

The Genus *Frottola*, the Species *Frottola*, and the *Barzelletta*

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Introduction

As is well known, pioneering music-printer Ottaviano Petrucci published an important series of musical anthologies entitled *Frottole*, which he numbered from the first book (*Frottole libro primo*) to the eleventh (*Frottole libro undecimo*).¹ Although the fourth book is inconsistently entitled *Strambotti Ode Frottole Sonetti. Et modo de cantar versi latini e capituli*, its subtitle (*Libro quarto*) confirms that Petrucci considered it part of the series. The title and subtitle of the fourth book signal the first of several redundancies and inconsistencies, and thus potential confusions, in the contemporary nomenclature. In the fourth book, Petrucci carefully identifies and distinguishes among various species of contemporary poetic fixed-form, and among them—the *capitolo*, the *oda*, the *sonetto*, the *strambotto*, etc.—is the *frottola*. A species “frottola” is thereby established. (These identifications as to poetic fixed-form appear in the table of contents to Book IV, and the 21 compositions identified there as *frottole* are listed in Table 9, below.)

The term *frottola* was thus obviously used redundantly and confusingly in both generic and specific senses. Whichever specific contemporary poetic fixed-form the poet used for the verse set to music in each case (*capitolo*, *frottola*, *oda*, *sonetto*, *strambotto*, etc.), every composition in the entire repertory of the eleven books is, by virtue of the title of the series, also implicitly termed a *frottola*. An omnibus category of the “frottola,” the genus “frottola,” is thereby established. Given that a *frottola* is thus both a genus and a species (to judge

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1. No copy of the tenth book is known to have survived.

from Petrucci's redundant nomenclature), we term the *species frottola* the "frottola-proper" when referring to it in this study.²

There is a second inconsistency or potential confusion in the nomenclature. In most cases, the structure, in the large, of the poetic fixed-form that Petrucci identifies as a *frottola*[-proper] is similar and effectively identical to that of another recognized period species of poetic form: the *barzelletta*. Both forms are governed by the procedures of the refrain-structure: Both open with a *ripresa*; both then have a series of six- or eight-line strophes, typically subdivided into a four-line *pie*de (or *mutazione*) and a two- or four-line *volta*; and in both forms, each strophe is followed by a recurrence of the *ripresa*, either verbatim and in its entirety or in an abbreviated, somewhat altered form. The following table displays text-book examples. The first is a *frottola*[-proper], as Petrucci himself labeled it in his Book IV; the second is classified among the "Barzalete" in a contemporary source.³

It is conventional poetic practice that the last line of the *pie*de (e.g., "A magior testimonianza") rhyme with the first of the *volta* ("Questo capo sol m'avanza") (d and d) and that the last line of the *volta* ("Che già sento andar con doglia") rhyme with the first of the *ripresa* ("Donna contra la mia voglia") (a and a). Interlocking rhymes thus link the two sections of the strophe to each other and the strophe to the *ripresa* upon its return. In these parallel poetic structures, which are otherwise essentially identical, minor though revealing distinctions are nonetheless often present. "[Strophes] numbering eight lines most usually indicate *barzellette*,"⁴ whereas strophes numbering six lines usually indicate

2. We have borrowed this usage from Nino Pirrotta; see "Before the Madrigal," *Aspects of Musical Language and Culture in the Renaissance. A Birthday Tribute to James Haar, The Journal of Musicology* 12/3 (Summer 1994): 237–52, at p. 239. The printer Andrea Antico also used the term "frottola" in a generic sense; see the titles of his publications in Martin Picker, ed., *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico*, *Monuments of Renaissance Music* 8 (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 5–8. And the full titles of some of his publications suggest that he was also using the term specifically as well as generically. But unlike Petrucci, he never, to the best of our knowledge, labels individual compositions as frottole[-proper], so that one cannot know which compositions he classified in that category. As a result, one cannot analyze the poetic and/or musical characteristics of compositions that he considered frottole-proper for evidence as to what those characteristics reveal about the defining features of the frottola-proper.

3. The manuscript Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, A.I.4, which will figure prominently in what follows.

4. Nino Pirrotta, "Florence from Barzelletta to Madrigal," *Musica Franca. Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone*, ed. Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore, and Colleen Reardon, *Festschrift Series* No. 18, Pendragon Press Musicological Series (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1996), 7–18, esp. 9 n6.

Table 1. Structure of the Frottola and Barzelletta.

<i>Frottola</i> [-Proper]		<i>Barzelletta</i>	
Six-line ripresa		Four-line ripresa	
Donna contra la mia voglia	a	Se con vostra alma bellezza	a
Me convien da ti partire	b	Ogni amor de me leuate	b
Non ti creder per fugire	b	Licito e che voi debiate	b
De l'amor tuo mai me spoglia	a	Amar sol chi sol ve apreza	a
Refrain			
Donna contra la mia voglia	a		
Me convien da ti partire	b		
First six-line [n.b.!] strophe		First eight-line [n.b.!] strophe	
Four-line piede (or mutazione)		Four-line piede (or mutazione)	
La memoria sera mecho	c	Libertate dolce e cara	c
De la tua dolce sembianza	d	Va cercando ogni animale	d
Et io lasso el mio cor techo	c	Di star sempre a me non cale	d
A magior testimonianza	d	Ove amor seruir impara	c
Two-line volta		Four-line volta	
Questo capo sol m'auanza	d	Ver me stata pur avara	c
Che già sento andar con doglia	a	In cunar pocho me piene	e
		Che al cor le ferme cathene	e
		Altra donna non mi spreza	a
Refrain (abbreviated, altered return of the opening ripresa)		Opening ripresa, repeated verbatim indicated by the text incipit "Se con vostra..."	
Donna contra la mia voglia	a	Se con vostra alma belleza	a
[Me convien da ti partire]	b	Ogni amor de me levate	b
		Licito e che voi debiate	b
		Amar sol chi sol ve apreza	a
Second six-line strophe		Second eight-line strophe	
Refrain (abbreviated, altered return of the opening ripresa)		Opening ripresa, repeated verbatim indicated by the text incipit "Se con vostra..."	
etc.		etc.	

frottole-proper, though not always. Moreover, the return of the *ripresa* is handled differently in the two forms, as the table clarifies.

Notwithstanding the structural similarity, even identity, of these two poetic fixed-forms, period sources imply a distinction between them. In the "Vita del...poeta...Serafino Aquilano,"⁵ Vincenzo Calmeta suggests that some singers "have to exercise themselves around stanzas, *barzellette*, *frottole*,

5. Calmeta, *Prose e lettere edite e inedite...*, ed. Cecil Grayson, Collezione di opere inedite e rare pubblicata per cura della Commissione per i testi di lingua 121 (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, Casa Carducci, 1959), 63–64.

and other pedestrian styles ['circa le stanze, barzelette, *frottole* e altri pedestri stili devono essercitarsi'].” Another period source seems to express a distinction between the *frottola* and the *barzelletta* in its very title:

FIORETTI DI FROTTOLE BARZELETTE CAPITOLI STRAMBOTTI
E SONETTI LIBRO SECONDO (in Napoli: Stampata . . . per Joanne
antonio de Caneto de Pauia ad istancia de Joanne baptista de Primartini
da bologna[, nel Mcccc xviii adi viiii de Ottobre [sic]).

If, in period sources, a particular poetic structure is on one occasion termed a *frottola* and on another a *barzelletta*, how does one understand the confusing inconsistency? And given that some period sources imply a distinction between them—one seemingly based on some feature other than fundamental poetic structure—is there, in fact, a distinction? If so, what is it?

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On the matter of the redundancy in nomenclature: Some musicologists have attempted to sidestep it by applying the term *frottola* solely to the genus (i.e., the entire repertory of the eleven books) and *barzelletta* solely to the species (e.g., the compositions labeled “FROTTOLE” in Book IV). In a situation where the same term is used for both a genus and a species within it, and there is a different, alternative term occasionally applied to the species (and only to it), let us profit from this circumstance—the thinking seems to be—and use only the unique alternative term “barzelletta” for the species.

But however tidy and useful a possible solution to the problem this might be, it is unsupported by the period sources: Some compositions that we would then classify as *barzellette* are, in fact, termed *frottole* in the contemporary sources. For example: The text of Filippo de Lurano’s *Donna contra la mia voglia* is classified as a “Barzalete” in one period source;⁶ but in Petrucci’s Book IV, Lurano’s composition is listed among the “FROTTOLE.”⁷

In the entire series of Petrucci publications entitled *Frottole*, more compositions employ the period poetic fixed-form of the *barzelletta/frottola*-proper than any other form. Petrucci thus seems to have extrapolated from

6. The manuscript Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, A.I.4.

7. Notwithstanding the fact that Petrucci’s Book IV opts for the specific term “FROTTOLE” rather than *barzellette*, Rodobaldo Tibaldi classifies the eleven “FROTTOLE” by Lurano in the collection as “barzellette,” thus implicitly rejecting the evidence of the primary source. See s.v. “LURANO, Filippo di,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* LXVI (2006).

that circumstance to derive his preferred term for the entire genus: frottola. For example, among Michele Pesenti's 36 extant secular compositions transmitted in printed sources entitled Frottole, more than a third (17) are *barzellette/frottole*-proper, whereas many fewer (nine) are *odes*, and there are only two *canzoni*, two *strambotti*, and one *capitolo*.⁸

* * *

Thus far, we have sought a possible solution to these problems solely in poetic features. Do the musical settings suggest a solution? There are, in fact, two contrasting strategies employed in setting texts in this particular species of poetic fixed-form.

In the first strategy, the composer provides music only for the *ripresa*, which is then redeployed for the strophes: The several discrete musical phrases setting the poetic lines of the *ripresa* are to be fitted by the performer to corresponding lines of the strophes. And when the *ripresa* returns after each strophe, it is typically an altered, specially-composed, and abbreviated (or expanded) musical version of a portion of the opening *ripresa*, usually (though not always) its two first lines, which we here label the refrain (see Table 1, above). That the recapitulation of the *ripresa* is abbreviated at the conclusion of the opening statement of the full *ripresa* itself and at the conclusion of each strophe is logical: It is designed to avoid what would otherwise have been a superabundance of the same music, used verbatim, in its entirety, and repeatedly, first for the opening *ripresa*, and then for strophe 1, for the first return of the entirety of the *ripresa*, for strophe 2, for the second return of the full *ripresa*, etc. The altered, abbreviated nature of the restated *ripresa* after each strophe avoids such a circumstance.

In the second compositional strategy, the composer provides new music for the strophes, different from that for the *ripresa*. And when the *ripresa* recurs after each strophe, it is typically a verbatim repetition of the entire opening

8. See Linda L. Carroll, Anthony M. Cummings, Alexander Dean, and Michal Gondko, eds., *Don Michele Pesenti da Verona, Opera Omnia*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance (Middleton, Wisc.: A-R Editions, Inc., *forthcoming*), and Cummings, "From Frottola to Madrigal? Don Michele Pesenti da Verona, the Este, and Pope Leo X," *Leone X. Finanza, mecenatismo, cultura. Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 2-4 novembre 2015*, ed. F. Cantatore, C. Casetti Brach, A. Esposito, F. Frova, D. Gallavotti Cavallero, P. Piacentini, F. Piperno, and C. Ranieri, *Roma nel Rinascimento Inedita* 69, Saggi (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2016), 133-44.

ripresa, because in the meantime we have heard intervening strophes sung to new and different music. Such settings in period musical sources often contain didactic rubrics that clarify the design. At the conclusion of the opening *ripresa*, rubrics like “Verte” (i.e., “Turn [the page]”), “Secunda pars (‘Second part’),” or “Residuum (‘Residue’)” signal to the performer that there is new music forthcoming there for the strophe(s), different from that for the *ripresa*. And at the conclusion of the strophe(s), spare rubrics like “Ut supra (‘As above’),” “A capite (‘From the top’),” or “A principio (‘From the beginning’)” signal to the performers that they are to “take it from the top,” so to say: to repeat verbatim the opening *ripresa*, which is not notated anew (a directive sometimes indicated instead simply by the *ripresa*’s text incipit).

Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the differences between these two approaches to setting what is otherwise an identical poetic structure. The examples selected are ideal for this purpose, since they are settings of the same poetic text, and one readily sees the differences between the two strategies. Table 2 facilitates the comparison. In the first setting, by Nicolò pifaro, music is furnished solely for the *ripresa*, which is then to be redeployed for the strophes. (We have enumerated the several musical phrases of the *ripresa*, which are then to be distributed by the performer among the eight poetic lines of the strophes.) In the second setting, by Timoteo,⁹ the strophes are furnished with their own music (a bit of it admittedly derived from that for the *ripresa*, though even that is notated anew), documented in our enumeration of the musical phrases used to set the *ripresa* and strophes. At the end of the *ripresa*, Petrucci furnishes the clarifying rubric “Verte,” which signals to the performer that he is to turn the page and there find new music for the strophes, labeled “Residuum” there.

Those musicologists who had used only the term *barzelletta* for musical settings of this species of poetry thus state that there were two contrasting

9. On these two composers, see Knud Jeppesen, *La frottola. Bemerkungen zur Bibliographie der ältesten weltlichen Notendrucke in Italien*, Acta Jutlandica/Publication of the University of Aarhus/Skrifter fra Aarhus Universitet 1968 40:2, Humanistisk Serie (Humanities Series) 48 (Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus/Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1968), 159, 163, and the literature he cites there. On Niccolò specifically, see, more recently, William F. Prizer, “Secular Music in Siena in the Early Sixteenth Century: Pietro Sambonetto’s *Canzone, Sonetti, Strambotti et Frottole, Libro Primo* (1515),” “La la la . . . Maître Henri”: *Mélanges de musicologie offerts à Henri Vanhulst* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 71–87, esp. 77, and the literature Prizer cites there. Anomalously in the case of Timoteo’s setting, the refrain is not a recapitulation of the entire *ripresa* but only of an abbreviated, altered version of it. This suggests something of the freedom composers could exercise, on which see further below.

Table 2. Poetic text in Nicolò Pifaro and Timoteo Settings of *Aqua aqua*.

Poetic Text		Nicolò Pifaro's Setting: Musical Phrases	Timoteo's Setting: Musical Phrases
Ripresa			
Aqua aqua al focho al focho	a	I	I
Non vedeti uoi ch'io ardo	b	2	2
Per costei che col suo sguardo	b	2	3
Si m'acende a pocho a pocho	a	3	4
Refrain			
Aqua aqua al focho al focho	a	I	I
Non vedeti uoi ch'io ardo	b	2'	2'
			"Verte"
Eight-line strophe		[no further new music provided]	"Residuum"
Four-line piede (or mutazione)			
Per servir sta donna ingrata	c	I	5
Io me vegio a mal partito	d	2	6
La qual sera dispietata	c	I	5
Di venen ha 'l cor nutrito	d	2	6
Four-line volta			
E per premio del servito	d	2	7
Si me crida fora fora	e	3	3'
Dove el cor mio ogn'hora	e	3	3
Se destruge a pocho a pocho	a	I	4
Refrain ([abbreviated] return of the ripresa)			
Aqua [aqua al focho al focho]	a	I	I
[Non vedeti uoi ch'io ardo]	b	2'	2'

compositional strategies in providing music for *barzellette*: Either the music originally furnished for the *ripresa* is recycled and fitted to the strophes; or new and different music is furnished for the strophes.

* * *

But there are two different period terms applied, seemingly interchangeably, to a species of poetry within a genus that is called *frottola*: the structurally-related (even identical) *barzelletta* and *frottola*-proper. And there are two different period approaches to setting texts in that species of poetry: one that furnishes new music for the strophes, different from that for the *ripresa*; and one that utilizes the same music for the *ripresa* and strophes. Two different terms and two different compositional strategies co-existed contemporaneously: Might these twin contemporary terminological and conceptual oppositions have aligned with each other and thus suggest a solution to the problem at hand?

Figure 1. Nicolò Pifaro's Setting of *Aqua aqua*. (Impressum Venetiis: per Octauianum Petrutiu[m] Forosemp[ro]niensem., Die. V Februarii...M.ccccc.v.), fols. 15v–16r, with the permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

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In her review of Tim Carter's *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, Barbara Russano Hanning wrote:

In this set of critical essays about Monteverdi's theatrical works, Carter develops issues that, by his own declaration, have become the predominant focus of his work on music in early seventeenth-century Italy. Acknowledging that it was Nino Pirrotta who first explored some of these issues, he borrows Pirrotta's phrase "problems of opera" for the title of his opening chapter and returns, at the end of the book, to compare and review his list of problems—examined in the nine intervening chapters—with those originally identified by Pirrotta. In this way, the entire work is, in effect, a dialogue with one of the pioneer scholars in the field, whose very definition of the issues established a frame for Carter's own essays. Pirrotta is the only scholar so privileged by Carter.¹⁰

10. Hanning, review of Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2002), *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 12/1 (2006).

1 2 TIMOTEO 3 4

Q uia aqua al foco al foco Non vedeti uol chio ardo Per coftei che col fuo fguardo Si me accende
a poco a poco Aqua aqua al foco al foco Non vedete voi chio ar do

1 2'

Aqua aqua al foco al foco

5 6 7 3'

Per feruir fta donna ingrata Che qual fiera defpietata Io mi veggio amal partito E per premio del feruito Si me gnda fora fora
Doue el cor mio ognhora ognhora Se deftrugge apoco apo co Aqua aqua al foco al foco Non vedeti chio
ar do

3 4 1 2'

Per feruire

La mia uera e iufta fede
Che nel cor porto iculpita
Douerebbe hauer mercede
Da coftei qual ho feruita
E non dar ali mia vit:
Del continuo doglia doglia
Ma i fo be che ha voglia ha voglia
Defaccarmi apoco apoco
Aqua aqua

Q uesta cruda fi fa forda
Q uanto piu foccorfo chiamo
Del mio mal non fe ancora
Poi che ne ha pigliato alhano
E per farmi eterno gramo
Merifuta certo certo
Doue i ueggio aperto aperto
El mio mal apoco apoco
Aqua aqua

Io non ho quali piu voce
Da chiamar alcun aiuto
S fta fiamma al cor mi noce
Chel valor ha fpinto tutto
E co doglia panto e lutto
La mia fpoglia trifta trifta
Se fmariffe iufta iufta
Per che manca apoco apoco
Aqua aqua

Figure 2. Timoteo's Setting of *Aqua aqua*. (Impresum Venetiis: per Octauianum Petrutium Forosempronie[n]sem., M.D.viii., Die XXII. Ianuarii), fols. 41v–43r, with the permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

In the current case, too, Pirrotta had already considered the problem posed here, and, indeed, had anticipated much if not all of what we have said thus far in our study. And in two articles published not long before his death in 1998, he suggested a solution: Pirrotta wrote provisionally that

the distinction between the *barzelletta* and the *frottola*-proper is in the music.... [T]he term *barzelletta* seems to have applied to...pieces in which the *ripresa* is followed by new music...setting the six or eight lines of the strophe.... As for the *frottola* proper..., it... diverges from... the *barzelletta*... for it has no new music given for the strophes; the music of the *ripresa* includes an extended and more conclusive recapitulation of the first two lines to function as refrain when the whole is adjusted to the larger number of lines of the strophes (six in most cases...).¹¹

And:

Despite the similarity in the appearance of their texts—ballata forms with a *ripresa* most often consisting of four octosyllabic lines, followed by a series of stanzas, each numbering six or eight lines—the way they are set to music is entirely different. *Barzellette* have different music assigned to the *ripresa* and to the first stanza (the latter obviously to be repeated for all the ensuing stanzas, the former to come back as a refrain); *frottola* pieces are instead treated in a way that somewhat resembles the handling of a *rondeau*, for all their stanzas are adjusted to the music given first to the *ripresa*—better said to its first part—while the final section, an amplified recapitulation of text and music of the first two lines, acts as a refrain.¹²

What Pirrotta did not have an opportunity to do was offer comprehensive proof for his thesis, although he suggested where it might be found: He wrote provisionally that “[f]rom the number of pieces *I have been able to check, it would seem to me* [emphasis added] that the difference is in the music.”¹³

Our contribution now is a comprehensive analysis of the data that suggest a solution to the problem identified here. Specifically, we have analyzed every instance known to us of a composition (or its text) identified

11. Pirrotta, “Before the Madrigal,” *The Journal of Musicology* 22 (1994): 237–52, esp. 238–39.

12. “Florence from Barzelletta to Madrigal,” esp. 9. See also Anthony M. Cummings and Alexander Dean, “The «Great Italian Songbook» of the Early Cinquecento: Arrangements of Frottole for Voice and Lute,” *Studi musicali. Rivista semestrale di studi musicologici* Nuova serie 2/1 (Rome: Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia—Fondazione, 2011), 25–48, esp. 40.

13. Pirrotta, “Before the Madrigal,” 238.

in a period source as either a *frottola*[-proper] or a *barzelletta*, for the conclusions the compositions support as to how contemporaries construed the characteristics of, and possible distinction between, these two musico-poetic species.

There are two period sources particularly useful for this exercise:

1) Petrucci's Book IV, already mentioned, which classifies 21 compositions transmitted therein as "FROTTOLE"[-proper]; and

2) the manuscript Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, A.I.4, which classifies 36 poems as "Barzalete" (22 with extant musical settings) and 83 as "Frotule" (63 with extant musical settings).¹⁴

The first source is of more limited usefulness, since it contains no compositions identified as *barzellette*, only *frottole*. But the second source is our "Rosetta Stone," since it lists both *barzellette* and *Frotule*[-proper], musical settings of many of which still exist, so that one can study the settings carefully and determine if contrasting compositional strategies distinguish the *barzelletta* from the *frottola*-proper. It furnishes a control-mechanism, that is, which permits a comparison of the specifically *musical* characteristics of *frottole*-proper as contrasted with *barzellette*. There is also the greater confidence that results from the fact that the two sources often classify texts the same way: Texts of compositions listed among the *frottole* in Petrucci's Book IV are also identified as "Frotule" in the Mantua manuscript. Two independent sources agree with each other.

Findings

We present here the results of our investigation. But we observe, first, that although the majority (in some cases, the vast majority) of the musical settings in each category in the Mantua manuscript—*barzellette* and *frottole*[-proper]—exemplify the same compositional strategy, there are exceptions.

14. We describe our process in utilizing the evidence of the Mantua manuscript. In the first instance, we made use of Claudio Gallico's excellent monograph on the manuscript, *Un libro di poesie per musica dell'epoca di Isabella d'Este*, Quaderno IV (Mantua: Bollettino Storico Mantovano, 1961). We then updated Gallico's data, comparing them to those reported in more recent relevant scholarship, specifically Knud Jeppesen's magisterial *La frottola*, 3 vols., Acta Jutlandica 40/2, 41/1, 42/1 (Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus/Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard and Wilhelm Hansen, Musikforlag, 1968–70), and Stanley Boorman's magisterial *Ottaviano Petrucci. Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford, et al.: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2006). Tables 8a and 8b below report the data on which our findings from the Mantua manuscript are based.

