THE MANUSCRIPT BOLOGNA, CIVICO MUSEO BIBLIOGRAFICO MUSICALE, CODEX Q 18 (OLIM 143): A BOLOGNESE INSTRUMENTAL COLLECTION OF THE EARLY CINQUECENTO

Volume I

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by

Susan Forscher Weiss

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Maryland in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy 1985

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APPROVAL SHEET

Title of Dissertation: <u>The Manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo</u> <u>Bibliografico Musicale, Codex Q 18</u> (olim 143): <u>A</u> <u>Bolognese Instrumental Collection</u> of the Early Cinquecento

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ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: <u>The Manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo</u> <u>Bibliografico Musicale, Codex Q 18 (olim 143)</u>: <u>A Bolognese</u> <u>Instrumental Collection of the Early Cinquecento</u>

Susan Forscher Weiss, Doctor of Philosophy, 1985

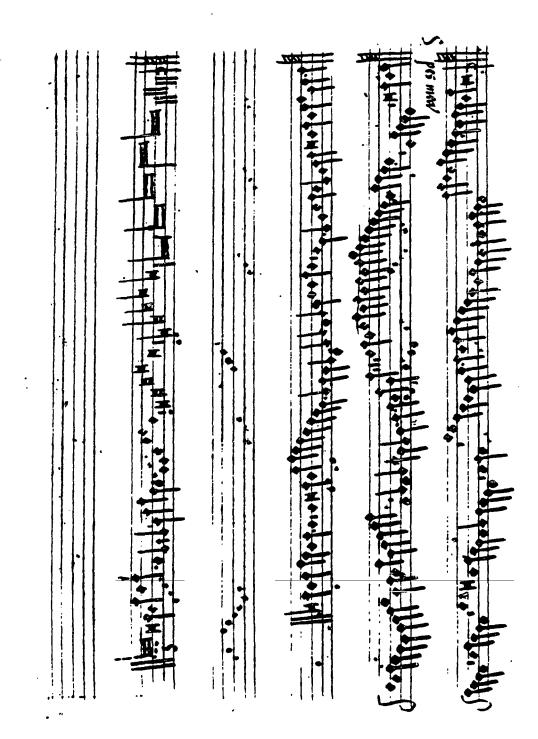
Dissertation directed by: Professor Richard Wexler and Professor E. Eugene Helm

The MS Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Cod. Q 18 has been cited frequently in literature about Renaissance music, but it has been referred to as a somewhat peripheral source and often mentioned only in passing. Q 18 was copied in part by Giovanni Spataro, the Bolognese theorist, teacher, and composer. The manuscript contains mostly textless compositions that bear practically no composer attributions and that form a disparate repertory. Frottole and laude, many with complete texts, occupy the first 19 folios; the remainder of Q 18 consists of approximately 70 pieces, some <u>a</u> <u>3</u>, the majority <u>a</u> <u>4</u>. Almost half of the compositions in Q 18 have not been found in other contemporary sources.

The history and culture of late fifteenth-century Bologna, its system of patronage under the Bentivoglio, its musicians and artists (particularly Lorenzo Costa), and its relations with other northern Italian cities known to have had active musical establishments, such as Mantua, Ferrara, and Florence, form the basis of the first chapter. A detailed physical description of the manuscript and a study of scribal characteristics follow in the second chapter. The third chapter establishes the Bolognese provenance of Q 18 and presents evidence to enable conclusions to

be drawn regarding its probable date of compilation. The fourth chapter is devoted to a discussion of the performance of pulyphony by instruments in the late fifteenth century and then takes up the problem of establishing various criteria for classifying music as instrumental or vocal. It is suggested that one of Bologna's most important civic performing groups during the Renaissance, the Concerto palatino della signoria di Bologna, performed compositions that appear in Q 18. An account of the distribution of composers in the manuscript, a prief examination of the works of Henricus Isaac whose ten compositions in Q 18 represent the largest number of works by a single composer, and an overview of the repertory follow in the fifth chapter. Commentaries on the unica are presented in the final chapter. Appendices include a complete inventory of the manuscript. Volume II includes transcriptions of 38 unica in Q 18.

