WOULD YOU LIKE TO DANCE THIS FROTTOLA?

Choreographic Concordances in Two Early Sixteenth-Century Tuscan sources*

BARBARA SPARTI

Until quite recently, the hundred-year period between the 1480s and 1581 — that is, between the years marking the last of the known dance treatises in the style of Domenico da Piacenza¹ and Guglielmo Ebreo,² and the publication of Fabritio Caroso's first book, *Il Ballarino*³ — might well have been known to dance history as "the gap." The discovery of four Tuscan dances and their music in an anonymous manuscript from 1550 or earler,⁴ as well as that of a book on the *gagliarda* published in Florence in 1560,⁵ have now narrowed "the gap" to the period between the 1480s and 1540 or 1550.

^{*} This article is dedicated to the memory of Nino Pirrotta who was to have read it before publication, though he did not know it would be for him. Over the years he helped me, in his inimitable, generous, gentle and humble way, with various problems regarding 15th-century dance-music, and his work, particularly on *moresche* and *intermedi* and on the "oral tradition," has been a continuing inspiration to me in my research.

¹ See Table I. For a modern edition, D. R. Wilson, *Domenico of Piacenza (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS ital. 972)* (Cambridge: The Early Dance Circle, 1988).

² Edition and English translation in Barbara Sparti, Guglielmo Ebreo of Pesaro. On the Practice or Art of Dancing (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993; second ed. 1995).

³ Published in Venice by Francesco Ziletti in 1581. A facsimile reprint (New York: Broude Bros.) is from 1967.

⁴ Gino Corti, "Cinque balli toscani del Cinquecento," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 12 (1977): 73-82. Four dances are in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence (MS Magl. XIX, 31, fols. 1-6). Corti publishes them and incipits of their music together with the choreographic description of another dance included in a signed letter dated 1559, now in the Archivio di Stato, Florence. On the basis of the handwriting, Corti concludes that the anonymous four-choreography codex dates from "the second half of the sixteenth century." Dance scholar Angene Feves, however, has since suggested in personal correspondence with me that, though the dances use the traditional steps described later in the treatises of Caroso and Cesare Negri (see Table 1), because of their choreographic content, the Tuscan dances "may actually be earlier, from c. 1540 or 50."

⁵ Lutio Compasso, *Ballo della Gagliarda*. A facsimile reproduction, with Introduction by Barbara Sparti, has been issued (Freiburg: "fa-gisis" Musik- und Tanzedition,

But what is known of the dancing in the first decades of the sixteenth century? In this period of transition, the Domenico-Guglielmo dances continued to be in vogue, as we know from a letter describing dances performed in Bologna in 1517. Furthermore, the fact that an almost identical copy of the Guglielmo treatise, now in Florence's Biblioteca Nazionale and probably written in the 1470s, was made as late as 1510, suggests that, here at least, the repertoire of *bassedanze* and *balli* was still being danced. At the same time, the *gagliarda* — that hit dance of the 1580s and early 1600s — was already being performed. In the north of Italy, the anonymous *bassedanse*, as notated — with its different lengths and step sequences — in Burgundy and France in the last years of the previous century,

^{1995).} The treatise, only recently come to light in the Sport section of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart (possessor, apparently, of the only extant copy), includes 166 *gagliarda* variations which, though somewhat less complex, resemble those that follow at the turn of the century.

⁶ In response to a request made to him by the daughters of a leading citizen of Nuremberg, Johannes Cochlaeus, German pedagogue and music theorist, included a description of eight well-known fifteenth-century choreographies which he observed while he was in Bologna. See Ingrid Brainard's detailed account in "The Art of Courtly Dancing in Transition: Nürnberg, Germ. Nat. Mus. MS. 8842, a Hitherto Unknown German Source," in Edelgard E. DuBruck and Karl Heinz Göller, eds. Crossroads of Medieval Civilization: The City of Regensburg and its Intellectual Milieu (Medieval and Renaissance Monograph Series, 5; Detroit: Consortium for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 1984), 61-79; and Ingrid Wetzel's transcription of the German text and her Italian translation (with photographic reproductions of the original manuscript) in Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro e la danza nelle corti italiane del XV secolo, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Pesaro 16/18 luglio 1987, ed. Maurizio Padovan (Pisa: Pacini, 1990), 321-43.

⁷ For these redactions, see Table I and A. William Smith, Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music. Twelve Transcribed Italian Treatises and Collections in the Tradition of Domenico da Piacenza, 2 vols. (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), especially 1: 193, 203-5.

⁸ Frank A. D'Accone, in *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 653-4, provides documents which show that the *gagliarda* was already being taught in Sienese dancing-schools in the 1490s and in 1505.

⁹ See Ernest Closson, ed., *Le manuscrit dit des basses danses de la bibliothèque de Bourgogne* (Société des bibliophiles et iconophiles de Belgique, Publication No. 4; Brussels: 1912; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1975) and *L'art et instruction de bien dancer* published in Paris by Michel de Toulouse around 1496 (facsimile edition, London: Royal College of Physicians, 1936; reprint, New York: Dance Horizons, 1971).

had by 1517 already been transformed into the unified sixteenth-century *basse-danse commune*¹⁰ (which would be described again later by Antonius Arena¹¹ and, in more detail, by Thoinot Arbeau¹²). In addition to the above, two manuscripts indicate that a new repertoire, with its own choreographic style, came into being and flourished, probably in or around Florence, during the first third of the sixteenth century.