This should not be surprising. Although contemporaries were presumably likelier than we to have perceived and understood distinctions between these period poetic forms and their musical settings, they were inevitably as prone as we are to human error in classification, and as susceptible to unstated or untested (and erroneous) assumptions underlying their classification scheme. Compositions that manifestly are not *barzellette* (an *oda*, for example) are sometimes classified as such.¹⁵ In other cases, compositions that we might classify as *frottole*-proper, based upon the compositional strategy employed in the musical setting, are classified in the Mantua manuscript as *barzellette*, and vice versa.¹⁶

When they attempted to classify, contemporaries struggled as we do. Harold Powers demonstrated in a series of brilliant essays on the concept of modality in European music of the early-modern era¹⁷ that we cannot accept the testimony of contemporary analyses of music at face-value, as if period authors were merely reporting on a phenomenon as it unarguably was then understood to be; rather, they were, in a sense, arguing that the music might be interpreted, might be classified, as they propose. Our mission is then to juxtapose their analyses and classification-schemes against the repertory in question, in an effort to understand the principles underlying their analyses and the possible rationale for them.

The most relevant source for our purposes, the Mantua manuscript, was presumably assembled by its compiler on the basis of a perusal of the extant musical repertory known to him when he was assembling the Mantua manu-

15. For example, *Piangeti ochi mei lassi* is listed among the "Barzalete" in the Mantua manuscript, yet it is clearly an *oda*. It features the *oda*'s familiar three-line strophes of two heptasyllabic (seven-syllable) lines followed by a hendecasyllabic (eleven-syllable) line, the succession of strophes featuring the interlocking rhymes a b C / c d E, etc. There is also the conventional internal rhyme, in that the word at the end of the second heptasyllabic line rhymes with that at the midpoint of the hendecasyllabic line ("notitia" with "letitia"; "ardore" with "dolore"; etc.):

Plangeti occhi mie lassi	a	Piangeti l[']alma inuolta	c
Date a ciaschun notitia	b	In tanto extremo ardore	d
Che in pianto mia letitia		Piangeti el suo dolore	
Se riuolta	C	E crudelate	E

In addition, *VOla il tempo e sa manciare* and *L[']huom terren caduco i[n] frale* lack the *barzellette*'s characteristic refrain structure, yet are classified as *barzellette* in the Mantua manuscript.

16. See Table 6.

17. In particular, see "Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34/3 (Fall 1981): 428–70; "Modal Representation in Polyphonic Offertories," *Early Music History* 2 (1982): 43–86; "Monteverdi's Model for a Multimodal Madrigal," In *Cantu et in sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on His 80th Birthday* (Firenze: Olschki, 1989), 185–220; and "Is Mode Real? Pietro Aron, the Octenary System, and Polyphony," *Modus und Tonalität*, *Bäcker Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 16 (1992), 9–52.

script, his perusal intended to identify compositions deemed to exemplify the poetic form he was then seeking to illustrate with the examples in his list. This is suggested by the identity of the period musical sources containing the extant settings of the verse so classified, the number of settings each such source contains, and the order in which the compositions transmitted therein are cited as illustrative of a particular poetic form.

That is: There is a small handful of such musical sources, and it regularly happens that the same source, or an earlier, lost source from which it was copied in turn, was seemingly consulted by the compiler of the Mantua manuscript for a continuous series of examples of a particular poetic form, as if the compiler were thumbing quickly through that one particular source at one time, rapidly identifying compositions that set poetry in the poetic form he was then seeking to exemplify.

Precisely how would this procedure have worked? The compiler of the Mantua manuscript is assembling the list of musical settings to be classified, say, as "Frotule." He pages rapidly through a particular contemporary printed musical source, examining the compositions in order, seeking compositions classifiable as "Frotule." Then, preserving the exact order of the musical source, he assembles his list of compositions exemplifying the "Frotula."

The following table illustrates, and one notes, for example, that the *CANZONI NOVE* or the *Libro Septimo* appear to have been consulted as sources for more-or-less continuous series of examples of the poetic form the compiler was then seeking to illustrate. In the case of the *CANZONI NOVE*, texts 18–27 in the list of "Frotule" in the Mantua manuscript are found with musical settings in the *CANZONI NOVE*, in virtually the same order as in the Mantua manuscript, and, moreover, in virtually the same continuous section of the *CANZONI NOVE* (fols. 5v–30r). In the case of the *Libro Septimo*, too, texts 76–82 in the list of "Frotule" in the Mantua manuscript are found with musical settings in the *Libro Septimo*, once more in virtually the same order as in the Mantua manuscript, and clustered—once more—in the same section of the *Libro Septimo* (fols. 22v–45r).

These relationships indeed suggest that the compiler of the Mantua manuscript turned to the period musical sources available to him and paged quickly through them in the order of the source then being perused, seeking texts that exemplified the poetic fixed-form he was then attempting to illustrate. Given human frailty, such a procedure was not likely to produce entirely accurate results.

Effectively the same data emerge from an examination of settings of the texts labeled "Barzalete" in the Mantua manuscript. In that case, the principal musical sources, once again, are the *CANZONI NOVE* (six settings) and the

Table 3. Principal Musical Sources for Texts Classified as “Frotule” in the Mantua Manuscript.

<i>Libro Septimo</i> [15]		<i>Canzoni nove</i> [13]	
1	fols. 19v–20r	18	fols. 5v–6r
2	fols. 23v–24r	19	fols. 6v–7r
3	fols. 53v–54r	20	fols. 9v–10r
24		21	fols. 11v–12r
26		22	fols. 12v–13r
40		23	fols. 15v–16r
57		24	fols. 17v–18r
73		25	fols. 21v–22r
76	fols. 22v–23r	26	fols. 25v–26r
77	fols. 28v–29r	27	fols. 29v–30r
78	fols. 29v–30r	28	fols. 2v–3r
79	fol. 33r		
80	fols. 34v–35r	31	fols. 13v–14r
81	fols. 44v–45r	32	fols. 19v–20r
82	fol. 48r		
<i>Libro octavo</i> [14]			
7	fols. 2v–3r		
8	fols. 4v–5r		
9	fols. 7v–8r		
10	fols. 9v–10r		
11	fols. 50v–51r		
12	fols. 12v–13r		
13	fols. 16v–17r		
60			
65	fols. 14v–15r		
66	fols. 24v–25r		
68	fols. 43v–44r		
69	fols. 36v–37r		
70	fols. 34v–34r		
71	fols. 27v–28r		

Libro Septimo (five settings); and once again a continuous series of texts in the Mantua manuscript (12–14; and 20–21) is found with musical settings in the *CANZONI NOVE*, in the same order as in the Mantua manuscript and clustered in the same section of the printed book (fols. 4v–5r, 28v–29r, and 40v–41r; and fols. 3v–4r and 8v–9r).

(A parenthetical note: It is not surprising that the *Libro Septimo* should be such an important source of settings of texts listed in the Mantua manuscript: Both sources have a relationship to the Mantuan court and even more specifically to its marchesa, Isabella d’Este Gonzaga.¹⁸)

18. On the associations of the *Libro Septimo* with Mantua, see Pirrotta, “Before the Madrigal,” esp. 246–47.

Petrucchi presumably assembled his Book IV, and classified the verse set therein, using similar (though not identical) procedures.

Predictably, therefore, errors (or anomalies) in classification resulting from errors in perceiving the poetic form due to the rapidity of the process, or from untested and invalid assumptions underlying the classification scheme were perhaps almost inevitable.¹⁹ All the same, the preponderance of the classifications point rather decisively to a consistent conclusion.

There are 21 compositions identified as *frottole*[-proper] in Petrucci's Book IV. Three are excluded from consideration here, due to the insufficiency of the evidence they furnish (their monostrophic status). Eighteen compositions remain.

Five of the eighteen (28%, or a little more than a quarter) have music independently notated for the strophes, whereas thirteen of them (fully 72%, or almost three-quarters) have music furnished solely for the *ripresa*, which is then to be redeployed for the strophes. Thirteen of the eighteen—or 72%—have the altered, specially-composed, and/or abbreviated (or expanded) version of the *ripresa* to be performed after the strophes when the *ripresa* returns.²⁰ Only one of the eighteen (6%) has eight-line strophes; the remainder (fully 94%) have six-line strophes. (Interestingly, the one instance of an eight-line strophe is in a poem treated compositionally like a *barzelletta* rather than a *frottola*-proper, which is consistent with the observation that eight-line strophes are typical of the *barzelletta*.²¹)

These data from Petrucci's Book IV rather decisively confirm Pirrotta's provisional conclusions. However, as suggested, this particular source is not maximally useful, in that no contrast is made therein with *barzellette*; it lacks the revealing evidence of the control-mechanism.

19. This analysis is confirmed, too, by the many small errors in the Mantua manuscript in presenting the texts, and the many minor inconsistencies between the presentation of the texts in the Mantua manuscript and in the musical sources that contain the extant settings of the verse.

20. However, there is not a one-to-one correspondence between the compositions with music notated solely for the *ripresa* and those with the altered, specially-composed version of the *ripresa* to be performed after the strophes. The five compositions with the verbatim repeat of the *ripresa* (or a portion thereof) after the strophes are *Fammi quanto*; *Quanto più*; *Ritornata*; *Rompe amor*; and *Vien da poi*. Although this procedure is more characteristic of *barzelletta*-settings, two of these five compositions (*Quanto più* and *Rompe amor*) are in other respects *frottola*-proper settings. The procedures generally associated with one compositional approach or the other therefore cannot be said to have been applied solely in that one approach; rather, the composer's alternatives were more flexibly applied, a subject on which we shall have much more to say at the conclusion of our study.

21. See the text at n4, above.

Of the 66 extant compositions whose texts are designated as "Frotule" in Mantua A.I.4,²² 50 (or 76%) are treated musically as *frottola*-proper and sixteen (or 24%) as *barzelletta* (in the terms of Pirrotta's provisional distinction).²³ These percentages roughly agree with those in Petrucci's Book IV and thus further substantiate Pirrotta's thesis that compositions identified as *frottola*[-proper] in the contemporary sources have the characteristics he identified. What is especially striking, moreover, is that every one of the texts identified as a "Frotula" has six-line, rather than eight-line, strophes.

In contrast: There are 22 texts classified as "Barzalete" in the Mantua manuscript that have extant musical settings. Three are excluded from consideration here because they were erroneously classified: One is manifestly an oda; the other two lack the refrain procedure that is a fundamental defining characteristic of the *barzelletta*. Another is excluded because there is no known extant setting of the secular text, only of a sacred *contrafactum*, which appears to adhere to the procedures of the *frottola*-proper in that music is furnished solely for the *ripresa*; but in the absence of a setting of the secular text, one cannot know for certain whether such a setting might have adopted compositional procedures associated instead with *barzelletta*-settings.²⁴ Eighteen compositions remain, therefore, one of which (*Aqua aqua al*

22. There are 63 texts, three of which are set in two different versions, for a total of 66 compositions.

23. One of the compositions, *Perch[è] dona me hai lassato*, requires special comment. Its unique source, to the best of our knowledge, is Paris 27, which furnishes extremely limited evidence: It preserves intabulations for lute of solely the instrumental accompaniment to vocal compositions; the lute tablature is highly abbreviated, and the only text provided is a text-incipit. All the same, the transcription published here seems to confirm that the musical setting adhered to the practices of the *frottola*-proper: The final section appears to be an ornamented repeat of the opening section, as if it were the recomposed, abbreviated restatement of the two first lines of the *ripresa*, a treatment of the text characteristic of *frottola*-proper settings; the sections intervening between the opening and concluding sections could be settings of the lines of text in the *ripresa* following the two opening lines; and there is seemingly no independent music furnished for the strophes different from that for the *ripresa*, so that the text seems not to have received a musical setting aligned with the practices of *barzelletta*-settings. On the other hand, the music that is provided could have served to set the *piede* (or *mutazione*) and *volta* of the strophe(s). We are indebted for the transcription published here below, and for very informative exchanges on the entire matter, to Alexander Dean; see the transcription in the Appendix to the main text.