Q 18, folio 42v, Spes mea



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There are many scholars and institutions both in Italy and in the United States to whom I am most grateful for easing the task of preparing this dissertation. It is with very deep appreciation that I acknowledge the following institutions and individuals in Bologna for the assistance given me during my two visits in the summers of 1980 and 1983: The Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna and its staff for their extraordinary generosity and helpfulness in allowing me to work with and duplicate material from numerous manuscripts and prints; Sergio Paganelli, librarian of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, for so generously giving his time and for so kindly sharing his materials and ideas concerning Q 18; Oscar Mischiati, Mario Fanti, Anna Maria Scandove, Alberto Gallo, the staff at the Archivio di Stato in Bologna, and The Johns Hopkins University Bologna Center.

I should also like to express my gratitude to a number of persons and institutions in this country. First comes my advisory committee: Professors E. Eugene Helm, William F. Prizer, W. Roger Rearick, Howard Serwer, and Richard Wexler. In Richard Wexler's 1976 Renaissance seminar at the University of Maryland the decision was made to pursue a study of Q 18. I greatly appreciate the generous contribution of his time and materials, his careful and painstaking efforts in correcting my transcriptions, his help in solving many of the problems of editing the <u>unica</u>, his expert guidance throughout the project,

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and his steadfast insistence on the highest standards. I am also very grateful to him and to the members of the Collegium Musicum of the University of Maryland for reading the unique compositions and for grappling with the problems of <u>musica ficta</u>.

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There are two other individuals who deserve very special thanks for their respective roles in the preparation and presentation of this study. William F. Prizer provided me--in the earliest stages of my research -- with key information on the gathering structure and scribes of Q 18, and on music and musicians at Mantua (in the form of gallevs from his then notyet-published book). Association with William Prizer enabled me to formulate ideas about music in Bologna during the Quattrocento and in particular to establish a hypothesis that Q 18 may have had an instrumental function. It is impossible to measure in quantitative terms the amount of time and effort that he spent in answering my unending questions, in checking watermarks in other archives, or in reading my multiple drafts, nor can I ever express my gratitude for the sense of confidence he instilled within me every step of the way. E. Eugene Helm is owed my gratitude for his indefatigable patience and his magical capacity to get me to "say what I mean," and for his ability to get me to tie together my loose ends. Without his masterful reading, organizational prowess, and constant questioning, this project never would have taken shape. For his praise and support, as well as all his Herculean efforts, a very deep and abiding thank you.

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the tricks of "Wordstar," for taking a side trip to the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona to trace watermarks, and above all for preventing me from ever saying "I can't ."

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INTRODUCTION

Scope, Purpose, and Method

The Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna, originally called Liceo Musicale, founded in the eighteenth century by Padre Giovanni Martini, contains a group of fifteenthand sixteenth-century manuscripts displaying consecutive shelf numbers assigned by the library's nineteenth-century archivist Gaetano Gaspari: Q 15, Q 16, Q 17, Q 18, Q 19. Research on these manuscripts has resulted in at least one article, monograph, or dissertation on each, with the exception of Q 18. Although Q 18 has been cited, beginning in the late nineteenth century, in numerous places in the literature, no study, article, or dissertation is devoted entirely to it. Neither a complete inventory nor a facsimile edition of Q 18 has been published. The neglect of this manuscript may be caused by several problems: it contains very few composer attributions, few works with text, and a disparate repertory. Moreover, its date has proved difficult to determine, and its provenance is uncertain. Nonetheless, most of the problems relating to a thorough understanding of Q 18, its contents, date, provenance, and purpose, can be solved.

Yet this source merits study. Almost half of the contents of Q 18 consists of compositions that have not been found in any other contemporary source. The edition included in this study will therefore make available for the first time a corpus of musical compositions of the late Quattrocento.

On first examining a microfilm of Q 18, the presence of frottole, secular vocal compositions usually associated with Isabella d'Este and the musical circles at the courts of Mantua and Ferrara in the early sixteenth century, led me to speculate that the manuscript might have been compiled in that region of Italy. The remainder of the works in the manuscript, most of which appear to be quite typical of compositions in other contemporary late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century chansonniers, gave no other clues about the provenance of Q 18.