The 1510 copy¹⁴ of Guglielmo's Florentine treatise — originally written in the 1470s — is now in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. After "Here ends the book ... and finished by me on the 6th day of December 1510"¹⁵ the choreographies of four *balli* have been added in the same hand but, judging by

¹⁰ The Italian parchment roll, which is now in Turin (see Table I), contains 54 bassedanses, and is signed "Stribaldi scripsit anno 1517 die 26 decembris." For the development of the bassedanse, see, among others, Frederick Crane, Materials for the Study of the 15th-Century Basse Dance (Brooklyn, NY: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1968) and Daniel Heartz, "The Basse dance. Its evolution circa 1450 to 1550," Annales Musicologiques 6 (1958-63): 287-340.

¹¹ Ad suos compagniones studiantes ..., written by Arena in macaronic Latin-French-Provençal in the late 1520s. Of the many extant editions, the first dated one is from Lyons, 1529. It includes the steps for 31 bassedanses communes. See the edition and English translation, "Rules of Dancing," by John Guthrie and Marino Zorzi in Dance Research 4 (1986): 3-53.

¹² In his *Orchésographie*. The first of many editions is dated Langres, 1588, and was printed by Jehan des Preyz (facsimile reprints: Langres: Dominique Guéniot, 1988 and Geneva: Minkoff, 1972); a copy with an Introduction by Laure Fonta (Paris: F. Viewig, 1888) was reprinted by Forni Editore, Bologna, 1969, where music and steps are misaligned; an English translation from 1925 is by Cyril W. Beaumont (London: Beaumont); a 1948 English translation by Mary Stewart Evans, *Orchesography* (New York: Kamin Dance Publishers), was republished in 1967 with a new Introduction and Notes by Julia Sutton (New York: Dover).

¹³ The Stribaldi manuscript confirms a hypothesis, first suggested to me by Angene Feves, that what specialists today consider the "French" or "Arbeau's" 16th-century *bassedanse*, actually may have originated in Italy. (See, for instance, *Ruota di Fortuna*, one of the "Tuscan dances" discussed in note 4 above. Its musical construction — see Example 4 — while similar, pre-dates Arbeau.)

¹⁴ The third digit in the date has been gone over by what looks like the numeral "1".

^{15 &}quot;Qui finice e libro di gratia e me finitto a di 6 dicembre 1510," on folio 54r.

the ink,¹⁶ at a later date.¹⁷ These *balli*, *Moza di biscaie*, *Lipitier*, *Se non dormi dona ascolta*, and *Mastri di tromboni* (see Table 2), were transcribed and commented upon by Beatrice Pescerelli in 1974.¹⁸ Because of watermark, language,¹⁹ and the presence of Lorenzo de' Medici's choreographies in the first part of the codex, it is considered to be Tuscan.²⁰

Bound together with one of the most interesting and prolific Quattrocento dance manuscripts — the so-called "Giorgio Codex," now in the Dance Collection of the New York Public Library but of Tuscan provenance, 22—is an early sixteenth-century collection of fifteen choreographies, introduced with a four-page theoretical preface by a dancing-master who calls himself "Il Papa" (see Table 2). The manuscripts were bought by Walter Toscanini from the Florentine publisher Leo S. Olschki. Two aspects of the title of the treatise, *Il Papa che insegnia*

¹⁶ See Beatrice Pescerelli, "Una sconosciuta redazione del trattato di danza di Guglielmo Ebreo," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 9 (1974): 48-55; especially 49.

¹⁷ A bassadanza, Bassa di Chastiglia, was also added to the end of the section devoted to the bassedanze choreographies (fol. 29r). It is clearly influenced by the late 15th-century bassedanses from France, Burgundy and Spain (see note 9 above).

¹⁸ See note 16.

¹⁹ In her analysis of the language of the codex, Pescerelli finds some northern, as well as typically Tuscan, elements. She concludes that the copyist was a northerner working in Tuscany.

Only two other treatises — both considered to be Tuscan (the Magliabecchi codex in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, and the New York Public Library's "Giorgio" MS) — include two bassedanze (Lauro and Venus) composed by Lorenzo de' Medici.

²¹ Edition by Andrea Francalanci, *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 14 (1990): 87-179.

²² According to Francalanci, p. 88, the script is based on Tuscan pronunciation. In the 16th century, the manuscript belonged to the Medici Grand Ducal library.

²³ I have thus far been unable to find the date of acquisition in Toscanini's uncatalogued correspondence in the Dance Collection of the New York Public Library.

ballare balletti a suoi scolari (Il Papa who teaches his students how to dance bal*letti*), are worth noting. The first is that *Il Papa* addresses his work to his students. with no dedication to or acknowledgement of any courtier or noble. Does this mean he ran a dancing-school? The second point is that, besides writing the introductory pages, Il Papa is the composer of only two of the collection's dances. Two others are by a certain "Il Lanzino," whose nickname may indicate that, like the mercenary lanzichenecchi, he was from Germany, or northern Europe. He may even have been one of the *lanzi* military-band or pipe-and-tabor players.²⁴ (Florence, during the first third of the sixteenth century, abounded in carnival songs about the drunken and uncouth lanzi,)25 The remaining eleven choreographies are attributed to "Giovannino" who, very likely, was the same "Giovannino, maestro di ballare" who in 1515, we know from a recently discovered letter,26 was in the service of Lorenzo the Magnificent's grandson, another Lorenzo de' Medici, who subsequently became Duke of Urbino.²⁷ Nothing was known about Il Papa himself until very recently when an "Il Papa che insegnia ballare" (the same appelation as in the title of the treatise) was discovered in a 1562 Florentine census.²⁸ We still have no clues as to the derivation of the nickname

²⁴ Federico Ghisi, *I canti carnascialeschi nelle fonti musicali del XV e XVI secolo* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1937), 83.

