - - ta Ton-to dal mio bel sol -

45

mi dol - - star pri - - va.

50

44. Si bella è la mia donna

Source of Edition: DorC II (1531), f. 11v-13r

Text Form: Ballata Mezzana

Si bella è la mia donna
 E si crudel anchora,
 Che ad un tempo me strugge e m'inamora.

Passa la sua beltà per gli ochi mei,
 E for delecta et drento accade il core
 Unde convien languir sempre per lei,
 Ne la move pietà del mio dolore;
 E non mi sana amore
 Che per più pena ella non vol ch'io mora.

Revisions:

1. A in print.
2. g' not dotted in print.
3. a' not dotted in print.
4. g' in print, but custos indicates f'.

5

[Contus]

Altus Sì bella è la mia donna.

Tenor Sì bella è la mia donna.

Bassus Sì bella è la mia donna.

13

Sì bel - - la è la mia don - na.

15

sì cru - del an - cho - ra, che ad un tel mi po - tre strug - ge.

20 #

min-a-me-ra, (me strug-giò min-a-me-ra). Tos.

25 #

sa la sua bel-tà per gliò - aki ma-i,

30

E for de-lec-ta et dren-to-ga-ca-dej co-re

35 40

un - de con - vien lan - guir sem - pre per le - i,

45

Ne la mo - va pie - tà del mi - o, del mi - o

50 55

do - - lo - re; E non mi sa - ra - rno - re

60

Che per più pe - na, più pe - na

3) 65

el - la non vol ch'io mo - ra, che

70 4)

per più pe - - na el - la non vol ch'io

75

mo - ra, Che per più pe - na el - la

80 # # 85

non --- vol --- ch'io mo - ra, Che per più pe -

90

na ella non --- vol ch'io --- mo - ra.

Handwritten musical notation on four staves. The first staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 2/8 time signature. It contains a half note G4, a half note F4, and a half note E4, all beamed together. The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 2/8 time signature, containing a half note D4 and a half note C4, beamed together. The third staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 2/8 time signature, containing a quarter note G4, a quarter note F4, a quarter note E4, and a quarter note D4, all beamed together. The fourth staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 2/8 time signature, containing a half note G3 and a half note F3, beamed together. A vertical bar line is present after the first measure of each staff. There are also some handwritten markings above the staves, including a circled 'C' above the first staff and a circled 'C' above the second staff. The third staff has a sharp sign (#) above the second and fourth notes.

Ten empty musical staves, each consisting of five horizontal lines, arranged vertically below the first section of notation.

45. Veramente, ogni doglia

Source of Edition: DorC II (1531), f. 9v-11r

Text Form: Ballata Mezzana

Veramente, ogni doglia è gravosa in amor,
 Ma ogn'altra excede
 Perder la speme d'haver vui mercede.

Quanto si voglia amor,
 Opu' per arar l'huom ch'ama alhor extreme
 In pace ogni dolore,
 Colui soppova in chi vive la speme.
 Ma tanto duol il preme
 Quanto privato del sperar si vede,
 Che se vive non sa crede.

Revisions:

1. f' in print.
2. A lacuna of a breve at the page turn in the print; the custos indicates d'.
3. Stanghetta in Cantus, but not in the other parts.
4. A lacuna of a breve at the page turn in the print; the custos indicates e'.

