

THE BURNING SALAMANDER: ASSIGNING A PRINTER TO SOME SIXTEENTH- CENTURY MUSIC PRINTS

BY JANE A. BERNSTEIN



One of the most challenging problems facing a bibliographer of sixteenth-century music is the identification of a printer who has omitted his name from a music publication. Involved in an exacting field otherwise filled with minute details and repetitive tasks, the bibliographer finds the unsigned music print a tantalizing mystery which cannot be left unsolved. It is no wonder that in recent years, several different unsigned music publications have claimed the attention of scholars.¹ Among them, none is more deserving of further exploration than a group of twenty-two Italian publications dating from the brief period 1545 to 1547. These music prints have remained enigmatic because their plain title pages reveal neither the name of a printer nor a printer's mark commonly associated with any sixteenth-century music publisher. Yet despite this anonymity, they prove significant not only because of their large number, but also because in some cases they contain works by such luminaries as Morales, Rore, Verdelot, Arcadelt, and Festa, and in other cases, provide us with first or unique editions of works by such composers as Vicentino, Perissone Cambio, Ruffo, and da Nola.²

An examination of all the unsigned prints reveals that eighteen of them emanated from the same press.³ Lawrence Moe, in his study of Italian lute publications, was the first to discover a connection between some of the prints. He noted that the six unsigned lute books in this

Jane A. Bernstein is Associate Professor of Music at Tufts University

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¹See, for example, Donna Cardamone, "Madrigali a Tre et Arie Napoletane: A Typographical and Repertorial Study," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982): 436-81, Daniel Heartz, "A New Attainnant Book and the Beginnings of French Music Printing," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14 (1961): 9-23, and Peter Clulow, "Publication Dates for Byrd's Latin Masses," *Music and Letters* 47 (1966): 1-9.

²For a complete list of the twenty-two music editions see Appendix A, pp. 497-500.

³Thomas Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book of Madrigals" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1982), p. 123, fn. 12 and pp. 187-88, states that three of the remaining publications, listed as F 1, F 2, and F 3 in Appendix A, were issued by the Paduan firm of Giacomo Fabriano and Bernardino Bindoni. As he notes, the rare and distinctive palm tree printer's mark with the motto, "Justus ut palma florebit" found in F 1 and F 3 also appears on the title page of a philosophical publication: Angelus Thyus, *De subjecto logices ac omnium librorum logices*, which Fabriano and Bindoni printed in 1547. This print, moreover, has other features in common with the three unsigned music prints, in particular a few decorated initials and a watermark depicting an orb surmounted by a cross. A fourth unsigned print (F 4) might have also been printed by the Paduan firm.

group (nos. 58, 59, 61–64) belonged to a series of ten lute collections, the last four of which were signed by Girolamo Scotto.⁴ In examining the typography of the remaining unsigned publications in mensural notation, Mary Lewis concluded that the music type font and clefs belonged to Girolamo Scotto.⁵ Thomas Bridges, agreeing with these conclusions, further noted a connection between the Scotto press and an unusual woodcut of a crowned salamander surrounded by flames displayed on a few of the unsigned prints; he suggested, however, that the editions were not printed by Girolamo but by another Scotto—his second cousin, Ottaviano di Amadio.⁶ The use of a particular music type font, however, does not prove conclusively that these editions emanated from the Scotto press, for the selling, renting, borrowing, and even copying of typographical materials were common practices among sixteenth-century printers. The same type fonts, initials, woodcut illustrations, and even printer's marks could occur in publications issued by different printers.⁷ Only an intimate knowledge of the suspected printer's *opere* coupled with archival documentation can yield convincing evidence to identify the anonymous printer. The purpose of this article is to demonstrate what others have speculated—that the house of Scotto was indeed responsible for these unsigned editions. Furthermore, it will also shed light on the complicated connections that existed between sixteenth-century printers in the Veneto.

The 1540s represent a crucial period for music printing in Italy. During this decade, the multiple impression method of printing was abandoned in favor of the less expensive and less time consuming single impression technique which had been discovered some ten years earlier by the Parisian printer Pierre Attaingnant.⁸ The music printing industry had entered a new era—moving away from the incunabulum stage (what some might call the golden age of music printing) to the commercial period. Two Venetian printers, Girolamo Scotto and Antonio Gardano exemplify this coming of age. Compared with the small outputs of their predecessors, Ottaviano Petrucci and Andrea Antico,⁹ Scotto

⁴"Dance Music in Printed Italian Tablatures from 1507 to 1611" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1956), pp. 7–9.

⁵Mary S. Lewis, "Antonio Gardano and his Publications of Sacred Music, 1538–55" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1979), pp. 314ff.

⁶Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," pp. 126ff.

⁷Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading 1450–1550* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967), p. 49.

⁸Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant, Royal Printer of Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969). Although the credit for the creation of the single impression method has traditionally gone to Attaingnant, an English printer, John Rastell, might have been the first to employ this method; see A. Hyatt King, "John Rastell and the Role He Played in Early Music Printing," *The Library*, 5th series, 26 (1972): 197–214.

⁹For more information on Petrucci see Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia delle opere musicali stampate da Ottaviano Petrucci*, Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, vol. 18 (Florence: Olschki, 1948), and more recently, Stanley Boorman, "Petrucci at Fossombrone: A Study of Early Music Printing, with Special

and Gardano published a total of 240 music editions from the inception of their careers in 1538 and 1539, respectively, until 1550.¹⁰ As the towering figures of Italian music printing during the mid-sixteenth century, Gardano and Scotto are the first we should study for a clue to the authorship of these unsigned prints.

On the surface, it appears that Gardano and Scotto's publishing careers paralleled each other: they were almost exact contemporaries; both lived in Venice, one of the foremost centers for book production in Renaissance Europe; and their prodigious output of over four hundred music publications each remained unrivaled by any other music publisher of the sixteenth century. Despite these obvious similarities, many differences set these two great music publishers apart from each other. Scotto and Gardano came from completely different backgrounds. Girolamo Scotto was born into one of the great Venetian printing dynasties of the Renaissance. His uncle, Ottaviano Scotto, founded the firm sometime before 1479. When Girolamo took over the press sixty years later, he inherited an international business which maintained a large network of booksellers and agents in all the major cities on the Italian peninsula as well as connections in Northern Europe and Spain. Scotto issued books on many different subjects—Classical literature, theology, medicine, Italian literature and history, astronomy, law, and liturgical publications—but music printing clearly remained his primary interest; he also specialized in the field of scholasticism, specifically the Latin translations, commentaries, and interpretations of Aristotle by various humanists. Music publications, in fact, made up about half his output.¹¹

By comparison, almost nothing is known about Gardano's life before his arrival in Venice sometime before 1538. A Frenchman by birth,¹² Gardano married the daughter of a Venetian printer-bookseller, Agostino Bindoni.¹³ Unlike Scotto, who was born into a major publishing house, Gardano had to set up his own firm. In a highly competitive business that required vast sums of money, Gardano, like most Venetian bookmen, specialized in the subject matter he printed. With the exception of three literary editions, music was to be his only publishing

Reference to the *Motetti de la Corona* (1514–1519)" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1976). On Antico, see Catherine Weeks Chapman, "Andrea Antico" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1964).