²⁵ Ibid, 78-107. This may (or may not) be an indication of the manuscript's provenance and date. In 1552, as indicated by sources mentioned below in note 28, there were at least 116 *lanzi* living in Florence.

²⁶ In the letter, 26 January 1514 (Florentine style; modern style, 1515), Giovannino asks the Magnificent Lorenzo de' Medici, "padrone mio," for a dowry for his sister. The letter, first reported by A. William Smith (*Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music*, 1: xi), is in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo avanti il Principato, CXVI, 76.

²⁷ The title was conferred on the younger Lorenzo de' Medici in 1516. He was the son of Piero (son of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Clarice Orsini) and of Alfonsina Orsini. He was born in Florence in 1492 and died there in 1519. He and his wife Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, recipients of the famed Medici Codex on the occasion of their marriage, were the parents of Catherine de' Medici, future Queen of France.

²⁸ I wish to thank my colleague Katherine T. McGinnis for this information which she found in Silvia Meloni Trkulja's *I fiorentini nel 1562* (Florence: Alberto Bruschi, 1991), 82v, where Il Papa is listed as living alone in the Santa Maria Novella quarter of the city. He is the only dancing-master to appear in this census. None is included in an earlier census from 1552. This, however, has many lacunae, and it cannot be assumed because of the absence of his name that Il Papa was not living in Florence at the time. See Pietro Battara,

itself.29 While the watermark of the "Il Papa" codex is still unidentified, the provenance has been hypothesized as being northern Italy, 30 and dates as early as 150031 and as late as circa 1560 have been suggested. 32 That it is, instead, Tuscan in origin seems to be borne out by the language³³ and Giovannino's letter to Lorenzo. Duke of Urbino. Moreover, the person who copied the manuscript, whether a dancing-master, a student of Il Papa's, or a professional scribe, identified himself as Cosimo Ticci or Ticcio, a common enough name in fifteenth-century Florence. As for the date, I would tend to propose 1515-20, or thereabouts, not only because of the Giovannino letter, but because of the choreographic style; its similarity to the "1510 dances" on the one hand, 34 and, on the other, its distance from the "new 1550 style." (Even the music that may well have been used for these dances dates from around 1500, or earlier, to no later than 1530.) There is the question of the apparent discrepancy between this proposed date for Il Papa's treatise and the census date of 1562. Would Il Papa have had to be at least twentyfive years old in order to have his own school and write a treatise? If so, this would make him close to seventy in 1562. Answers to these queries must await further archival documentation.

* * *

La popolazione di Firenze alla metà del 1500 (Florence: Rinascimento del Libro, 1935) and the Descriptione delle persone et fuochi del dominio di S^a Ecc^a Ill^{ma} rassegnati questo anno MDLI [1552], a copy of which, MS Magl. II. I. 120, is in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.

²⁹ It has been pointed out to me that it may be more than mere coincidence that the period in which the treatise was written (see below in text for dating) is the same as that of the reign of Leo X (1513-1522), Lorenzo the Magnificent's son Giovanni, the first Florentine Pope.

³⁰ Catalogue description, Dance Collection, New York Public Library.

³¹ A. W. Smith, Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music, 1: xi.

³² Page 2 (undated) of a letter from I.K. Fletcher, appraiser of rare books and manuscripts, London, to Walter Toscanini (private correspondence, New York Public Library, Dance Collection).

³³ On examination, Gino Corti told me, "it could well be Tuscan."

³⁴ The two dances reported in both manuscripts – the *Tromboni* and the *Iuppiter* – are choreographically very similar.

Neither the 1510 collection nor the "Il Papa" treatise includes music for the dances, though concordances exist between the names of several choreographies from both sources and the names of contemporary popular songs and frottolas. (It is undoubtedly the lack of music which is in large part responsible for these treatises having been ignored by dance historians and reconstructors.)³⁵ Before finding musical solutions, the choreographies themselves need to be examined.

All nineteen choreographies from the two sources in question are *balli* and *balletti*. In the fifteenth century, these terms were interchangeable and indicated (with almost no exceptions) a dance composed of two or more of the four *misure*, that is, *bassadanza*, *quadernaria*, *saltarello* and *piva*, all of which varied in tempo and meter. While the majority of Domenico's and Guglielmo's *balli* were for a couple or a trio (two women and one man and vice versa), others were for four, five, six and eight dancers, arranged abreast, *alla fila* one behind the other, in squares and in "longways" sets. Rather than this variety of dancers and formations, however, the choreographies in the early sixteenth-century sources are, with one exception, all for trios — always two men and one woman. And in place of Domenico's and Guglielmo's irregular phrasing and diversity of men-

³⁵ Despite the lack of music, more attention may be given to the "Il Papa" manuscript after Joseph and Elizabeth Casazza's transcription and translation become available on the World Wide Web. At present, only the introduction is displayed: http://purl.oclc.org/NET/JCasazza/rendance (under Sixteenth-Century — Choreographies — Italian — The "Il Papa" Manuscript). The manuscript and its publication on internet was discussed at a round table during the 1997 conference of the Society for Dance History Scholars in New York. Another edition of both "Il Papa" and the 1510 manuscript is being planned by the publisher "fa-gisis" (Musik- und Tanzedition, Freiburg), to include an introduction and translations into English by Barbara Sparti, and musical examples (possible concordances) in an Appendix.

³⁶ The *ballo* contrasted with the *bassadanza* which was in its own *misura* only. For further information on these various terms, see Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, Ch. 4 and the Glossary.

³⁷ It may be significant that when Domenico made "new versions" of two of his *balli*, he made them for trios rather than repeating the former couple formation. Was the trio the more "modern" formation, one that is then confirmed in the early part of the next century (at least in the sources in question)?

