

SECULAR MUSIC AT MILAN
DURING THE EARLY CINQUECENTO:
FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA DEL CONSERVATORIO,
MS BASEVI 2441*

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Secular music in Milan during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is virtually a terra incognita. We know that, under Ludovico Sforza and his wife Beatrice d'Este, frottolists were present at the Milanese court, although their identities elude us. We know, too, that many of the Sforza family themselves sang and played instruments, but we have no reliably Milanese sources that document the secular musical life of the court in the late fifteenth century.¹ The problem is equally serious for the period immediately after 1500: since Don Giulio Cattin has discredited Remo Giazotto's assertion that MS 55 from the Biblioteca Trivulziana is Milanese, we have lost an important document that would cast light on the secular musical life of Milan during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²

What then was the music of the period in Milan? In the first decades of the sixteenth century, the principal genre of Italian secular music performed there

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¹ William F. Prizer, "Music at the Court of the Sforza: The Birth and Death of a Musical Center," *Musica Disciplina* 43 (1989): 141-93, is an overview of music in Milan during this period.

² Remo Giazotto, "Onde musicali nella corrente poetica di Serafino dall'Aquila; in his *Musurgia nova* (Milan: Ricordi, 1959), 3-119; Giulio Cattin, "Nomi di rimatori per la polifonia profana italiana del secondo Quattrocento," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 25 (1990): 249. See also Daniela Delcorno Branca, "Da Poliziano a Serafino," in *Umanesimo e Rinascimento a Firenze e Venezia, Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca* (Florence: Olschki, 1983) 3: 435. Together, Cattin and Delcorno Branca show that the poetic attributions on which Giazotto based the provenance of the manuscript are not supported by any known documentation and that one manuscript he cites as a source for poems, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS B 56 sup., is actually a Greek manuscript.

must surely have been the frottola,³ as it was elsewhere in northern Italy and beyond, and, thanks to the keen eye of Joshua Rifkin, we do have one frottola source that is almost certainly Milanese. In 1973 Rifkin published his “Scribal Concordances for Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries,” in which he stated that the same scribe who copied Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, Baseri 2441 (hereafter FlorC 2441) also copied portions of Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Librone 3 (MilD 3).⁴ The purpose of this study is to examine the contents of FlorC 2441 and, on the basis of political events and a new poetic concordance, to offer a revised date for its copying.

FlorC 2441 is a paper manuscript of seventy-two folios, laid out in oblong choirbook format and bound in modern brown leather. It is gathered in nine quaternions, and each folio measures approximately 14.5 by 20.5 centimeters. On the first guard sheet at the front of the manuscript is written in a modern hand “Opera danneggiata dall’Alluvione di Firenze 4 novembre 1966”; little water damage is actually seen in the manuscript itself, however. Folio 1 recto bears a title in two different hands, both later than that of the manuscript itself: “Musica antica a4. Cantanti con le parole dell’secolo circa 1460.”⁵ The body of the manuscript is copied throughout by a single hand with no apparent breaks, the music in brown ink with a medium nib pen, and the text, with a fine nib. From folio 6 verso to the end, the text is copied in a slightly yellower ink than the music. The beginning of each piece is decorated with ornate calligraphic initials in the same dark brown ink with lighter fine brown lines as the music; the writing is highly professional and very clear (See Plate 1). FlorC 2441 contains sixty-eight Italian secular works, of which twenty-four are unica. All are anonymous, although thirty-three can be

³ I use this term as a general one, denoting the Italian secular repertory of northern Italy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. I limit it, however, to the kind of work that originated in the area north of the Apennines, i. e., Bologna, Ferrara, Lombardy, and the Veneto. The works which originated in Florence, for example — the carnival songs and ballata settings — are clearly not a part of this repertory. On the problems with the term frottola as a generic designator of all Italian secular music of the time, see Nino Pirrotta, “Before the Madrigal,” *Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994): 237–52.

⁴ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 26 (1973): 305–326, esp. 306. For the sigla used throughout this study, see Appendix I.

⁵ There is a palimpsest between “dell” and “secolo” that is impossible to decipher. The date given here, 1460, is certainly much too early for the contents of the manuscript.

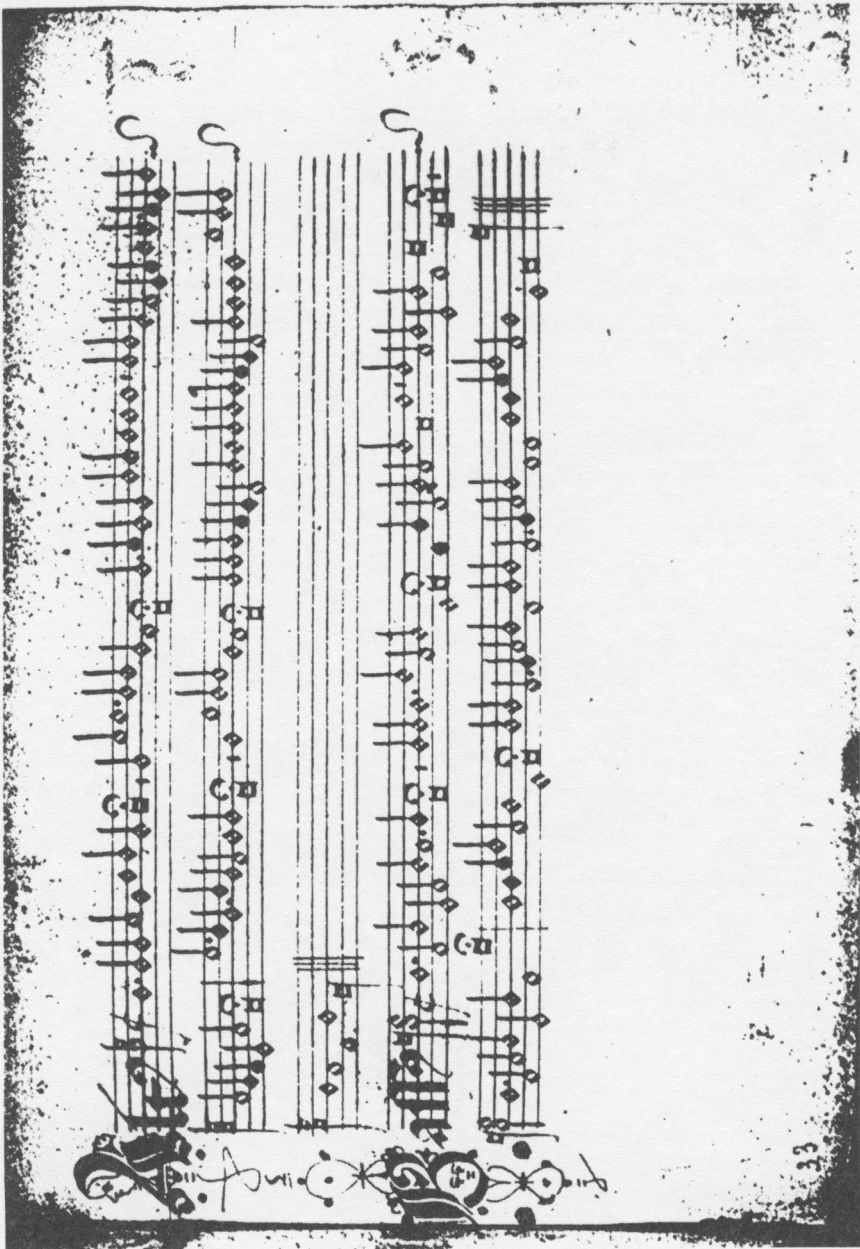


Plate 1. FlorC 2441, fol. 33. Tenor and bassus of anonymous,
El dolor chi me destruge.

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Et unā scā catholicā et apostolicā ecclīā Confiteor n
 nū baptisīmā remissionē peccatorū et exspecto resurrectionē
 mortuorū Et uitā uenīū seculi
 Amen.

Bass

Et unā scā catholicā et apostolicā ecclīā Confite
 or unū baptisīmā remissionē peccatorū Et exspecto resurrectionē
 mortuorū Et uitā uenīū seculi
 Amen.

Plate 2. MilD 3, fol. 43. Tenor and bassus of conclusion of Credo
 from Antoine Brumel, *Missa Sine nomine*.

assigned composers through concordant sources.⁶ These are the major composers of the genre: thirteen works can be attributed to Bartolomeo Tromboncino, eight or nine to Marchetto Cara,⁷ four to Filippo de Lurano, and two to Michele Pesenti.

There is no doubt that Rifkin was correct in his scribal assessment of FlorC 2441 (See Plates 1 and 2). The same forms of decorated initials grace both it and MilD 3, the note shapes are the same, and the custodes and clef forms are identical. A much larger manuscript than FlorC 2441, MilD 3 is in upright choirbook format and measures 47.8 by 34 centimeters. It contains 217 paper folios, as well as 4 guardsheets at the front and 2 at the back.⁸ The manuscript is bound in modern brown leather, and its fascicle structure is more heterogeneous than that of FlorC 2441: it is a mixture of quaternions and quinternions, with one sexternion included, as well. It was copied by several scribes, including, as we have seen, the scribe of FlorC 2441, who was responsible for folios 37-54, 57v-78, and 125v-47 of MilD 3.⁹

MilD 3 was prepared under the guidance of the *maestro di cappella* of the cathedral of Milan, Franchino Gaffurio, and represents the repertory of the cathedral in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It contains Masses, motets, and other liturgical music by the major composers of the day, with special emphasis on musicians known to have worked in the city: Loyset Compère and Gaffurio himself. Particularly telling for its provenance, too, is the inclusion of motetti missales, motet substitutions for liturgical items of the Mass. This substitution was apparently not practiced outside Milan and its environs. Also indica-

⁶ Appendix I contains to this article contains an inventory of the contents of FlorC 2441.