A letter from Professor William F. Prizer in the spring of 1980 informed me that Sergio Paganelli, librarian at the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna, had compared the writing in Q 18 with that in the San Petronio choirbooks, several of which were known to have been copied by Giovanni Spataro (1458-1541), the Bolognese theorist, composer, and scribe. Accordina to Prizer, Paganelli concluded that Spataro was also one of the scribes of Q 18 and shared this information with other scholars, including Frank Tirro. Tirro included a brief statement about Spataro's hand in the compilation of Q 18 in his 1974 dissertation on the Spataro choirbooks in the San Petronio archives (see below, fn. 14). During a visit to the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in the summer of 1980, I found watermarks in Q 18 that corresponded to very similar watermarks in Bolognese papers, manuscripts, and printed books of the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento.

In light of my observations and those of Paganelli, this study begins with the hypothesis that Q 18 originated in Bologna. In support of my hypothesis I will present a survey of Bologna's

culture and of its relations with other centers of culture in northern Italy during the late Quattrocento. Then follows a physical description of Q 18, after which the manuscript is compared to other contemporary sources in a comparison that tends to confirm its northern Italian and specifically Bolognese provenance. Conjectures as to its date of compilation are based on Bolognese history and Spataro's biography. A study of the purpose and repertory of Q 18 leads to the conclusion that it served as a source of music for an instrumental performing group, such as Bologna's <u>Concerto palatino</u>. Finally, an inventory of the manuscript, comments about the <u>unica</u>, and an edition of the <u>unica</u> complete the picture of Q 18, a collection of music that I believe originated in Bologna and that was intended principally for instrumental performance.

Survey of the Literature

Gaetano Gaspari's 1893 <u>Catalogo</u> describes Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Cod. Q 18 (<u>olim</u>, Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale, Cod. 143), hereafter referred to as Q 18, as follows:

Autori diversi. Cantiones Sacrae et profane. Codex chartaceus saeculi XVI. - in 4⁰ obl.

Contiene il presente manoscritto delle composizioni a più voci, nel principio con parole italiane, e più oltre senza parole, tranne la prima, or latina per le musiche di chiesa, ed ora francese o provenzale pe' canti profani. A niuno però de' componimenti è premesso

il nome dell' autore della musica.¹

Since Gaspari's description appeared in 1893, very little has been written about Q 18, apart from partial lists of contents, erroneous descriptions, and peripheral citations. In 1906 Luigi Torchi, who edited the third volume of the Gaspari catalogue, published an article that included an inaccurate and only partial index of text incipits in Q 18.² Among other things, Torchi read "s'ares moi" for <u>Garisses moi</u> and "Qui direlt sa front" for <u>A qui direlle sa pense</u>.

Almost 30 more years elapsed before another index appeared: Albert Smijers's study of Italian music manuscripts containing the compositions of Northern composers which included a listing, by folio numbers, of approximately 25 text incipits from Q 18.³

- 2. Luigi Torchi, "I Monumenti dell'antica musica francese a Bologna," <u>Rivista musicale italiana</u>, XIII (1906), pp. 502-3. All text incipits of compositions in Q 18 are spelled in the present study as they appear in this manuscript (with an occasional editorial addition of a missing letter, indicated by square brackets). Texts and titles of other compositions are spelled according to the orthography most commonly used today.
- Albert Smijers, "Vijftiende en zestiende eeuwsche Muziekhandschriften in Italië met werken van Nederlandsche Componisten," <u>Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse</u> <u>Musiekgeschiedenis</u>, XIV (1935), p. 170. Smijers compiled a complete thematic index, but it is unpublished.

^{1.} Gaetano Gaspari, <u>Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale</u> <u>di Bologna</u>, 4 Vols. (Bologna, 1893), Vol. III (ed. Luigi Torchi), p. 4. The shelf number, Q 18, is entered in pencil in the margin next to the above entry in the Bologna library's copy. "Diverse authors. sacred and secular songs. Paper codex of the 16th century, in oblong quarto format. The present manuscript contains polyphonic compositions, at the beginning with Italian words, and later on without words, except for the first word, some with Latin [text incipits indicating] music for the church; and some with French or Provençal [<u>sic</u>] [text incipits] for secular songs. None of the compositions is preceded by the name of the composer of the music."