³⁸ The phrases are always different lengths, often made up of uneven numbers of *tempi* or "bars" (5, 7, 15), usually unrepeated and unsymmetrical.

surations, arranged so that each choreography was a unique work of art, all of the *balli/balletti* in question have a quadruple or 4/4 feeling about them, confirmed by the steps used and by the style.³⁹ Furthermore, most of the dances are composed of strophes and refrains, which is a real choreographic novelty.

There is only one *ballo* from the earlier tradition that has similar characteristics, and that is *Voltati in ça Rosina* by Giovanni Ambrosio (alias Guglielmo Ebreo). The music for *Rosina*, rather than being composed by Guglielmo/Ambrosio himself, is one of the very few Quattrocento *ballo* tunes to be based on a popular song. (*Voltati in ça Rosina* was also the refrain for the anonymous frottola *Poi che'l ciel e la fortuna* and survives in several polyphonic compositions and in keyboard settings of dance tunes.) Conditioned, no doubt, by the duple meter that yields eight bars of 4/4 in modern notation, Ambrosio arranged the choreography in three stanzas, repeating the music three times. During the fourth statement, the dancers do a final skipping *piva* to the same *quadernaria* music. 1

For the most part, the early Cinquecento choreographies use the same step vocabulary as that set out by Domenico and Guglielmo.⁴² One innovation is the distinction accorded to the *passo*, *passetto*, and the *passettino*, which, in turn, acquire the modern value of half-note, quarter-note, and eighth-note. *Passo* is also used occasionally as a different name for the basic four-beat *doppio* (double) step.⁴³ The *trapassino*, which also makes its debut here (though no longer present

³⁹ The steps suggest either bassadanza or quadernaria misura (definitely excluding saltarello and piva). The presence of doppi with a ripresa, however, confirms quadernaria, since the addition of a little or short ripresa was one of the characteristics of a quadernaria doppio step.

⁴⁰ The trio here is composed of one man and two ladies.

⁴¹ For the choreography and music (facsimile, transcription, and commentary), see Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, 234-37, 240-41 and 43, n. 55.

⁴² These Quattrocento steps, however, are never explained, though their duration is known and there are clues for their performance. For information on particular steps, see Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, Glossary, and D. R. Wilson, *The Steps Used in Court Dancing in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (2nd revised & enlarged edition; Cambridge: the author, 1998).

⁴³ Cf. Giorgio's version of La Vita di Colino which calls for three "doppi portogalesi" (diagonal double steps) with Giovannino's "three passi in traverso." Elsewhere in the same dance, Giovannino uses "three passi" to indicate one "doppio" step! Il Lanzino (in Che Faralla) calls for "two passi in traverso" where he clearly means two "doppi." In Moza de Biscaie (part I), "the lady passes in between the men . . . with two passi with the riprese

as such in Fabritio Caroso's or Cesare Negri's treatises), may be a transitional precursor of the late sixteenth-century *spezzato*, a kind of two-beat *sempio* (simple) step. *Trapassini* also tend to replace the fifteenth-century *piva* in final "hey" (chain) and "figure-eight" figures.

* * *

I turn now to the dances which have the same titles as those of contemporary songs to see if they share more than just a name. Giovannino's *La Vita* is none other than *La vita de Colin*, as confirmed by two other choreographic descriptions — one in the Giorgio-New York treatise and another in the German account of dances performed in Bologna in 1517.⁴⁴ (The three versions are very similar, though there are a few distinctive features, especially in step names.) The *ballo* is strophic, each of the five choreographic stanzas finishing with the same refrain — two reverences and a full-turn. If the first part of the *Vita de Colin* music (barred according to the dotted lines in Example 1 in the Appendix) is played through five times, the "fit" between choreography and music is perfect. ⁴⁵ (The second section,

quadernaria doppi, ending up at the second doppio turned face to face" [my emphasis]. In the third strophe of the 1510 Lipitier, three "doppi de la tangelosa per lato" are called for, which correspond to Giovannino's three "passi in traverso" (Iuppiter). Tangelosa was a rather popular late 15th-century dance, notated in the New York "Giorgio" treatise, in the Siena redaction of Guglielmo's De pratica, in the Nuremberg letter, and in a Montefiascone notary's ornamented version. The three diagonal doppi steps (which appear again in Vita de Colin, where they are called Portuguese doppi by Giorgio) are apparently used in Tangelosa for the first time and hence give its name to the doppi in Lipitier. (Pescerelli unwittingly reads it as tangiocosa.) For the Montefiascone description, see my "Rôti Bouilli: Take Two 'El Gioioso Fiorito,'" Studi Musicali 24 (1995): 253-55.

⁴⁴ See n. 6 above.

⁴⁵ Modern edition of the music, with the title *La vida de culin*, in Isabel Pope & Masakata Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 166-7. A synthesis of the choreography is included as part of Example 1 and of several of the others musical examples. Stanzas and refrain are noted in both choreography and music. The durations of the steps used, and their abbreviations, follow:

Steps lasting 1/2 tempo or bar (2 beats in quadernaria): c = continenza and s = sempio;
Steps lasting 1 tempo or bar (4 beats in quadernaria): p = passo, d = doppio, r = ripresa, R = Riverenza;
Step lasting 2 tempi or bars:
vg = volta del gioioso.

beginning "Hor amore guillemin," is superfluous. It can be used instead of the opening strophe and refrain, but is less appropriate for the dance because of its rhythmical irregularity and lack of clear refrain.) Like *Rosina*, *Vita* was a popular tune, and the simple chordal setting of it in the Montecassino manuscript, with its distinct duple meter, is a very suitable accompaniment for dancing. The words of the song, on the other hand, have no relationship to the choreography, though the final strophe, which — like *Rosina's* — consists of a figure-eight with *piva*-like steps, reflects the spirit of the text.