⁷ *Se non dormi, donna, ascolta* is ascribed to "M[?]. C." in ParBNC 676. Nanie Bridgman, "Un manuscrit italien du début du XVI^e siècle à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Département de la musique, Rés. Vm.⁷ 676)," *Annales Musicologiques* 1 (1953): 226, read the first letter as "L."; after a careful examination of the manuscript itself, it seems to me that it could just as easily be "M."

⁸ One of the front guardsheets is parchment and contains a partial table of contents for the manuscript. A facsimile of the source, *Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 3 (olim 2267)*, with an Introduction by Howard M. Brown, appears in the series *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, vol. 12c (New York: Garland, 1987).

⁹ Rifkin, "Scribal Concordances," 306.

tive of Milan is the truncation of Masses to follow the Ambrosian rite, which normally included only the Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus in the Ordinary of the Mass.¹⁰

Since MilD 3 was copied for the use of the Cathedral in Milan, it seems probable that FlorC 2441 was also copied in Milan and that the repertory represents music current there at the time of its preparation. Although it is possible that the scribe was living somewhere else when he copied the secular manuscript, I would maintain, following Rifkin, that FlorC 2441 is almost assuredly Milanese, and not Florentine, as previous scholarship had maintained.¹¹ Indeed, there are strong traces of Lombard orthography, and none at all of the Florentine.

MilD 3 is perhaps the earlier manuscript. A generally accepted date for its redaction is “ca. 1500,”¹² although Lora Matthews and Paul Merkeley have proposed 1491 as the correct date, on the basis of a payment in Milan cathedral archives specifying the copying of a manuscript containing the same number of gatherings as MilD 3.¹³ On the other hand, Rifkin discovered that Josquin’s *Missa L’homme armé sexti toni* in this source was copied directly from Petrucci’s *Misse Josquin*, published on 27 September 1502. The manuscript must therefore have been copied after this date, at least in part. In fact, the copyist of this Mass was the same as the scribe of FlorC 2441.¹⁴ We can infer, therefore, that this scribe was active in Milan at some point after 1502.

¹⁰ For example, Josquin’s *Missa L’homme armé sexti toni* and his *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae* include only the three central movements in Librone 3, though they contain all five movements of the Ordinary in other sources.

¹¹ See, for example, Knud Jeppesen, *La Frottola 2: Zur Bibliographie der handschriftlichen musikalischen Überlieferung des weltlichen italienischen Lieds um 1500* (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1969): 66. Jeppesen does remark, however, that the manuscript shows “little affinity to Tuscan music culture” (*ibid.*, 50).

¹² Charles Hamm and Herbert Kellman, *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550*, 5 vols. (Renaissance Manuscript Studies 1; Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1979-88), 2: 152-53.

¹³ Lora Matthews and Paul Merkley, “Gaffurius, Leonardo, and Ludovico: Patronage and Clientage in Milanese Music during the Reign of Il Moro,” paper read at the Fifty-eighth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Pittsburgh, 1992.

¹⁴ MilD 3, fols. 135^v-141. That Josquin’s mass was copied from the Petrucci book was communicated to me by Joshua Rifkin, whom I thank for reading a draft of this article and making several helpful suggestions. Rifkin’s findings are documented in David Fallows, “Josquin and Milan,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 5 (1996): 75, note 19.

The date normally assigned to FlorC 2441, “the beginning of the sixteenth century,” is certainly a logical one.¹⁵ Like other secular manuscripts of the time, it is in oblong rather than upright format, and, like other frottola manuscripts of the first decade of the Cinquecento, it is dominated by the barzelletta: fifty-eight of its sixty-eight pieces are barzellette or barzelletta-like poems.¹⁶ Earlier manuscripts are most often in upright format and feature predominantly strambotto-settings; FlorC 2441 contains only four of these. Sources of the second decade of the sixteenth century, on the other hand, tend more often to include settings of more “literary” text-forms like the ballata and the canzone. These are entirely lacking in 2441: in addition to the barzellette and strambotti already mentioned, it contains only five ode and one sonnet. Although the latter is a more “literary” form than the barzelletta, it is found with a fair degree of frequency in sources of the first decade of the sixteenth-century.

The pattern of musical concordances with FlorC 2441 also supports a date in the first years of the Cinquecento. There are concordances with the central frottola manuscripts of the same time including ParBNC 676, copied in Mantua in 1502;¹⁷ LonBLE 3051/WashLC M6, copied in Rome in perhaps 1501;¹⁸ and

¹⁵ Jeppesen, *La Frottola* 2:50. The *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550*, vol. 1 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1979), 235, takes its date from Jeppesen.

¹⁶ Nino Pirrotta recently attempted to draw a distinction between the barzelletta and the frottola in its narrowest sense; he sees the two poems as similar in structure but defines the former as a poem of which only the ripresa and refrain of the poem are set to music; the latter has a separate setting for the stanza. Pirrotta, “Before the Madrigal,” 237-39. In this study, I shall use “barzelletta” as a term for all poems that have the requisite three parts: four-line ripresa, six- or eight-line stanza, and refrain. Variations of this pattern are referred to as “barzelletta variants.”

¹⁷ Prizer, “Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vm⁷ 676 and Music at Mantua,” in Lorenzo Bianconi *et al* (eds.), *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, 2 (Turin: EDT, 1990), 235-39.

¹⁸ Prizer, “Secular Music in Florence and Rome during the Medici Expulsion, 1494-1512,” paper read at the Sixty-first Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, New York, 1995. Working independently, Joshua Rifkin and Martin Staehelin showed LonBLE 3051 and WashLC M6 to be parts of the same manuscript. Rifkin, “A ‘New’ Renaissance Manuscript,” paper read at the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Chapel Hill, 1971; and Staehelin, “Eine Florentiner Musik-Handschrift aus der Zeit um 1500.,” *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, ser. 3, 1 (1972): 55-81.

BolC Q 18, copied in Bologna, probably between 1502 and 1505.¹⁹ There are also concordances with the first nine books of frottole published by Petrucci in the years 1504 to 1509, and, importantly, there are no pieces that occur for the first time in any print issued after 1509. Furthermore, the majority of concordances cluster in Petrucci's earlier books: there are sixteen concordances with the PeF I of 1504 and nine with the PeF III of 1505, but only three each with the PeF VII and PeF IX, published respectively in 1507 and 1509. In short, the manuscript gives every indication of having been copied in the period shortly after 1500. I will return to the question of dating after an examination of the repertory of FlorC 2441.

One work in the manuscript, although it is found in a large number of concordant sources, seems highly characteristic of Milan. This is *In te, Domine, speravi* (No. 54), a macaronic barzelletta ascribed in PeF I to "Josquin D'Ascanio," that is to "Josquin, servant of Ascanio [Sforza]." Since the recent discovery of Merkeley and Matthews that it was indeed Josquin des Prez and not another Josquin in Ascanio's services in the 1480s, we can now reaffirm that the work is definitely by des Prez.²⁰ *In te, Domine, speravi* is thus found in three geographically important sources for Josquin's life, of which the earliest is LonBLE 3051, which was copied in Rome in about 1501. The second concordance is ParBNC 676, copied in Mantua in 1502.²¹ Josquin had been in Mantua in 1498 and 1499, on his way to Rome. Finally *In te, Domine* is in our Milanese source, as well, FlorC 2441. Rifkin believes that FlorC 2441 transmits the version of the work closest to that of the composer himself and that LonBLE 3051 is almost equally authoritative.²²

¹⁹ Susan Forscher Weiss, "Bologna Q 18: Some Reflections on Content and Context," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988): 63-101, especially 93.

²⁰ Matthews and Merkeley, "Josquin Desprez in Milan: Singer, Composer, Envoy, and 'Clericus Capelle,'" paper read at the Sixty-third Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Phoenix, 1997. On Josquin and Ascanio, the main source is Edward E. Lowinsky, "Ascanio Sforza's Life: A Key to Josquin's Biography and an Aid to the Chronology of his Works," in Lowinsky and Bonnie J. Blackburn, eds., *Josquin des Prez. Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 31-75.

²¹ See above for the literature dating these sources.

²² Rifkin, "A Singer Named Josquin and Josquin D'Ascanio: Some Problems in the Biography of Josquin des Prez," unpublished paper. Rifkin believes that ParBNC 676 is further removed from the central tradition.

Another work that deserves particular comment is the anonymous *Fami, donna, el mio dovere* (No. 68). The text of this barzelletta is by Bartolomeo Cavassico (ca. 1480–1555), who lived in Belluno, a town in the Veneto at the base of the Dolomites, a hundred kilometers north of Venice.²³ *Fami, donna* is one of a small group of dialogues in the frottola repertory, and it is a particularly complex one. Its text, a conversation between a young man (“Zovene”) and a young woman (“Donna”), reads as follows²⁴:

[Zovene]	Fami, donna, el mio dovere, che'l tardar mi da gran doglia.	Give me, lady, my due, For your delay saddens me greatly.
[Donna]	Più di te n'ò magior voglia, resto sol per non potere.	I want it more than you, I stay [away] only because I must.
[Zovene]	Fami, donna, el mio dovere, che'l tardar mi da gran doglia.	Give me, lady, my due, For your delay saddens me greatly.
	Io so ben che farlo poi, ma ti piace el mio stentare.	I know well that you can do it, But my misery pleases you.
[Donna]	[S'io potesse, ai desir toi] seria presto a contentare.	Your desires, if I could, I would quickly fulfill.
[Zovene]	Dime doncha ciò ch'ò a fare.	Tell me, then what I should do.
[Donna]	Finché possa sta' a vedere.	As long as you can, be patient.
	[Fami, donna]	[Give me, lady]

²³ See Vittorio Cian, *Le rime di Bartolomeo Cavassico, notaio bellunese della prima metà del secolo XVI*, 2 vols. (Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare, 246–47; Bologna: Romagnoli, 1893–94; reprint Bologna: Forni, 1969); and C. Mutini, “Bartolomeo Cavassico,” *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 23 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1979): 30–32. Cattin, “Nomi di rimatori,” 251, first noted this textual concordance in Cian’s edition.