Veramente, ogni doglia

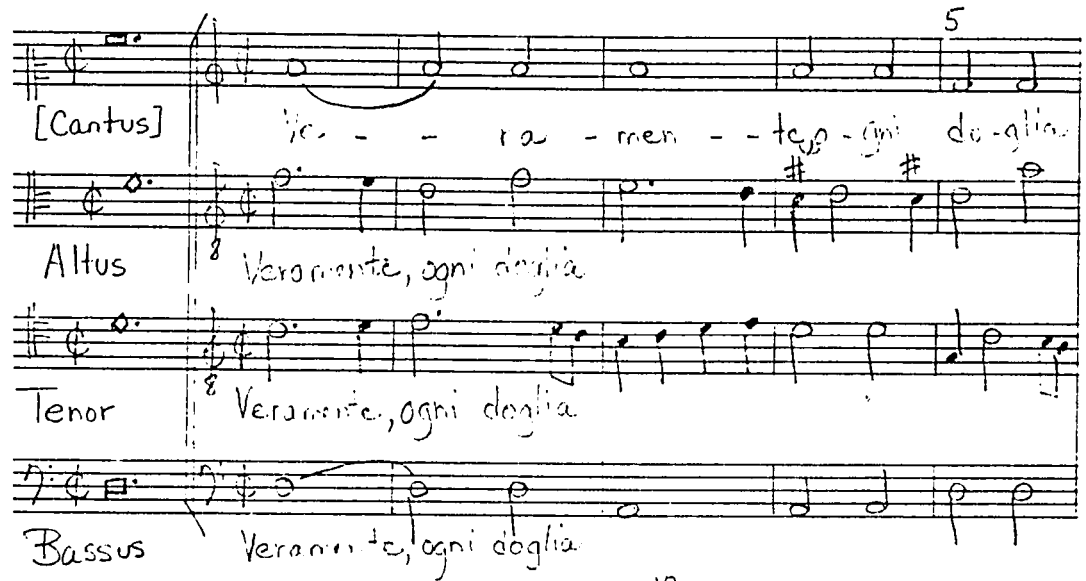
219

[Cantus] Veramente, ogni doglia

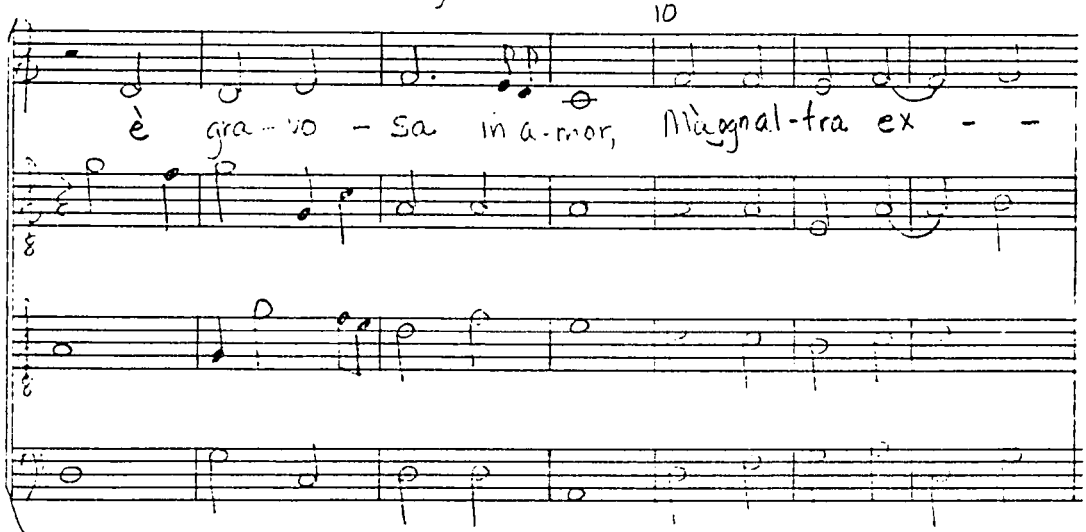
Altus Veramente, ogni doglia

Tenor Veramente, ogni doglia

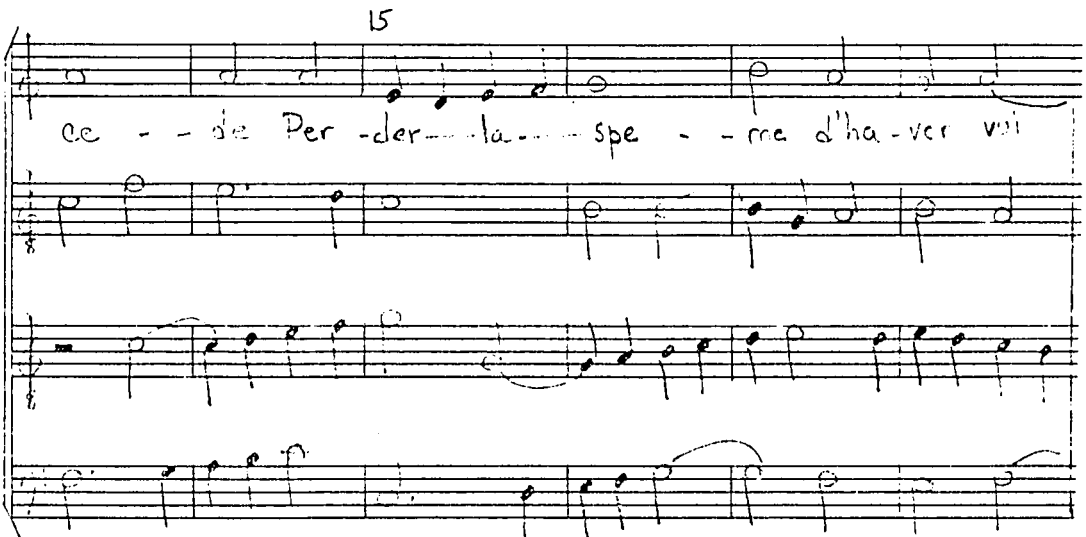
Bassus Veramente, ogni doglia



è gra-vo - sa in a-mor, Magnal-tra ex - -



ce - - de Per - der - la - spe - - re d'ha-ver voi



20 # 25

mer-ce - - - de. Quanto si vo - glia

30

a - mor, O - pu' per ar - ar l'huom

35

ch'a - ma al-hor ex-tre - - me In pa-ceo-

gni do - lo - re, Co - - lui sup - po - - va

The first system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line, with the lyrics "gni do - lo - re, Co - - lui sup - po - - va" written below it. The second, third, and fourth staves are piano accompaniment. The music is written in a common time signature (C) and a key signature with one flat (B-flat). The vocal line features a melodic line with some slurs and ties.

1) 45

in chi vi - - ve la spe - me. Ma tan - to

The second system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line, with the lyrics "in chi vi - - ve la spe - me. Ma tan - to" written below it. The second, third, and fourth staves are piano accompaniment. The music continues in the same key signature and time signature. The vocal line has a melodic line with slurs and ties.

50 3) 4)

duol il pre - me. Quan - to pri - [va - to] del spe -

[privo]to del sperar si vede.

2) [] del sperar si vede.

privato del sperar si vede

The third system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line, with the lyrics "duol il pre - me. Quan - to pri - [va - to] del spe -" written below it. The second, third, and fourth staves are piano accompaniment. The music continues in the same key signature and time signature. The vocal line has a melodic line with slurs and ties. There are annotations in the system: "[privo]to del sperar si vede." and "2) [] del sperar si vede." below the piano accompaniment staves, and "privato del sperar si vede" at the bottom of the system.

55

55

60

- - - rar si ve-de, Che se vi -

65

ve non sa cre-de, [Che se vi-ve - - non

70

sa cre-de,] Che se vi-ve non

b

75 #

Sa Cre

46. Aimè, ch'io moro

Source of Edition: Pn 676, f. 115v-116r

Text Form: Strambotto

Aimè, ch'io moro per ti, donna crudele,
 E non ti curi del mio fidele servire.
 Aimè, ch'io moro se'l tuo amaro fielle;
 Non si conveve in dolze al mio martire.
 Aimè, ch'io moro amor volgie le veglie
 Se non che forza sia il cor finire.
 Aimè, ch'io moro e tu più dura e forte;
 Per il mio ben servire, mi doni morte.

Revisions:

1. Minim in Ms.
2. Semibreve in Ms.

Aimè, ch'io moro

Handwritten musical score for the piece "Aimè, ch'io moro". The score is written on five systems of staves. The first system includes the vocal parts: Cantus (Soprano), Cont(r)ra Tenor, Tenor, and Bassus. The lyrics for these parts are: "Ai - mè, ch'io mo - ro per ti," (Cantus), "Aimè, ch'io moro" (Cont(r)ra Tenor), "Aimè, ch'io moro" (Tenor), and "Aimè, ch'io moro" (Bassus). The piano accompaniment is shown on the bottom two staves of each system. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, notes, rests, and dynamic markings. A measure number "5" is written above the first system, and "10" is written above the second system. The second system continues the vocal parts with the lyrics "don - na cru - de" and "le, E non ti cu - ri del mio fi - de". The score concludes with a final cadence in the piano part.

Cantus Ai - mè, ch'io mo - ro per ti,

Cont(r)ra Tenor Aimè, ch'io moro

Tenor Aimè, ch'io moro

Bassus Aimè, ch'io moro

don - na cru - de

le, E non ti cu - ri del mio fi - de

20

le ser-vi-re.

2)

This system contains four staves of music. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is a piano accompaniment. The third and fourth staves are additional accompaniment parts. A second ending bracket labeled '2)' spans the final two measures of this system.

25

#

This system contains four staves of music. The top staff has a sharp sign (#) above it. The system concludes with a double bar line and fermatas on the final notes of all four staves.

A single empty musical staff.

A single empty musical staff.

A single empty musical staff.

A single empty musical staff.

47. ^ALa virtù se vol seguire

Source of Edition: Pn 676, f. 71v-72r

Text Form: Barzelletta

La virtù se vol seguire,
 Non fortuna inique e vana;
 Da virtù non sa lontana
 Chi felice vol morire.

Per virtù sa questa regno,
 E cum quella se mantiene;
 La virtù fa l'homo degno
 Ala fin del summo bene,
 Qual è dunque b[eni]gno,^a
 Che volere virtù finire.
 [La virtù se vol seguire....]

Chi saffonda in la fortuna,
 Ala fin sa trova al basso
 Or è chiara ed or è bruna
 E d'un sei fa spese un asso;
 Sarà adonch'a il mio spasso,
 La virtù per non perire.
 La virtù se vol seguire....

Viva, viva, viva, viva,^b
 Adonch'a la virtute;
 La virtù si è nostra guida,
 Che donare ci pò salute;
 Da virtude non se priva
 Chi nel cello se vol salire.
 La virtù se vol seguire....

Revisions:

1. Long in Ms. not dotted.
2. Long in Ms. divided into two breves for text-underlay.

^aBracketed portion of word in binding of Ms.

^bOne "viva" deleted from Ms.

3. Breve in Ms. divided into two semibreves for text-underlay.
4. Long in Ms. divided into two breves for text-underlay.
5. "Volere" in Ms.
6. Long in Ms. divided into two breves for text-underlay.

La virtù se vol seguire

229

Cantus La vir-tù se vol se-gui-re, Non for -

Altus La virtù se vol seguire

Tenor La virtù se vol seguire

Bassus La virtù se vol seguire

tu-nai-ni qui e va - na;

Da vir-tù non sa lon-ta-na chi fe-li-ce vol mo-ri -

20 25

r(e) Per vir - tū sa ques - ta re - gna,
La vir - tū fa l'ho - mo de - gna

3) # 4) 30

E cu quel - la se man - tie - ne; Qual è dor -
A - la fin oel sum - mo be - re,

b 35 # 6)

que più [le - ni] - ngo, che^s vo - ler vir - tū fi - ni - re.

48. Doglia, che non aguagli

Source of Edition: Vnm 1795, No. 76

Text Form: Madrigal

Doglia, che non aguagli
 La mia infinita e incomprendibil doglia,
 Benchè sia morte istessa non è doglia.
 Longhe speranze mie,
 Che in me vivesti come vissi in voi
 O, come indegnamente al fin pur poi
 Spinto m'havete per sinistre vie
 Fermo desir certa speranza indusse
 Et sol col tempo s'aspettava il frutto;
 Ma poi quando che'l tempo addusse,
 Abbandonomi la speranza in tutto.
 O fede, sol di te mi doglio
 Che d'altrui non oso nè doler mi voglio.
 Ma se l'humana speme è dubbia e frale,
 Il desire è immortale.