Beatrice Pescerelli has suggested that the choreography for *Moza di Biscaie*, or the *Lass from Biscay*, was based on a fifteenth-century "canzone popolare francese" (see Example 2 A) which "certainly was well-known in Italy in the four-part setting by Josquin des Prez." There are four choreographic strophes, here actually marked "end of the first part," "end of the second," which, however, are not reflected in the music. The first three strophes consists of six choreographic bars, while the refrain is three bars. The final strophe has only five bars (an error?) before the three-bar refrain. The music of the song has no refrain and is made up of four (including a repeat) eight-bar (4-beat) phrases, thus making it difficult to "fit" the music (without adding an extra bar) to any but the last choreographic strophe-plus-refrain. As far as dancing this simple 4/4 choreography to Josquin's polyrhythmic setting is concerned, it is possible, though not easy; but the question is, does it make musical, choreographic, or socio-historical sense?

Another example of a choreography in strophes and refrains (this time, only three), is Lanzino's *Che farala*. As in *Vita* and *Moza di Biscaie*, the refrain consists of the woman and the first man making a *riverenza*, followed by her making a *riverenza* with the other man, and then a full-turn made by all three dancers. Michele Pesenti's arrangement of *Che faralla*, *che diralla*⁴⁷ (see Example 3)

⁴⁶ "Una sconosciuta redazione," 50. The tune was published in 1875 by G. Paris and A. Gevaert, *Chansons du XV^e siècle*. A modern edition of it and Josquin's *Una musque de Buscgaya* is in M. Antonowycz and W. Elders, eds., *Werken van Josquin Des Prez, Wereldlijke Werken*, Bundel IV [Amsterdam, 1965], 5-7. See Example 2B.

⁴⁷ Modern edition in Francesco Luisi, *La Musica Vocale nel Rinascimento* (Turin: ERI, 1977), 284-5.

can be "adapted" to the choreography, but the "fit" is not always the "perfect size." The first problem is that sections A and B are in triple meter. They can still, however, be danced in 4/4, by counting four bars of fast three beats as one measure, as Arbeau counts his midsixteenth-century *bassedanse* (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Thoinot Arbeau, Orchésographie (New York: Dover, 1967), 68.



This works very well for section B, which has sixteen bars of three beats — or four measures of four — and therefore matches the choreography perfectly. The A section, however, has two-and-a-half bars in 4/4, while the choreography seems to require three bars the first time, and two the second. These discrepancies require taking some liberties in fitting the steps to the music. Section C consists of three-bar phrases in 2/4, which means that the refrain's two *riverenze* and final turn each need to be performed in six beats, rather than in four. While unusual, the six beats very nicely match the men's particular turn — the *volta di lasso* — made up of a *doppio* and a *trapassino*, and also suit, with the addition of a brief pause, the lady's five *passettini*.

Another apparent discrepancy between choreography and music appears whenever the song or frottola is notated in duple time but has, as William Prizer has noted, "a rhythmic logic that is opposed to the metre," the phrases moving to triple time and a hemiola-like rhythm, exemplified by Marchetto Cara's *Io non compro più speranze*. ⁴⁸ The clearest example among the concordant dance tunes is

⁴⁸ "Performance Practices in the Frottola," Early Music 3 (1975): 277.

the frottola *Se non dormi, donna, ascolta.*⁴⁹ Neither the choreography for the *ballo* of the same name, nor the music, has strophes or refrains, though there seem to be choreographic phrases which, however, differ from the musical ones. If one tries to dance four-beat steps to the barring in Gaetano Cesari's edition (Example 4A), taking two bars for a four-beat step, it is both difficult and unmusical. Moreover, the music and choreography do not match: that is, when the *ballo* has been danced through once, from beginning to end, the music has been played one-and-a-half times (only through section C). If, instead, one uses, as in Example 4B, four-beat *quadernaria* steps to the underlying modern 6/4 (or saltarello-like) rhythm — it was normal practice in the fifteenth-century to dance the steps of one *misura* to the music of another —, then the whole *balletto* can be danced through once to the playing — twice through — of the frottola.

The same principle of dancing *quadernaria* steps to triple-meter and hemiola-rhythms occuring in compound duple time, can be found in the anonymous frottolas, *Lo dimostra el mio colore* and *Non mi parto*, both present in the large collection of early sixteenth-century Florentine secular music and canti carnascialeschi, or carnival songs, that make up codex Banco Rari 230 in Florence's Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. ⁵⁰ Both Giovannino's *Lo dimostra* and the frottola (fols. 19v-20r) are strophic and made up of four-bar phrases. There is a refrain, a chain-figure with *trapassini*, which would nicely fit a transcription of the music in piva-like 6/8 or triplets. ⁵¹

⁴⁹ A modern edition of the piece, from Ottaviano Petrucci's *Frottole libro tertio* (Venezia: 1505), is in Gaetano Cesari, Raffaello Monterosso and Benvenuto Disertori, *Le frottole nell'edizione principe di Ottaviano Petrucci* (Cremona: Athenaeum Cremonense, 1954), 133-4.

⁵⁰ An inventory of the manuscript is given by Knud Jeppesen, *La Frottola*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1968-70), 2: 114-21. A photographic reprint of the manuscript with introductory remarks on its date and contents is in Frank A. D'Accone, *Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 230* (Renaissance Music in Facsimile, 4; New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986).