²⁴ The character designations of “Zovene” and “Donna” are taken from Belluno, Biblioteca Civica, MS 396, an autograph manuscript of Cavassico’s poetry; they are not present in FlorC 2441. Portions of the text in brackets are also taken from MS 396. There are several small differences between the poem as transmitted in the Belluno MS and FlorC 2441. The last stanza differs considerably, however. In the text, I adopt the reading from the musical source. In Cavassico’s autograph, the last stanza reads as follows: “Farò tuto el poder mio, / per cavarti fuor di stento. / Io sto sempre cum desio / che mi faci hormai contento. / Non dir più, che hormai t’ò intento. / Orsù, adonca, Dio el voglia.” On the Belluno manuscript, see below.

- [Donna] Il tuo tanto lamentarte Your great lamenting
 l'alma afflicta mi tormenta. Torments my anguished spirit.
- [Zovene] S'io non posso el cor piegarte, If I cannot bend your heart,
 non vo' tu ch'io mi lamenta? Do you not want me to lament?
- [Donna] Non dir più, io son contenta. Say no more, I am content.
- [Zovene] Orsù, fa' che'l fructo acoglia. Come then, take action.
- [Donna] Più di te n'ò magior voglia, I want it more than you,
 resta sol per non potere. I stay [away] only because I must.
- [Zovene] E' possibil che alchun modo Is it not possible that in some way
 tu non trovi a contentarme? you can content me?
- [Donna] Sapi, amor, ch'io [mi] rodo Know, love, that I am consumed
 che non so techo trovarme. Because I cannot be with you.
- [Zovene] Quando lieto voria farme? When will you make me happy?
- [Donna] Quando al ciel sarà a piacere. When it pleases heaven.
- [Zovene] Fami, donna ... Give me, lady ...
- [Donna] Farò tuto el poter mio I will do all in my power
 per cavarte fuor di stento. To remove your misery.
- [Zovene] Al fin rechi el mio disio, In the end, you'll give in to me
 ma di te non mi lamento. And so I will not lament
- [Donna] Non dir più ch'arai tuo Say no more, you'll have your
 intento. wish.
- [Zovene] Orsù, ando[ca], Amor lo voglia Come, then, love would want it.
- [Donna] Più di te I want it more than you

This poem is in the classic barzelletta form, dividing into three parts: a ripresa of four lines, rhyming “abba”; a stanza of six lines rhyming “cdcdcd” that is in turn divided into two parts, piedi (“cdcd”) and volta (“da”); and a refrain which equals the first half of the ripresa. All lines are octosyllabic.²⁵ In this instance, however,

²⁵ The barzelletta may also have a stanza of eight lines, rhyming “cdcddeea.” On the barzelletta and other text forms of the frottola, see Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes: The Frottole of Marchetto Cara* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1980): 63-104, and Idem, “Performance Practices in the Frottola,” *Early Music* 3 (1975): 227-35.

the ripresa divides into two distichs, the first spoken by the “Zovene,” which rhymes “ab,” and the second, by the “Donna,” which rhymes “ba.” Cavassico has used the two distichs as separate refrains, so that they alternate between the two speakers. Accordingly, each stanza followed by the male’s refrain includes a volta ending in the standard “a” rhyme, but each stanza followed by the female’s refrain includes a volta ending in a less standard “b” rhyme; these serve to link the volta to the refrain through an interlocking rhyme. To accommodate this structure, the anonymous composer has done something that is, as far as I know, unique in the frottola repertory: he (or she) has written two separate musical settings for the stanzas of the poem, one to be used for stanzas ending with an “a” rhyme, and another for those ending with a “b” rhyme. This structure can be represented as follows:²⁶

Ripresa	Stanza 1	Refrain 1	Stanza 2	Refrain 2
<i>a b b a</i>	<i>c d c d d a</i>	<i>a b</i>	<i>e f e f f b</i>	<i>b a</i>
1 2 3 4	3 4 3 4 1 2	1 2	3 4 1 2 5 6	3 4
Z D	Z D Z D	Z	D Z D Z	D

In other respects, however, *Fami, donna* is more regular (See Appendix II, Example 1). As Claudio Gallico has shown, the dialogues present in the frottola repertory divide into two general types.²⁷ The first of these is the setting in which the entire text is consigned to the superius voice; here the composer may or may not make an attempt to differentiate the individual speakers musically. The second type is that which is more like the villotta in texture: it divides the text among the various voices so that a more realistic dialogue results. Among the former type are two by Bartolomeo Tromboncino: *Aqua, aqua, aiuto al foco* between an “Amante” and “Amor,” and *Amor. Che vuoi?* between a “Donna”

²⁶ Here and throughout this study numerals represent musical clauses and letters represent poetic lines. Italicized letters represent repeated text. In this example, “D” represents the verses sung by the “Donna,” and, “Z,” those sung by the “Zovene.”

²⁷ Claudio Gallico, “Un ‘Dialogo d’Amore’ di Niccolò da Correggio musicato da Bartolomeo Tromboncino,” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 25 (1962): 205–213, esp. 209. I have modified Gallico’s definitions slightly.

and “Amor.”²⁸ Examples of the latter type, the true dialogue, are more frequent in the later frottola repertory, but are also found in ParBNC 676, *Morte! Che voy? Te bramo*²⁹ and in PeF XI of 1514, Antonio Stringari’s *Don, don, al foco, al foco*.³⁰

Fami, donna, el mio dovere is an example of the first type, and I see in it no attempt to differentiate the speakers through musical means. The entire text is underlaid to the uppermost voice, and the “Donna” and the “Zovene” share melodic clauses: both sing, for example, clauses three and four. It could, however, have been performed by two singers in the same range, whose timbres alone would have had to provide sufficient contrast. It is also possible that it could have been sung by a soprano and a tenor, whose ranges are roughly an octave apart, though neither of these alternatives is specified in any way in FlorC 2441.

Although these two works are of particular interest, the unica of FlorC 2441 are of even greater import, since these may well represent music composed in Milan and intended for the entertainments that took place there. Twenty-four pieces are unica, or a full 35 % of the contents of the manuscript. Nineteen are barzellette or barzelletta-like poems; there are also two strambotti, two ode and a single sonnet among the unica. The last of these, *Pensieri in fuocho* (No. 37) bears the rubric “soneti” and should be added to the small group of pieces that are intended as schematic settings for all sonnet texts.

The great majority of the unica have the rhyme scheme of the barzelletta, almost 71 %. These are somewhat more complex than the normal barzelletta settings: twelve of the seventeen works contain new music for the stanza, rather than having only enough music for the ripresa and refrain. This stands in strong contrast to the general frottola repertory, in which the majority of barzellette simply repeat the music of the ripresa for the stanza. In the unique barzellette, too, there is a great elasticity in the treatment of the barzelletta form. Many of the works have irregular refrains, drawn from the second half of the ripresa rather than

²⁸ The former is found in PeF IX, fol. 40v and in PeB I, fol. 24. Modern edition in Gallico, “Un ‘Dialogo d’Amore,’” 210–12. The latter is included in AntF I, fols. 24v–25. Modern edition in Alfred Einstein, “Andrea Antico’s *Canzoni nove* of 1510,” *The Musical Quarterly* 37 (1957): 337–38.

²⁹ ParBNC 676, 52v–53. Modern edition in Fausto Torrefranca, *Il segreto del Quattrocento* (Milan: Hoepli, 1939), 497–98.

³⁰ PeF XI, 40v–41, ascribed to “A[ntonius] P[atavus].”

the first; others have truncated stanzas of only four lines, rhyming often “bbba” or “ca.” Several are written in septisyllabic lines, rather than the expected octosyllabic ones. The following examples present a representative sampling of diversity in barzelletta form found in the manuscript.

Amor sforza ir straporta (No. 60) has a two-line refrain derived from the second half of the ripresa, rather than the first half, which is more typical; the first line of the refrain, moreover, is not found at all in the ripresa:

Amor sforza ira straporta	[Ripresa]
l'inflamata lingua mia	
a dir mal de geloxia	
et ognun che in se la porta.	

Mora, mora geloxia	[Refrain]
et ognun che in se la porta.	

Questa nasce occultamente	[Stanza]
in el cor, como se dice,	
del pensier a la semente	
de l'aspetto a la radice.	
Ay meschini et infelice,	
quello che ha quest'herba ria.	

Mora, mora geloxia ³¹	[Refrain]
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Ognora più mi piace (No. 38) has a mono-rhymed ripresa of only two lines, expanded to four through the repetition of the first distich. Furthermore, it features a truncated stanza, rhyming “bbba,” and is written in septisyllabic lines:

Ognora più mi piace	[Ripresa]
la mia amorosa face;	
ognora più mi piace	
la mia amorosa face.	

³¹ Two additional stanzas follow.

E ben che chi me accora, [Stanza]
 i' servo pur ognora
 el duol chi me divora
 me ne agrava e spiace.
 Ognora più³² [Refrain]

A che tanto tentarmi (No. 40) has a ripresa of three lines, again featuring a single rhyme; the stanza, however, is composed of four lines, rhyming “bbba.” It too has a septisyllabic line structure:

A che tanto stentarmi, [Ripresa]
 a che tanto provarmi,
 a che tanto stentarmi.

Non vedi c'ognora ardo [Stanza]
 dal tuo lucente sguardo,
 ferito con quel dardo
 che passa ogni dura armi.
 A che tanto³³

Chi non sa, vada ad imparare (No. 43) is even further removed from the standard barzelletta form: it consists of a series of four-line strophes, in which the first line of each strophe is the same as the first line of the ripresa. It is basically octosyllabic, although the first line is a hypermeter and should probably be read as *Chi non sa, vada a imparare*, rather than *ad imparare*.