Revisions:

1. c in Ms.
2. Stem erased; originally a long in Ms.
3. Clef changes to third-line c'.
4. Clef changes to fourth-line c'.
5. "È dubbia e frale" written under preceeding rest.

Douglas, che non agaugli

5

[Cantus] Do - gla, che

[Alto]

[Tenor] Do - gla, che non a - - - - - gu

[Bassus] Do - gla, che non a - - - - - gu

non a - gu gli La mi - ni - ta in com - - - - -

Do - - gla, che non a - gu gli La mi - ni - ta in

- gli, non a - gu gli La mi - ni - ta

- gli La mi - ni - ta in com - - - - -

15

si - - - - - bil do - gla, Ben che esse mor - - - - -

com - - - - - si - bil do - gla, Ben che esse mor - - - - -

com - - - - - si - bil do - gla, Ben che esse mor - - - - -

com - - - - - si - bil do - gla, Ben che esse mor - - - - -

20 25

stes-sa non è do-glia Lon-ghe Spe-ran-ze

-sa non è do-glia, Lon-ghe spe-ran-ze

-stes-sa non è do-glia. Lon-ghe sper-an-ze

stes-sa no è do-glia. Lon-ghe sper-an-ze

30

mi-e, Che in te vi-ves-ti co-me vis-si in vo-i
O, co-me in-de-gna-men-te al fin pur po-i

mi-e, Che in te vi-ves-ti co-me vis-si in vo-i
O, co-me in-de-gna-men-te al fin pur po-i

mi-e, Che in te vi-ves-ti co-me vis-si in vo-i
O, co-me in-de-gna-men-te al fin pur po-i

mi-e, Che in te vi-ves-ti co-me vis-si in vo-i
O, co-me in-de-gna-men-te al fin pur po-i

35

Spin-to m'ha-ve-te per si-nis-tre vi-e Fer-mo de
Ma poi quan-

Spin-to m'ha-ve-te per si-nis-tre vi-e Fer-mo de - -
Ma poi quan - -

Spin-to m'ha-ve-[te] per si-nis-tre vi-e Fer-mo de - -
Ma poi quan - -

Spin-to m'ha-ve-te per si-nis-tre vi-e Fer-mo de -
Ma poi quan-

45

sir cer-ta spe-ran-za in - dus-se Et sol col tem-po
 do che'l tem-po il tem-po a - dus-se, Ab-ban-do-no-mi

ta spe-ran-za in - dus-se Et sol col tem-po
 che'l tem-po a - dus-se, Ab-ban-do-no-mi

sir-cer-ta-spe-ran-za in - dus-se Et sol col tem-po
 do che'l tem-po il tem-po a - dus-se, Ab-ban-do-no-mi

sir cer-ta spe-ran-za in - dus-se Et sol col tem-po
 do che'l tem-po il tem-po a - dus-se, Ab-ban-do-no-mi

45 # 50
 s'as-pe-ta - va il frut-to; O fe-de, O
 la spe-ran-za in tut-to.

s'as-pet-ta - va il frut-to; O fe-de, O
 la spe-ran-za in tut-to.

s'as-pet - ta - va il frut-to; O fe-de, O
 la spe - ran-za in tut-to.

s'as-pet - ta va il frut-to; O fe-de, O
 la spe - ran-za in tut-to.

55 #
 fe-de, O fe-de, O fe-de, sol di te mi

fe-de, O fe-de, O fe-de, sol di te mi

fe-de O fe-de, O fe-de, sol di te - mi da -

fe-de, O fe-de, O fe-de, sol di te mi

60 65 #

do-glio che dal-trui non o-so nè do-ler mi vo-glio,
do-glio che dal-trui non o-so nè do-ler me vo - glio.
do-glio che dal-trui non - o - so nè do-ler ... mi - vo -
do-glio che dal-trui non vo-glio nè — do-ler mi vo-glio

70

Ma se l'hu-mana Spe-me è dub-bia et fra-le,
Ma se l'hu-mana Spe - - me è dub - bia et fra - le,
glio. Ma se l'hu-ma - - na spe - me,
Ma se l'hu - ma - na — spe - me è dub - bia e fra - le,

75 80

Il de-si - re è im-mor-ta - le,
Il de - sir è im - mor - ta - le, Il de - sir è im - mor - ta - le,
Il de - sir è im - mor - ta - le,
Il de - si - re è im - mor - ta - le,

8: #

Il de-sir è im-mor-ta - le.

Il de-sir è im-mor-ta - le, è im-mor-ta-le.

Il - de-sir è im - mor - ta - le, è im -

Il de-sir è im-mor-ta - le, è im -

90

- mor - ta - le.

mor - ta - le.

49. Mentre io vo per questi boschi

Source of Edition: Vnm 1795, No. 58

Text Form: Barzelletta

Mentre io vo per questi boschi,
 Sospirando il mio bel sole
 Et di duri amari toshi,
 Formo crude aspre parole;
 Spesso dir la lingua fole
 Tu che segui el mio camino:

Ucelin, bel ucelino,
 Come sa tu ben cantar?
 Falalilo falilola
 Falilolale falilolalilale.

Liete fai gli arbori et fronde
 Con li toi soavi canti,
 Et tua amica a te risponde
 Onde zio parchè ti vanti,
 Faccio so amari pianti,
 Ne alcun m'ode o fier destino.
 Ucelin, bel ucelino....

Empi l'aer d'ogni intorno
 Col tuo dolce canto tale,
 Onde parchè nott'e giorno
 Si ralegri ogn'animale;
 A me il dol sol cresce e el male
 Da l'un l'altro matutino.
 Ucelin....

Parchè rida primavera,
 Ucelin ovunque passi;
 Parche'l tascho ogn'aspra sera,
 La tuo canto in tutto lassi;
 Più cruda ella ch'amo fassi,
 Quanto più me gli avicino.
 Ucelin, bel ucelino....

Ben a te, ben si convene,
Ucelin il dolce canto,
Et a me ch'io son in pene
L'angoscioso e amaro pianto,
Onde io son condotto a tanto;
Chi chi mor mi par divino.
Ucelin....

Revisions:

1. Two extra semiminims on g' and d' in Ms.
2. Text in Tenor reads "Bel sole," not "camino."

5

[Cantus] Men - tre io vo per ques - ti bos - chi, Sos - pi - ran - do
Et di du - ri a - ma - ri tos - chi, For - mo cru - de.

[Altus] Men - tre io vo per ques - ti bos - chi, - Sos - pi - ran - do
Et di du - ri a - ma - ri tos - chi, - For - mo cru - de.

[Tenor] Men - tre io vo per ques - ti bos - chi, Sos - pi - ran - do il
Et di - du - ri - a - ma - ri tos - chi, For - mo cru - de -

[Bassus] men - tre io vo per ques - ti bos - chi, Sos - pi - ran - do
Et di du - ri a - ma - ri tos - chi, For - mo cru - de

il mio bel so - le Spes - so dir la lin -
as - pre pa - ro - le;

il mio bel so - le Spes - so dir la lin -
as - pre pa - ro - le;

il mio bel so - le Spes - so dir la lin - - gua
as - pre pa - ro - le;

il mio bel so - le Spes - so dir la lin -
as - pre pa - ro - le;

10

- gua fo - le Tu che se - gui el mio ca -

- gua fo - le Tu che se - gui el mio ca -

fo - le Tu che se - gui el mio ca -

- gua fo - le Tu che se - gui el mio ca -

15

20

mi - no: U - ce - lin, bel u - ce - - - li - no, Co - me sa tu

mi - no: U - ce - lin, bel u - ce - - li - no, Co - me sa tu

mi - no: U - ce - lin, bel u - ce - - - li - no, Co - me sa tu

mi - no: U - ce - lin, bel u - ce - - - li - no, Co - me sa tu

25

ben can - tar? Fa - la - li - lo fa - li - lo - la Fa - li - lo - la - le

ben can - tar? Fa - la - li - lo fa - li - lo - la - Fa - li - lo - la - le

ben can - tar? Fa - la - li - lo fa - li - lo - la Fa - li - lo - la - le

ben can - tar? Fa - la - li - lo fa - li - lo - la Fa - li - lo - la - le

30

fa - li - lo - la - li - la - le.

fa - li - lo - la - li - la - le Fa - li - lo - la - li - la - le.

fa - li - lo - la - li - la - le Fa - li - lo - li - la - le.

fa - li - lo - la - li - la - le Fa - li - lo - la - li - la - le.