24. On this circumstance, see, for example, Giulio Cattin, "Nuova Fonte Italiana della Polifonia intorno al 1500 (MS. Cape Town, Grey 3. b. 12)," *Acta Musicologica* 45/2 (July-December, 1973): 165-221, esp. 205-6. But we may be adopting too conservative a posture here: William F. Prizer has made a plausible, if not a compelling case for the appropriateness for the secular text of the music for the *lauda*. See Prizer, "The *Frottola* and the Unwritten Tradition," *Studi musicali* 15/1 (1986), 3-37, esp. 25-26, 32, and the edition of the composition that forms his Appendix.

Table 4. Summation of Approaches to Composing *Frottole*-Proper in Petrucci, Book IV

Music notated solely for the *ripresa*, which is then redeployed for the strophes (13 of 18 compositions, or 72%)

Donna contra la mia voglia; six-line strophe
Donna, questa è la mia voglia; six-line strophe
Dammi almen l'ultimo vale; six-line strophe
Fuggi pur da me sì [recte: "se"] sai; six-line strophe
Fammi almen vna bona cera; six-line strophe
Non mi dar più longhe bormai; six-line strophe
Ogni amor vol esser uero; six-line strophe
Ogmun fuga fuga amore; six-line strophe
Questo oimè pur me tormenta; six-line strophe
Quanto più donna te dico; six-line strophe
Rompe amor questa cathena; six-line strophe
Tanto mi è il partir molesto; six-line strophe
Vale bormai con tua durezza; six-line strophe

Music notated independently for the strophes (5 of 18 compositions, or 28%)

Dio lo sa quanto me strano; eight-line strophe
Fammi quanto mal te piace; six-line strophe
Poi che mia sincera fede; six-line strophe
Ritornata è la speranza; six-line strophe
Vien da poi la nocte luce; six-line strophe

focho al focho) is counted twice, because it is set in two different ways, as we have seen: the one setting by Niccolò *piffaro* (who provides music only for the *ripresa*); and the one by Timoteo (who provides separate music for the strophes).

Ten of the compositions—a clear majority of 53%—have music independently notated for the strophes, almost invariably different from that for the *ripresa* (and even when it is the same, it is notated anew), the source sometimes signaling the presence of such music with the rubric “secunda pars”; and of those ten compositions, six—or 60%—restate either the entirety or a portion of the opening *ripresa* verbatim after each strophe, often indicating the return with nothing more than the spare rubric “ut supra.” The remaining compositions (nine, or 47%) set the texts as *frottole*-proper, with the music of the *ripresa* serving for the strophes. In thirteen compositions (68%), the strophes are eight lines long; in six compositions (32%), they are six lines long. The majority, therefore, have strophes of eight lines, and, interestingly, the poems set as *frottole*-proper, with only one exception, have eight-line strophes.²⁵ It is as if verse with six-line strophes were understood as requiring independent music for the strophes, so that the setting would then clearly and

25. In such a case, as we have seen, musical phrases 1 and 2 of the *ripresa* are used three times in succession in the strophes, for lines 1–6; the final two lines of the strophes, in contrast, deploy other musical phrases of the *ripresa*.

Table 5. Summation of Compositional Approaches to Setting *Frottola* Texts in Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, MS A.i.4.

Music notated solely for the *ripresa*,
which is then redeployed for the strophes
(50 of 66 compositions, or 76%)

Ama pur donna spietata; six-line strophe
Animoso mio desire; six-line strophe
Chi lo sa e chi non lo sa; six-line strophe
Chi non ha martel suo danno; six-line strophe
Chi promette è debitore; six-line strophe
Chi se fida de fortuna; six-line strophe
Consumato ha amor el dardo; six-line strophe
D'altro hormai uoglio bauer cura; six-line strophe
Da poi nocte vien la luce; six-line strophe
De servirte al tuo dispetto; six-line strophe
Donna hormai fammi contento; six-line strophe
Frena donna i toi bei lumi; six-line strophe
Ho scoperto il tanto aperto; six-line strophe
L'amor donna ch'io te porto; six-line strophe
Nasce l'aspro mio tormento; six-line strophe
Non fan altro per vsanza; six-line strophe
Non pigliar madona a sdegno; six-line strophe
Non temer del vecchio amore; six-line strophe
Nui siamo segatori; six-line strophe
Nulla fede è più nel mondo; six-line strophe
Ochi mei mai non restati; six-line strophe
Ogni uermo al suo ueneno; six-line strophe
Ognun fuga fuga amore; six-line strophe
Per memoria di quel giorno; six-line strophe
Perchè dona me hai lassato; indeterminate
Perchè m'hai abandonato; six-line strophe
Più non son pregon d'amore; six-line strophe
Più speranza non apregio; six-line strophe
Poi che'l ciel è la fortuna; six-line strophe
Poi che'l ciel è la mia fortuna; eight-line strophe
Poi ch'è in te donna speravi; six-line strophe
Quel che il ciel ne dà per sorte; six-line strophe
Quella bella e bianca mano; six-line strophe
Questa longa mia speranza; six-line strophe
Questo oimè pur me tormenta; six-line strophe
Rompe amor questa catena; six-line strophe
Rotto ho alfin el duro nodo; six-line strophe
Salo pur che mi fai torto; six-line strophe
Scopri lingua el mio martire; six-line strophe
Se ben hor non scopro el foco; six-line strophe
Se io gliel dico che dirà; six-line strophe
Se me dol il mio partire; six-line strophe
Se mi duol esser gabato; six-line strophe
Se mi è grave el tuo partire; six-line strophe
Segue cuor e non restare; six-line strophe
Segui, cor, l'alta tua impresa; six-line strophe
Seria il mio servire felice; six-line strophe
Troppo e amara e gran fatica; six-line strophe
Un voler e vn non uolere; six-line strophe
Uiva amor viua quel focho; six-line strophe

Music notated independently for the strophes
(16 of 66 compositions, or 24%)

Ben che'l ciel me t'habbi tolto; six-line strophe
Dhe non più dhe non più mo; six-line strophe
In vn tempo in vn momento; six-line strophe
Io son pur malmaridata; six-line strophe
Non se muta el mio uolere; six-line strophe
Non si muti il mio uolere; six-line strophe
O mia cieca e dura sorte; six-line strophe
Per servirte perdo i passi; six-line strophe
Pur alfin conuen scoprire; six-line strophe
Quasi sempre auante di; six-line strophe
Questo dolce mio dolore; six-line strophe
Regi et guida ogni human stato; six-line strophe
Ritornata è la speranza; six-line strophe
Tra 'l uolere e non uolere; six-line strophe
Tucto il mondo è fantasia; six-line strophe
Vien da poi la nocte luce; six-line strophe

unequivocally qualify as a *barzelletta*, according to the period understanding of the genre, whereas verse with eight-line strophes—given that it already possessed that characteristic feature of the *barzelletta* and would thus be so understood—could be furnished either with independent music for the strophes, or not. But one cannot know if such thinking guided the composers who set these texts to music, nor that of the compiler of the Mantua manuscript.

Despite having been identified as *barzellette* by the compiler of the Mantua manuscript, several of the texts so classified thus have musical settings more aligned with the procedures of the *frottola*-proper. Any number of them have the recapitulation of a portion of the *ripresa* at the conclusion of the opening statement of the *ripresa* itself: *Io son lieto*; *Lassa hormai*; *Per mio ben*; *Disperato fin a morte*; *Chi non fa*; *Fate ben*; *Tra 'l volere*; *Aqua aqua*; *El pensier*; and *Mal vn muta*. And in several of those cases, consistent, once more, with the procedures of the *frottola*-proper, music is furnished solely for the *ripresa*, which is then redeployed for the strophes: *Per mio ben*; *Disperato fin a morte*; *Fate ben*; Niccolò piffaro's setting of *Aqua aqua*; *El pensier*; and *Mal vn muta*.

In other cases, the musical design is consistent with the classification of the text as a *barzelletta*, in that the strophes are sung to new and different music. That notwithstanding, the return of the *ripresa* after the intervening strophes is not the expected verbatim repeat of the entire opening *ripresa*, but an altered version thereof, consistent with the procedures of the *frottola*-proper: *Io son lieto*; *Gvarda donna*; *Lassa hormai*; *In eterno*; *Chi non fa*; *Tra 'l volere*; and *El dolor*.

The classification scheme is imperfect, and the formal procedures associated with a particular musico-poetic species are not fixed and unvarying, a circumstance of which we shall have more to say presently.

However, it is crucial to bear in mind—as William Prizer reported in an important observation²⁶—that the very same composition with a text in *barzelletta/frottola*-proper form can appear in one source with new music furnished for the strophes and in another with no new music furnished. That is: Such compositions were susceptible at the time to a process of redaction, and it is therefore entirely conceivable that the compiler of the Mantua manuscript knew of redactions now no longer extant that recast compositions now known to us as *frottole*-proper but known to him as *barzellette* (in Pirrotta's terms). This could rather drastically alter the percentages shown in the following table and explain the seeming erroneousness of the Mantua manu-

26. Prizer, "The *Frottola* and the Unwritten Tradition," 3–37, esp. 29.

Table 6. Summation of Compositional Approaches to Setting *Barzelletta* Texts in Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, MS A.i.4.

Music notated independently for the strophes (10 of 19 compositions, or 53%)	Music notated solely for the <i>ripresa</i> , which is then redeployed for the strophes (9 of 19 compositions, or 47%)
<i>Io son lieto nel aspetto</i> ; eight-line strophes	<i>Per mio ben ti vederei</i> ; eight-line strophes
<i>Se con vostra alma bellezza</i> ; eight-line strophes	<i>Desperato fin a morte</i> ; eight-line strophes
<i>Guarda donna el mio tormento</i> ; six-line strophes	<i>Fate ben gente cortese</i> ; eight-line strophes
<i>Lassa hormaij tanto tuo sdegno</i> ; six-line strophes	<i>Sventurato pelegirino</i> ; eight-line strophes
<i>Io non l'ho perche non l'ho</i> ; eight-line strophes	<i>Dona contra la mia voglia</i> ; six-line strophes
<i>In eterno voglio amar</i> ; six-line strophes	<i>Aqua aqua al focho al focho</i> , Niccolò piffaro's setting; eight-line strophes
<i>El dolor chi me destruge</i> ; six-line strophes	<i>El pensier andra col core</i> ; eight-line strophes
<i>Chi non sa ch el cor gli o dato</i> ; eight-line strophes	<i>Dhe dolce mia signora</i> ; eight-line strophes
<i>Tra 'l volere e non volere</i> ; six-line strophes	<i>Mal un muta per effecto</i> ; eight-line strophes
<i>Aqua aqua al focho al focho</i> , Timoteo's setting; eight-line strophes	

script's compiler's classification. The "fossil record" is inevitably incomplete. And we might also argue that a process of redaction is likelier to have lead in the direction of greater simplicity: It is likelier that a *barzelletta* would have been recast as a *frottola*-proper than the reverse, since doing so would reduce the amount of music, not increase it, and would thus be more "economical" and would more easily facilitate storing these compositions in the performer's memory, because of the reduced amount of music.

In sum, given that texts classified as *barzellette*, typically, either have eight-line strophes or deploy different music for the strophes, perhaps we might enumerate the distinguishing characteristics of a *barzelletta*-setting as entailing either or both of those features; on the other hand, a *frottola*-proper almost invariably has six-line strophes or recycles the music for the *ripresa* for the strophes, or does both.