Chi non sa, vada ad imparare	Chi non sa, vada ad imparare
che dura cosa è amor servire.	quando sia grave dolore
io el so che per martire	ad amar chi non ha amore
mai non cesso la lacrimare.	se non sa ben simulare.

³² Six additional stanzas follow.

³³ Six additional stanzas follow.

Chi non sa, vada ad imparare
gubernarsi a tempo e luocho
a me tocha che nel focho
son causato sempre a stare.

Chi non sa, vada ad imparare
ben conduce uno suo disegno
se non vol com'io per segno
a la fin mal capitare.

This is an extraordinary variety in formal structures. They wander from pieces relatively close to the “classical” form of the barzelletta to ones that are barely recognizable as variants of the standard scheme. This variety is not unique to FlorC 2441, but it is particularly prevalent there. It should remind us that the barzelletta began as a popular idiom and the poets and composers treated it as merely a vehicle for their thoughts, rather than as a form in which to force them.

Two further *unica* must be mentioned, since they are unique songs of a more popular type. *L'arte nostra è macinare* (No. 5) is a typical barzelletta with a four-line *ripresa* and a six-line stanza. Its content reveals it as a carnival song, a *mascherata* sung by a group of boys or men in costume. It is a song of millers, which, although describing on the surface their professional skills, is actually an offer of sexual favors to women:

L'arte nostra è macinare
e servire a tuta gente
con sincera e pura mente,
pur ch'abiam da lavorare.

Our job is grinding
And serving everyone
With a sincere and pure mind
Even though it makes us work.

Venite voi, donne belle,
a macinare a lo molino,
o mandate le donçele,
a chi non pesa lo camino,
ché, da sera o da matino,³⁴
le vedremo de spazare.³⁵
L'arte nostra

Come, lovely ladies,
To grind at the mill,
Or send the young maidens,
For whom the way is easier,
Because in the evening or in the morning,
We will be sure to clean them out.
Our job

³⁴ This and previous line are reversed in Charles S. Singleton, *Canti carnascialeschi del Rinascimento* (Bari: Laterza, 1936), 102. Though this makes slightly better sense, the composer clearly intended the order found in the MS: the first line contains a hypermeter of nine syllables and the second phrase, where the line would fall in Singleton's emendation, contains only the requisite eight notes.

³⁵ Four additional stanzas follow; they are published in Singleton, *Canti carnascialeschi*, 102.

This work, for only three voices, is particularly complex mensurally, alternating between major and minor prolation in tempus imperfectum (See Appendix II, Example 2). Furthermore the sections in major prolation feature loose canons between the Cantus and Tenor. It thus is more complex than the normal Florentine carnival song, which most frequently moves to a triple mensuration only in the last lines of the stanza, the volta, and then returns to the basic duple mensuration for the refrain. Neither is canonic writing found often in the Florentine repertory. *L'arte nostra è macinare* should be added to the small repertory of north-Italian canti carnascialeschi.³⁶

The second popular unicum is *De le done qual è l'arte* (No. 55). It, too, bears a certain resemblance to the carnival song, although it has a text that is less normal for one. It is, in Ghisi's words, "completely obscene";³⁷ it purports to be about women's ability at hunting.

De le done qual'è l'arte?	What is women's skill?
Dice ognun che l'è el filare;	Everyone says that it is spinning [cloth];
non è ver', ché l'è el cazare ³⁸	That's not true, for it is hunting
nocte e dì per consumarte.	Night and day in order to consume you.

³⁶ Modern edition in Federico Ghisi, *I Canti carnascialeschi nelle fonti musicali del XV e XVI secolo* (Florence: Olschki 1937; reprint Bologna: AMIS, 1970), 112-13 and Joseph J. Gallucci, "Festival Music in Florence, ca. 1480-ca. 1520: *Canti carnascialeschi*, *trionfi*, and Related Forms" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966) 2: 142-44. On north-Italian carnival songs, see also Prizer, "Facciamo pure noi carnevale: Non-Florentine Carnival Songs of the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," in Irene Alm, Alyson McLamore, and Colleen Reardon, eds., *Musica Franca: Essays in Honor of Frank A. D'Accone* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1996), 173-211. *L'arte nostra* is not included there.

³⁷ Ghisi, *I Canti carnascialeschi*, 54.

³⁸ There is an obvious play on words here, between "cazare" (a normal Lombard spelling of the standard Italian "cacciare"), and "cazzo," the penis. Moreover, "cacciare" means not only "to hunt," but also "to drive" and "to thrust in or out." Sir John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (London: Bradwood, 1611; reprint Menston, England: Scholar Press, 1968), 73, s. v. "cacciare." There are other puns, here as well: "cavalcare," for example, means not only "to ride a horse," but also "to straddle." Ibid., p. 90.

Suso, suso a cavalcare,
sona el corno, a caza, a caza!
Sempre mai vorian cazare
per l'osutto e per la guaza.

Up, up, to horse,
Sound the horn, to the hunt, to the hunt!
All they want to do is hunt
For the bone and for the dew.

Sequitando per la traza
l'animal che più li grada,
dentro e for a per la strada,
may vorebon far altra arte.

Following by its spoor
The animal that pleases them most,
In and out and on the path,
They would prefer to do nothing else.

Ogni dona in su la caza!
Lor' s'ingrassano e tu te struge.
Pover homo, fuge, fuge,
che non fa per te quest'arte.

Every woman to the hunt!
They grow fat and you are ruined.
Flee, pathetic man, flee
So that they don't do this to you.

A le done, se tu vedi,
nel cazar devantan paze;
milli lazi, ingegni e rete
an' le done in su le caze.

For women, you see,
Become wild during the hunt.
A thousand traps, tricks, and snares
Have the woman for their hunting.

The text here, though similar to a mascherata, lacks the characteristic first-person plural of the masked singers, and I myself am tempted to classify *De le done* as a theater song, intended for the intermedio of a Milanese comedy.³⁹ The text form is also problematic. Through the “ripresa” and the first “stanza,” it would seem to be a normal barzelletta, featuring an eightline stanza rhyming “cdcddeea.” The second “stanza,” however, departs from this scheme, rhyming “dffaghgh.” The musical structure is also unusual for a barzelletta. The anonymous composer has simply set the ripresa as a quatrain, and the scribe has nowhere given a cue for a refrain. In short, the composer seems to have viewed the poem as simply a series of quatrains with no internal symmetries (See Appendix II, Example 3). The musical style of the work is simpler than that of *L'arte nostra*: though for four voices instead of three, it is almost completely homorhythmic throughout.

³⁹ Gallucci, “Festival Music in Florence” 1: 65 also remarks on the unusual nature of the text of *De le done*. He includes a modern edition of the work in *ibid.*, 2: 301–302.

Armed with a more detailed knowledge of the contents of FlorC 2441, we can now return to the question of its date. Although its redaction may have been begun during the early years of the sixteenth century, the manuscript was not finished until some point after 1510. In fact, it is doubtful that the source was copied before 1512 or 1513. The key here is the last work in the manuscript, *Fami, donna, el mio dovere*, already discussed. Except for his student days at Padua and possibly Perugia, Bartolomeo Cavassico, the author of the text, lived his entire life in and around Belluno in the northern Veneto.⁴⁰ An important local notary, Cavassico was also an amateur poet in the vernacular, and copied his poems in mostly chronological order in a single manuscript, now found in Belluno, Biblioteca Civica, MS 396 (olim MS A).⁴¹ The great majority of the poems in this source can be dated, thanks to the author's habit of including the dates of composition for many of them. He began the manuscript in September 1508.⁴² The last date included is 1530, although the majority of the poems were composed in the period between 1508 and 1512.⁴³

Fami, donna, el mio dovere is found on folio 144r-v of the Belluno manuscript, where it carries the rubric "Interlocutores juvenis et femina." There, it is amid a cluster of verses all stemming from 1510. A poem slightly before it, *Dive sirochie, or mi prestati agiunto* (folio 139r-v), bears the rubric "Lamentatio Urbis Belluni. 1510" and is a threnody on the fall of Belluno to Emperor Maximilian I

⁴⁰ Cian, *Le rime* 1: XIX.

⁴¹ Cian, *Le rime* 2 is a partial modern edition of this manuscript. Cian edits roughly half the poems included in the manuscript itself. As far as I am able to tell, Cavassico copied no poems by others into his book.

⁴² MS 396, fol. 2r. "Iste liber inchoatus fuit di [number blank] septembris 1508. Mei Bartholomei Cavasicii notarii quondam ser Troyli." There are two systems of foliation in the manuscript, an original, not always correct one in ink, and a modern, pencil one. In all instances, I adopt the modern foliation.