¹⁰The most complete discussion on Gardano is found in Lewis, "Antonio Gardane." A study containing a historic account and descriptive catalogue of the music publications of Girolamo Scotto by the present author is now in progress.

¹¹Biographical information on the Scotto dynasty is found in Claudio Sartori, "La famiglia degli editori Scotto" *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964): 19–30 and Carlo Volpati, "Gli Scotti di Monza, tipografi-editori in Venezia," *Archivio storico lombardo* 49 (1922): 365–82.

¹²A Venetian privilege dated 11 May 1538 describes Gardano as a "musico francese." *Archivio di Stato, Venice* (hereafter referred to as ASV), Senato Terra, registro 30, f. 21.

¹³Claudio Sartori, "Una dinastia di editori musicali italiani," *La bibliofilia* 58 (1956): 177.

interest.¹⁴ The 1540s were naturally a crucial period for the establishment of his press. After only two years as an independent printer, Gardano might have experienced serious difficulties. In 1540, he published only one edition.¹⁵ The following year, however, fourteen music books emerged from his press—a startlingly large number considering the preceding fallow year. Yet of these fourteen publications, only four were first editions. The remaining ten were reprints of earlier titles published either by himself or Scotto.¹⁶ One of these publications, Ihan Gero's *Duos*, is of particular significance, since it was not only a reprint of a Scotto edition published the year before,¹⁷ but also contained a dedication signed by Scotto implying that he had underwritten the project.¹⁸ This publication suggests that through Scotto's generosity, Gardano was able to pull himself through a possible financial crisis.

Both presses continued to flourish in the 1540s. A curious gap occurred in Scotto's production of music editions in the middle of the decade however. From 1545 to 1547, neither Scotto's name nor one of his usual printer's marks appeared on any music publication. By comparison, fifty-five signed Gardano publications survive from this period. Five of these Gardano prints were also issued in comparable editions in the same year by the unnamed printer.¹⁹ The five signed editions imply that Gardano was not responsible for the unsigned prints. A lacuna in music publications at this time from the Scotto press, on the other hand, points to Girolamo Scotto as the printer in question. Both these facts do not offer concrete evidence. Although not a common practice, two or more printings of an edition issued in the same year by one printer did take place.²⁰ Furthermore, the absence of clearly identified music editions from the Scotto press is merely circumstantial since any printer could have issued the eighteen music books. A review

¹⁴All three literary editions were written by Gardano's friend, Nicolò Franco. For further discussion on the relationship between Gardano and Franco see Lewis, "Antonio Gardane," pp. 13ff. and Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," pp. 99ff.

¹⁵Lewis, "Antonio Gardane," p. 15 conjectures that in 1540 Gardano's shop might have experienced physical damage, for the following year Gardano used completely new music and text fonts.

¹⁶See Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," pp. 107–8 for a list of 1541 editions by Gardano.

¹⁷The undated and unsigned tenor partbook to this edition is in the Biblioteca nazionale in Palermo. A detailed discussion of the Palermo partbook will appear in my forthcoming study on Girolamo Scotto and the commerce of Venetian printing.

¹⁸See Lawrence F. Bernstein and James Haar, eds., *Ihan Gero, Il Primo Libro de' Madrigali Italiani et Canzon Francese A Due Voci*, Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance 1 (New York: Broude Bros. Ltd., 1980).

¹⁹Evidence suggests that Gardano's editions of three lute books (Nos. 58, 62, and 63) were printed after and were possibly taken from the unsigned publications, while the unsigned editions of the Rore five-voice motets and Morales four-voice magnificats (Nos. 51 and 55) were copied verbatim (including line endings and text underlay) from the Gardano prints.

²⁰Gardano, in fact, printed two editions of Arcadelt's first book of four-voice madrigals in 1541 (RISM 1541⁹) listed as Nos. 4 and 6 in Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," 1: 75–78; 2: 399–400.

of all the evidence, both typographical and archival, however, can help us come closer to pinning down the printer.

The elegant music type font found in all of the unsigned prints was used at one time or another by a number of printers including Gardano, Scotto, and the Ferrarese printer Hubert Bughlat.²¹ Even the Roman printer Antonio Blado employed it in an undated collection of madrigals by Hubert Naich entitled *Exercitium seraficum*.²² Lewis theorizes that since all of these printers employed the same music type-face, they must have owned only the matrices, while the craftsman who created the music type kept the punches.²³ Only Girolamo Scotto, however, consistently used this type-face for over twenty years. It is highly unlikely that a wealthy publisher would have continued to purchase matrices for such a long period of time. Scotto must have bought the punches, probably at the inception of his music printing career; he then could have sold or rented the matrices to the other printers, in particular to Gardano who reverted back to this font in 1542–43 and 1546–47.²⁴ Blado might have also bought or borrowed the font from Scotto during a possible trip to Venice. A connection between Scotto and the Roman printer is not unlikely since the house of Scotto maintained close ties with printers in Rome as far back as 1516 when Girolamo's brother, Ottaviano, owned part of a Roman bookshop.²⁵

Of these printers, only Girolamo Scotto used the same combination of clefs found in the unsigned prints.²⁶ Moreover, the italic typeface employed for the text underlay in the editions in question is identical with the one found in Scotto's music editions dated 1548 and later. Another typographical characteristic, the roman type capitals used as initials at the beginning of each musical work in the unsigned editions can also be connected to the Scotto press.²⁷

Other physical evidence, although inconclusive, supports a connection between the Scotto press and these unsigned prints. The title pages

²¹Lewis, "Antonio Gardane," p. 83.

²²Both Cardamone, "*Madrigali a tre*," pp. 476–77 and Suzanne Cusick, *Valerio Dorico, Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), p. 21 incorrectly state that the music font of this Blado print differs from the one used by Scotto, Gardano, and Bughlat. Using a jeweler's loupe calibrated in millimeters, I discovered that all the dimensions of the music type found in the Blado print are identical with the Scotto/Gardano/Bughlat font. The clefs and time signatures of the Naich edition, however, do not correspond.

²³"Antonio Gardane," p. 83

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 86

²⁵A reproduction, transcription, and translation of the notarial contract naming Ottaviano appears in Chapman, "Andrea Antico," plate 13, pp. 448–50.

²⁶Two different alto clefs appear in the unsigned editions: one with short inner arms which occurs in Scotto publications dated before 1545, and another with equal arms which Scotto used after 1547.

²⁷Other signed music editions published by Scotto, such as Rore's *First Book of Madrigals* of 1544 (RISM R2489) and four publications dating from 1548 (RISM 1548^a, 1548^b, L352, and M996) also exclusively employ roman type capitals for initials.

of the anonymous editions share a number of typographical characteristics with other editions by Girolamo Scotto: the predominance of roman capitals, the designation of *Venetiiis* for place of publication, the spacing of the date in roman numerals, and the formation of the title into an inverted triangle.²⁸ The signature, pagination, and heading of the table of contents are inconsistent from one print to another as is the case with other early signed Scotto prints.²⁹ In addition, the same watermarks found in Scotto's signed publications of the 1540s also occur on the paper employed for the unsigned prints.³⁰

Four of the title pages have two characteristics that distinguish them from the rest.³¹ The first is the inclusion of two printer's leaves or fleurons which straddle the top line of the title.³² The second and most intriguing characteristic of these four unsigned prints is a woodcut depicting a crowned salamander surrounded by flames. (See Plate 1.)