Conclusion

Pirrotta's thesis as to a distinction between the *barzelletta* and the *frottola*-proper is more-or-less confirmed through comprehensive analysis of the relevant known primary data, rather more decisively in the case of the *frottola*-proper than the *barzelletta*. Notwithstanding the similarity of poetic structure, there often does seem to be a distinction, and it is in the number of lines in the strophes and in the character of the musical setting.²⁷

With respect to its musical procedures, a *barzelletta* is thus demonstrably a relative of the ballata: a dance form featuring the periodic return of a refrain

(by tradition sung by an ensemble to the same music each time) after each of a number of strophes (by tradition sung by a soloist to music different from that of the refrain). The *frottola*-proper is related instead to other, different poetic fixed-forms (such as the *rondeau*), which redeploy the music of the refrain for the strophes.²⁸

There is evidence that substantiates this interpretation. Etymologically, the term “barzelletta” (or one variant thereof: “belzereta”) has been interpreted as an italicization of the French term “bergerette,” which was a variant of a French musico-poetic fixed-form, the *virelai*, whose musical procedures are similar to those of the *barzelletta*;²⁹ indeed, the relationship of the *virelai* to the *ballata* (the identity) is suggested by the fact that in fourteenth-century France, the *virelai* was also known as the *chanson baladée*.³⁰

The linguistic variant “belzereta” occurs in correspondence to Marchesa Isabella d’Este Gonzaga, who figures importantly in the entire musico-literary tradition under consideration here. On 14 January 1498, Galeottus de Carretto wrote as follows to the Marchesa:

27. Prizer (“Secular Music in Siena in the Early Sixteenth Century,” 80) offered an explanation for the difference in compositional approaches between the two species: “Florentine settings of *barzellette* and ballate almost uniformly provide separate music for both the *ripresa* and the *stanza*. Although this is also seen upon occasion in the north-Italian repertory, these composers more frequently choose to re-use the music of the *ripresa* for the *stanza*.” But we checked the settings of texts identified as *barzellette* in the Mantua manuscript against this proposition, and, in that case at least, the compositional approach cannot often (if ever) be explained as the consequence of the Florentine identity of their composers.

28. See the quotation from Pirrotta’s article for the Festschrift for Frank D’Accone at n13, above. See also Pirrotta, “The Oral and Written Traditions of Music,” *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1984), 72–79, esp. 77.

29. Pirrotta, “Before the Madrigal,” esp. 238–39 and nn4–5. See also Pirrotta, “The Oral and Written Traditions of Music,” esp. 77 and n12, which refers to Pirrotta’s own earlier consideration of the possible etymological origin of the term “belzereta” in its affinity to the French term “bergerette” (see s.v. “Ballata,” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [1949–]: “Als literarische Form lebte die Ballata das ganze 15. Jh. hindurch fort und wurde bisweilen auch im folgenden Jh. von den Dichtern wider aufgegriffen; musikalisch finden sich nur vereinzelte Spuren ihres Weiterlebens in Quellen aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jh. Am Ende dieses Jh. erblüht sie neu nicht nur in der *Lauden*, sondern, wie bereits erwähnt, auch in der volkstümlichen Form der *Frottola*. In diesem Zusammenhang sei angemerkt, daß die Bezeichnung *barzelletta*, die als Synonym für *Frottola* gebraucht wird, vielleicht von einer neuerlichen Annäherung an das frz. *Virelai* herkommt (*belzeretta* = *bergerette*?).”

30. Pirrotta, s.v. “Ballata (Fr. *ballade*, Engl. *ballad*, Sp. *balada*, Ger. *Ballade*),” *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, 9 vols. (Rome: Casa editrice Le Maschere, 1954–62).

la S.V. sa che la partita mia [sic; recte: "a la partita mia"?] da Mantova mi promesse del mandarmi alcuni de le mie belzerette fatti per lo Tromboncino, et mai non li ho havuti. . . . Li canti de le belzerete ch'io vorrei sono questi, Lassa a donna, Se gran festa mi, donna sai come tuo.³¹

Therefore, when the compiler of the Mantua manuscript was classifying texts either as *barzellette* or *frottole*, six-line strophes (more decisively than any other feature) evidently led him to classify a particular text as a *frottola*, and eight-line strophes led him to classify a particular text as a *barzelletta*. Less decisive, but nonetheless rather consistent, is the parallel evidence of the musical setting: new music for the strophes in the *barzelletta*; music for the strophes recycled from that for the *ripresa* in the *frottola*-proper. Table 7 presents the distinction in tabular form.

* * *

In the venerable Italian philosophical tradition of the early-twentieth century known as Idealism—represented above all by Benedetto Croce and Giovanni Gentile—there was considerable skepticism about and even hostility towards the utility—indeed, the legitimacy—of the concept of "genre." To some extent, Idealism held, taxonomies are crude vehicles: There are too many exceptions to the rules implied by the classification; and each work of art is the expression of a one-time human creative act, such that creating a taxonomy and classifying examples according to genre does violence to the variety and uniqueness in each example and the human artistic freedom expressed therein.³²

31. Rudolf Schwartz, "Die Frottole im 15. Jahrhundert. I.–III.," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* II (1886): 427–66, esp. 50.

32. Croce writes: "[T]he most conspicuous triumph of the intellectualistic error ['errore intellettualistico'] is the doctrine of...genres ['dottrina dei generi']....[W]e can destroy...our thinking about individuals, by turning our thoughts to universals....Every true work of art has violated an established genre ['Ogni vera opera d'arte ha violato un genere stabilito']....[E]nchanted by this idea of genres, one saw historians of literature and art claiming to provide the history, not of actual and particular literary and artistic works, but of those empty phantasies which are their genres ['vuote fantasime che sono i loro generi'], and instead of portraying the evolution of the artistic spirit[,] portraying the evolution of...genres....Error arises...when one gives the words the weight of scientific distinctions ['L'errore si ha solamente quando al vocabolario si dia peso di distinzione scientifica']; ... [T]he categorisations of the modes and levels of expression display their philosophical emptiness ['nullità filosofica'] when one tries to develop them into precise definitions." See *Estetica come scienza dell'espressione e linguistica generale: teoria e storia*, ed. Giuseppe Galasso, *Classici* 56 (Milan: Adelphi Edizioni s.p.a., 1990), which was the basis for the translation used: Croce, *The Aesthetic as the Science of Expression and*

Table 7. Summation of the Distinction between the Barzelletta and Frottola-Proper.

Genus		
<i>Frottola</i>		
(Period Source[s]: Petrucci, <i>Frottole</i> , Books I–XI; various Antico prints; etc.)		
	Species	Species
	<i>Barzelletta</i>	<i>Frottola[-Proper]</i>
	(Period Source[s]: Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, MS A.I.4)	(Period Source[s]: Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, MS A.I.4; Petrucci, <i>Libro quarto</i>)
Similar poetic structure of the text:	<i>ripresa</i> ; strophe(s), subdivided into the <i>piede</i> (or <i>mutazione</i>) and the <i>volta</i> ; and periodic return of the <i>ripresa</i> typically eight-line strophes (68%)	<i>ripresa</i> ; strophe(s), subdivided into the <i>piede</i> (or <i>mutazione</i>) and the <i>volta</i> ; and periodic return of the <i>ripresa</i> six-line strophes almost without exception (99%)
Contrasting musical treatment of the text:	New music typically provided for the strophes, different from what had been provided for the <i>ripresa</i> (53%); Recurrence of the <i>ripresa</i> after each strophe typically a verbatim repetition of the entirety or a portion of the opening <i>ripresa</i>	Music typically provided solely for the <i>ripresa</i> , which is then recycled for the strophes, the several, discrete musical phrases used to set the poetic lines of the <i>ripresa</i> now fitted to the corresponding lines of the strophes (75%); Recurrence of the <i>ripresa</i> after each strophe typically an altered, specially-composed, and abbreviated version of the opening <i>ripresa</i>

of the *Linguistic in General*, trans. Colin Lyas (Cambridge, Melbourne, New York, Port Chester, Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Lyas translates Croce's "intellettualistico" as "intellectualist"; it is translated as "intellectualistic" here. He translates Croce's "dottrina" as "theory"; it is translated as "doctrine" here.

For Gentile's position on the same matter, entirely congruent with that of Croce, see Giovanni Gentile, *Teoria generale dello spirito come atto puro*, Opere 3 (Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 2003 [Settima edizione riveduta]); trans. as *The Theory of Mind as Pure Act*, trans. from the third ed. with an intro. by H. Wildon Carr (Bombay, Calcutta, London, Madras, Melbourne: Macmillan and Co., Limited/Boston, Chicago, Dallas, New York, San Francisco: The Macmillan Company/Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1922), 224–25: "[A] history of art, in so far as it is art, is inconceivable. Every work of art is a self-enclosed individuality, an abstract subjectivity empirically posited among all other such in an atomistic fashion....[E]very poet in each of his works propounds and solves a particular aesthetic problem.... There is no genre, there are only particulars. Not only is there not an aesthetic reality such as literature, constituting for the historian of literature a genre, the development of which he supposes himself to trace, but there is not even an aesthetic reality answering to such a phrase as, for example, 'the art of Ariosto.' Each of Ariosto's comedies, satires, poems or other works, is an art by itself."

Even within the limited data set considered here, there are exceptions to otherwise canonical practice: interesting, creative exceptions that reveal something about the composer's understanding of his freedom in working within a tradition. By no means are the compositional strategies associated with the genus *frottola* excessively formulaic and restrictive.

For example, notwithstanding the convention that a *barzelletta* ordinarily had new and different music for the strophes and a verbatim return of the entire opening *ripresa*, the following setting in the *CANZONI NOVE* illustrates some of the liberties in compositional strategy available to the composer. As is conventional in *barzelletta*-settings, there is indeed new music for the strophe(s). (We have enumerated the discrete musical phrases in the following presentation of the text.) But at the conclusion of the opening *ripresa*, there is a recomposed recapitulation of just a portion of the opening *ripresa*, as if the compositional approach were instead that of the *frottola*-proper. And the text of the *volta* is set to the third and fourth musical phrases of the opening *ripresa*, which there had set the text "Sempre ho 'l cor pien a un tratto / Di 'l speranza e di temere"; there follows—not a verbatim return of the entire opening *ripresa*—but instead an altered, specially-composed return, on the words "Sempre ho 'l cor pien a un tratto . . .," which are set to musical phrases 1 and 2' of the refrain, the second phrase now altered from 2' to 2''.

It is as if the setting were a hybrid of the approaches associated with both the *barzelletta* and the *frottola*-proper, which may explain why the compiler of the Mantua manuscript classified it as both. Even at the time, it was seen as defying tidy classification.

Musical Phrases

ripresa

Tra 'l volere e non volere	1
Meco stessi ogni hor combatto	2
Sempre ho 'l cor pien a vn tratto	3
Di speranza e di temere	4

Refrain

Tra 'l volere e non volere	1
Meco stessi ogni hor combatto	2'

Strophe

Piede (or *Mutazione*)

Io non posso in pur vorrei	5
Quel che tutto in mie balia	6
Quel chi bramo e chi torrei	7
Cerco e fuggo tutta via	8

Volta

Vanne vien la voglia mia	3
Perchè 'l ben pe 'l mal baratto	4

Refrain (altered, specially-composed return of the opening *ripresa*)

Sempre ho 'l cor pien a vn tratto	1
Di 'l speranza e di temere	2"

Second strophe**Refrain (altered, specially-composed return of the opening *ripresa*)**

These qualifications notwithstanding, there was evidently a period perception and understanding of musico-poetic genre, and some procedures do rather consistently seem characteristic of a proposed classification. Period observers were more likely to identify as a *barzelletta* a composition that has the characteristics articulated here, and as a *frottola*[proper] one with the contrasting characteristics. Of the texts identified as *barzellette* in an important period source, 68% have eight-line strophes and—when a musical setting is extant—53% have music for the strophes different from that for the *ripresa*. Of the texts identified as *frottole*[proper] in various period sources, 99% have six-line strophes, and—when a musical setting is extant—75% have music solely for the *ripresa*, which is then redeployed for the strophes. The number of lines in the strophes is thus clearly the more decisive consideration in the contemporary classification scheme.