⁴³ See Cian, *Le rime* 1: XLIII. "Le molte didascalie che sono sparse nel codice ci permettono di stabilire con sicurezza la cronologia di queste composizioni; di affermare cioè che tali poesi appartengono ad un periodo che corre fra il 1508, la prima data che ci apparisce, e il 1530, che è l'ultima. Ma le più furono composte dal 1508 al 1512, dopo il quale anno esse vanno diradandosi, finchè vengono a mancare del tutto." The last poem in the manuscript, *Quanto strani n'hei de ti*, fols. 242-44v, bears the rubric "Die 25 Junii 1530 in Villa de Cirvoio."

on 3 July of this year.⁴⁴ After *Fami, donna* and an undated oda,⁴⁵ there is a break of two blank folios (from 145v through 146v). The first poem after the break is *Per dimostra quanto te sia tenuto*, a sonnet headed “Incipit gratiarum actio confecta clarissimo Domino Aluysio Mucinicho Provisori Generali pro salvatione civitatis Belluni. Die 15 septembris 1510, de nocte post cenam.”⁴⁶

Although not dated in Cavassico’s manuscript, *Fami, donna, el mio dovere* must therefore have been composed between July and mid-September 1510. In fact, this is a logical time for its composition. *Fami, donna* is a dialogue, as we have seen, but it is a highly unusual one. Unlike other dialogues in the frottola repertory, this poem is neither about a suffering lover and Amor, nor is it a popular text with an earthy and sexually explicit dialogue. Instead, its text depicts a youth and a young woman who wish to be together, though the woman is absent. I would maintain that this dialogue, like other works in Cavassico’s manuscript, is autobiographical and refers to his fiancée Margherita Persicini, for whom he composed a large portion of his poetry and whom he eventually married in July 1511.⁴⁷ Indeed, another poem from the same summer is specifically addressed to Margherita, exhorting her to leave her villa at Cirvoi, a village some eight kilometers from Belluno, and return to the city, where the poet awaits her impatiently.⁴⁸ This poem, too, must stem from early July, since several folios later another poem bears the rubric “1510. Die Mercurii tertio Julii. Lamentatio urbis feltrensis.”⁴⁹ Viewed in this light, *Fami, donna* is a sequel to *A la fe* and is addressed to Bartolomeo’s fiancée Margherita, who is spending the summer in a villa and who wishes to return to Belluno as much as Bartolomeo wishes to see her.

⁴⁴ Cian, *Le rime* 1: CI.

⁴⁵ *E le pur vignu el temp*, fol. 145; not published in Cian, *Le rime*.

⁴⁶ MS 396, fol. 147.

⁴⁷ Cian, *Le rime* 1: XXXI-XXXII. Cian does not associate *Fami, donna* with Persicini.

⁴⁸ MS 396, fol. 94-95v. *A la fe’ des l’è temp*, an oda in dialect, asks her to stay no longer “a Cirvoi” and again not to remain “in villa.” She is specifically referred to here as “Margarita” and “Parsigina.”

⁴⁹ MS 396, fol. 130. The poem, *Surgite, voi pietosi umani spirti*, is a lament for the fall of Feltre, a town near Belluno, to Maximilian on 1 July 1510.

That *Fami, donna* was written in the summer of 1510 is also supported by its script and ink color: neither of these is found later in the Belluno manuscript, and are in fact rare in the source. They are present, however, in two poems just before it, *Non voler domenticharti* to “Albam, dilectam comatrem”, on folios 135 to 137, and *Se me voi abandonare* to “Catherinam, Bartolomei Cavasicci Amiccam,” on folios 141 to 143.⁵⁰

According to Vittorio Cian, none of Cavassico’s poetry appeared in print, and it circulated little.⁵¹ I cannot answer with any certainty how *Fami, donna, el mio dovere* came to be set to music or to find its way out of Belluno. It is possible to make a suggestion, however. *Fami, donna* is found elsewhere only in ParBNC 27, the Thibault Lute Book.⁵² This manuscript was copied by a professional lutenist in the Veneto for his own use. Unlike FlorC 2441, it would appear to have been copied over a period of time with different ink colors and different nibs. *Fami, donna* is one of the last works in the Thibault Lute Book, followed only by intabulations of a *Benedictus* by Heinrich Isaac and of an *Ave Maria* by Josquin des Prez.⁵³ The book cannot, therefore, have been completed before 1510, though it must have been copied considerably closer to Belluno than FlorC 2441. It would seem a viable hypothesis, then, that the lutenist himself (or herself) was a means of transmission of *Fami, donna* which he found in Belluno or elsewhere in the vicinity and intabulated for his own use. If he had traveled at all, the work could have gradually become known outside the region and eventually in Milan.

I am all too aware that *Fami, donna* is the last work in FlorC 2441 and that it is entirely possible that the manuscript was begun earlier and was merely com-

⁵⁰ Neither is published in Cian, *Le rime*.

⁵¹ Cian, *Le rime* 1: XL.

⁵² Fol. 54v, Tenor and Basses only. There is a problematic facsimile of the Thibault Lute Book, *Tablature de luth Italienne. Cent dix pièces d’œuvres vocals pour luth seul et accompagnement pour luth* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1981). On this MS, see Geneviève Thibault, “Un manuscrit italien pour luth des premières années du XVI^e siècle,” in *Le luth et sa musique* (Paris: CNRS, 1958), 43-76; Lewis Jones, “The Thibault Lute Manuscript: An Introduction,” *Journal of the Lute Society* 22 (1982): 69-87 and 23 (1983): 21-5; Prizer, “The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition,” *Studi musicali* 15 (1986): 3-37. For the problems with the facsimile, see *ibid.*, p. 28, note 88.

⁵³ Found on, respectively, fol. 55 and 55v.

pleted after 1510 with the addition of the setting of Cavassico's dialogue. If this were the case, however, there should be some trace of stages in the MS — different ink colors, different nibs, or even slightly different decorated initials. In Cavassico's poetry book, for example, the ink color and nib change fairly frequently and even the poet's writing style alters here and there; these differences are also found in the Thibault Lute Book. This, however, is not true of FlorC 2441: after the already mentioned change at folio 6v in ink color for the texts, the manuscript shows no trace of any variations at all and appears to have been copied in one steady process. Nor do concordances with earlier sources fall necessarily near the beginning of the MS. The first two works, *Qual è 'l cor* and *Scopre, lingua* have concordances with PeF IX (1509) and PeF VIII (1507), respectively. *In te, domine, speravi*, which surely must have been composed and known in Milan by 1500, does not fall in FlorC 2441 until folio 56v. And *Chi mi darà più pace*, with a concordance with PeF I (1504), is the penultimate work in the manuscript. In short there is no trace, scribal or repertorial, that FlorC 2441 was compiled in distinct stages stretching over a number of years. If, instead, it was put together in a more or less single process during a limited period as scribal evidence suggests, then it cannot have been copied before 1510, the date of composition of *Fami, donna*. Even this year seems too early, however, and I would suggest that a more probable time for its redaction would be at least a year or two later.

Furthermore, the political climate in Milan in the first decade of the sixteenth century makes this period an unlikely candidate for the collection of a manuscript of secular music, for the city was in virtually constant tumult, both for political reasons and because a plague raged through the city for two years.⁵⁴ The political problems are well known. Ludovico Sforza had left the city in September 1499 to travel to the imperial court and the French occupied the city. Ludovico and his brother Ascanio returned, though they were forced to flee again. Both were captured in April 1500, the duke by the French, and Ascanio by the Venetians. Ascanio died in 1505 and Ludovico died in a French prison in 1508. Thus, for the entire first decade of the century, Milan was virtually a province of the French crown. Not until 1512 did the city revert to Italian control, under

⁵⁴ On this period of Milanese history, see Gian Piero Bognetti, "La città sotto i francesi," in *Storia di Milano* 8 (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri, 1957): 1-80; Gino Franceschini, "Le dominazioni francesi e le restaurazioni sforzesche," *ibid.*, 81-333, esp. 81-184; and Caterina Santoro, *Gli Sforza* (Varese: dall'Oglio, 1968), 325-69.

Lodovico's son Massimiliano (1493-1530), who had been living at the imperial court. Since the manuscript cannot have been finished before late 1510, I would maintain that the most likely occasion for its copying was in fact on the return of Massimiliano.

The young duke, with a party of five hundred, arrived in Mantua from Austria on 10 November 1512, at the court ruled by his uncle and aunt, the Marchese Francesco II Gonzaga and his wife the Marchesa Isabella d'Este. On 16 November he took possession of his town of Cremona, and on 29 December he entered Milan itself. Here he quickly showed himself unprepared to govern, but all too ready for amusement.

Already in Mantua, he had received a taste of the celebrations and *feste* possible at an Italian court.⁵⁵ He was met outside the town walls by the whole court and the nobility of Mantua, and was housed in the Castello in Francesco Gonzaga's own rooms. On 11 November he was taken to a solemn Mass and *Te Deum* in the Cathedral of San Pietro sung by the marchese's new court choir. Later he was taken to see the famous Gonzaga horses and Francesco's new palace of San Sebastiano. That evening there was a dance in the Castello.⁵⁶ Francesco had announced a period of *feste* and had pronounced an edict that everyone might go through the streets *in maschera* as though it were carnival time.⁵⁷ On 12 November Massimiliano himself went about Mantua *in maschera*, and that evening went to a banquet and a masked ball in the *sala grande* of Palazzo San Sebastiano. While there he was also taken on a hunt for a wild boar.⁵⁸

The letter describing the banquet and ball at San Sebastiano, from the Ferrarese courtier Count Lorenzo Strozzi (d. 1516) to the young Federico Gonzaga in Rome, gives a clear view of the kind of court entertainment that the young Massimiliano found so attractive. All the ladies and gentlemen of the Mantuan and

⁵⁵ Massimiliano's visit to Mantua and the first period of his residency in Milan are discussed and documented in Alessandro Luzio, "Isabella d'Este di fronte a Giulio II negli ultimi tre anni del suo pontificato," *Archivio storico lombardo*, anno 39 (1912): 137-44 and 393-445.

⁵⁶ Letter of Amico della Torre to Federico Gonzaga in Rome, 11 November 1512. Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga (hereafter ASMN-G), busta 2845.

⁵⁷ Letter of Amico della Torre to Federico Gonzaga in Rome, 13 November 1512. ASMN-G, busta 2845.

⁵⁸ Letter of 25 November 1512. ASMN-G, busta 2485.

Sforza courts were present, as were Isabella, Francesco, and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este. The guests were welcomed by bagpipes ("pive"), and dancing began. During dinner Massimiliano was entertained by Nanino, one of the Gonzaga dwarves, who dressed first as a bishop and then as a Venetian. After dinner dancing continued, to the sound of the shawms ("piffari"), and another dwarf, Viscontino, did tricks with swords. At about midnight Massimiliano took off his mask and everyone returned to their lodgings.