Some of Smijers's composer attributions for each of these anonymous compositions are incorrect; for example, he attributes <u>Min morghen gaf</u> (folios 88v-89r) and <u>La turturella</u> (folios 69v-70r) to Obrecht, the composer of a different piece having the same text incipit found in RISM 1504³ (<u>Canti C</u>) and FlorBN BR 229 (see Chapter III, fn. 53, and Chapter VI, pp. 214ff). Jeppesen, in his <u>Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude um 1500</u>, published in the same year as Smijers's article, transcribed Tromboncino's <u>Ave maria</u>, folios 19v-20r in Q 18, and described Q 18 as a manuscript containing 85 folios in nine gatherings, but his count of the folios is incorrect, as I shall demonstrate.⁴

In her edition of <u>Harmonice musices</u> <u>Odhecaton</u> <u>A</u> (RISM 1501) published in 1942, Helen Hewitt listed 16 concordances between Q 18 and RISM 1501.⁵ Following World War II, Walter Rubsamen' visited Italian music libraries for the purpose of surveying their holdings; he published his findings in an article in which he mentions Q 18 and gives a citation to the Gaspari catalogue described above.⁶

- Leipzig, 1935, pp. lxiii-lxiv. Jeppesen also mentions Q 18 in a short report, "Die mehrstimmige italienische Lauda am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts," in <u>Congress Reports of the</u> <u>International Musicological Society</u> (Liège, 1930), pp. 155-7.
- 5. Hewitt, ed., <u>Harmonice musices Odhecaton A</u> (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), p. 113. Hewitt, however, does not refer to Q 18 in her chapter on the variants in musical readings.
- Rubsamen, "Music Research in Italian Libraries: An Anecdotal Account of Obstacles and Discoveries," <u>Notes: The Quarterly</u> <u>Journal of the Music Library Association</u>, VI (1949), p. 560.

Several studies of manuscripts and prints appearing in the 1950s and '60s, among them Nanie Bridgman's description of ParisBNC 676 and RISM $[1535]^{14}$ (Egenolff), Dragan Plamenac's of SevC 5-I-43, Martin Picker's of BrusBR 228 and BrusBR 11239, and Hewitt's of RISM 1502² (Canti B), contain references to Q 18 as a concordant source.⁷ During this same period and the decade to follow, additional references to Q 18 appeared in a number of studies of forms and genres in the Renaissance. One of the earliest of these, Manfred Bukofzer's "A Polyphonic Basse Dance of the Renaissance," contains analyses of the two La Spagna compositions in Q 18, and another, Giulio Cattin's essay on the polyphonic lauda, contains two transcriptions of unique laude in Q 18.^B Howard Brown's <u>Music in the French Secular Theatre</u> cites Q 18 among the concordances for two chansons, <u>De tous bien plein</u> (folios 36v-37r and 51v-52r) and <u>Je pris amor</u> (folios 59v-60r).⁹

- 7. Nanie Bridgman, "Un manuscrit italien du début du XVIe siècle à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Dép. de la Musique, Rés. Vm.⁷ 676)," <u>Annales musicologiques</u>, I (1953), pp. 177-267 and IV (1956), pp. 259-60; <u>idem</u>, "Christian Egenolff, imprimeur de musique (à propos du recueil Rés. Vm.⁷ 504 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris)," <u>Annales musicologiques</u>, III (1955), pp. 77-177; Dragan Plamenac, "A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville," <u>The Musical Quarterly</u>, XXXVII (1951), pp. 501-42; XXXVIII (1952), pp. 85-117, 245-77; Martin Picker, <u>The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria: Mss. 228 and 11239 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique</u>, Brussels (Berkeley, 1965); Helen Hewitt, ed. Ottaviano <u>Petrucci: Canti B Numero Cinquanta, Venice</u>, 1502, Vol. II of Monuments <u>of Renaissance Music</u> (Chicago, 1967), p. 11.
- Manfred Bukofzer, <u>Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music</u> (New York, 1950), pp. 206-207. Giulio Cattin, "Contributi alla storia della lauda spirituale," <u>Quadrivium</u>, II (1958), pp. 45-75.
- 9. Howard Mayer Brown, <u>Music in the French Secular Theatre</u>, <u>1400-1550</u> (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 206, 234.