50. Pensate se'l fu doglia

Source of Edition: Vnm 1795, No. 72

Text Form: Ballata Mezzana

Pensate se'l fu doglia di morire,
 Donna, quando da voi feci partita
 Che con la vostra unità.

Era l'anima mia
 Poi per darmi maggior pena e dolore,
 Volse mia sorte ria
 Che nel partirmi anchor perdesse il core;
 Et più vi voglio dire,
 Che morir volsi e non potei morire.

Revisions:

1. No sharp in Cantus; sharp ends after first staff in Tenor and Bassus.
2. "E" deleted from "core" by editor.

Pensate se'l fu doglia

[Cantus] Pen - sa - te se'l fu do - glia di mi - ri - re, Don -

[Altus] Pen - sa - te se'l fu do - glia di mo - ri - re, Don - na,

[Tenor] Pen - sa - te se'l fu do - glia di mo - ri - re, Don -

[Bassus] Pen - sa - te se'l fu do - glia di mo - ri - re, Do -

na, quan - do da voi fe - ci par - ti - ta Che con la vos -

qua - ran - do da voi fe - ci par - ti - ta Che con la vos -

na, quan - do da voi fe - ci par - ti - ta Che con la vos - tra

na, quan - do da voi fe - ci par - ti - ta Che con la vos -

tra u - ni - tà. E - ra l'a - ni - ma mi - a Poi per dar - mi mag -

tra u - ni - tà. mi - a Poi per dar - mi

u - ni - tà. E - ra l'a - ni - ma mi - a Poi per dar - mi mag -

tra u - ni - tà. mi - a — Poi per dar - mi mag -

2.0

gior pena et do-lo-re, Vol-se mi a sor-te ri-a Che
 pe - - na e do-lo-re, ri - a Che
 pe - na et do - lo - re, Vol-se mi a sor - te ri - a Che
 gior pena et do - lo - re, ri - a Che

2.5

nel par-tir-mi-gn-chor per-des-se il co-re; Et più vi vo-glio
 nel per-des-se il cor; il co-re Et più vi vo-glio
 nel par-tir-mi-gn-chor per-des-se co-re; Et più vi vo-glio
 nel par-tir-mi-gn-chor per-des-se il co-re; Et più vi vo-glio

3.0

di - - re, Che mor-rir vol-si e non pot-ai mo-ri-re, Che
 di - - re, ma-ri-re, Che.
 di - - re, Che mor-rir vol-si e non pot-ai mo-ri-re, Che
 di - - re, non-ri-re, Che

35

Handwritten musical score for four voices. The score consists of four staves, each with a vocal line and lyrics. The lyrics are: "mo-ri-re vel-sig non pot - ei [mo-ri-re.]", "vel-sig non po-tei mo-ri - re, mo-ri - re.", "mo-ri-re vel-sig non po - tei mo - ri - re.", and "mo-ri-re vel-sig non po - tei mo-ri - re, mo-ri - re." The music is written in a simple, handwritten style with notes, rests, and bar lines. There are some markings above the staves, including a circled '35' and a circled '1'.

mo-ri-re vel-sig non pot - ei [mo-ri-re.]

vel-sig non po-tei mo-ri - re, mo-ri - re.

mo-ri-re vel-sig non po - tei mo - ri - re.

mo-ri-re vel-sig non po - tei mo-ri - re, mo-ri - re.

Ten empty musical staves, arranged in five pairs of two staves each. These staves are provided for additional musical notation or accompaniment.

51. Perchè son tutto foco

Source of Edition: Vnm 1795, No. 66

Text Form: Ballata Mezzana

Perchè son tutto foco,
 [Ella mia donna è un g[h]iaccio;
 Lei non acendo ciò mene disfacio.

Pur se in me moro, io resto vivo in ella;
 Ma non son foco ch'io la scaldarei,
 Nè g[h]iaccio è quella che me estingueria;
 Anci a me foco, e io son g[h]iaccio a quella
 Onde ella è fredda e il sol deli occhi mei
 Che stila in pianto for la vita mia.
 Ne l'una ardo e a g[h]iaccio
 L'altra m'occide e non mi nadi in paccio.]^a

Revisions:

1. g in Ms.

^aOnly the capoverso is included in Vnm 1795. The remainder of the text is taken from JudF (1526).

Perchè son tutto fuoco

[Cantus] Per-chè son tut to - to - to

[Alto] Perchè

[Tenor] Perchè son tutto fuoco

[Basso] Perchè son

5

Detailed description: This system contains the first four staves of the musical score. The top staff is for the Cantus part, with lyrics 'Per-chè son tut to - to - to'. The second staff is for the Alto part, with lyrics 'Perchè'. The third staff is for the Tenor part, with lyrics 'Perchè son tutto fuoco'. The fourth staff is for the Bass part, with lyrics 'Perchè son'. The piano accompaniment is shown on the bottom two staves. A measure number '5' is written above the final measure of the first system.

10

Detailed description: This system contains the next four staves of the musical score. It continues the vocal lines and piano accompaniment from the first system. A measure number '10' is written above the first measure of this system.

15

1)

Detailed description: This system contains the final four staves of the musical score. It continues the vocal lines and piano accompaniment. A measure number '15' is written above the first measure, and a first ending bracket labeled '1)' is placed over the second measure of the vocal parts.

20 25

Handwritten musical score for measures 20-25. The score is written on four staves. The first staff is the treble clef, the second is the bass clef, the third is the alto clef, and the fourth is the bass clef. The music consists of quarter and eighth notes, with some rests. Measure numbers 20 and 25 are indicated above the first staff.

30

Handwritten musical score for measures 30-35. The score is written on four staves. The first staff is the treble clef, the second is the bass clef, the third is the alto clef, and the fourth is the bass clef. The music consists of quarter and eighth notes, with some rests. Measure number 30 is indicated above the first staff.

35

Handwritten musical score for measures 35-40. The score is written on four staves. The first staff is the treble clef, the second is the bass clef, the third is the alto clef, and the fourth is the bass clef. The music consists of quarter and eighth notes, with some rests. Measure number 35 is indicated above the first staff.

40 45

This system contains measures 40 through 45. It features four staves: a vocal line at the top, followed by piano accompaniment on three staves. The music is in a key with one flat and a 3/4 time signature. Measures 40-44 show a vocal melody with various note values and rests, accompanied by piano chords and moving lines. Measure 45 is a final measure with a vocal note and piano accompaniment.

50

This system contains measures 50 through 54. It features four staves: a vocal line at the top, followed by piano accompaniment on three staves. The music continues in the same key and time signature. Measures 50-53 show a vocal melody with various note values and rests, accompanied by piano chords and moving lines. Measure 54 is a final measure with a vocal note and piano accompaniment.

55

This system contains measures 55 through 59. It features four staves: a vocal line at the top, followed by piano accompaniment on three staves. The music continues in the same key and time signature. Measures 55-58 show a vocal melody with various note values and rests, accompanied by piano chords and moving lines. Measure 59 is a final measure with a vocal note and piano accompaniment.

60

This system contains measures 60 through 64. It features four staves: a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#), a bass clef staff, a bass clef staff with a 6/8 time signature, and a bass clef staff. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes with various rests and phrasing slurs.