In addition to the masked ball and the magnificence of the occasion, it is worthy of note that the *festa* contained two diverse kinds of music, going on in two different rooms. The main hall featured the music of the pifferi, while in a smaller retiring room ("camera" as opposed to the "sala" of the dance itself) other musicians performed different kinds of presumably more intimate music ("fecerno variate musiche") for the enjoyment of the guests.⁵⁹ Among the musicians for the latter must have been Marchetto Cara and his tenorista Roberto d'Avanzini, since Massimiliano undoubtedly heard them perform in Mantua.

Several days later, on 18 November, Massimiliano had his chancellor Augustino Semenzio write, asking Francesco to send the two musicians as he had promised. Massimiliano himself added a postscript to the same effect.⁶⁰ Francesco agreed, but temporized. The two musicians arrived in Cremona by 26 November and then accompanied the duke to Milan, where they remained until the end of January. They were joined there by Enrico Tedesco (Ulrich Schubinger) a trombonist in Mantuan service.⁶¹ Isabella herself arrived on 13 January, in time for the carnival season. The impression given by the Mantuan correspondence from Milan, the principal documentation for the period, is one of continual dances and banquets. These lasted far into the night. At one point Cesare Gonzaga, who had accompanied Isabella to Milan, wrote back to Mantua:

⁵⁹ Letter of Lorenzo Strozzi to Federico Gonzaga in Rome, 13 November 1512. ASMN-G, busta 2485. Partially published in Alessandro Luzio and Rodolfo Renier, "Buffoni, nani e schiavi dei Gonzaga ai tempi d'Isabella d'Este," *Nuova Antologia* 118 (1891): 131, and in Luzio, "Isabella di fronte a Giulio II," 139-41.

⁶⁰ ASMN-G, busta 1640. The documents concerning Cara's and Roberto's trip to Milan are published in Prizer, *Courtly Pastimes*, Docs. 61-93.

⁶¹ Massimiliano requested the musician on 7 December 1512 (ASMN-G, busta 1616). Francesco replied that he would send him on 9 December. (Ibid., busta 2919, libro 224, fol. 27.)

Yesterday evening, Sunday, the [Spanish] Viceroy [Ramon de Cordoba] came to visit Madame, and after a while the duke came as well; after a brief time the viceroy left. The duke wanted to eat with Madame and sent for supper. Afterwards he wanted to have a “festino,” which lasted until almost morning; I would have left except that a member of the court kept me there [Instead,] I found myself a corner and went to sleep.⁶²

Cara himself wrote Francesco Gonzaga from Milan on 7 January that “the duke is so delighted by music that we get no rest day or night.”⁶³ Cara may have been slightly exaggerating, at least in that he was probably not as busy during daylight hours, since Massimiliano was sleeping by day and carousing by night, this in spite of the devastation and lack of food in the duchy. On 25 January, Giacomo Suardino, the Mantuan emissary to the Milanese court, wrote to his master in Mantua:

Concerning the confusion in this state I would gladly write you, and particularly about the city and the duke’s court, but I would have to fill a whole quinternion of paper, and even that would not be enough. Nonetheless I will tell you the most important [matters]. The whole state cries and weeps because of the intolerable disorders and unfortunate damages the Spaniards do and have done. In the whole territory there is no one who does not lament and who is not unhappy; and they say publicly that they would rather let the territory be sacked than pay a single coin. The people are unhappy at the [duke’s] negligence in administrative matters, so that nothing is accomplished. Few can obtain an audience, and the duke leads the strangest life in the world. He gets up at one [P. M.], eats at four, dines at

⁶² “Heri di sera, che fu domenica, el Signor Viceré venne a visitare la Excellentia di Madama, et, stando così per un spatio, vene el Signor Duca ancora, et de lì a un pochetto el Signor Viceré se partite. La Excellentia del Signor Duca mandette a tore la cena sua et volse cenare cum Madama, et dopo cena volse si facesse un festino, qual durò sino a hore dodice, et se io la scapo che non mi amala, me teniro uno paladino Io me ne andai a regidure in uno cantone a dormire.” Letter to Tolomeo Spagnolo, first secretary of Francesco Gonzaga, 24 January 1513. ASMN-G, busta 1640.

⁶³ “El Signor Duca è tanto dedite e inclinato a la musicha che mai non havemo riposa né di né nocte.” ASMN-G, busta 1640.

midnight, and then for the time that he is up, he remains unavailable and does nothing [to govern].⁶⁴

Suardino had already written on 9 January that Massimiliano “since he entered Milan has not left the court [i. e., the Castello Sforzesco] except for the one time he went to the ceremonial Mass in the cathedral.”⁶⁵ He must have gone out eventually, however, since one of his favorite courtiers presented a comedy in his own house for the court. Isabella reports this, saying that the presentation was “in versi de rime strucioli” and describes the content of the comedy as “praising His Holiness and the Holy League for having reinstituted this state to whom it legitimately belongs, having cast the king of France out of Italy, for which reason we can now live peacefully, [and] exhorting the Milanese to remain faithful to their lord. Toward this same point, there were several [pieces of] music.”⁶⁶

⁶⁴ “De la < confusione > de questo stato, volentera ne scriviera, e massime de questa terra, poi de la corte del < duca >, ma seria bisogno enpirne uno quinterno de carta, né basteria; tutta volta de le più importante ne serrà Vostra Signoria advisata. Tutto el stato universalmente per li insuportabili disordini e spese sachi mesti che fano et aria facto spagnoli, piange et crida et [in] questa terra non si sente una sol’ persona che non se < doglia > e non se ritrova < mal contenta >, et pubblicamente dichano che inprima se lasserano mettere < a sacho > ch’a pagare uno < dinaro >. Se doleno de questi < mali > governi, che niuno cosa se < expedisce >; pochi ponno avere < audienzia >, ac el < duca > fa la più strania vita del mondo: si < leva > a ore desnove, < manza > a 22, < cena > a sei, e poi, quasi quel tempo che l’ sta < levato >, sta rencluso e non fa niente.” ASMN-G, busta 1640. The letter is partially written in cipher, which the Mantuan chancery usually resolved. These portions are placed in angle brackets here. In Italy, from the fourteenth century to until after the French Revolution, hours of the day were reckoned on a twenty-four-hour schedule beginning one-half hour after sunset and continuing to twenty-four hours, the last hour of daylight. I have tried to interpret these hours according to the approximate time of sunset for the season of the year. They are therefore only a rough equivalent, though the basic point remains valid: Massimiliano was sleeping by day and awake by night. See Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Chicago and London: The University Chicago of Press, 1996), 108–114.

⁶⁵ “Né dappoi ch’è entrato in Milano, non è ussito fora de corte, salvo una volta che fu in Domo a messa grandissima.” ASMN-G, busta 1640.

⁶⁶ “Heri . . . fo recitata la comedia in versi de rime strucioli, quale durò per spacio de due hore. Lo effetto suo fo in laudare la Santità di Nostro Signore et la serenissima lega in havere restituito questo stato a cui il perviene legitamente, expulso il Re di Franza da l’Italia, per il ché potrassi mo’ vivere in tranquillità, confortando li Milanese ad essere fideli al signore suo. Ad questo proposito medemo vi forono alcune musiche.” Letter of 26 January 1513. ASMN-G, busta 2120.

Aside from this occasion, there seems to have been little celebration in Milan outside the court. Gian Francesco Tridapale, another Mantuan envoy, reported to Federico Gonzaga on 6 February, two days before Shrove Tuesday (“martedì grasso”): “You should not expect to hear news of *feste* and *trionfi* that private gentlemen are giving in Milan, because not a single *festa* has been done up till now, and neither do I think there will be, and it seems as though it were Holy Week [instead of the height of carnival season]. I do not know to what to attribute this, if not to the difficult times.”⁶⁷ The citizens of Milan seem to have been more realistic about the political situation than the duke himself.

At court, however, the *feste* continued unabated. In the same letter, Tridapale reported on dances held⁶⁸ and, unusually, these continued into the Lenten season. Isabella noted on 11 February

Last Wednesday [9 February, Ash Wednesday] . . . there was a dance until full daylight. . . . Yesterday the duke came at about sundown with a few of his [courtiers] and, not content with the exhaustion suffered the night before, wanted to dance again until 2 A. M. This evening the duke came to get me and to offer me dinner with the plan of not ending the dancing. Thus go our *feste*, of which, to tell Your Excellency the truth, everyone by now is no less fed up than tired. Only he persists in this pleasure.”⁶⁹

Based on this historical situation, then, it seems most likely that FlorC 2441 represents repertory performed for Massimiliano during his period in the duchy of Milan, and perhaps Mantua, as well: the period extending from November

⁶⁷ “Di feste et triumphi che si faccino per Milano da gentilhomini privati, Vostra Signoria non aspetti haverni aviso, perché festa alcuna finqui non si è fatta, né credo si farà, et parmi che’l sii il tempo de la Septimana Santa. Non scio ad che attribuire la colpa, se non alle conditioni di tempi.” ASMN-G, busta 1640.

⁶⁸ “Si attende ad ballare gran parte di la notte.” Ibid.

⁶⁹ “Mercori passato . . . ballosi tutta la notte sino a bello dì. . . . Heri esso Signor Duca venni alla circa 24 hore cum puochi delli suoi et, non contenti dil straccho patito in la notte passata, volsi si ballasi anchor sino alle X hore. . . . Questa sera il prefato Signor Duca è venuto a levarmi di casa et darmi cena cum deliberatione non se intermetti il ballare. Cussi si va continuando in queste nostre feste, de le quali, ad confessare il vero alla Excellentia Vostra, ognuno hormay non è manco satio che straccho. Lui solo persevera in questo piacere.” ASMN-G, busta 2120.