Knud Jeppesen's three-volume work on the frottola includes a revised description of Q 18, a correction of his own erroneous count of the number of folios, and a partial list of the contents of the manuscript (32 of the 93 pieces).¹⁰ Jeppesen's criteria for inclusion of compositions are unclear. Some are included because they have Italian texts or are frottola-related; others are instrumentally conceived pieces, such as both La Spagna compositions (folios 48v-50r), and another is a composition, Rubinet (folios 80v-81r), that occurs elsewhere with a French text (see Chapter V, p. 159). In his description of Q 18, Jeppesen mentions the presence of two laude, Con qual fronte a te maria (folios 5v-6r) and Sensa te sacra regina (folios 17v-18r), but, for some unknown reason, he lists only the latter in his Martin Just's article "Heinrich Isaacs Motetten in inventory. italienischen Quellen," appearing in 1963, Dietrich Kämper's study of instrumental music, D'Accone's articles "Some Neglected Composers in the Florentine Chapels, ca. 1475-1525" and "The Performance of Sacred Music in Italy during Josquin's Time, c. 1475-1525," Gallico's "Josquin's Compositions on Italian Texts and the Frottola," and his monograph Un libro di poesie per musica dell'epoca d'Isabella d'Este also refer to Q 18.11

- Knud Jeppesen, <u>La Frottola</u> (Copenhagen, 1968-70), II, pp. 10, 108-109. Jeppesen says that there is no watermark in Q 18, but see below pp. 10-11.
- Martin Just, <u>Analecta Musicologica</u>, I (1963), pp. 1-19; Dietrich Kämper, <u>Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblemusik</u> <u>des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien</u>, Vol. X of <u>Analecta</u> <u>Musicologica</u> (1970); Frank D'Accone, <u>Viator</u>, I (1970), pp. 271-2 (biographical information on Rubinet and Stochem, both members of the Florentine chapel); <u>idem</u>, in <u>Josquin des</u> <u>Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference, New York, 21-25 June 1971, ed. Edward E.
 </u>

The <u>opera omnia</u> of various Renaissance composers, such as Isaac, Compère, Brumel, Josquin, and Agricola, include transcriptions of compositions found in Q 18. Q 18 rarely figures prominently in these editions, perhaps because the editors considered it less significant than other sources of these composers' works.¹² On the other hand, the Isaac edition, perhaps on account of its early date (1907), makes no reference to Q 18 whatever.¹³

Among other references to Q 18 have been those in studies of Renaissance manuscripts, such as the dissertations of Tirro, Drake, Atlas, Baker, and Cummings, Cattin's article on and edition of CapePL 3.b.12, Leeman Perkins's and Howard Garey's two-volume edition of the Mellon Chansonnier (NHavY 91), and Howard Brown's book on FlorBN BR 229.¹⁴ Some of the studies of

Lowinsky (London, 1976), pp. 601-618; Claudio Gallico's article in the same <u>Proceedings</u>, pp. 446-54; and his monograph (Mantua, 1961), pp. 95-96.

- 12. In addition to its being overlooked in some of these source lists, Q 18 is also occasionally not mentioned in lists of concordances for a specific piece (e.g., the inadvertent omission of Q 18 in the source list for Sy dedero in Martin Picker, <u>The Chanson Albums...</u>, p. 161).
- Johannes Wolf, ed. <u>Heinrich Isaac, Weltliche Werke</u> in <u>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich</u>, Vol. XIV and supplement (Vol. XVI) (Vienna, 1907).
- 14. Frank Tirro, "Giovanni Spataro's Choirbooks in the Archive of San Petronio in Bologna" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974); George Drake, "The First Printed Books of Motets, Petrucci's 'Motetti a numero trentatre A' (Venice, 1502) and 'Motetti de passione, de cruce de sacramento de beata virgine et huiusmodi' (Venice, 1503): A Critical Study and Complete Edition" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1972); Allan Atlas, <u>The Capella Giulia Chansonnier</u> (Brooklyn, 1975); Norma Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony in the Archives of the Cathedral of Segovia: Its Provenance and History" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of