65# # 70

This system contains measures 65 through 69. It features four staves: a treble clef staff with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#), a bass clef staff, a bass clef staff with a 6/8 time signature, and a bass clef staff. The music continues with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a sharp sign above the first measure and a fermata over the final measure.

4 4 75

This system contains measures 70 through 74. It features four staves: a treble clef staff with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#), a bass clef staff, a bass clef staff with a 6/8 time signature, and a bass clef staff. The music includes quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, with a fermata over the final measure.

52. Per fugire la mia morte

Source of Edition: Vnm 1795, No. 74

Text Form: Sonnet

Per fugire la mia morte, alma mia spene,
 Che nei begli occhi vostri alberga spesso,
 Fugo talhor, ma poi da quella oppreso
 Lontan da voi dolente amor mi tene.

Questa porte è pegnore de più pene
 Ond'io ritorno, perch'io vedo espresso
 Poich'io debbo perir long'e da presso,
 Che men mal e il morire dove il mio bene.

Non cessi, dona, in me gli usati sguardi,
 Sich'io veda il mio sol lucente e vivo
 Et prenda nel morire qualche conforto.

Perch'io scio ben che me n'acorsi tardi,
 Chi vi vede e non more non è vivo;
 Chi non vi vede e vive è più che morto.

Revisions:

1. One flat in Altus and Bassus only. Because of simultaneous cross-relations, the Tenor must also have one flat. The Cantus contains no pitches which would be affected by the signature.
2. "Fugire" in Ms.
3. Breve in Ms. divided into two semibreves for text-underlay.
4. "Fine" written in Ms. in all parts.
5. Originally semiminim, but stem erased in Ms.
6. Minim in Ms.
7. "Fine" written in Ms. in all parts.
8. Original duplex long of Ms. divided into two longs for text-underlay.

Per fugire la mia morte

251

2) 5

[Cantus] Per fu-gi-re la mia mor-te, al-ma mia

[Alto] Per 2) fu-gir la mia mor-te, al-ma

[Tenor] Per 2) fu-gir la mia mor-te, al-ma

[Bassus] Per fu-gi-re la mia mor-te, al-

spe - re, Che nei be-gli oc-chi vos-tri al-ber-ro
Fu-go tal-hor, ma poi da-quel-la, 3)

mia spe-re, Che nei be-gli oc-chi vos-tri al-ber-ro
Fu-go tal-hor, ma poi da-quel-la, 3)

— mia spe-re, Che nei be-gli oc-chi vos-tri al-ber-ro
Fu-go tal-hor, ma poi da-quel-la, 3)

ma mia spe-re, Che nei be-gli oc-chi vos-tri al-ber-ro
Fu-go tal-hor, ma poi da-quel-la, 3)

spes-so, Lon-tan da voi do-len-te a-mor mi
pres-so

2) spes-so, Lon-tan da-voi do-len-te a-mor mi
pres-so

spes-so, Lon-tan da voi do-len-te a-mor mi
pres-so

spes-so, Lon-tan da voi do-len-te a-mor mi
pres-so

20 4) 1)

5)

25

te - ne, Lon - tan da - - voi do - len - te -

te - ne, Lon - tan da - voi [do - len - te a - mor

te - ne, Lon - tan da voi do - len - - te a - mor

te - ne, Lon - tan da voi [do - len - te a - mor

- a - mor mi te - ne, Lon - - tan - da

mi te - ne] Lon - tan da voi [do - len - te a -

mi te - ne] Lon - tan - da voi [do - len - te

voi.

mor mi - - te - ne mi - - te - ne].

a - mor mi te - ne, mi te - ne].

53. Poich'al mio largo pianto

Source of Edition: Vnm 1795, No. 88

Text Form: Madrigal

Poich'al mio largo pianto,
Amor, ti giova tanto;
Asciuti mai questi occhi non vedrai,
Finchè non mandi fore,
Haymè, col pianto il core.

Poich'al mio lar-go pian-to

5

[Cantus] Poi - ch'al mio lar - go pian - to, A - mor ti gio - va tan - to; A -

[Altus] Poich'al mio lar - go pian - to, A - mor ti gio - va - tan - to;

[Tenor] Poich'al mio lar - go pian - to, A - mor ti gio - va tan - to; A -

[Bassus] Poich'al mio lar - go pian - to, A - mor ti gio - va tan - to;

seu - ti mai, a - seu - ti mai - - - - - ques - ti oc - chi non ve -

A - seu - ti mai, a - seu - ti - mai - - - - - quest'oc - chi non ve - dra -

seu - ti mai, a - seu - ti mai quest'oc - chi non - - - - - ve -

A - seu - ti mai quest'oc - chi non ve - - - - - dra - i,

15

dra - i, Fin - ch'è non man - di fo - re, Hay - r'è, hay - nè, hay - mè, hay -

Hay - me col pian - to il co - re,

- i, Fin - ch'è non man - di fo - re, Hay - nè, hay - mè, hay - nè, hay -

Hay - me col pian - to il co - re,

dra - i, Fin - ch'è non man - di fo - re, Hay - mè, hay - mè, hay - nè, hay - nè,

Hay - me col pian - to il co - re,

[non ve - drai,] Fin - ch'è non man - di fo - re, Hay - mè, hay - nè, hay - mè, hay - nè,

Hay - me col pian - to il co - re,

- mè, hay-niè col piant' il co-re, col piant' il co-re, hay -
 - mè, col pian-to il co-re, col pian-to il co-re, hay-
 col pian-to il co-re, col pian-to il co-re, hay-
 [hay-niè], col pian-to il co-re, col pian-to il co-re, hay-niè, [hay-niè,]

- mè, col piant' il co-re.
 mè, col pian-to il co-re.
 mè, col pian-to il co-re.
 col pian-to il co-re.

54. Qual meraviglia, o donna

Source of Edition: Vnm 1795, No. 71

Text Form: Ballata Mezzana

Qual meraviglia, o donna,
S'al mio da voi partire
De vita so volsi uscire?

Da bei vostri occhi alhora
Qual sentillanti stelle,
Uscir vedeansi fora
Le lachrime sì belle,^a
E un certo in voi desire
Ch'io me sentei morire.

Revisions:

1. Dotted minim in Ms.
2. Clef change to third-line c'.

^aBandello-Opere, p. 1179, contains an additional line of poetry here which is not included in Cara's setting: "E non so che da quelle." The following line reads "Con certo in voi desire."

Qual maraviglia

5

[Cantus] Qual ma-ra-vi - - glià, o don - na,

[Altus] Qual ma - ra - vi - glià, o don -

[Tenor] Qual - - ma - ra - vi - glià, o don - -

[Bassus] Qual - - ma - ra - vi - glià, o don - -

10 #

S'al mio da voi par - ti - re De vi - ta

na, S'al mio da voi par - ti - re De - - vi - -

na, S'al - - mio da voi par - ti - re [pa - ti - re] De vi - ta

na, S'al mio da - - voi par - ti - re De vi - ta

15

So vol - si u - sci - - re? Da bei vos -

ta so vol - si u - sci - - re? Da bei vos - tri

so vol - si u - sci - re? - Da bei vos - tri

so vol - si u - sci - re? Da bei vos - tri

20

tri-ce-chial-ho - - ra Qual-sen - ti - lan - ti stel - le,
 oc-chial-ho - - ra Qual-sen - ti - lan - - te stel - le,
 oc-chial-ho - - ra Qual-sen-ti - lan-ti - stel - -
 oc-chial-ho - - ra Qual-sen-ti - lan-ti stel - le,

25

U-scir ve - - dean-si fo - ra he -- la-chri - -
 U - scir ve - - dean-si fo-ra he la - chri -
 le U-scir ve - - dean-si fo-ra he la - chri -
 U - scir ve - - dean-si fo - ra he la - chri -

30 35

me - - si bel - le, E un cer-tojn voi de - si - -
 me - - si bel - le, E un cer-to in voi de-si - -
 me si bel - le, E un cer-to in voi de - si - -
 me si bel - - le, E un cer-tojn voi de - si - -

b 70 #

re Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-re, E un cer-to in voi-de-

re Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-re, E un cer-to in voi-de-si-

- re Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-re, E un cer-to in voi-

re Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-re E un cer-to in voi de-

45

Si-re Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-re, mo-

re de-si-re Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-re,

de-si-re Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-re, mo-

si-re Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-re,

50 #

- ri-re, Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-

Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-re, [Ch'io me sen-tei

- ri-re, Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-re, [Ch'io me sen-

Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-re, [Ch'io me sen-tei mo-ri-

55

60

re.

mo - ri - re], Chio me sen - tai me - ri - re.

tai mo - ri - - re], mo - ri - re.

re], Chio me sen - tai mo - ri - - re.