1512 to 1515, when Massimiliano was forced to renounce his title. The prime period for its redaction within this period is carnival 1513. After this, Massimiliano was often in the field combating the French and trying to retake lost territory.

FlorC 2441 is thus retrospective in its contents, though its lack of the more “literary” text forms and serious poetry may reflect the carnival season and perhaps Massimiliano’s somewhat superficial tastes in secular music, as well. The carnival song, *L’arte nostra è macinare*, too, would fit well with what we know of Massimiliano’s return to Milan: he had gone through the streets of Mantua “in maschera,” and Cara and d’Avanzini were in Milan for the carnival of 1513. This and *De le done qual’è l’arte* would also have been appropriate as theater songs, since, as we have seen, at least one comedy with music was presented.⁷⁰

FlorC 2441, despite being a retrospective collection, remains our sole document of secular musical life in Milan during the early sixteenth century. It contributes a previously unrealized dialogue to the north-Italian repertory, as well as two popularizing works, and demonstrates the subtle variety in the text forms of the frottola. Finally, it stands as a testimony to the musical life of a briefly shining court life there and adds to our knowledge of the kind of music that was performed even earlier than the date of its redaction.

⁷⁰ Letter of Gian Francesco Tridapale to Federico Gonzaga, 6 February 1513. ASMN-G, busta 1640.

APPENDIX I

INVENTORY OF FlorC 2441

Part I. Sources and Sigla cited in the Inventory and the article

A. Manuscripts

BolC Q 18	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 18.
ChiN C.25	Chicago, Newberry Library, MS Case MSVM C.25 (Capirola Lute MS).
FlorBN Panc. 27	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichiano 27.
FlorBN BR 230	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 230 (olim Magliabechiano XIX. 141).
FlorBN BR 337	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 337.
FlorC 2441	Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio Luigi Cherubini, MS Basevi 2441.
LonBLE 3051	London British Library, MS Egerton 3051.
MadP 1335	MadP 1335, Palacio Real, Biblioteca, MS 1335 (olim 2-I-5) (Cancionero de Palacio)
MilD 2	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Librone 2 (olim 2268)
MilD 3	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Librone 3 (olim 2267)
MilT 55	Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 55.
ParBNC 676	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Vm. ⁷ 676.
ParBN 27	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Vmd.27 (Thibault Lute Book)
WashLC M6	Washington, Library of Congress, MS M 2.1.M6 Case (Wolffheim Chansonier)

B. Prints

AntF I	<i>Canzoni nove con alcune scelte di varii libri di canto.</i> Rome: Antico, 1510.
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PeB I	<i>Tenori e contrabassi intabulati . . . per cantar e sonar col lauto. Libro primo.</i> Venice: Petrucci, 1509.
PeB II	<i>Tenori e contrabassi intabulati . . . per cantar e sonar col lauto. Libro secondo.</i> Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1511.
PeD IV	<i>Intabulatura de lauto. Libro quarto. Ioanambrosio Dalza.</i> Venice: Petrucci, 1508.
PeF I	<i>Frottole. Libro primo.</i> Venice: Petrucci, 1504.
PeF II	<i>Frottole. Libro secondo.</i> Venice: Petrucci, 1505 [n. s.].
PeF III	<i>Frottole. Libro tertio.</i> Venice: Petrucci, 1505.
PeF IV	<i>Strambotti, ode, sonetti et modo de cantar versi latini e capituli. Libro quarto.</i> Venice: Petrucci, [1505].
PeF V	<i>Frottole. Libro quinto.</i> Venice: Petrucci, 1505.
PeF VI	<i>Frottole. Libro sexto.</i> Venice: Petrucci, 1506 [n. s.].
PeF VII	<i>Frottole. Libro septimo.</i> Venice: Petrucci, 1507.
PeF VIII	<i>Frottole. Libro octavo.</i> Venice: Petrucci, 1507.
PeF IX	<i>Frottole. Libro Nono.</i> Venice: Petrucci, 1509.
PeF XI	<i>Frottole. Libro undecimo.</i> Fossombrone: Petrucci, 1514.

**Part II. The Contents of Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio,
MS Basevi 2441**

1. Qual è'l cor che non piangesse

Folio: 1v-3

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: PeF IX, 46v-48

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

2. Scopre, lingua, el mio martire

Folio: 3v-4

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: PeF VIII, 36v-37

Text Form: Barzelletta

3. In un tempo, in un momento

Folio: 4v-5

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

4. Poi ch'amor con dritta fe

Folio: 5v-6

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

5. L'arte nostra è macinare (a3)

Folio: 6v-7

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

6. Oymé il cuor, oymé la testa (a3)

Folio: 7v-8

Composer: [Cara]

Concordances: FlorBN Panc. 27, 12v-13; ParBN 27, 46; ParBNC 676, 11v-12; PeF I, 2v-3; PeB I, 32

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: FlorBN 27, ParBNC 676, and PeF I for four voices. ParBN 27, tenor & bassus only; incipit reads "Oimé lo capo, oimé la testa."

7. Non val aqua al mio gran foco

Folio: 8v-9

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: LonBLE 3051, 22v-23; ParBN 27, 46; PeF I, 17v-18; PeB II, 24-24v

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: ParBN 27, tenor and bassus only.

8. Arda il ciel e'l mondo tuto

Folio: 9v-10

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: FlorBn Panc. 27, 27v-28; FlorBN BR 337, 23v; Par BN 27, 43; ParBNC 676, 119v-120; PeF III, 46v-47

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: All sources but ParBN 27 written in halved values. ParBN 27, tenor and bassus only; incipit reads "Crida el cielo e'l mondo tuto."

9. Ben ch'io serva un cor ingrato

Folio: 10v-11

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: ParBNC 676, 88v-89; PeF III, 42v-43

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

10. Tempo, hormai, di ricoprare

Folio: 11v-12

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: LonBLE 3051, 23v-24; ParBN 27, 42v

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: ParBN 27, tenor and bassus only; incipit reads "Tempo è, hormai, de ricovrarce."

11. S'io dimostro in viso el fuoco

Folio: 12v-13

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: PeF VI, 35v-36

Text Form: Barzelletta

12. Poi che'l ciel contrario, adversa

Folio: 13v-14

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: BolC Q 18, 9v; ParBN 27, 38v; PeF I, 21v-22;

PeB I, 38-38v PeD IV, 52-53v (solo lute intabulation).

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: BolC Q 18, cantus and altus only. ParBN 27, tenor and bassus only; incipit reads "Poi che il ciel contrario et adversso."

13. Sempre l'è qual esser suole (a3)

Folio: 14v-15

Composer: [Pesenti]

Concordances: PeF I, 34v-35

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: PeF I a4.

14. Mete giù la geloxia

Folio: 15v-16

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta

15. Sì come el bianco cigno

Folio: 16v-17

Composer: [Cara]

Concordances: PeF I, 13; PeB I, 23v

Text Form: Oda

Comments: PeF I and PeB I, incipit reads "Sì come che'l bianco cigno."

16. Non pigliar tanto ardimento

Folio: 17v-19

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: ParBN 27, 17 & 40; PeF V, 11v-13

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

Comments: ParBN 27, two different intabulations: fol. 17 (solo lute intabulation); fol. 40 (tenor and bassus only of an accompaniment)

17. Chi se fida de fortuna

Folio: 19v-20

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: PeF III, 54v-55

Text Form: Barzelletta

18. Non è tempo d'aspectare

Folio: 20v-21

Composer: [Cara]

Concordances: PerF I, 3v-4; PeB I, 32v-33

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: Concordances a second lower

19. Poi che l'alma per fe molta

Folio: 21v-22

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: BolC Q 18, 16v-17; PeF I, 24v-25

Text Form: Barzelletta

20. Defecerunt, donna, hormai

Folio: 22v-23

Composer: [Cara]

Concordances: FlorBn Panc. 27, 23v-24; ParBN 27; 44; PeF I, 4v-5

Text Form: Macaronic barzelletta

Comments: ParBN 27, tenor and bassus only.

21. A la guerra, a la guerra

Folio: 23v-24

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: PerF I, 31v-32; PeB I, 39v

Text Form: Barzelletta variant

22. Lassa, dona, i dolci sguardi

Folio: 24v-25

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: ParBN 27, 42v; PeF VI, 22v-23

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: Not ascribed to Tromboncino in PeF VI. Attributed on basis of letter from Galeotto del Carretto to Isabella d'Este. See Prizer, "Isabella d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia as Patrons of Music: The Frottola at Mantua and Ferrara," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985): 20-21 and 33. ParBN 27, tenor and bassus only.

23. Se gran festa me mostrasti

Folio: 25v-26

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: MilT 55, 46v-48; PeF V, 38v-39

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

Comments: Ascribed in PeF V tavola to "T." Attributed on basis of letter from Galeotto del Carretto to Isabella d'Este. See Prizer, "Isabella d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia as Patrons of Music," 20-21 and 33.

24. De, per dio, non mi far torto

Folio: 26v-27

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: BolC Q 18, 2v-3; ParBN 27, 47v; PeF I, 23v-24; PeB II, 53r-v

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: ParBN 27, tenor and bassus only.

25. Nunquam fu pena maggiore

Folio: 27v-28

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: PeF III, 57

Text Form: Macaronic barzelletta

Comments: PeF III in halved values. Only the first two lines are in Spanish.

26. Se cangiato m'hai la fede

Folio: 28v-29

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta

27. El converrà ch'io mora

Folio: 29v-30

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: ParBNC 676, 29v-30; PeF I, 25v-26; PeB I, 40-40v

Text Form: Barzelletta variant; stanza set to music

28. De, dolce diva mia

Folio: 30v-31

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: PeF III, 55v-56

Text Form: Barzelletta variant; stanza set to music

29. Pietà, cara signora

Folio: 31v-32

Composer: [Cara]

Concordances: ParBN 27, 46v and 47; PeF I, 14; PeB I, 47

Text Form: Barzelletta variant

Comments: ParBN 27, two different intabulations.