The description of a salamander as an illusive lizard that not only survived fire but could also extinguish it dates back to Aristotle and Pliny. As a fire symbol, the salamander was depicted as one of the four elements.³³ It appeared in medieval bestiaries, and remained a popular device in the Renaissance where it occurred in several emblem books.³⁴ When asbestos was discovered, it was believed to be the wool of the salamander. As Caxton in 1481 states: "This Salemandre berith wulle, of which is made cloth and gyrdles that may not brenne in the fyre."³⁵ Its most famous association was with the house of Valois which used the salamander with crown as its device. Francis I, in particular, em-

²⁸Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," p. 127 notes a similar correlation between the title pages of the unsigned prints and those by Ottaviano di Amadio. These traits, particularly the inverted triangle design can also be observed in the publications of a number of contemporary Italian and French printers. For several examples, see Ruth Mortimer, ed., *Harvard College Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts Catalogue, Part I, French Sixteenth-Century Books, Part II, Italian Sixteenth-Century Books*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964, 1974).

²⁹In contrast, Gardano as well as the French music printers Attaignant and Moderne employed a systematic order in their signatures which they rarely altered in their editions. See Lewis, "Antonio Gardano," p. 43.

³⁰Besides the fleur-de-lys noted by Lewis, p. 325, other watermarks such as the anchor and circle with star, four-pointed star, and cardinal's hat also occur both in the anonymous and Scotto prints. Identical watermarks between publications do not constitute strong evidence since the same papers were used by a number of printers. (Gardano, for example, employed paper containing a watermark of the anchor and circle with star as well as the cardinal's hat.)

³¹Appendix A, Nos. 56, 60, 65, and 66.

³²Although Scotto sometimes employed fleurons on the title pages of his pre-1545 music publications, this particular type of fleuron and title page format first occurs in four Scotto editions dated 1548 (see footnote 27 for these publications). Scotto must have copied this specific title page style, fleurons and all, from Gardano who used it as early as 1544.

³³Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600, Dictionnaire d'un langage perdu* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1958), pp. 333-34.

³⁴See Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schoene, eds., *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1967), pp. 739-41.

³⁵T. H. White, *The Bestiary, A Book of Beasts* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1960), p. 184.

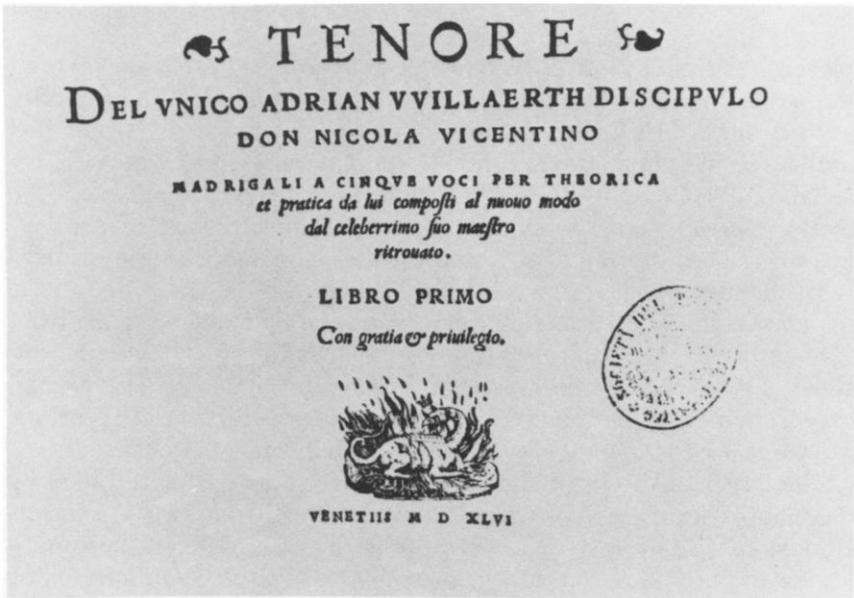


Plate 1 Nicola Vicentino, *Madrigali a cinque voci . . . Libro Primo*. Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1543 (from Verona, Accademia filarmonica).

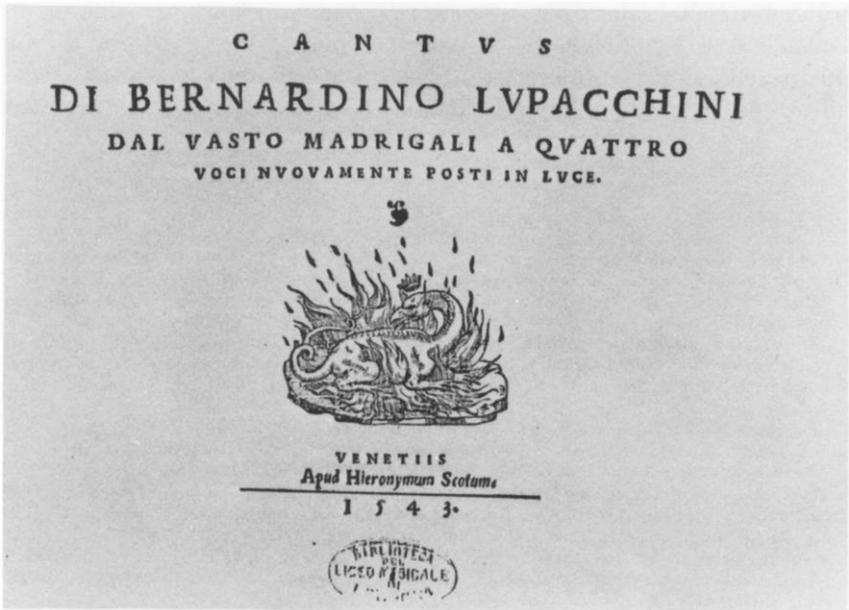


Plate 2 Bernardino Lupacchini, *Madrigali a quattro voci*. Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1543 (from Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico-Musicale).

ployed it with the motto, "Nutrisco et extingo."³⁶ Printers throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries adopted the salamander as their mark.³⁷ In Venice, Damiano Zenaro, who was active from 1563 until after 1600, sometimes signed his publications, "Al Segno della Salamandra." He employed no fewer than four printer's marks with the motto, "Virtuti sic cedit invidia." Although similar, none of Zenaro's marks matches the woodcut found on the anonymous music prints.³⁸ A salamander woodcut that can be associated with the one found in the unsigned editions, however, appeared on several publications dating from 1539 until 1554 by different printers. This printer's mark actually consisted of two woodcuts that resembled each other in almost every detail except their size. The smaller block, which graces the unsigned prints, measures 3 × 3.9 cm., while the larger one is 4.2 × 5.4 cm.

The larger of the salamander devices first appeared surrounded by the motto, "Sopra ogn'uso mortal M'è dato albergo," in two Theocritus editions using Greek type.³⁹ Dated 1539, the title pages of these publications were signed "apud Salamandram," while the colophons tell us that the printer was Bartolomeo Zanetti.⁴⁰ These two editions with the identical salamander woodcut were reprinted four years later by Giovanni Farri.⁴¹ Publications using Greek type font were not the only ones in which the burning salamander can be found. In 1540, Giovanni Farri printed a commentary on Aristotle's *De partibus animalium* which contains the device.⁴² The large salamander woodcut first appeared on the title page of a music publication in 1543: Luppachino's *Madrigali a quattro voci* published by Girolamo Scotto.⁴³ (See Plate 2.) Scotto continued to use the large salamander as seen in five non-music publications dat-

³⁶Another version of the motto, "Notrisco al buono stingo el reo" ("I nourish the good and destroy the bad"), which explains the quotation, occurs on a medal dated 1504 struck in honor of the young Francis I. See de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles*, p. 333.