Related Works of
Other Composers

1. Se io glie'l dico

Composer: Bartolomeo Tromboncino

Source of Edition: PeF VIII (1507), f. 2v-3r

Corcordant Sources: PeB I (1509), f. 28v-29r; ^AF_n 337,
f. 74v; ^TAntL (1520), f. 3v-4r (to M. C.); ^TMAc
A.I.4, f. 123r-v

Text Form: Barzelletta

Se io glie'l dico che dirà,
Dirà forsi che mal fo;
Glìe'l dico, non glìe'l dirò
Che da me scacerà.

Se io glie'l dico che dirà,
Dirà forsi che mal fo.

Se io glie'l dico, io perderò
Le carezz' che me fa;
Se io nol dico, io morirò
Per l'ardor che in cor mi sta.
Glìe'l dirò, non dirò no
Che so ben se sdegnarà.
Se io glie'l dico....

Donque, haymè, io tacerò
La passion che amor mi da,
E tacendo, languirò
Poichè morta è in me pietà.
Glìe'l dirò sarà lei pò
Contra me quel che vorà.
Se io glie'l dico....

Nol dirò, non pa[r]larò
Che'l mio ardir riprenderà
E'n pensier me struggerò
Come quel che gran pena ha.
Et da lei se tornerò
Con furor mi fuggerà.
Se io glie'l dico....

Glie'l dirò, glie'l scoprirò;
 Vade poi come l'andrà.
 Se risposta bona li avrò,
 In letitia el cor godrà.
 Se fia trista i' patirò
 La mia sorte qual serà.
 Se io glie'l dico....

Ma se un prego iusto pò
 Conquistar una pietà,
 Discoprendo el gran mal che ho.
 Le mie voce exaudirà,
 E la palma io portarò
 Di sua vinta crudeltà.
 Se io glie'l dico....

Revisions:

1. d in print.
2. g in print.
3. Signum congruentiae in print.
4. No tie in print.

Se io gliel dico

B[artolomea] T[ra i suoi...]

5

[Cantus] Se io gliel di - co che di - rà, Di - rà

Altus Se io gliel dico che dirà

Tenor Se io gliel dico che dirà

Bassus Se io gliel dico che dirà

13

for - si che mal fo; Gliel di - co, non gliel di -

15

- rò Che da me sca - ce - - rà. Se io gliel

4 21

di - - co - - - - - che di - - rà, Di - - rà for - - si

25

— che mal fo, Di - - rà for - - si che mal

30

fo, che 3) — mal — fo, — Di - - rà for - - si

3^e

che mal fo, Di - rà for

4^o

si che mal fo, che mal fo,

4⁵ 4)

Di - rà for - si che mal fo.

2. Dolermi sempre voglio

Composer: Bartolomeo Tromboncino

Source of Edition: PeF IX (1509), f. 3v

Concordant Source: PeB II (1511), f. 42v-43r

Text Form: Moto Confetto [?]

Dolermi sempre voglio
Di questa empia homicida,
Che con l'aspetto grida
Sempre pace.

Poi con penser falace
Guerra mortal procura,
Sì che poco sicura
De la mia vita.

Quando è dame servita
Con magior studio e fede,
Tanto menor mercede
Ha del mio male.

Non sagitta, non strale
Che amor per me gli scochi;
Credo io che'l cor li tochi
Molto poco.

Hai ch'io me strugo in foco,
Et ella in g[h]iaccio vive;
Oimè, fatiche prive
D'ogni merto.

Almen poichè scoperto
E il suo crudel inganno;
Potess'io del mio danno
Ristorarmi.

Potessi almen ritrarmi
Da questa vana impresa;
Potessi l'alma accesa
Intepedire.

Potessi almen morire
Poichè morendo vivo
D'ogni alegreza privo
E d'ogni bene.

Ahi, che'l dolor mantiene
In questo corpo l'alma,
Perchè desiata palma;
Abia costei de darmi viva morte,
Tenendo di pietà, chiuse le porte.

B. T.

[Cantus] Do - ler - mi sem - pra vo - glio Di

Alto Dolermi sempre voglio

Tenor Dolermi sempre voglio

Bassus Dolermi sempre voglio

Detailed description: This system contains the first four staves of the musical score. The top staff is the Cantus line, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature. It begins with a rest followed by a half note 'Do', then a quarter note 'ler', a quarter note 'mi', a quarter note 'sem', a quarter note 'pra', a quarter note 'vo', a quarter note 'glio', and ends with a half note 'Di'. A fermata is placed over the final note. A finger number '5' is written above the final note. The second staff is the Alto part, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature, with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a half note 'Do', followed by quarter notes 'ler', 'mi', 'sem', 'pra', 'vo', 'glio', and ends with a half note. The third staff is the Tenor part, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature, with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a half note 'Do', followed by quarter notes 'ler', 'mi', 'sem', 'pra', 'vo', 'glio', and ends with a half note. The fourth staff is the Bassus part, starting with a bass clef and a common time signature, with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a half note 'Do', followed by quarter notes 'ler', 'mi', 'sem', 'pra', 'vo', 'glio', and ends with a half note.

ques - ta em - - pia ho - mi - ci - da, Che son l'us - pet

Detailed description: This system contains the next four staves. The top staff is the Cantus line, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature. It begins with a half note 'ques', followed by a quarter note 'ta', a quarter note 'em', a quarter note 'ho', a quarter note 'mi', a quarter note 'ci', a quarter note 'da', a quarter note 'Che', a quarter note 'son', a quarter note 'l'us', and ends with a half note 'pet'. A fermata is placed over the final note. The second staff is the Alto part, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature, with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a half note 'ques', followed by quarter notes 'ta', 'em', 'ho', 'mi', 'ci', 'da', a quarter note 'Che', a quarter note 'son', a quarter note 'l'us', and ends with a half note 'pet'. The third staff is the Tenor part, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature, with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a half note 'ques', followed by quarter notes 'ta', 'em', 'ho', 'mi', 'ci', 'da', a quarter note 'Che', a quarter note 'son', a quarter note 'l'us', and ends with a half note 'pet'. The fourth staff is the Bassus part, starting with a bass clef and a common time signature, with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a half note 'ques', followed by quarter notes 'ta', 'em', 'ho', 'mi', 'ci', 'da', a quarter note 'Che', a quarter note 'son', a quarter note 'l'us', and ends with a half note 'pet'.

to gri - da Sem - - pre pa -

Detailed description: This system contains the final four staves. The top staff is the Cantus line, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature. It begins with a half note 'to', followed by a quarter note 'gri', a quarter note 'da', a quarter note 'Sem', a quarter note 'pre', and ends with a half note 'pa'. A fermata is placed over the final note. The second staff is the Alto part, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature, with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a half note 'to', followed by quarter notes 'gri', 'da', a quarter note 'Sem', a quarter note 'pre', and ends with a half note 'pa'. The third staff is the Tenor part, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature, with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a half note 'to', followed by quarter notes 'gri', 'da', a quarter note 'Sem', a quarter note 'pre', and ends with a half note 'pa'. The fourth staff is the Bassus part, starting with a bass clef and a common time signature, with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a half note 'to', followed by quarter notes 'gri', 'da', a quarter note 'Sem', a quarter note 'pre', and ends with a half note 'pa'.