30. El dolor chi me destruge

Folio: 32v-33

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

31. Dona d'altri più che mia

Folio: 33v-34

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: FlorBN Panc. 27, 50; PeF VI, 29v-30

Text Form: Barzelletta

32. Se non dormi, dona, ascolta

Folio: 34v-35

Composer: [Cara?]

Concordances: FlorBn Panc. 27, 110v-111; LonBLE 3051, 40v-41; ParBNC 676, 67v-68; PeF III, 53v-54

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

Comments: See note 7 for Cara as possible composer of this work

33. Lo dimostra el mio colore

Folio: 35v-36

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: FlorBn BR 230, 19v-20

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

34. O mia ciecha e dura sorte

Folio: 36v-37

Composer: [Cara]

Concordances: ChiN C.25, 9; FlorBN BR 230, 27v-28; PeF I, 5v-6; PeB I, 19v-20

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

Comments: ChiN C.25, solo lute intabulation.

35. Guarda, dona, el mio tormento

Folio: 37v-38

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: LonBLE 3051, 2v-4; MadP 1335, 113; PeF II, 39v-40

Text Form: Barzelletta; ripresa and piedi set

36. L'amor, dona, ch'io ti porto

Folio: 38v-39

Composer: [G. Fogliano]

Concordances: MadP 1335, 59; ParBNC 676, 110v-111; ParBN 27, 50;

PeF VII, 18v

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: ParBN 27, tenor and bassus only;
incipit reads "Lo amor, donna, che io ti porto."

37. Pensieri in fuocho

Folio: 39v-40

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Sonnet

38. Ognora più mi piace

Folio: 40v-41

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta variant; stanza set to music

39. Tu te lamenti a torto

Folio: 41v-42

Composer: [Pesenti]

Concordances: ParBN 27, 45; PeF I, 47

Text Form: Oda

Comments: ParBN 27, tenor and bassus only.

40. A che tanto tentarmi

Folio: 42v-43

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta variant; stanza set to music

41. Lassa, hormai, 'sta dura impresa

Folio: 43v-44

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta variant; stanza set to music

42. Io non so tenir nel cuore

Folio: 44v-45

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta variant; stanza set to music

43. Chi non sa, vada ad imperare

Folio: 45v-46

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta variant

44. Ad ognor cercho colei

Folio: 46v-47

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

45. Che l'aria mai creduto

Folio: 47v-48

Composer: [Cara]

Concordances: ParBNC 676, 28v-29; PeF IX, 17; PeB I, 17v

Text Form: Barzelletta variant; stanza set to music

Comments: In concordant sources, incipit reads "Chi l'haria mai creduto."

46. Sempre harò quel dolce foco

Folio: 48v-49

Composer: [Diomede]

Concordances: PeF IX, 53v-54

Text Form: Barzelletta

47. Non c'è speranza

Folio: 49v-50

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Strambotto toscano

48. Voler voi per mia signora

Folio: 50v-51

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

49. O partito, o caxo strano

Folio: 51v-52

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta; stanza set to music

50. Per tuo amor in tanta sorte

Folio: 52v-53

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta

51. Fami pur una bona ciera

Folio: 53v-54

Composer: [Lurano]

Concordances: LonBLE 3051; 35v-36; PeF IV, 50

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: LonBLE 3051, incipit reads "Fammi almanco buona cera."

PeF IV reads "Fammi almen una bona cera."

52. Mille volte al mio dispecto

Folio: 54v-55

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta

53. Orsù, così va'l mondo

Folio: 55v-56

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Oda

54. In te, domine, speravi

Folio: 56v-57

Composer: [Josquin des Prez]

Concordances: BolC Q 18, 12v-13; FlorBn Panc. 27, 42v-43; FlorBN BR 337, 73v; LonBLE 3051, 56v-57; ParBNC 676; 17v-18; PeF I, 49v-50; PeB I, 38v-39

Text Form: Macaronic barzelletta

Comments: Only Italian sources listed; for additional sources, see Jeppesen, *La Frottola* 1: 80-81 (No. 56).

55. De le done qual'è l'arte

Folio: 57v-58

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta variant? Quatrains? (See pp. 000-000 above).

56. Viverò paziente e forte

Folio: 58v-59

Composer: [Lurano]

Concordances: ParBN 27, 48v; ParBNC 676, 107v-108; PeF III, 8v

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: ParBN 27, tenor and bassus only.

57. Oymé, che adesso io provo

Folio: 59v-60

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: ParBNC 676, 123v

Text Form: Oda

58. De scoprire el mio lamento

Folio: 60v-61

Composer: [Lurano]

Concordances: FlorBN BR 230, 23v-24; FlorBN BR 337, 12v; PeF VI, 16v

Text Form: Barzelletta

Comments: FlorBN BR 337 and PeF VI, text: "Poi che gionto el tempo."

59. Ay, despietato tempo

Folio: 61v-62

Composer: [Bisan]

Concordances: ParBN 27, 49; PeF VII, 50v-51; PeB I, 15v-16

Text Form: Barzelletta variant; stanza set to music

Comments: ParBN 27, tenor and bassus only.

60. Amor sforza ira straporta

Folio: 62v-63

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta

61. Non esser dona ingrata

Folio: 63v-64

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Oda

62. Son tornato e dio el sa

Folio: 64v-65

Composer: [Lurano]

Concordances: FlorBN BR 337, 27v; LonBLE 3051, 41v-42; PeF III, 51v-52

Text Form: Barzelletta

63. Alma pate ogni tormento

Folio: 65v-66

Composer: Anonymous

Concordances: None

Text Form: Barzelletta

64. Se ogì è un dì

Folio: 66v-67

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: AntF I, 18v; PeF IV, 29v

Text Form: Strambotto toscano

65. Questo sol giorno soglion li dei

Folio: 67v-68

Composer: [Tromboncino]

Concordances: PeF IV, 24

Text Form: Strambotto toscano

66. Ch'ami la propria vita

Folio: 68v-69

Composer: Anonymous
Concordances: None
Text Form: Strambotto toscano

67. Chi me darà più pace
Folio: 69v-70
Composer: [Cara]
Concordances: PeF I, 13v; PeB I, 46v
Text Form: Barzelletta variant

68. Fami, donna, el mio dovere
Folio: 70v-72
Composer: Anonymous
Concordances: ParBN 27, 54v
Text Form: Barzelletta in dialogue; stanza set to music
Comments: ParBN 27, tenor and bassus only

APPENDIX II

Example 1. Anonymous, *Fami, donna, el mio dovere*. FlorC 2441, fols. 70v-72.

[Cantus]

[Z.] Fa-mi, don - na, el mio do - ve - re, che'l tar -

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

dar mi da gran do - glia. [D.] Più di te nò ma - gior vo - glia, re - sta

sol per non po - te - re, [re - sta sol per non po - te -

re.] [Z.] lo so ben che fa - lo po - i, ma ti pia-cet mio sten - ta re. [Z.] Dì-me
[D.] S'io po - tes - se al de - sir - to - i, se - ria pre-si-a-con-ten - ta re.

don - cha ciò ch'òg - fa - re. [D.] Fin - ché pos-sa stag ve - de - re. [a ve - de -

re.] [Z.] Fa-mi, don - na, mio do - ve - re, che'l tar - dar mi da gran do - glia. [D.] Il tuo

tan - to la - ment - tar - te l'al - ma f - fl - cta mi tor - men - ta. [Z.] S'io non pos - so cor pie -

gar - te, non vo tu ch'io mi la - men - ta? [D.] Non dir più, io son con - ten - ta. [Z.] Or - su

fa che'l fru - cto - co glia. [D.] Più di te n'ò ma - gior vo - glia, re - sta sol per non po -

te - re, [re - sia sol per non po te - re.]

45

The musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major (one sharp) with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. A measure rest of 45 is indicated above the staff. The second staff is a piano accompaniment line in G major, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature. The third staff is a piano accompaniment line in G major, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature. The fourth staff is a piano accompaniment line in G major, starting with a bass clef and a common time signature. The score ends with a double bar line.

Example 2. Anonymous, *L'arte nostra è macinare*, cantus. Flor C2441, fols. 6v-7.

[Cantus]

Tenor

Contratenor

L'ar - te no - stra è ma-ci-na - re e ser-vi - re a

tu - ta gen - te con sin - ce - rag pu - ra men - te, pur - ch'a -

biam da la - vo - ra - re, [la - vo - ra - re.]

The musical score consists of three systems, each with three staves (treble, alto, and bass clef). The music is in common time (C) and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the vocal staff.

System 1:

Ve - ni - te voi, don - ne bel - le, a ma - ci - na - re a lo
 o man - da - te le don - ce - le, a chi non pe - sa lo

System 2:

mo - li - no, ché, da se - rao da ma - ti - no, le ve -
 ca - mi - no,

System 3:

dre - mo de spa - za - re, [de spa - za - re.]

Example 3. Anonymous, *De le done qual'è l'arte?* FlorC 2441, fols. 57v-58.

[Cantus]

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

De le do - ne qual' è

[De le do - ne qual' è

5

l'ar - te? Di - ceo - gnun che l'èel fi - la - re;

l'ar - te? Di - ceo - gnun che l'èel fi - la - re;

l'ar - te? Di - ceo - gnun che l'èel fi - la - re;

l'ar - te? Di - ceo - gnun che l'èel fi - la - re;

10

non è ver', ché l'èl ca - za - re

15

noc - tee di per con - su - mar - te,

20

noc - tee di per con - su - mar - te.]