³⁷For a select list of people who used this device see Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," pp. 121ff.

³⁸A case can be made that Zenaro had something to do with the mid-forties music prints since he did have a connection with the Scotto press. As late as 1567, Zenaro agreed to give half of his interest in a partnership to print law books to Girolamo Scotto. See ASV, Notarile Atti, B. Solian, Bu. 11875, ff. 25'-26'.

³⁹*Theocriti Idyllia, hoc est parva poemata XXXVI*, Venetiis apud Salamandram, 1539 and *Commentaria vetera in Theocriti Eglogas, ex diversis exemplaribus collecta*, Venetiis apud Salamandram, 1539.

⁴⁰Venetijs in aedibus Bartholomei de Zanettis, à / CasterZago. Anno à partu virginis. / M DXXXIX.

⁴¹The Farri reprint of *Commentari vetera* is pictured in Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," pp. 577-78, plates 75a and 75b. Bridges, p. 125 also suggests that Scotto jobbed these books out to Zanetti and Farri because he "rarely printed passages in Greek type." Although Scotto might have commissioned the two books, he did use Greek type in a few of his publications from this period as seen in two commentaries to Aristotle's *De platonicae* and *Stagiritae oeconomicorum* dated 1540, and Lascaris, *Grammaticae Compendium* dated 1546.

⁴²*Nicolai Leonici Thomaei, Conversio in latinum, atque explanatio primi libri Aristotelis de partibus animalium*.

⁴³Lewis, p. 322 incorrectly states that the woodcut found on the Luppachino print is identical with those on the unsigned editions.

ing from 1547 to 1548.⁴⁴ Two of these editions were issued in partnership with another Venetian printer, Giovanni Griffio as seen in the Gabuccino print in which the title page is signed by Scotto but the colophon at the end of the book designates Griffio as printer.⁴⁵ The large salamander continued to be used by several printers well into the next two decades. It appeared in a 1553 commentary to Aristotle's *Analytica Posteriora* printed in Padua by Giacomo Fabriano and Giovanni Battista Amico. The Venetian printer Plinio Pietrasanta employed it in several of his publications, some of which were associated with the writer Girolamo Ruscelli. Finally, two other Paduan printers used the device on publications dating as late as 1565.⁴⁶

Only two extant editions contain the smaller version of the salamander found on the unsigned music prints. They include Andrea Laguna's *Vita Galeni* and *Annotationes in Galeni interpretes* both published in 1548 by Scotto.

Bridges speculates that the burning salamander, a device not normally employed by any of the above printers, points to a partnership or *societas* in the publishing of the non-music titles.⁴⁷ Partnerships, not uncommon among Venetian bookmen, were formed in order to lessen financial risks in the printing of certain subjects. Law and medicine, for example, provided a slow, steady return but the initial production costs were often prohibitive not only for the novice but also for the experienced printer to face on his own.⁴⁸ Moreover, a bookman who wished to publish in a specialized field, such as music, in which he had no expertise, could form a partnership or commission another printer to do the presswork for him.⁴⁹

Almost all the printers who employed the salamander block had some connection with each other, in general, and with the house of Scotto in particular. As noted, the colophon and title page of the Gabuccini book demonstrate a collaboration between Griffio and Scotto. Griffio and Domenico Farri also cooperated on the 1545 publication of Bernardino

⁴⁴To the four titles: Altomari, *De alteratione, concoctione, digestionem . . . ex Hippocratis & Galeni sententia methodus* (1547); Boiardo, *Orlando innamorato* (1546–47); Gabuccino, *De lumbricis* (1547); and *Novi testamenti editio vulgata* (1548) listed by Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," p. 124, may be added Fumanelli, *De compositione Medicamentorum generis* (1548).

⁴⁵In this publication as well as the Altomari which was issued with alternate title pages naming either Scotto or Griffio, the actual printer was Griffio. The Gabuccino title page is reproduced as Plate 74 in Bridges, p. 577.

⁴⁶Bridges, pp. 179 and 182.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 125

⁴⁸Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 1979), pp. 22ff.

⁴⁹As for example, Pietro Vinci's *Il Secondo Libro di Madrigali a cinque voci* which was printed by Francesco Rampazetto in 1567 but commissioned by Giovanni Comincino. Comincino requested a privilege for this edition on 26 June 1567 from the Venetian Senate. For the full text see Richard Agee, "The Privilege and Venetian Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1982), p. 267.

Tomitano's *Ragionamenti della lingua toscana*.⁵⁰ Farri might have had a connection with the Scotto press, for in 1555 his firm printed a music treatise for the bookman Domenico Splendor, one of Scotto's closest associates.⁵¹ Although no documentation survives to link the writer Girolamo Ruscelli with the Scotto press, another publication, *Le Imprese Illustri* of 1566, establishes a connection with Ruscelli and two other printers, Francesco Rampazetto and Damiano Zenaro, who were closely allied with Scotto.⁵²

The most fascinating association among these salamander printers, however, occurred between Giacomo Fabriano of Padua and Scotto. Notarial contracts show that the Paduan family maintained a connection with the Scotto press for more than thirty years. Fabriano and his sons acted as agents, sold books, and owned property jointly with the Scotto family.⁵³ Fabriano's publications were, for the most part, commissioned by other printers. His salamander edition of 1553 might have been one such commission, since its subject, an Aristotelian commentary in Latin, was a particular specialty of the Scotto press. Fabriano's connection with the Venetian firm can also be observed in some of his other publications, where decorative initials originally belonging to Scotto appear. Furthermore, the three unsigned music prints printed by Fabriano and his first partner, Bindoni, (See Appendix A, Nos. F 1–3) also employ the same music type font found in Scotto's editions.

Extant archival documents, particularly the privileges dating from this period, also help in assigning a printer to the anonymous music publications. Ten of the nineteen prints state on their title pages that they were issued "con gratia et privilegio." Three of these privileged editions can be challenged as falsely labeled.⁵⁴ No privilege survives for another

⁵⁰A reproduction of the title page to this print appears in Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," 2: 579, Plate 77.

⁵¹Agee, "The Privilege," p. 100 mentions this publication by Pietro Cinciarino, *Introduttore abbreviato di musica piana, o vero canto fermo*.

⁵²Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," p. 196 also notes that a printer's mark originally belonging to Pietrasanta appeared in several later publications by Rampazetto. For a discussion of *Le Imprese Illustri* see Mortimer, *Italian Sixteenth-Century Books*, 2: 620–23, which also pictures the title page and selected folios from this edition. A connection between Scotto and Zenaro has already been cited. Of greater significance is Scotto's relationship with the music printer Rampazetto which will be described more fully in my forthcoming study on Scotto and the commerce of Venetian printing.