15 # 20 #

ce. di dar-me viv-va mor-te,

25

Te-nen-do di pie-tà, chiu -

#

se le por -

3. Pietà, cara signora-La pietà

Composer: Rasmus [Erasmus Lapidida?]

Source of Edition: PeF IX (1509), f. 4v-5r

Concordant Sources: None^a

Text Form: Barzelletta

[Cantus]

Pietà, cara signora
Ch'io son già quasi morto;
Morendo io moro a torto
Che pur ben servo ogn'hora.

Pietà, cara signora
Ch'io son già quasi morto.

Pietà che'l gran diletto
Che intro me in mezo al petto;
Vedendo il vostro aspetto,
La notte e'l dì m'acora.
Pietà....

Pietà che'l miser core
Sente in se tal dolore,
Che de passion ne more
L'anima chi vi adora.
Pietà....

Pietà che'l vostro nome
M'ha carcho di tal some,
Ch'io intesso non so come
Resiste ch'io non mora.
Pietà....

^aThe text and melody of the Cantus are taken from Marchetto Cara's Pietà, cara signora (PeF I [1504]); the Tenor is taken from Bartolomeo Tromboncino's La pietà chiuso ha le porte (PeF II [1505]).

Pietà ch'io perso el lume
 De gli ochi volti in fiume;
 Sì come ha per costume
 Chi troppo se inamora.
 Pietà....

[Tenor]

La pietà ha chiuso le porte
 Al mio duro e gran lamento;
 Per uscir de maggior stento,
 Men dolor seria la morte.

La pietà ha chiuso le porte
 Al mio duro e gran lamento.

Certo nascer non dovea
 Per provar pena infinita,
 Ma la mia sorte acerba e rea
 Piacque sol darmi la vita
 Perché l'alma smarita;
 Fusse albergo di tormento.
 Per uscir....
 La pietà....

Quanto fu el desir maggiore
 Del pensier ch'ogni altro avanza;
 Tanto più cresce el dolore
 Hor che è persa la speranza;
 Perso ho il pianto per usanza
 Et al mio morir contento.
 Per uscir....
 La pietà....

Per spelonche e obscure grotte,
 Per deserti e selve ombrose
 Sfogarò el giorno e la notte;
 Le mie pene tenebrose,
 Tal che anchor farò pietose
 L'aspre fiere al mio lamento.
 Per uscir....
 La pietà....

S'io farò de vita casso
 Per uscir di tanti mali,
 Resterà el mio corpo, lasso
 Cibo e preda de animali,
 Nè fortuna con soi strali
 Vantarassi haverme vento.
 Per uscir....
 La pietà....

Ciecho amor adonque vale,
Vale perfida fortuna,
E tu, stella mia fatale,
De pietà sempre diguna;
Non ho più speranza alcuna
Et ogni mio desire spento.
Per uscìr....
La pietà....

Pietà, cara signora - La pietà

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Rasmo

[Cantus] Pie - tà,

Altus La pietà

Tenor La pie - tà ha chio - so 'le

Bassus La pietà

5 ca - ra si - gno - ra Chio - san già qua - si

10 por - te Al - mis - du - ro e gran la - men - to;

15 mor - - to; Mo - ren - do jo mo - ra a tor - -

Per u - scir de ma - - gior - -

1) 20

-to Che pur ben ser-vo ggn' ho - ra.

sten - - to, Men do - lor se -

25

ria la - - mor - te. ha, pie - tà ha

30

Pie - tà, ca - ra si - gno-ra Chio - - son

chis - so le por - te Al - - mio - du -

35

[già] qua - si mor - to [ch'io son già - ro e gran la - men - to, [al mio du - ro

40

Qua - si mor - to, mor - - e gran la - men - - to, la -

- - to.]
- - men - to.]

4. Amor, che me tormenti

Composer: Sebastian Festa

Source of Edition: DorC I (1526), f. 28v-30r

Concordant Sources: ^ABc 21, No. 35; ^AFn 164, No. 20

Text Form: Madrigal

Amor, che me tormenti
 Et me aprendesti il bel sguardo suave;
 Di quella che di me pietà non have
 Perchè non mostri a lei sì spesso il foco
 Che me consuma el core,
 Come a me mostri sua beltà infinita?
 Forsi che saperia che cosa è amore
 E come se sostrage a poco a poco.
 Un che lontan dela speranza sia,
 Hai dura sorte mia.
 Madonna, me non cura e certo vede
 Che altro non regna in me, che amor e fede.

Revisions:

1. Minim rest omitted in print.
2. Semibreve in print divided for text-underlay.
3. b' in print; a' follows Bc 21, No. 35.
4. Minim rest omitted in print.

Amor, che me tormenti

278

Sebastian Festa

[Cantus] A-mor, che me tor-men - - ti Et me a - pren-

Altus Amor, che me tormenti

Tenor Amor, che me tormenti

Bassus Amor, che me tormenti

5

des-ti-jl bel — sguar-do sua-ve; Di quel-la che di me pie-tà

10 # 1) 2)

non ha-ve Per-chè non mos-tri-a lei sì spes - so il

Detailed description: This is a handwritten musical score for a four-part setting of 'Amor, che me tormenti'. The score is written on five systems of staves. The first system includes the vocal parts: Cantus (Soprano), Altus (Alto), Tenor, and Bassus. The lyrics are written below the vocal staves. The second system continues the vocal parts with the lyrics 'des-ti-jl bel — sguar-do sua-ve; Di quel-la che di me pie-tà'. The third system shows the vocal parts with a key signature change to one sharp (F#) and two alternative endings marked '1)' and '2)'. The lyrics for this system are 'non ha-ve Per-chè non mos-tri-a lei sì spes - so il'. The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and note values.

15

fo - co Che me con-su-ma el co - re, Co - me a me mos - tri sua

20

bel - tà in - fi - ni - tà? For - si che sa - pe - ria che - co - sa è

25

a - mo - re E co - me se sos - tra - ge a po - co a. po - co.

30 35

Un che lon-tan-de-la spe-ran-za si-a Hai du-ra sorte
sia Hai dura sorte mia
sia Hai dura sorte mia
sia Hai dura sorte mia

3) 40

mi-a. Ma-don-na, me non cu-ra e cer-to ve-de

4)

Che al-tro non re-gna in me, che

95

a - - - - - mor e fe - de, Che gl-tro non re -

50

- - gna in me, - - - - - che - - - - - a - - - - - mor e

55

fe - de, a - mor e fe - - - - -

5. Perchè quel che mi trasse

Composer: Sebastian Festa

Source of Edition: DorC I (1526), f. 10v-11r

Concordant Sources: ^TCanF II (1519), f. 17v-20r (to
Carpentras)

Text Form: Ballata Mezzana (Petrarch)

Perchè quel che mi trasse ad amar prima
Altrui colpa mi toglia,
Del mio fermo voler già non mi svoglia.

Tra le chiume de l'or nascose il laccio
E da begli occhi mosse in freddo g[h]iaccio
Che mi passò nel core
Con la virtù d'un subito splendore,
Che d'ogn'altra sua voglia,
Sol rimembrando, ancor l'anima spoglia.

[Tolta m'è poi di que' biondi capelli
Lasso, la dolce vista;
E'l volger de' duo lumi onesti e belli
Col suo fuggir m'atrasta;
Ma perchè ben morendo onor s'acquista,
Per morte nè per doglia
Non vo che da tal nodo amor mi scioglia.]^a

Revisions:

1. Corona in print.

^aSecond stanza not included in DorC I; taken from
Petrarch-Rime, LIX.

Perchè quel che mi trasse

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Sebastian Festa

[Cantus] Per-chè quel che mi tras-se ad a-mar pri - - ma

Altus Perchè quel che mi trasse

Tenor Perchè quel chè

Bassus Perchè quel che mi trasse.