⁵¹ The music for *Non mi parto* (fols. 72v-73r) is quite varied: a beginning which may be transcribed in 6/4 (though the music is notated in ¢), followed by a ternary piva-like section (notated with a 3 in the original), and ending with two sections (notated in the ¢ of the opening) that appear to be straightforward *quadernaria*. However, Giovannino's choreography for three dancers who continue to change places is, unfortunately, unclear.

It is more than possible that Giovannino's *I Tromboni* and the 1510 codex's *Mastri di tromboni* were based on the carnival song *Lanzi mastri di tromboni*. ⁵² Although only the bass is extant (see Example 5), we can nevertheless attempt a reconstruction, thanks to its clear rhythmic scheme. ⁵³ Both *Tromboni* choreographies have strophes and refrains, less clear in the music, and, while not free from problems, a reconstruction of the 1510 version — that more or less fits the music — is a definite possibility.

The *Traditora* is so well-known in sixteenth-century settings as a *gagliarda* in modern 6/4 that it is difficult to conceive of it in duple time for Il Papa's choreography. However, rather than following Knud Jeppesen's transcription⁵⁴ (see Example 6), I suggest, once again, taking four bars of three-beats to constitute one choreographic *quadernaria* bar. Using the music as it is notated in Basle University Library MS F, 17-20, no. 10, the only change that is necessary so that it matches the choreography is to play the third part — the refrain — without a repeat (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. La traditora, Basle, University Library, MS F, 17-20, no. 10.



 $^{^{52}}$ I wish to thank Francesco Luisi for this and other concordances which he very generously helped me to locate.

⁵³ A modern edition of the bass part is given by Federico Ghisi, *I canti camasciale-schi* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1937), 107. Beginning with eight bars of three beats each, to which two bars of *quadernaria* can be danced, the music continues with three *quadernaria* bars in duple time, the music of the refrain. After this, the triple meter returns, followed as before by a section in duple meter, both of which are the same length as the two previous sections.

⁵⁴ Jeppesen, La Frottola 3: 42, Ex. 105.

Giovannino's *La villanella* raises questions concerning which "Villanella" music to use. ⁵⁵ The choreography is not strophic and all the phrases consist of two or four *quadernaria* bars. The *Villanella* in the Capirola Lute Book ⁵⁶ (Example 7), editorially marked "2 x 3/4," is probably too highly ornamented a version to permit a performance fast enough to count each three-beat bar as only one of four *quadernaria* beats, although its structural similarity to *Se non dormi, donna, ascolta* (if barred differently) is certainly apparent. A *Villanella* is also included in Caroso's 1581 *Il Ballarino* where it is classified as a "balletto d'incerto" (that is, of anonymous provenance), a definite indication that the dance had a much earlier origin than Caroso's own choreographies.

The 1510 *Lipitier* and Giovannino's *Iuppiter* (which resemble each other choreographically) have no relationship to the well-known fifteenth-century *ballo* by the same name, nor can they be performed to Domenico's music. ⁵⁷ Likewise, there is no similarity between *Reale*, the opening *bassadanza* in Guglielmo Ebreo's treatise, ⁵⁸ and Il Papa's choreography by the same name. *Lasso* is too vague a title, there being at least eight frottolas beginning with "Lasso," and I have yet to investigate whether any of these matches Giovannino's choreography. The other *balletti* – *Lucretia*, *Fiammetta*, *Primavera*, and *Baramattio* – may well have been danced to, or based on, "canzoni a ballo" that were part of the oral tradition, and hence lack written music. ⁵⁹ Nonetheless, it is not improbable that some refer-

 $^{^{\}rm 55}$ The typical Neapolitan villanella, popular in the mid-sixteenth century, does not seem appropriate here.

⁵⁶ Modern edition in Otto Gombosi, ed., Compositione di Messer Vincenzo Capirola: Lute-Book (circa 1517) (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de musique d'autrefois, 1955), 1.

⁵⁷ *Iupiter*, also known as *Giove (Iove)*, was composed by Domenico da Piacenza but was included, in one version or another, in all the 15th-century treatises. For choreographies and music, see D. R. Wilson, *Domenico*, Barbara Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, and A. W. Smith, *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music*.

⁵⁸ Guglielmo attributes the authorship of the dance to his master, Domenico. See Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, 126-7.

⁵⁹ Victor Coelho, *The Manuscript Sources of 17th-century Italian Lute Music* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1995), 657, cites a *Lucrezia favorita balletto* in a manuscript now located in San Gimignano, giving the provenance of the codex as Tuscan and dating it (perhaps overly late) between 1584-90.

ence to these dances in diaries or literary sources may yet turn up, as may traces of their music. Indeed, Filippo Degli Alessandri in his *Discorso sopra il Ballo*, published in Terni by Tomasso Guerrieri in 1620, included the *Franciosetta* among such early sixteenth-century dances as the *Pavana*, the *Bassa di Spagna*, and the *Rouarzo*, mentioned by Castiglione, oi indicating them as dances which have gone out of fashion and "which none of us [today] has even heard of."

It seems likely that both the frottola composers and their choreographer contemporaries drew on the same popular tunes for their inspiration, a part of the general interest in the simple, rustic life as exemplified in poetry and pastoral plays. ⁶² One of the differences between the two, however, is the importance the composers gave to the songs' words. Conversely, none of the choreographies reflects any of the texts — neither the lusty parody of the *lanzichenecchi*, or the "tormented passion" of *Se non dormi*, *donna*, *ascolta*. Did this choreographic boycott of the words influence the manner in which the music was performed for the dances? Were the dance-tunes which accompanied the early sixteenth-century *balli* sung, as was the case with traditional Tuscan circle dances performed to the carols of young women as they danced, ⁶³ or would they have only been

⁶⁰ A roegarze is mentioned in the last paragraph of Book I of *Il Libro del Cortegiano*. Little is known to date about this dance, nor is there any extant music. For a modern English rendition of the passage in Castiglione, see Charles Singleton's excellent 1959 translation, *The Book of the Courtier* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc.), 86, and 362 for the accompanying note 30, which refers to the *roegarze* of Castiglione's original text as: "a dance of French origin (cf. Old French *rouergasse*), sometimes danced by four or eight persons."