⁵³Giacomo Fabriano was a member of the paper-making family. He became active as a printer-publisher in 1546 when he formed a partnership with Bernardino Bindoni. This collaboration, which lasted for only two years, was responsible for three of the unsigned music publications under discussion (see footnote 3). From 1548 until 1551, Fabriano continued to issue publications on his own. The following year, he entered into another short-lived association with the Venetian mathematician and astronomer Giovanni Battista Amico. Several contracts in ASV, Notarile Atti B. Solian document the Fabriano-Scotto relationship, see, for example, Bustas 11868 (1557) ff. 210^r; 11870 (1559) ff. 183^r–184^r; and 11877 (1571) ff. 4–5.

⁵⁴Arcadelt, *Il Primo libro di madrigali a quattro voci* (1546¹⁶), *Il primo libro di madrigali di diversi eccellentissimi autori* (1547¹⁵), and Festa, *Il vero libro di madrigali a tre voci* (1547¹⁵) were all first published by

edition, Vicentino's *Madrigali a cinque voci . . . libro primo*.⁵⁵ Two privileges do exist which can account for the remaining six publications. One, dated 2 June 1545, offers little aid in our search, since it was issued not to a printer, but to the composer Perissone Cambio for the publication of his *Madrigale a cinque voci*.⁵⁶ The remaining privilege bears more fruit: on 28 August 1546 Girolamo Scotto received a privilege from the Venetian Senate to print a list of sixteen different works. Buried among them are "Di Antonio rotta de Intabolatura libro primo et secundo." Only the first book by Rotta appeared as volume one in the series of six unsigned lute books. Five of the lute prints contain the rubric, "con gratia et privilegio," and it has been suggested that Scotto, having received a privilege for the first book applied that privilege to the other publications in that series.⁵⁷ One thing is certain, the archival documents prove that Girolamo Scotto was behind the publication of at least the lute collections in the unsigned prints.

Returning to the typography of the unsigned prints, we find that although the plain roman type capital predominates, decorated initials do occur on four of the seven dedicatory pages.⁵⁸ Only one of them, an initial "S", found on the dedication page to Ghibellini's *Motetta super plano cantu cum quinque vocibus . . . liber primus* belonged to the house of Scotto.⁵⁹ This foliated initial, which depicts animals hidden among the leaf design, is used on two folios (272^v and 330^v) in Savanarola's *Prediche del reverendo* printed by Girolamo's second cousins, Ottaviano and Brandino di Amadio Scotto in 1539. It also turns up in the signed 1545 Girolamo Scotto edition of Pietro Aaron's *Lucidario*.⁶⁰ (See Plate 3 A–C.)

The dedication to Ghibellini's first book of five-voice motets also provides another, more significant piece of evidence. In it, the composer explains to his dedicatee, Antonio Gattinatio, Count of Castro, that there was a delay in the publication of his motets. Ghibellini states that his friend Alessandro Auricola had of his own free will offered to print his

Gardano. In the case of the unsigned *Festa* and the "Diversi autori" editions, the designation of "con gratia et privilegio" might refer to the addition of new works particularly by Fogliano and other composers, respectively.

⁵⁵Vicentino did request a privilege from the Venetian Senate three years later for "L'opere composte da lui della pratica del cantare, et sonare, de duobus generibus, henarmonico, et cromatico." No publication dated 1549 by Vicentino survives. For further discussion see Agee, "The Privilege," pp. 101ff.

⁵⁶Agee, p. 95.

⁵⁷See Agee, pp. 98–99. This does not, however, explain why the second book in the series with works by Francesco da Milano and Pietro Paulo Borrono (1546²³) is not designated with a privilege.

⁵⁸Dedications appear in Nos. 48, 50, 57, 59, 60, 61, 64.

⁵⁹The three remaining decorated initials presented in the lute books have not as yet been identified.

⁶⁰The same initial "S" also appears in an edition of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* printed by Rampazetto in 1554. The extensive use of borrowed typographical material from Scotto and other printers, suggests that this edition was one of Rampazetto's earliest publications. Although a good candidate for the printer of the unsigned music prints, he was probably not responsible for them.

ALLO ILLVSTRISSIMO CONTE DI CASTR
 TINARIO GRAN CANCELLERO I
 CESAREA, HELISEO G



ONO Gia stati molti Excellentifs. Signori c'hanno la Musica, con
 ta; Et io per quel chi comprender n'ho potuto, altramente n'ho se
 neßuna cosa raßerena, & tolle uia piu le passioni dell'animo & le ne
 porger ne suole: et cio ne gl'infermi chiaramente se ricognosce; et m
 concerto della Musica, come infiammatrice alla gloria dei nostri cu
 ritroua: Et gia per quanto ho letto riconosco, a tutti singolari & f
 in Eßa molti grandi non solo delectati, ma parimente eßercitati si sono. Hermogine ci
 to no, Diodoro a Vespasiano, Cano a Galba, Terpno a Nerone, Timotheo ad Aleß.
 erate gia uecchio non l'imparò? Et il figliolo di Iesse tu te le lode ch'auanti a Iddio
 dell'altre arti o scienze fece mai li miracoli, che la Musica con Orpheo, con Amphio
 se, l'inuentori di eßa Apollo & Mercurio, & finalmente la dolcezza dell'harmonia e
 ginare, & così quella piu a dentro della quale chi odita non l'haue, parlar non puote.

Plate 3A Eliseo Ghibellini, *Motetta super plano cantu cum quinque vocibus . . . liber primus*.
 Venice, 1546 [s. n.]
 (from Verona, Accademia filarmonica).

PREDICA XX. FATTA A. DI XX
 d'Agosto. 1496.

Sopra Michæa.

Vox domini ad Ciuitatem clamauit, & saluati
 erunt nomen eius, audite tribus
 &c. Michæe Cap. vj.



Econdo el commune vfo del parl
 dilettissimi in Christo Iesu, li huom
 pigliano questo, nomevita in due
 di. In vno per la vita intendamo la
 stanzia del viuente, cioè l'anima,
 da l'essere al viuente. Onde bene
 vno dorma, noi diciamo che egli viuè, perche el
 la sustantia, & l'anima che li da lesere, nel secon
 modo per la vita intendiamo le operantoni del viu
 te, onde quando vno se eßercita in vna cosa diciano
 quella cosa essere la vita sua. S'egli se eßercita in be
 verbi gratia nella oratione, diciamo che la oratione è
 vita sua, se in male, verbi gratia, quando vno sta
 ro di a giocare diciamo, la vita sua essere el giuoc
 Et in questi due modi pigliano anche la vita de
 huomo.

Plate 3B Girolamo Savanarola, *Prediche del
 reverendo*. Venice, Ottaviano and Bran
 dino di Amadio Scotto, 1539. (from the
 Wellesley College Library).

LIBRO Q. V.

DELLA MUSICA DORICA



I COME secondo la diuersi
 giamo ritrouar si uarie, et diuer
 tra loro eßere diuinitati non sol
 linque, & uicini a uicini, che da e
 diuersi modi di cantare, equali
 uino, pero non resteremo di al
 essere stati non poco degni, si anchora per eßer
 ti, Et questi tali modi di cantare, & musiche h
 appreso di quali eßer ano in uso, come da Dor
 ta hoggi detta Morea uicina ad Athene, così e
 la Dorica, o Dorica, che fu ci piacetta di chian
 mezzo la Lidia, & la Frigia, & la sua natu
 ro, si come si uede eßere la uoltra, laquale col
 è còposta, per laqual cosa appreso di noi il prim
 to Protho, ouero Autentico, habile, mobile, e
 tuoni habbiamo di chiarato.