To state the statistical findings in another, more succinct way: 95% of the compositions classified as *barzellette* either have eight-line strophes, or have different music for the *ripresa* and strophes, or both characteristics; and 99% of the compositions classified as *frottole*[proper] either have six-line strophes, or use the same music for the *ripresa* and strophes, or have both characteristics. Such findings might now lead musicologists seeking to classify the poetic form of a given *frottola* accordingly (a *frottola* in the generic, not the specific, sense), in particular when there is no contemporary classification to which we can appeal as an authoritative source.

In our collective understanding of the distinguishing characteristics of the verse set to music in the *frottola* repertory (in the generic sense, once again), we might now discriminate more confidently between *barzellette* and *frottole*-proper. These two distinct poetic fixed-forms might now take their rightful, independent places alongside the canzone, capitolo, oda, sonetto, strambotto, etc., each with its own distinctive practices governing the relationship of the poetry to musical settings thereof. Unless there is compelling

Tral volere e non volere Adco stelli ognibor combatto Semp bol cor pien a vn tratto di speranza e di temere

1 Tral volere e non volere Adco stelli ognibor combatto: 3 non posso i pur vorrei Quel che tutto in mie balia

Quel chi bramo e chi torrei 8 Cerco e fuggo tutta via

Tenor

Tral volere e non volere

Il timor non vuol chi spera
El parlar mi contradice
La speranza e mie pensieri
Fa equali alla fenice

In vn punto i son felice
E in vn punto anche disfatto
Semp bol cor

I non so sel parlar mio
Del tacer si lie migliore
Del parlar bo pur delio
Do di quel non mi dal core

La via m insegnami amore
Po che quella i non mudaro
Semp bol cor

Tenor

Uanne e vien la voglia mia Per chei ben pel mal baratto Semp bol cor pien a vn tratto di speranza e di temere

Alto

Bassus

Figure 3. *Tra 'l volere e non volere.* CANZONI NOVE CON ALCVNE SCELTE DE VARIJ LIBRI DE CANTO. (Sculpito in Roma per Andrea Antiquo de Montona: & fatto imprimere in compagnia di Giouanbattista Columba, Miniatore: per Marcello Silber[,] al[ia]s Franck[,], sta[m]patore in Roma: Nell'anno .M.D.X. A di .IX. de Octobre.), fols. 19v–20r, with the permission of the University of Basel Library.

conflicting primary evidence, we might henceforth classify as a *barzelletta* those compositions with the properties identified here, and as a *frottola*-proper those compositions with the contrasting properties. And our understanding of procedures associated originally with oral practice—as subsequently refashioned in notated form in this *ex post facto* reflection of the unwritten tradition³³—is further refined and enhanced.

33. See William F. Prizer, "The *Frottola* and the Unwritten Tradition," 3–37.

Sigla for the Primary Musical Sources

Manuscripts

- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Mus. 22048
 Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Codex Q 18
 Cape Town, South African Public Library, Grey Collection MS 3.b.12
 Chicago, Newberry Library, MS Case MSVM C.25
 Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica «Luigi Cherubini», MS Basevi 2441
 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 230 (*olim* Magliabechi XIX.41)
 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 337 (*olim* Palatino 1178)
 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabechi XIX.121
 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichi 27
 London, British Library, MS Egerton 3051/Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, M 2.1. M6 Case (*olim* Bibliothek Wolffheim)
 Madrid, Palacio Real, Biblioteca, MS 1335 (*olim* 2–i-5) (Cancionero de Palacio)
 Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 55
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de la Musique, MS Rés. Vmd. 27 (*olim* TL.1 in the possession of the Comtesse de Chambure)
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Rés. Vm⁷ 676
 Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 431
 St. Gall, Stifts-Bibliothek, MSS 463–464
 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS It. IV. 1795–98 (*olim* MSS 10653–56)

Printed Books

- Frottole libro primo.* (Impressum Venetiis: per Octavianum Petrutium[m] Forosemproniensem., Die .xxviii. Nouembris Salutis anno M.cccccciii.)
Frottole libro secondo. (Impressum Venetiis: per Octavianum Petrutium[m] Forosemproninsem., M.cccccciii., Die. viii. Ianuarii.)
Frottole Libro tertio. (Impressum Venetiis: per Octavianum Petrutium[m] Forosempronie[n]sem., Die. vi. Februarii Salutis anno M.cccccciii.)
Strambotti Ode Frottole Sonetti. Et modo de cantar versi latini e capituli. Libro quarto. (Impressum Venetiis: per Octavianum Petrutium Forosemproniesem [sic]., Die vltimo Iulii., M.D.vii)
Frottole Libro quinto. (Impressum Venetiis: per Octavianum Petrutium[m] Forosempr[o]niensem., Die .xxiii. Dece[m]bris Salutis anno M.ccccc.v.)
Frottole libro Sexto. (Impressum Venetiis: per Octavianum Petrutium[m] Forosempr[ro]niensem., Die. v Februarii . . . M.ccccc.v.)
Frottole Libro Septimo. (Impressum Venetiis: per Octavianum Petrutium Forosempronie[n]sem., M.D.vii., Die .vi. Iunii.)
Frottole Libro octauo. (Impressum Venetiis: per Octavianum Petrutium Forosempronie[n]sem., M.D.vii., Die xxi. Madii)
Frottole Libro Nono. (Impressum Venetiis: per Octavianum Petrutium Forosempronie[n]sem., M.D.viii., Die xxii. Ianuarii)

Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto
Libro Primo. Francisci Bossinensis Opus (Impressum Venetijs: Per Octavianu₃
 Petrutium forosemproniensem, Die. 27. Martij. 1509.)

CANZONI NOVE CON ALCVNE SCELTE DE VARIJ LIBRI DE CANTO.

(Sculpito in Roma per Andrea Antiquo de Montona: & fatto imprimere in
 compagnia di Giouanbattista Columba, Miniatore: per Marcello Silber[,]
 al[ia]'s Franck[,] sta[m]patore in Roma: Nellanno .M.D.X. A di .IX. de
 Octobre.)

Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati col soprano in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto
Libro Secundo. Francisci Bossinensis Opus (Impressum in Forosempronii: per
 Octauianun petrutiu[m] Forosemproniensem, Anno d[omi]ni MDXI Die 10
 Madii)

Frottole libro undecimo. (Impressum Forosempronii: per Octauianum Petrutium ciuem
 Forosemproniensem., 20 October 1514)

Canzone Sonetti Strambotti et Frottole Libro Primo. (Siena: Pietro Sambonettus, 30
 VIII 1515)

FROTTOLE INTABVLATE DA SONARE ORGANI LIBRO PRIMO. (Impresso in
 Roma: per Andrea Anticho de Montona., Nel anno .M.D.XVII. A di .XIII. di
 Genaro.)

[*Frottole libro secondo*] (Venice: A. Antico and L.A. Giunta, 1520)/*Canzoni sonetti*
strambotti & frottole libro secondo (Rome: Impresso . . . per Iacomo Mazochio
 Ad instantia [sic] di Iacomo Gio[n]ta. A di. XV di Ianuario. M.D.XIIX [sic])

Frottole de Misser Bortolomio Tromboncino & de Misser Marcheto Carra con tenori &
bassi tabulati & con soprani in canto figurato per cantar & sonar col lauto (n.p.
 [Rome]: no publisher [L. Giunta], 1520)

Libro Primo DELLE LAVDI SPIRITVALI DA DIVERSI ECCELL. E DIVOTI
AVTORI, ANTICHI E MODERNI COMPOSTE. . . . Raccolte dal R.P. Fra
 Serafino Razzi Fiorentino, . . . (In Venetia: ad instantia de' Giunti di Firenze.,
 M.DLXIII.) (one composition)

Appendix

Example 1. Edition of *Perch[è] dona me hai lassato* (on which see p. 72 n23, above).

NB: meter and durations are speculative. TAB shows barlines and numerals from source, duration symbols added editorially.

Lute in G

TAB

The image shows a musical score for a lute in G and a corresponding tablature (TAB). The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains three measures, and the second system contains two measures. The lute part is written in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The TAB part is written in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The TAB part includes barlines and numerals from the source, as well as duration symbols added editorially.

Table 8a. Poems identified as frottole[-proper] in the MS Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, A.I.4.

“GENERALIS SUMMULA CONTENTORUM IN HOC OPERE PER ALPHABETUM POSITA”

“Speciale somma de le **Frotule**”

[83 texts so classified; 63 extant musical settings]

Text Incipit	Extant Musical Settings	Clarifying Rubrics and Defining Stylistic Features
1. <i>Ochi mei mai non restati</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 19v–20r, A. De Antiquis	
2. <i>Consumato ha Amor il dardo</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 23v–24r	
3. <i>Più non son pregon d amore</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 53v–54r, B[artolomeo].T[romboncino].	
4. <i>Porgi amor forza e ardimento</i>	—	
5. <i>Goldi dona i noui amanti</i>	—	
6. <i>Ama pur dona spietata</i>	Florence 337, fol. 28v <i>Libro quinto</i> , fols. 41v–42r, F[rancesco].[d']A[na].V[eneto].	textless in Florence 337
7. <i>Se io gel dico che dirà</i>	SETTING I Florence 337, fol. 75v [86v] <i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 2v–3r, B.T. <i>Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati...lauto Libro Primo</i> , fols. 28v–29r, B.T. SETTING 2 <i>Frottole de Misser Bortolomio Tromboncino & de Misser Marcheto Carra</i> , fols. 3v–4v, M[archetto].C[ara].	
8. <i>Non temer del uechio amore</i>	<i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 4v–5r, B.T.	
9. <i>Da poi nocte uien la luce</i>	SETTING I <i>Libro quarto</i> , fols. 52v–53r, Phi. de. Lu. SETTING 2 <i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 7v–8r	listed among the “FROTTOLE.” in the <i>Libro quarto</i> ; setting in the <i>Libro octavo</i> has different music from that of the <i>Libro quarto</i>

Table 8a. (continued.)

Text Incipit	Extant Musical Settings	Clarifying Rubrics and Defining Stylistic Features
10. <i>Chi non ha martelo suo danno</i>	<i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 9v–10r	
11. <i>Nui siami segatori</i>	<i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 50v–51r, Antonius Stringarius Patavus	
12. <i>Chi promette è debitore</i>	<i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 12v–13r <i>Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati...Libro Secundo</i> , fol. 36r	
13. <i>Ho scoperto il tanto aperto</i>	<i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 16v–17r, Tromboncino <i>Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati...lauto Libro Primo</i> , fols. 14r–14v, B.T.	
14. <i>La promessa desiata</i>	—	
15. <i>Io te giuro supra il core</i>	—	
16. <i>Dona ormai fiammi contento</i>	[L]ibro Sexto, fols. 17v–18r	
17. <i>Se ben hor non scopro il foco</i>	Berlin 22048, fol. 1r Bologna Q18, fols. 3r–4v Florence 27, fols. 60v–61r Florence 230, fols. 22v–23r, Tronboncino London 3051, fols. 57v–58r Milan 55, fols. 32v–33r [L]ibro primo, 18v–19r, B.T.	see Cattin, “Nuova Fonte Italiana della Polifonia intorno al 1500,” especially pp. 204–5
18. <i>Un uolere un non uolere</i>	CANZONI NOVE, fols. 5v–6r, B.T.	
19. <i>Se mi dol esser gabato</i>	Bologna Q18, fols. 13r–14v <i>Libro tertio</i> , fols. 21v–22r, B.T. CANZONI NOVE, fols. 6v–7r, B.T.	
20. <i>Seria il mio seruire felice</i>	CANZONI NOVE, fols. 9v–10r, B.T.	
21. <i>Ogmun fuga fuga amore</i>	<i>Libro quarto</i> , fols. 36v–37r, Ant[onius].Capreo[lus]. CANZONI NOVE, fols. 11v–12r, Ant. Capr. <i>Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati...lauto Libro Primo</i> , fols. 37r–37v, Ant. Cap.	listed among the “FROTTOLE.” in the <i>Libro quarto</i>
22. <i>Questo oimè pur me tormenta</i>	<i>Libro quarto</i> , fols. 3v–4r, Ant Capreo. CANZONI NOVE, fols. 12v–13r, Ant. Capr.	listed among the “FROTTOLE.” in the <i>Libro quarto</i>
23. <i>Ogni uermo a l suo ueneno</i>	<i>Libro quinto</i> , fols. 9v–10r, N[iccolò].P[ifaro]. CANZONI NOVE, fols. 15v–16r	

Table 8a. (continued.)