5

Al-trui col - - pa mi to-glia, Del mio fer-mo vo-ler giù -

non mi svo-glia. Tra le chiu-me de l'or nas-co-se il lac - -
E da be-glice chi mes - se in fre-do g[h]iac -

10 # D 15

20

-cio Al qual mi-strin - - - se, a-mo-re; Con la vir-tù d'un su-bi-
 -cio Che mi pas - - - sò nel co-rre

25

to splen-do-re. Che dign'al-tra sua vo-glia; Sol ri-mem-bran-dan-cer l'a-ni-ma

b 30 #

spo-glia, (l'a - - ni - ma - - spo - glia.)

6. Qual meraviglia, o donna

Composer: Philippe Verdelot

Source of Edition: Il secondo libro de madrigali de Verdelotto.... Venice: Scotto, 1536 (1536/7)

Concordant Sources: 1534/16; 1537/10; ^TVnm 1795 (to M.C.)

Text Form: Ballata Mezzana (M. Bandello)

Qual meraviglia, o donna,
Se'l mio da voi partire
Di vita so vols' uscire?

Da bei vostri occhi alhora
Che son del ciel due stelle,
Uscir vedeansi fuora
Le lacrime sì belle,^a
Ch'un certo in voi desire
Ch'io mi sentei morire.

^aBandello-Opere, p. 1179 contains an additional line of poetry here which is not included in Verdelot's setting: "E non so che da quelle." The following line reads "Con certo in voi desire."

Verdelot

Cantus Qual ma-ra - vi - glià, o don-na, Se'l

Altus Qual ma-ra - vi - glià don-na, Se'l mio da

Tenor Qual ma-ra - vi - glià, o don-na, Se'l mio da

Bassus Qual ma-ra - vi - glià don-na Se'l mio

10
 mio da voi par - - ti - - re Di vi - ta io
 --- voi - - par - - ti - - re Di vi - - ta io
 voi par - ti - - - re Di vi - ta io
 da voi par - ti - - re Di vi - - ta io

15
 vols' u - sci - - re? Da bei vos - tri oc - chi a -
 vols' u - sci - - re? Da bei vos - tri oc - chi a -
 vols' u - sci - - re? Da bei vos - tri oc - chi a -
 vols' u - sci - - re? Da bei vos - tri oc - chi a -

20

lho - ra Che son del ciel du - e stel - le U -

lho - ra Che son del ciel due stel - - - le, U -

lho - ra Che son del ciel du - e stel - - le, U -

lho - ra Che son del ciel du - e stel - - le, U -

25

scir ve - dean - si fuo - ra he la - gri - me si

scir ve dean - si fuo - ra he la - gri - me si

scir ve dean - si fuo - ra he la - gri - me si

scir ve dean - si fuo - ra he la - gri - me si

bel - le, Ch'un cer - tojn voi de - -

bel - - le, Ch'un cer - tojn voi de - - si -

bel - - le, Ch'un cer - tojn voi de - si - - -

7. Amor, se d'hor in hor

Composer: Philippe Verdelot

Source of Edition: ^ABc 21, No. 17.

Concordant Sources: 1532/2; 1537/9; ^AFc Ms. Basevi
2495; ^TAntF IV (1517) (to M.C.)^a

Text Form: Madrigal (M. Bandello)

Amor, se d'hor in hor la doglia cresce,
Anzi facta inmortale,
Che finirà el mio male?
Lasso se'n vita del dolor non si esce,
Se doverrà finire,
Mi converrà morire.

Revisions:

1. Semibreve divided for text-underlay.

^aFor further textual concordances, see vol. II,
p. 21.

Cantus A - mor, se d'hor in hor la do-glia cre -

Altus A - mor, se d'hor in hor la do-glia cre -

Tenor A - mor, se d'hor in hor la do-glia cre -

Bassus A - mor, se d'hor in hor la do - glia cre - -

5

sce An-zi fac-ta in-mor-ta - - le Che fi-ni-rà el mio ma-le?

sce An-zi fac-ta in-mor-ta - le Che fi-ni-rà el mio ma-le?

sce An-zi fac-ta in-mor-ta-le Che fi-ni-rà el mio ma-le? has -

sce An-zi fac-ta in-mor-ta-le Che fi-ni-rà el mio ma-le? has -

10

Las-so se'n vi-ta del do-lor non si e - sce,

has - so se'n vi-ta del do - - lor non si e - sce, Se do-ver -

so se'n vi - - ta del do - - lor non si e - sce, se do-ver -

- so se'n vi-ta del do - lor non si e - sce, Se do-ver-rà

8. Perchè piangi, alma

Composer: Anonymous

Source of Edition: ^ABc 21, No. 68.

Concordant Sources: ^TDorC II (1531) (to M.C.)^a

Text Form: Ballata-madrigal (J. Sannazaro?)^b

Perchè piangi, alma, se dal pianto mai
Fin non sperì a tua guai?

"Per questo sol piango io:
Che sa gli affanni miei
Prometessi riposo el pianger mio."
Tanta letitia de la speme harej
Che pianger non potrei.
"Però fuor di speranza
Lacrimar sol m'avanza."

Revisions:

1. c#' in Ms.

^aFor further textual concordances, cf. vol. II,

^bFor the problems with the ascription of this poem,
cf. vol. I, p.

Perchè piangi, alma

293

Anon.

[Cantus] Per-chè pian-gi, al-ma, se dal pian-to

[Altus] Per-chè pian-gi, al - - ma, se dal pian-to

[Tenor] Per-chè pian-gi, al-ma, se dal pian-to

[Bassus] Per - che pian-gi, al-ma, se dal pian-to

5
ma - i Fin non spe-ri a tua gua - i? "Per

ma - i Fin non spe-ri a tua gua - i? Per

ma - i Fin non spe-ri a tua gua - i? "Per

ma - i Fin non spe-ri a tua gua - i? "Per

10
ques - to sol pian-go i - o: Che sa gli af-fon-ni mie -

ques - to sol pian-go i - o: Che sa gli af-fon-ni mie -

ques - to sol pian-go i - o: Che sa gli af-fon-ni mie -

ques - to sol pian-go i - o: Che sa gli af-fon-ni mie -

15

i Pro-met-tes-si ri-po-sogl pian-ger mi-o." Tan-ta le-

i Pro-met-tes-si ri-po-sogl pian-ger mi-o." Tan-ta le-ti-

i Pro-met-tes-si ri-po-sogl pian-ger mi-o." Tan-ta le-ti-

i Pro-met-tes-si ri-po-sogl pian-go mi-o." Tan-ta le-

20

ti-tia de la spe-me-ha-re-j Che pian-ger non po-tre -

ti-tia de la spe-me-ha-re-j Che pian-ger non po-tre -

ti-tia de la spe-me-ha-re-j Che pian-ger non po-tre -

ti-tia de la spe-me-ha-re-j Che pian-ger non po-tre

25

-i. "Pe-rò fuor di spe-ran-za La-chri-mar sol m'a-van-

-i. "Pe-rò fuor di spe-ran-za La-chri-mar sol m'a-van-

-i. "Pe-rò fuor di spe-ran-za La-chri-mar sol m'a-van-

-i. "Pe-rò fuor di spe-ran-za La-chri-mar sol m'a-van-

30 # 35

-za, (la - - chri-mar sol m'a - van - za,) la-chri-mar sol ma-

-za, (la - chri-mar sol m'a - - - van-za,) la-chri-mar sol ma-

-za, (la - chri-mar sol ma - van - za,) la-chri-mar sol ma-

-za, (la - chri-mar sol ma - van - za,) la-chri-mar sol ma-

-van - - za."

-van - - za. la-chri-mar sol ma - van - - za."

- van-za, la-chri-mar sol ma - van - - za."

-van - - za, (la - chri-mar sol ma - van - - za."

40