Plate 3C Pietro Aaron, *Lucidario*. Venice,
 Girolamo Scotto, 1545. (from Bologna,
 Civico Museo Bibliografico-Musicale).

music upon his return to Venice. To the composer's great displeasure, Auricola's duties prevented him from doing so. Having been put off, the publication would have been further delayed had it not been for Ottaviano Scotto, who, in the words of Ghibellini, "courteously told me and promised that what the said Alessandro did not execute then he would with great speed carry out."⁶¹

The Ottaviano Scotto mentioned in this dedication could either be Girolamo's second cousin, Ottaviano di Amadio or Girolamo's brother. Both Ottavianos had experience in music printing, and either of the two could easily have been responsible for the unsigned prints. Girolamo's brother, Ottaviano Scotto Secundus,⁶² the older, more established of the two, ran the Scotto press during the 1530s, and continued to publish books until 1552. By 1539, Ottaviano left the running of the company to his brother Girolamo, even though he remained owner or joint owner of the press until his death in 1569.⁶³ Besides his career as a publisher, he was a Doctor of Medicine⁶⁴ and was conversant in the field of philosophy.⁶⁵ He also maintained an interest in music. As early as 1516, he formed a partnership in Rome with the music printer-woodcutter Andrea Antico and from 1534 until 1538 collaborated with him on a series of sixteen xylographic music books.⁶⁶

In comparison, the younger Ottaviano di Amadio had a limited career as a publisher. From 1539 until 1558, he ran his own press, first with his brother, Brandino, and then by himself. He printed in several fields, many of which duplicated those of Girolamo's main branch of the family firm. Ottaviano also worked as an agent for his second cousin, Girolamo.⁶⁷ In 1539, Ottaviano di Amadio and his brother Brandino undertook a short-lived enterprise in music printing when they joined Antico in publishing an edition of Willaert's second book of four-voice motets.

⁶¹"al fine da se corteselemente me disse & promise che quel, che il gia detto Alessandro non essequi, che esso con ogni celerita ademptio havrebbe." For a complete transcription of the dedication see Appendix B.

⁶²Ottaviano used the designation, "Secundus" in his dedication to a 1540 edition of Aristotle's *De Physico* presumably to distinguish himself from his late uncle, who founded the press.

⁶³Ottaviano is last mentioned in a contract between Girolamo and a Siense book dealer dated 10 April 1567. See Archivio di Stato, Venice, Notarile B. Solian Bu. 11875 (1567), f. 60'. Ottaviano's death must have occurred in 1569 since it is clear from Girolamo's will of that year that Girolamo inherited his brother's property.

⁶⁴Ottaviano refers to himself as "arti della medicina dottor" or "artium medicinae doctor" in his two wills. See Sartori, "La famiglia," p. 25, fn. 29, and p. 26, fn. 30.

⁶⁵In the dedication cited in footnote 62, Ottaviano mentions that he emended the commentary and "tried to cleanse it of errors." Ottaviano also might have been responsible for an anonymous translation of a commentary by Alexander of Aphrodisias to Aristotle's *Topica* which was published by his brother, Girolamo in 1547. See F. Edward Cranz, ed., "Alexander of Aphrodisias," in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries; Annotated Lists and Guides* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1960) 1: 103ff.

⁶⁶Detailed descriptions of all these prints as well as Antico's relationship with the Scotto press appear in Chapman, "Andrea Antico."

⁶⁷ASV, Notarile Atti B. Solian Bu. 11873 (1563) ff. 63–65'.

Having narrowed down the publishers to the two Ottavianos, can we determine which Ottaviano issued the unsigned prints—Girolamo's brother, who was well respected and established in the printing trade, or the less experienced Ottaviano di Amadio, who is credited with only one signed music publication? A review of the music publications, themselves, should clarify the situation.

The type fonts for the music, clefs, and italic text underlay used in the unsigned prints belonged to the main branch of the Scotto press. Ottaviano Secundus, as co-owner of the press could easily have published these editions, but if he did, then why didn't he use the decorated initials, and variety of type fonts, which he and his brother, Girolamo, had on hand? Mary Lewis suggests that because of legal difficulties Girolamo attempted anonymity in these prints. If this were indeed the case, then why did Girolamo as a partner in the firm apply for a privilege from the Venetian Senate which was subsequently granted? Furthermore, during these two years, Girolamo published over fifty signed non-music publications—many of which were in his brother's specializations of medicine and philosophy. Both of these facts, as well as the status of the house of Scotto as a wealthy and established press, do not imply legal or financial difficulties on the part of its owner(s). On the contrary, they suggest that because of an overload of publications, Girolamo and Ottaviano had to farm out work to another printer, who, in turn, having no music type of his own, was forced to borrow it from the two brothers. As a relative and an experienced music printer, Ottaviano di Amadio is the most likely candidate. Such an exchange of typographical materials between the two Scotto presses is not unique. In fact, in every publication by Ottaviano di Amadio that I have examined, typographical materials ranging from a woodcut portrait to decorated initials emanated from the larger Scotto firm. Thus, the use of roman capital type instead of decorated initials does not suggest a deliberate attempt at anonymity, but a lack of typographical supplies on the part of the printer. The average sixteenth-century publication contained only a few decorated initials used to demarcate the beginning of chapters. A music edition, by comparison, required at least one initial for every folio of four or more partbooks. Only a large press or one specializing in music printing would have owned such a considerable supply of decorated initials.

But was Ottaviano di Amadio Scotto responsible for all of the unsigned music prints, and who financed the operation? The evidence points to Girolamo Scotto. As the most influential music printer in Venice at the time, he was probably delegated by a consortium of bookmen to publish several volumes of music. These included at least the four prints containing the salamander woodcut, and possibly the six volumes

of lute music. Since Girolamo's presses were completely taken over by an enormous number of medical and academic books—texts that were a better financial investment for Scotto than music—he decided to job out the music publications to other bookmen, as follows: the lute books, some of which contain decorated initials that cannot be identified with any member of the Scotto family, were sub-contracted to one, possibly two, other printers.⁶⁸ These bookmen need not have been knowledgeable in music printing, since lute tablature contains no musical notation per se, but consists solely of numerical intabulations which any skilled compositor could set. Scotto gave three or four of the editions in mensural notation to his Paduan friend, Giacomo Fabriano (or at least lent him the music type font). The remaining volumes went to his second cousin, Ottaviano di Amadio, who, owning no music type font, borrowed it from Girolamo.

The house of Scotto, thus, emerges as the moving force behind the publication of the unsigned music prints of 1545 to 1547. The genesis of this significant corpus of music publications aptly illustrates the intricate and complex interrelationships that represent an essential aspect of the sixteenth-century printing trade in the Veneto. It is an area richly deserving of further exploration in any future study of sixteenth-century music printers.