Text Incipit	Extant Musical Settings	Clarifying Rubrics and Defining Stylistic Features
24. <i>Segui cor e non restare</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 45v–46r, Jacobus Foglianus <i>CANZONI NOVE</i> , fols. 17v–18r, Jac. Foglianus	
25. <i>Rompe amor questa catena</i>	<i>Libro quarto</i> , fols. 34v–35r, Phi. de Lu. <i>CANZONI NOVE</i> , fols. 21v–22r, Phi. de Lu.	listed among the “FROTTOLE.” in the <i>Libro quarto</i>
26. <i>Poi ch el cielo e la fortuna</i>	SETTING 1 [L]ibro primo, fols. XXXVv–XXXVIr, MICHA[elis].[Pesenti] C[antus]. & V[erba]. <i>Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati...lauto Libro Primo</i> , fols. XVIr–XVIv, MICHEL[e] [da] V[erona]. SETTING 2 <i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 24v–25r <i>CANZONI NOVE</i> , fols. 25v–26r <i>Libro quarto</i> , fols. 5v–6r, Ant. Capreo. <i>CANZONI NOVE</i> , fols. 29v–30r, Ant. Capr. Florence 27, fols. 207v–208r <i>CANZONI NOVE</i> , fols. 2v–3r, Io. Hesdimois	
27. <i>Ritornata è la speranza</i>	<i>Libro quarto</i> , fols. 5v–6r, Ant. Capreo. <i>CANZONI NOVE</i> , fols. 29v–30r, Ant. Capr.	listed among the “FROTTOLE.” in the <i>Libro quarto</i>
28. <i>Tuto il mondo è fantasia</i>	Florence 27, fols. 207v–208r <i>CANZONI NOVE</i> , fols. 2v–3r, Io. Hesdimois	
29. <i>Che fia poi crudel amore</i>	—	
30. <i>Non fan altro per usanza</i>	[Frottole libro secondo], fols. 34v–35r	
31. <i>Viva amor viva quel foco</i>	<i>CANZONI NOVE</i> , fols. 13v–14r, B.T.	
32. <i>Tra l uolere e non uolere</i>	<i>CANZONI NOVE</i> , fols. 19v–20r	also listed among the “Barzalete” in the Mantua manuscript
33. <i>S io potesse disligarme</i>	—	
34. <i>Se l tuo partire m è stato amaro</i>	—	
35. <i>La fortuna a mi nimica</i>	—	
36. <i>Animoso mio desire</i>	[Frottole libro secondo], fols. 13v–14r, B.T. <i>FROTTOLE INTABVLATE</i> , fols. 20r–21r, B.T.	
37. <i>Questo dolce mio dolore</i>	Venice 1795–98, No. 12	
38. <i>Scoprire dona ti uorei</i>	—	
39. <i>Bench el ciel me t abia tolto</i>	<i>Libro Nono</i> , fols. 7v–8r, B.T. <i>Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati...lauto Libro Primo</i> , fols. 42v–44r, B[artolomeo].T[romboncino].	

Table 8a. (continued.)

Text Incipit	Extant Musical Settings	Clarifying Rubrics and Defining Stylistic Features
40. <i>Perchè mi aij abandonato</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 17v–18r	On the Paris manuscript, see an excellent study by Maria Luisi, “Il repertorio italiano del Ms. Gr. Rés. Vm ⁷ 676 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi” (PhD, Università di Bologna, 2012). See also the older study by Nanie Bridgman, “Un manuscript italien du début du XVI ^e siècle a la Bibliothèque National (Département de la musique, Rés. Vm ⁷ 676),” <i>Annales musicologiques</i> 1 (1953): 177–267, with a supplement in <i>ibid.</i> , 4 (1956): 258–60, and the facsimile edition <i>Manuscript italien de frottole</i> (1502). <i>Facsimilé du MS de la Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Rés. Vm⁷ 676</i> , intro. François Lesure (Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1979)
41. <i>O che doglia o che martiri</i>	—	
42. <i>Tropo amore e gran fatica</i>	<i>Libro tertio</i> , fols. 19v–20r, B.T.	
43. <i>Salo ben che ma faij torto</i>	Paris 676, fols. 117v–118r	
44. <i>Pur alfin conuen scoprire</i>	Florence 230, fols. 2v–3r, Jacobus Foglianus <i>Libro quinto</i> , fols. 20v–21r	text in the two musical sources begins “Segui cor l alta tua impresa / segui ogni or costante e forte”
45. <i>Nulla fede è più nel mondo</i>	[<i>Frottole libro secondo</i>], fols. 16v–17r, B.T.	
46. <i>Perchè m hai donna lassato</i>	Paris 27, fol. 39v	
47. <i>Se l te piace el mio morire</i>	—	
48. <i>Son priuato d ogni bene</i>	—	
49. <i>In un ponto e in un momento</i>	Florence 244I, fols. 4v–5r	
50. <i>Chi se fida de fortuna</i>	Florence 244I, fols. 19v–20r <i>Libro tertio</i> , fols. 54v–55r, B.T.	
51. <i>Non chiedo altro dala sorte</i>	—	
52. <i>Che più spera riposare</i>	—	
53. <i>Sciochi e paci semo tuti</i>	—	
54. <i>Seguirò questa alta impresa</i>	Venice 1795–98, No. 43 <i>Canzone Sonetti Strambotti et Frottole</i> , fols. 40v–41r	
55. <i>Oimè il cor da me si parte</i>	—	

Table 8a. (continued.)

Text Incipit	Extant Musical Settings	Clarifying Rubrics and Defining Stylistic Features
56. <i>Non si muti il mio uolere</i>	SETTING I Paris 676, fols. 62v–63r	Setting I is for three voices
57. <i>L amor dona ch io te porto</i>	SETTING 2 <i>Libro quinto</i> , fols. 22v–23r, B.T. Florence 244I, fols. 38v–39r Madrid 1335, fol. 59r Paris 27, fol. 50r Paris 676, fols. 110v–111r, Ia[como].Fo[gliano]. <i>Libro Septimo</i> , fol. 18v	
58. <i>Se ne dol il mio partire</i>	Florence 230, fols. 14v–15r	
59. <i>Se l m e graue il mio partire</i>	<i>Libro quinto</i> , fols. 19v–20r Florence 230, fols. 25v–26r, philippus de iurano Florence 337, fol. 25v, B.T. Paris 27, fol. 40r Paris 676, fols. 114v–115r [L]ibro primo, fols. 19v–20r, B.T. Razzi, p. 236	in Florence 230, a different <i>bassus</i> and a much-varied text in Paris, a different <i>bassus</i> text in Razzi: “Tu se dolce dio signor superno”
60. <i>Per seruirte perdo i passi</i>	London 3051, fols. 38v–39r <i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 42v–43r, N[iccolò]. Brocus	
61. <i>De seruirte al tuo dispeto</i>	Florence 337, fol. 20v, P. d. Lo. London 3051, fols. 34v–35r <i>Libro quinto</i> , fol. 48v, Phi[lippus]. de L[urano].	
62. <i>Nas[c]e l aspro mio tormento</i>	Florence 230, fols. 77v–78r Florence 337, fol. 40v London 3051, fols. 39v–40r Paris 27, fol. 51r [L]ibro secondo, fols. 9v–10r, Fran[ciscus]. Vene[tus]. Orga. <i>Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati...lauto Libro Primo</i> , fols. 18v–19r, F.V.	

Table 8a. (continued.)

Text Incipit	Extant Musical Settings	Clarifying Rubrics and Defining Stylistic Features
63. <i>O mia ciecha e dura sorte</i>	Chicago, fol. 9r Florence 230, fols. 27v–28r Florence 244I, fols. 36v–37r [L]ibro primo, 5v–6r, M[archetto].C[ara] <i>Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati...lauto Libro Primo</i> , fols. 19v–20r	
64. <i>Io te laso dona mia</i>	—	
65. <i>Quella bella e biancha mano</i>	<i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 14v–15r, Ant. Capriolus <i>Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati...Libro Secundo</i> , fol. 43v, A.C.	
66. <i>Per memoria di quel giorno</i>	<i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 24v–25r, Ni[ccolò].Pi[faro].	
67. <i>Frena dona i toi bei lumi</i>	[Frottole libro secondo], fols. 30v–31r <i>FROTTOLE INTABVLATE</i> , fols. 6v–7r	
68. <i>Pbi ch'è in te dona sperai</i>	<i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 43v–44r, Resposta N[iccolò].B[rocco].	
69. <i>Scopri lingua el tuo martir</i>	Florence 244I, fols. 3v–4r <i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 36v–37r	
70. <i>Non pigliar madona a sdegno</i>	<i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 34v–34r, Franc[iscus]. Orga. Venetus	
71. <i>Più speranza non apregio</i>	<i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 27v–28r, Antonius Stringarius Patavinus	
72. <i>Io me parto e resto teco</i>	—	
73. <i>Quasi sempre auante di</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 36v–37r	
74. <i>Son disposto hauer patientia</i>	—	
75. <i>De speranza me nutrico</i>	—	
76. <i>D altro bormai uoglio hauer cura</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 22v–23r, Nicolo Pifaro	
77. <i>Regi et guida ogni human stato</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 28v–29r	
78. <i>Questa longa mia speranza</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 29v–30r	
79. <i>Chi lo sa e chi no[n] [l]o sa</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fol. 33r, E. Dupré	
80. <i>Quel che il ciel ne dà per sorte</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 34v–35r, A. De Antiquis	
81. <i>Dhe non più dhe non più mo</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 44v–45r, M[archetto].C[ara]. <i>Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati...lauto Libro Primo</i> , fols. 14v–15v, M.C.	
82. <i>Rotto ho alfin el duro nodo</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fol. 48r, Pauli S[coto]. Cantus & verba	
83. <i>Io son pur malmaridata</i>	Florence 230, fols. 145v–146r	for three voices

Table 8b. Poems identified as barzellette in the MS Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, A.I.4.

“GENERALIS SUMMULA CONTENTORUM IN HOC OPERE PER ALPHABETUM POSITA”

“Speciale tabula de le **Barzalete**”

[36 texts so classified; 22 extant musical settings].

Text Incipit	Extant Musical Settings	Clarifying Rubrics and Defining Stylistic Features
1. <i>Poi che sono abandonato</i>	—	
2. <i>La speranza è sempre verde</i>	—	
3. <i>A questa aspera penitentia</i>	—	
4. <i>Poi che piague ala mia sorte</i>	—	
5. <i>Da la dolce mia nemica</i>	—	
6. <i>Chi uol ben laudar una opera</i>	—	
7. <i>IO son lieto nel aspetto</i>	Paris 27, fol. 41v <i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 42v–43v	“Uerte,” “Secunda pars” (<i>Libro Septimo</i>) (ordinarily, the clarifying rubrics “Uerte” and “Secunda pars” occur after the opening statement of the <i>ripresa</i> , to indicate to the performers that new and different music is provided there for the strophes; in this case, however, they occur after the music for the strophes, to indicate to the performers that the <i>ripresa</i> , atypically, is altered and specially-composed)
8. <i>La speranza me da vita</i>	—	
9. <i>SE c [cum] vostra alma bellezza</i>	<i>Libro Nono</i> , fols. 51r–52v	
10. <i>GVarda do[n]na el mio torm[en]to /</i> <i>Ch[e] p[er] ti son quasi morto /</i> <i>Non più guerra no[n] più ste[n]to /</i> <i>Che sio moro moro a torto</i>	Florence 2441, fols. 37v–38r London 3051, fols. 2v–4r Madrid 1335, fol. 113r [<i>L</i>]ibro secondo, fols. xxxixv–xlr	“ut su– / pra” ([<i>L</i>]ibro secondo)
11. <i>Me mari non uol che balla</i>	—	
12. <i>Lassa hormaij tanto tuo sdegno</i>	CANZONI NOVE, fols. 4v–5r	
13. <i>Io n lbo perche n lho</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fols. 40v–41r, M[archetto].C[ara]. CANZONI NOVE, fols. 28v–29r, M[archetto].C[ara].	“ut supra,” “Vt supra,” “vt supra” (<i>Libro Septimo</i>)

Table 8b. (continued.)