⁶¹ Discorso, 54: "che mò (si può dire)... da noi altri non sono ne meno intesi." Degli Alessandri also states that these dances were "made famous and described by the Roman dancing-master Pietro Martire." According to Cesare Negri, Pietro Martire Milanese was active at the time of Pope Paul III (1534-50), and he "brought to light" many compositions of "balletti et di gagliarde." No choreographic descriptions by him are known to exist.

⁶² See William Prizer, "Games of Venus: Secular Vocal Music in the Late Quattrocento and Early Cinquecento," *The Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991): 3-56; especially 17-37. Prizer points out (p. 18) that the "elite" interest in the popular text resulted in a "popularizing" or "conscious imitation of the popular manner."

⁶³ See, for example, Galeazzo Maria Sforza's 1459 letter describing such an event in Firenzuola (Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, 59), and the frontispiece woodcuts for Lorenzo de Medici's and Poliziano's *Canzoni a ballo*.

played on instruments? I tend to think that both modes of accompaniment would have taken place, regardless of the relevance—or not—of the words to the choreographies. Popular songs and frottolas were often stanzaic, with refrains, and are probably responsible for the appearance, for the first time in Italian dance of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, of the repeated refrains and choreographic strophes found in several of the Tuscan *balli/balletti*. This same form is present again in about one-third of the dances in Caroso's *Il Ballarino*, though almost completely abandoned twenty years later in *Nobiltà di dame*.

The period 1480-1530 abounds in dance-music and references to dances in literary sources, most of whose titles are — or sound like — the names of songs. Clues about how at least some of these turn-of-the-century, presumably traditional, dances were performed, may well be provided by the choreographies in the two "transition" sources. ⁶⁴ Besides filling in part of "the gap" concerning early Cinquecento dance, these two sources also add another dimension to the study of the multi-faceted frottola. Just as contemporary composers turned popular tunes into the frottolas of "high art," so the dancing-masters — Giovannino, Il Lanzino, Il Papa, and anonymous others — may well have composed their *balli* basing them on traditional dances, a fusion of the "high art" and the "popular" in dance.

⁶⁴ As well as by the similarly constructed late-15th-century Rosina.

TABLE 1

PRINCIPAL ITALIAN DANCE SOURCES -

ca. 1455-1607

15TH-CENTURY TREATISES WITH MUSIC

(in chronological order)

- Domenico da Piacenza, *De arte saltandi et choreas ducendi*, ca. 1455, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds ital 972
- Antonio Cornazano, Libro dell'arte del danzare, *1455/1465, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostoloica Vaticana, Capponiano 203
- Guglielmo Ebreo, *De pratica seu arte tripudii*, *1463, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds ital 973
- Giovanni Ambrosio (alias Guglielmo Ebreo), ca. 1471-74, *De pratica seu arte tripudii*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds ital 476

OTHER VERSIONS OF GUGLIELMO EBREO'S TREATISE (without music)

- ca. 1477, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabecchiano XIX. 88
- ca. 1477, Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ital. 82. A. J. 94
- ca. 1474, Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, L. V. 29
- ca. 1480, New York Public Library, Dance Collection, "Giorgio" MS, *MGZMB-Res. 72-254
- * 1510, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Antinori 13

The approximate dating of above MSS follows that given by F. Alberto Gallo in "Il 'ballare lombardo' (circa 1435-1475)," *Studi musicali* 8 (1979): 61-84. Dates of treatises — when known — are preceded by an asterisk.

"TRANSITION SOURCES" - EARLY 16TH CENTURY

- * 1510, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Antinori 13: four "new" balli
 ca. 1515-20, New York Public Library, Dance Collection, "Il Papa" MS,
 * MGZMB-Res. 72-254
- * 1517, Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, MS. 8842: 15th-century balli
- *1517, Turin, Archivi Biscaretti, Mazzo 4, no. 4: "Stribaldi roll" with 54

EARLY AND FUNDAMENTAL SOURCES OF "NEW ITALIAN STYLE" ca. 1540-1607

- 1540-50 ca. MS "Tuscan balli," (published by Gino Corti: see note 4 above)
- 1560 Lutio Compasso, Ballo della Gagliarda
- 1581 Fabritio Caroso, Il Ballarino
- 1589 Prospero Lutij, Opera bellissima ... Partite, et Passeggi di Gagliarda
- 1589 Emilio de' Cavalieri, final ballo of the intermedi for La Pellegrina
- 1600 Fabritio Caroso, Nobiltà di dame
- 1600 Livio Lupi, Mutanze di gagliarda, tordiglione, passo e mezzo, canari e passeggi
- 1602 Cesare Negri, Le Gratie d'amore
- 1604 Cesare Negri, re-edition of *Gratie d'amore* with new title: *Nuove inven*tioni di balli
- 1605 Fabritio Caroso, re-edition of Nobiltà di dame
- 1607 Livio Lupi, new edition of *Mutanze* (1600): *Libro di gagliarda, tor-diglione.* . . .

Note: Other dance and related treatises and re-editions continue to appear ca. 1615-1635.