APPENDIX A

A LIST OF UNSIGNED MUSIC PRINTS: 1545–1547

| BERNSTEIN NO. ⁶⁹ | RISM NO. | TITLE |
|--------------------------------|----------|---|
| | | 1545 |
| 48 | C550 | CANTVS / MADRIGALI A CINQVE VOCI / PER L'ECCELLENTE MVSIKO M. PERISSONE / CAMBIO COMPOSTI A COMPIACIMENTO DE DIVERSI SVOI AMICI, / ET A PREGHI DE I MEDESIMI HORA FATTI PORE A LVCE, / ET PER LO MEDEMO COMPOSITORE CORRETTI ET / REVISTI ET ACONCI, NON PIV NE VE- / DVTI NE ISTAMPATI. / <i>Quinque Vocum.</i> / VENETIIS M. D. XLV. / Cum gratia & priuilegio. [s. n.] |

⁶⁸Two different type faces were employed for the lute tablatures in this series, suggesting that more than one printer was hired for the series simultaneously. Both type faces appear in later lute books signed by Girolamo Scotto.

⁶⁹"Bernstein No." refers to the number assigned to the particular print in the bibliographical catalogue that will accompany my study on Girolamo Scotto.

APPENDIX A (continued)

| BERNSTEIN NO. | RISM NO. | TITLE |
|---------------|---------------|--|
| | | 1545 (cont.) |
| 49 | G1628 | CANTVS / IL PRIMO LIBRO DE MADRIGALI ITALIANI / ET CANZONI FRANCESE A DVE VOCI DI IHAN / GERO NOVAMENTE RISTAMPATO ET DI / LIGENTEMENTE CORRETTO. / IHAN GERO A DVE VOCI / VENETIIS M. D. XLV. [s. n.] |
| 50 | N773 | CANTVS / MADRIGALI A QVATRO VOCI DI IOAN DOMI- / NICO DA NOLLA, DA LVI NOVAMENTE COMPOSTI / ET DI NOVO POSTI IN LVCE. / A QVATRO VOCI / VENETIIS M. D. XLV. [s. n.] |
| 51 | R2475 | CANTVS / CYPRIANI RORE / MVSICI EXCELLENTISSIMI / MOTETTA NVNC PRIMVM SVMMA DILIGENTIA IN LVCEM / PRODITA. / QVINQVE VOCVM / M. D. XXXXV. [s. n., s. I.] |
| 52 | R3065(?) | CANTO / DI VINCENTIO RVFFO MVSICO ECCELLENTISSIMO / LI MADRIGALI A QVATRO VOCE A NOTTE NEGRE / NOVAMENTE / DA LVI COMPOSTI ET POSTI IN LVCE CON OGNI DILI. / GENTIA CORRETTI ET STAMPATI. / LIBRO PRIMO. / VENETIIS M. D. XLV [s. n.] |
| 53 | V1231-1545/19 | ALTVS / VERDELOT TVTTI LI MADRIGALI DEL PRIMO / ET SECONDO LIBRO A QVATRO VOCI NVOVAMENTE RI- / STAMPATI, ET CON DILIGENTIA CORRETTI. / A QUATRO VOCI / VENETIIS M. D. XLV. [s. n.] |
| 55 | [None] | CANTVS / MAGNIFICAT / OCTO TONORVM CVM QVATVOR VOCIBVS, / AVTHORE MORALE HISPANO, QVAE SVM- / MA DILIGENTIA SVNT EMENDATA / LIBER PRIMVS. / VENETIIS M. D. XLV. [s. n.] |
| | | 1546 |
| 56 | A1321-1546/16 | [fleuron] ARCHADELT [fleuron] / IL PRIMO LIBRO DI MADRIGALI D'ARCHADELT / A QVATRO VOCI CON NVOVA GIONTA / VLTIMAMENTE IMPRESSI. / [woodcut: Burning salamander] / <i>Con gratia & priuilegio.</i> / VENETIIS M D XXXXVI. / CANTVS [s. n.] |
| 57 | G1770 | CANTVS / HELYSEI GIBELLI MVSICI ECCELLENTISSIMI / MOTETTA SVPER PLANO CANTV CVM QVINQVE VOCIBVS / ET IN FESTIS SOLENNIBVS DECANENDA. / LIBER PRIMVS. / VENETIIS M. D. XLVI. [s. n.] |
| 58 | G2490-1546/26 | INTABOLATVRA / DI LAVTO / DI RECHARI, CANZON FRANCESE, MOTETTI, / MADRIGALI, PADOANE, E SALTARELLI COMPOSTI / <i>per lo Eccellente musicho, & sonator di Lautto / messer IO. MARIA da Crema.</i> / LIBRO TERZO. / <i>Con gratia & Priuilegio.</i> / VENETIIS M D XLVI. [s. n.] |

APPENDIX A (continued)

| BERNSTEIN NO. | RISM NO. | TITLE |
|---------------------|-------------|---|
| 1546 (cont.) | | |
| 59 | 1546/22 | INTABVLATVRA / DI LAVTTO / LIBRO QVARTO / DE LA MESSA DI ANTONIO FEVINO. SOPRA AVE MARIA / <i>Intabulata & accomodata per sonare sopra il Lautto dal Reverendo messer pre / MARCHIORE de barberijs da Padoua sonatore eccellentissimo de Lautto, da / lui proprio nuouamente à utilità di uirtuosi posta in luce, / con alcuni altri suoi recercari accomodati so- / pra il tuono di ditta messa. / Agiontoui il nuouo modo di accordare il Lautto posto in fine. / Con gratia & priuilegio. / VENETIA M D XLVI [s. n.]</i> |
| 60 | V1414–W1119 | [fleuron] SOPRANO [fleuron] / DEL VNICO ADRIAN VVILAERTH DISCIPVLO / DON NICOLA VICENTINO / MADRIGALI A CINQUE VOCI PER THEORICA / <i>et pratica da lui composti al nuouo modo / dal celeberrimo suo maestro / ritrouato. / LIBRO PRIMO / Con gratia et priuilegio / VENETIIS M D XLVI [s. n.]</i> |
| 61 | 1546/23 | INTABVLATVRA / DI LAVTTO / LIBRO SESTO / DI DIVERSI MOTETTI A QVATTRO VOCE, INTABVLATI, / <i>& accomodati per sonare sopra il Lautto dal Reuerendo messer pre MERCHIORE / de berberijs da Padoua sonatore eccellentissimo di Lautto da lui proprio / nuouamente à utilità di uirtuosi posta in luce. / Agiontoui il nuouo modo di accordare il Lautto posto in fine. / Con gratia & priuilegio. / VENETIA M D XLVI [s. n.]</i> |
| 62 | 1546/30 | INTABVLATVRA / DI LAVTO- / DEL DIVINO FRANCESCO DA MILANO, / ET DELL'ECCELLENTE PIETRO PAVLO / <i>Borrono da Milano, nuouamente posta in luce, et con ogni / diligentia corretta, opera nuoua, & perfettissima / sopra qualunche altra Intauolatura. / LIBRO SECONDO / [fleuron] / VENETIIS M D XLVI. [s. n.]</i> |
| 63 | 1546/33 | INTABOLATVRA / DE LAVTO / DI LO ECCELLENTISSIMO MVSICHO MESSER / ANTONIO ROTTA DI RECERCARI MOTETTI, BALLI, MADRI- / <i>gali, Canzon francese da lui composti, & Intabulati, / & nouamente posti in luce. / LIBRO PRIMO / Con gratia & priuilegio. / VENETIIS M D XLVI. [s. n.]</i> |
| 64 | [None] | INTABVLATVRA / DI LAVTTO / LIBRO QVINTO. / DE MADRIGALI, ET CANZON FRANCESE INTABVLATI / <i>& accomodati per sonare sopra il Lautto dal Reuerendo messer pre MERCHIORE / de barberijs da Padoua sonatore eccellentissimo di Lautto da lui proprio / nuouamente à utilità di uirtuosi posta in luce. / Agiontoui il nuouo modo di accordare il Lautto posto in fine. / Con gratia & priuilegio. / VENETIA M D XLVI [s. n.]</i> |