Text Incipit	Extant Musical Settings	Clarifying Rubrics and Defining Stylistic Features
14. <i>Per mio ben ti uederei</i>	CANZONI NOVE, fols. 40v–41r, B[artolomeo].T[rombancino]. FROITOLE INTABVLATE, fols. 4v–5v, T[rombancino].B[artolomeo].	
15. <i>Desperato fin a morte</i>	<i>Libro quinto</i> , fols. 43v–44r	
16. <i>In eterno uoglio amar</i>	SETTING I Florence 121, No. 17, fols. 17v–18r Florence 230, No. 4, fols. 3v–4r Florence 27, No. 148, fols. 111v–112r Paris 676, No. 62, fols. 71v–72r [L]ibro primo, xv–xlr, M[archetto].C[ara]. Razzi, fol. 9v SETTING 2 Florence 337, No. 12, fol. 22v, March[etto]. [Cara] <i>Libro Nono</i> , No. 15, fols. 12v–13r, B[artolomeo].T[rombancino]. <i>Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati...lauto Libro Primo</i> , No. 27, fols. 20v–21v, B[artolomeo].T[rombancino]. SETTING 3	“ut su– / pra,” “ut su / pra” ([L]ibro primo)
17. <i>Piangeti ochi mei lassi</i>	Perugia 431, No. 72, fols. 109v–110r (99v–100r) <i>Libro tertio</i> , fol. viii ^r	although this poem is listed among the “Barzalete,” its form is clearly that of an <i>oda</i>
18. <i>Non satisfa fiorir d orto</i>	—	
19. <i>Son afflito stanco e uento</i>	—	
20. <i>Vola il tempo e far manchar</i>	CANZONI NOVE, fols. 3v–4r, IO. SCRIVANO.	poetic form of this text clearly not that of the <i>barzelletta</i>
21. <i>L homo teren caduco e frale</i>	CANZONI NOVE, fols. 8v–9r, IO. SCRIVANO.	poetic form of this text clearly not that of the <i>barzelletta</i>
22. <i>El dolor chi me destruge</i>	Florence 2441, fols. 32v–33r	
23. <i>Chi non sa ch el cor gli o dato</i>	<i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 30v–33r, ANTONIVS PATA[VINUS].	“Uerte,” “Secunda pars,” “Residuum”
24. <i>Fate ben gente cortese</i>	<i>Libro octavo</i> , fols. 39v–40r, B[artolomeo].T[rombancino]. <i>Tenori e co[n]trabassi intabulati...Libro Secundo</i> , fols. xxvii ^r –v, B[artolomeo].T[rombancino].	

Table 8b. (continued.)

Text Incipit	Extant Musical Settings	Clarifying Rubrics and Defining Stylistic Features
25. <i>Suenturato pelegrino</i>	Paris 676, fols. 101v–102r	also listed among the “Frotule” in the Mantua manuscript
26. <i>Tra 'l volere e non volere</i>	CANZONI NOVE, fols. 19v–20v	
27. <i>Ad ognhor sento morirmi</i>	—	
28. <i>Moro a brusio: e non mi pento</i>	—	
29. <i>Ardo oime che dura sorte</i>	—	
30. <i>Viua lieto e non timere</i>	Cape Town, fols. 78v–79r Florence 27, fol. 14v–15r	no known extant setting of the secular text “Viua lieto e non timere”; setting in Cape Town and Florence 27 is of a sacred <i>contrafactum</i> ; one cannot be certain, therefore, whether the setting of the secular text would have adopted the procedures of the <i>barzelletta</i> or the <i>frottola</i> –proper; but see n. 24, above listed under “FROTTOLE” in the table of contents to the <i>Libro quarto</i>
31. <i>Dona contra la mia voglia</i>	Florence 230, fols. 21v–22r, philip ^s de lurano London 3051, fols. 54v–55r <i>Libro quarto</i> , fol. 49r, PHI. DE. LV.	
32. <i>Aqua aqua al focho al focho</i>	SETTING I [L]ibro Sexto, fols. 15v–16r, NICOLO PIFAR. SETTING 2 <i>Libro Nono</i> , fols. 41v–43r, TIMOTEO	
33. <i>Io maledico la mia stella</i>	—	“Uerte,” “Residuu[m]” (<i>Libro Nono</i>) only Timoteo’s setting is in <i>barzelletta</i> form, as the accompanying clarifying rubrics suggest; Nicolo Pifaro’s is in <i>frottola</i> –proper form
34. <i>El pensier andra col core</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fol. 38v	
35. <i>Dhe dolce mia signora</i>	St. Gall 463–464, No. 162, fols. 58v and 166v <i>Libro Septimo</i> , fol. 31r, M[archetto].C[ara].	
36. <i>Mal un muta per effecto</i>	<i>Libro Septimo</i> , fol. 32v, M[archetto].C[ara].	
37. [Predica Gentile d Amore]	—	

Table 9. Musical settings identified as frottole in Petrucci's Book IV.

Strambotti Ode Frottole Sonetti. Et modo de cantar versi latini e capituli. Libro quarto.

(Impressum Venetiis: per Octavianum Petrutium Forosemproniesem [sic]., Die vltimo Iulii., M.D.vii.)

"FROTTOLE"

[21 texts, and their extant musical settings, so classified]

Text Incipit	Concordant Sources	Clarifying Rubrics and Defining Stylistic Features
1. <i>Che fa la ramacina</i> , no. 80 fol. 47r, COMPERE		
2. <i>Dio lo sa quanto me strano</i> , no. 66, fols. 39v–40r, ANT[onius]. CAP[reolus].	[L]ibro secondo, fols. xxiiiv–xxiiiir	although music is independently notated for the strophes, as is conventional in <i>barzelletta</i> -settings, the music for the strophes is drawn almost verbatim from the setting of the <i>ripresa</i> , as is conventional in settings of <i>frottole</i> -proper instead
3. <i>Donna contra la mia uoglia</i> , no. 83, fol. 49r, PHI[lippo]. DE LUR[ano].	Florence 230, fols. 21v–22r London 3051, fols. 54v–55r	
4. <i>Donna questa è la mia uoglia</i> , no. 84, fol. 49v, PHI[lippo]. DE LVRA[no].	London 3051, fols. 56v–57r	
5. <i>Da[m]mi almen l'ultimo uale</i> , no. 86, fols. 50v–51r, PHI[lippo]. DE LV[rano].	Florence 230, fols. 8v–9r Florence 337, fol. 37v London 3051, fols. 42v–43r [L]ibro undecimo, no. 67	
6. <i>Fuggi pur da me si</i> [sic; recte: "se"] sai, no. 65, fols. 38v–39r, ANT[onius]. CAP[reolus].		
7. <i>Fa[m]mi almen una bona cera</i> , no. 85, fol. 50r, PHI[lippo]. DE LV[rano].	Florence 2441, fols. 53v–54r London 3051, fols. 35v–36r	

Table 9. (continued.)

Text Incipit	Concordant Sources	Clarifying Rubrics and Defining Stylistic Features
8. <i>Fa[m]mi quanto mal te piace</i> , no. 90, fols. 54v–55r, PHI[lippo]. DE LV[rano].		music independently notated for the strophes, as is conventional in <i>barzelletta</i> -settings; (verbatim) return of the (modified) <i>ripresa</i> (indicated by the rubric “ <i>vt supra</i> ”): The <i>volta</i> utilizes the music of the two first lines of the opening <i>ripresa</i> , which is then followed by the return of the <i>ripresa</i> , abbreviated so that it comprises a verbatim repetition of just the second half of the opening <i>ripresa</i> ; thus the entirety of the music of the <i>ripresa</i> returns at the end of each intervening strophe, with the two poetic lines of the <i>volta</i> substituting for the two first poetic lines of the opening <i>ripresa</i>
9. <i>No[n] me dar più longhe bormaii</i> , no. 87, fols. 51v–52r, PHI[lippo]. DE LV[rano].		
10. <i>Ogni amor uol esser uero</i> , no. 2, fols. 2v–3r, ANT[onius]. CAP[reolus].		
11. <i>Ognun fuga[.] fuga amore</i> , no. 63, fols. 36v–37r, ANT[onius]. CAP[reolus].	CANZONI NOVE, fols. 11v–12r	
12. <i>Poi che mia sincera fede</i> , no. 4, fols. 4v–5r, ANT[onius]. CAP[reolus].		
13. <i>Questo oime pur me tormenta</i> , no. 3, fols. 3v–4r, ANT[onius]. CAP[reolus].	CANZONI NOVE, fols. 12v–13r	
14. <i>Quanto più do[n]na te dico</i> , no. 59, fol. 34r, PHI[lippus]. DE LV[ranus].		
15. <i>Ritornata è la speranza</i> , no. 5, fols. 5v–6r, ANT[onius]. CAP[reolus].	CANZONI NOVE, fols. 29v–30r	new music provided for the strophe(s), different from that for the <i>ripresa</i> (as is conventional in <i>barzelletta</i> -settings), and a verbatim return of the text and music of lines 5 and 6 of the opening <i>ripresa</i> , newly-notated
16. <i>Rompe[.] amor[.] questa cathena</i> , no. 60, fols. 34v–35r, PHI[lippus]. DE LV[ranus].	CANZONI NOVE, fols. 21v–22r	
17. <i>Scaramella fa la galla</i> , no. 81, fols. 47v–48r, COMPERE		

Table 9. (continued.)

Text Incipit	Concordant Sources	Clarifying Rubrics and Defining Stylistic Features
18. <i>Tutto el mondo chiama e grida</i> , no. 61, fols. 35v, PHI[lippus]. DE LV[ranus].	London 3051, fols. 33v–34r	new music provided for the strophe(s), different from that for the <i>ripresa</i> (as is conventional in <i>barzelletta</i> -settings), and a verbatim return of the entire opening <i>ripresa</i> , indicated by the text incipit “Vien da poi” and the rubric “vt supra”
19. <i>Tanto mi è el partir molesto</i> , no. 64, fols. 37v–38r, ANT[onius]. CAP[reolus].		
20. <i>Vien da poi la notte luce</i> , no. 88, fols. 52v–53r, PHI[lippus]. DE LV[ranus].		
21. <i>Vale bormai con tua durezza</i> , no. 89, fols. 53v–54r, PHI[lippus]. DE LV[ranus].	Florence 337, fol. 38v	

Abstract

The pioneering music publisher Ottaviano Petrucci published eleven books entitled *Frottole*, which suggests that no matter which contemporary poetic fixed-form was the basis of the musical settings, the entire contents of the series comprised compositions termed “frottole.” However, among contemporary settings of verse in the poetic forms ode, sonnet, etc., are also some termed “frottola” in period sources, which suggests that the term was used in both generic and specific senses. What distinguishes the species frottola (frottola-proper) from the genus frottola? In addition, the poetic form of the frottola-proper is essentially identical to that of another period poetic form, the barzelletta. If two period poetic forms are structurally identical, why are there two alternative terms for them? The distinction seems to be in the music: frottola-proper use the same music for the refrain and strophes; barzellette have different music from the refrain for the strophes.