TABLE 2

EARLY 16th-CENTURY BALLI AND BALLETTI IN TWO TUSCAN MANUSCRIPTS

Codex Antinori 13 (1510), Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

Moza di biscaie Lipitier Se no dormi dona alscioltta Mastri di toboni [tromboni]

Il Papa che insegnia ballare balletti a suoi scolari ⁺ New York Public Library, Dance Collection: *MGZBD-Res. 72-254

la Vita [de Colin]

I[u]ppiter

Lasso

Non mi parto

i Tromboni

la Traditora (il Papa)

Lucretia

che Faralla (il Lanzino)

La Primavera

La Reale (il Papa)

la Franciosetta

Lo Dimostra [el mio colore?]

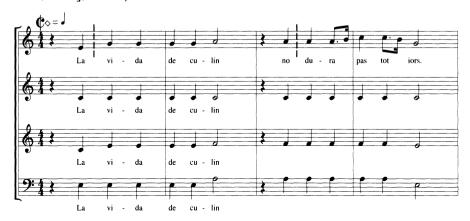
La Villanella

Baramattio

Fiammetta (il Lanzino)

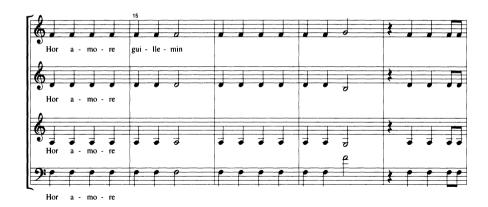
⁺ Note: The dances appear in the above order. All are by Giovannino, except where otherwise noted.

Example 1. La vita de Colin (La vida de Culin, after Isabel Pope & Masakata Kanazawa, eds., *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978], 166-7).











I cc ss 4 passetti 5 passettini (4 bars)

Refrain: R R doppio/volta (3 bars)

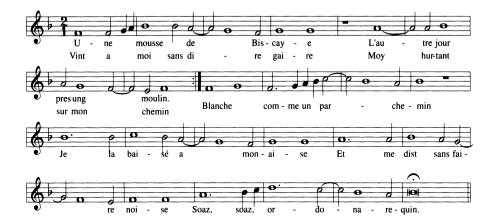
II ppp (d) x 4 (4 bars)

III pp d rr (4 bars)

IV 4 doppi (4 bars)

V 8 trapassini (4 bars)

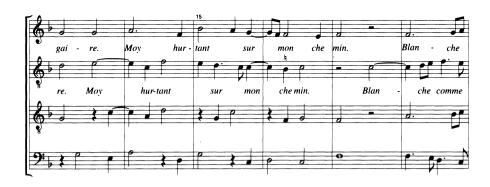
Example 2A. *Una musque de Buscgaya* (after G. Paris and A. Gevaert, Chansons du XV ^e siècle [1935], 7)



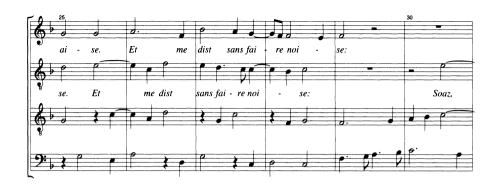
Example 2B. Josquin Des Pres, *Una musque de Buscgaya* (after M. Antonowycz and W. Elders, eds., *Werken van Josquin Des Prez*, Wereldlijke Werken, Bundel IV [Amsterdam, 1965], 5-7).













I cc R rr dd (6 bars)

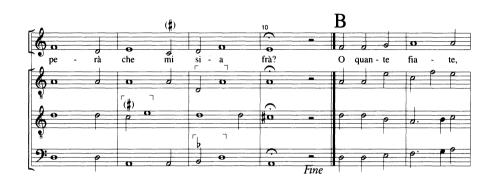
Refrain: R R d/volta (3 bars)
II ssd vg d r (6 bars)

III 2 tempi saltarello rr d r (6)

IV ss dd rr (5 bars)

Example 3. Michele Presenti, *Che faralla*, *che diralla* (after Francesco Luisi, *La Musica Vocale nel Rinascimento* [Turin: ERI, 1977], 284-5).













I A: R volta/d R (3 bars)

B: ss 4 passetti x2 (4 bars)

Refrain C: R R 5 passettini (3 bars)

II A: dd (2 bars)

B: ss 4 passetti x2 (4 bars)

C: as above (3)

III A: 3 meze riprese (3 bars)

B: 2 trapassini = d/volta 3 trapassini + p (4 bars)

C: as above (3)

Example 4A. Se non dormi, donna, ascolta, (after Gaetano Cesari, Raffaello Monterosso and Benvenuto Disertori, Le frottole nell' edizione principe di Ottaviano Petrucci [Cremona: Athenaum Cremonense, 1954], 133-4).













ABACCBA

1^{st}	playing	2^{nd}	playing
A	R cc	A	r r
В	d d	В	ss d
A	rr	A	vg
C	ss d	С	4 <i>tempi</i> piva
C	ss d	С	4 <i>tempi</i> piva
В	r r	В	0
A	d d	A	8 <i>tempi</i> piva

Example 4B.



Example 5. Lanzi mastri di tromboni (after Frederico Ghisi, I canti carnascialeschi [Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1937], 107).



Example 6. La traditora (after Knud Jeppesen, La Frottola 3 [Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1970]: 42, no. 105).



I R cc ss 4 passetti (4 bars)

3 trapassini + p (x2) (4 bars)

Refrain: R volta/4 passetti (2 bars)

III ss 2 trapassini cc 4 passetti (4 bars)

8 trapassini (4 bars)

Example 7. La Villanella (after Otto Gombosi, ed., Compositione di Messer Vincenzo Capirola: Lute-Book (circa 1517) [Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de musique d'autrefois, 1955]).