APPENDIX A (continued)

| BERNSTEIN NO. | RISM NO. | TITLE |
|---------------|----------|--|
| 1547 | | |
| 65 | 1547/13 | [fleuron] IL PRIMO LIBRO [fleuron] / DI MADRIGALI DI DIVERSI ECCELENTISSIMI AVTORI / A MISVRA DI BREVE NOVAMENTE / RISTAMPATO. / [woodcut: burning salamander] / <i>Con gratia & priuilegio.</i> / VENETIIS M D XLVII. / BASSVS [s. n.] |
| 66 | 1547/15 | [fleuron] CON. FESTA [fleuron] / IL VERO LIBRO DI MADRIGALI A TRE VOCI DI CONSTANTIO / FESTA NOVAMENTE RACCOLTI ET CON VNA NOVA GIONTA / <i>di madrigali di Iacomo fogliano, & de altri autori nuoua- / mente stampati, & corretti.</i> / [woodcut: burning salamander] / <i>Con gratia & priuilegio.</i> / VENETIIS M D XLVII. / BASSVS / [s. n.] |

UNSIGNED MUSIC PUBLICATIONS BY FABRIANO AND BINDONI (1546–47)

| | | |
|-----|---------------|---|
| F 1 | B4187 | CANTVS / MADRIGALI A / QVATRO VOCI DE SIMON / BOYLEAV NOBILE FRANCESE DA LVI NO- / uamente composti & coretti / & posti in luce. / A QVATRO [pr. mk.: palm tree with motto: <i>Iustus ut palma florebit</i>] VOCI / M.D. XLVI. [Padua, Giacomo Fabriano and Bernardo Bindoni]. |
| F 2 | F1455–1547/16 | [fleuron] CANTVS [fleuron] / MADRIGALI A CIN / QVE VOCI IL PRIMO LIBRO. / Composti per lo Excellentissimo Musico Missier Iacomo Fo- / gliano Organista dignissimo de la Citta di Modena / nouamente Stampate & posti in luce. / M. D. XLVII / [fleuron] [Padua, Fabriano and Bindoni] |
| F 3 | M1174–1547/17 | [fleuron] CANTVS [fleuron] / IL PRIMO LIBRO DI MADRI / GALI A CINQUE VOCI DI ANTONIO / MARTORELLO MILANESE. / M.D. XLVII / [fleuron] / [pr. mk.: palm tree with motto: <i>Iustus ut palma florebit</i>] [Padua, Fabriano and Bindoni] |
| F 4 | 1546/18 | BASSVS / ELLETIONE DE / CANZONE ALLA NA / POLETANA A TRE VOCI DI RINALDO BVRNO, CON / ALTRE SCIELTE DA DIVERSI MVSICI, DELLI / QVALI LA TAVOLA DI MOSTRA PER ORDI / NEL VERI NOMI DESSI AVTTORI. / [arabesque] / NOVAMENTE POSTE IN LVCE / LIBRO PRIMO. / M.D. XLVI. [Padua, Fabriano and Bindoni?] |

APPENDIX B

Dedication to Eliseo Ghibellini, *Motetta super plano cantu
cum quinque vocibus et in festis solennibus decananda.
liber primus*, Venice, 1546 [s. n.]

ALLO ILLVSTRISSIMO CONTE DI CASTRO IL S. ANTONIO GAT- / TINARIO
GRAN CANCELLERO DELLA MAESTA / CESAREA, HELISEO GHIBEL. / SONO
Gia stati molti Eccellentiss. Signori c'hanno la Musica, come corrottrice delli animi di
mortal, grauemente biasma- / ta; & io per quel che comprender n'ho potuto, altramente
n'ho sempre giudicato: perche, per quanto si legge & uede, / nessuna cosa rassarena,
& tolle uia piu le passioni dell'animo & le nebbie che l'affucassero, ch'il suono, anzi il
ailetto ch'Ella / porger ne suoie: et cio ne gl'infermi chiaramente se ricognosce; et molti
popoli furo, che nelle battaglie non intrauano, senz'il / concerto della Musica, come in-
fiammatrice alla gloria dei nostri cuori; & questo anchora nelle guerre nostre hoggi pur
se / ritroua: Et gia per quanto ho letto riconosco, à tutti singolari & famosi spiriti la
Musica esser sommamente piaciuta; & / in Essa molti grandi non solo delectati ma par-
imente essercitati si sono. Hermogine celebre Musico piacque a Cesare, Anassenore a
Marco An / tono, Diodoro a Vespastano, Cano a Galba, Terpno a Nerone, Timotheo ad
Alessandro, Chirone Hercole & Achille non l'essercitarò? So- / crate gia uecchio non
l'imparò? & il figliolo di Iesse tu te le lode ch'auanti a Iddio rendea, sempre con Musica
non l'incominciaua? Et qual / dell'altre arti o scienze fece mai li miracoli, che la Musica
con Orpheo, con Amphione & con Arione hauer fatti se legge? Tacerò le noue Mu / se,
l'inuentori di essa Apollo & Mercurio, & finalmente la dolcezza a dell'harmonia delle
sphere celeste, piu dolce d'ogn'altra che si possa ima- / ginare, & cosi quella piu a dentro
della quale chi odita non l'haue, parlar non puote: Onde alcuno merauigliar hoggi non
se deve, se la S. V. / Eccellen. E cosi della Musica studiosa, & se tanto in Essa per li gia
detti essempli s'essercita & se diletta ogn'hora; che certamente hoggi con / la memoria
discorrendo non ho ritrouato spirito gentil alcuno, a che questi miei mottetti sopra canto
piano hauesse, seno a V. Eccellen. consecra- / ti, liquali se prima come in animo tenea
non sono anchora usciti in luce, cagion me n'è stato Alessandro Auricola, il quale come
mio amico un di / da se uolentieri me s'offerse, che come egli in Venetia ritornato fusse
harria di corto l'impressione posta in effeto ma poi forse in maggior sue / occupationi
impedito, infin'a quest'hora non senza mio gran despiacere ritardata mi haue et forse
anchora piu ritardato m'harria. se non che / li giorni a dietro con M. Ottauiano Scotto
di ciò ragionando, al fine da se cortesemente me disse & promise che quel, che il gia
detto Alessan- / dro non essequi, che esso con ogni celerita adempito haurebbe. Degnese
dunque accettarli com'egli siano come prime primitie del sterile campo / del mio rozzo
ingegno, à cio sott'il nome, & lo fauore di quella possano securamente uenire in luce,
che detrattori, o denti d'alcuno maligno cu- / rarò poco, del che con ogni humilità ne
Bascio le mane di V. S. Eccellen. alla quale infinitamente mi raccomando. Da Napoli il
di.