Renaissance composers and editions of their music (e.g., Martini, Vincenet, Isaac, Cara, and Japart) published in the past fifteen years contain references to Q 18.15 Martin Staehelin's threevolume work on Isaac's Masses refers to Q 18, but his description of the manuscript relies on the previous work of Smijers, Torchi, and Jeppesen. (Staehelin repeats Jeppesen's earlier incorrect folio count). Q 18 is also mentioned in several other articles and books, such as Stanley Boorman's essay "The 'First' Edition of the <u>Odhecaton A</u>," Lawrence Bernstein's article "Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson," Howard Brown's study "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of

Maryland, 1978); Anthony Cummings, "A Florentine Sacred Repertory from the Medici Restoration: Manuscript II.I. 232 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1980); Anthony Cummings, "A Florentine Sacred Repertory from the Medici Restoration," Acta Musicologica, LV (1983), pp. 267-332; Giulio Cattin, "Nuova fonte italiana della polifonia intorno al 1500 (MS Cape Town, Grey 3.b. 12)," Acta Musicologica, XLV (1973), pp. 165-221 and idem, ed., Italian 'Laude' and Latin 'Unica' in MS Cape Town, Grey 3.b.12 (American Institute of Musicology, 1977); The Mellon Chansonnier, Vols. I and II, ed. by Leeman Perkins and Howard Garey (New Haven, 1979); Howard Brown, A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229 (Chicago, 1983).

15. Edward Evans, Johannes Martini: Secular Pieces (Madison, 1975); Martin Staehelin, Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs (Bern and Stuttgart, 1977), and Bd. 2 of Messen, Musikalische Denkmäler, Bd. VIII (Mainz, 1973); William Prizer, Courtly Pastimes: The Frottole of Marchetto Cara (Ann Arbor, 1974 and 1980); Ralph Buxton, "Johannes Japart: A Fifteenth Century Chanson Composer," Current Musicology, III (1981), pp. 7-33; Bertran Davis, The Collected Works of Vincenet (Madison, 1978). Davis states that there are ascriptions added by a later hand for a number of pieces. A microfilm copy of Q 18 in the Isham library at Harvard University contains these so-called added ascriptions, but the manuscript itself no longer contains them. One surmises that they were made in pencil and were erased subsequent to the filming of the manuscript.

Imitation in the Renaissance," Louise Litterick's essay "Performing Franco-Netherlandish Secular Music of the Late 15th Century: Texted and Untexted Parts in the Sources," and Francesco Luisi's book <u>La Musica vocale nel Rinascimento: Studi sulla</u> <u>musica vocale profana in Italia nei secoli XV e XVI</u>. Five of the <u>unica</u> in the manuscript have been transcribed in two performing editions, one by Bernard Thomas, containing transcriptions of <u>La guercia</u> and the two <u>La Spagna</u> compositions, and the other by Richard Taruskin, containing the two <u>Venus bant</u> pieces in Q 18.¹⁶

The most up-to-date descriptions of the manuscript appear in the <u>Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Music</u>: <u>Sources of Polyphonic</u> <u>Music</u> and the article on "Sources" in the <u>New Grove Dictionary of</u> <u>Music</u>.¹⁷ Although the <u>Census-Catalogue</u> states that no watermarks are visible in Q 18 and credits some of the composers represented in the manuscript with an inaccurate number of works,

- 16. Stanley Boorman, JAMS, XXX (1977), pp. 183-207; Lawrence Bernstein, <u>The Journal of Musicology</u>, I (July, 1982), pp. 275-326; Howard M. Brown, <u>JAMS</u>, XXXV (1982), pp. 1-48; Louise Litterick in <u>Early Music</u>, VIII (1980), pp. 474-85; Francesco Luisi (Turin, 1977); Bernard Thomas, ed., <u>Four Pieces of the Late Fifteenth Century</u> (London, 1973); Richard Taruskin, ed., <u>O Venus Bant: Ten Settings in Three and Four Parts</u>, <u>Renaissance Standards</u>, RS3 (Ogni Sorte Editions, 1979).
- 17. American Institute of Musicology, 1979, Vol. I, pp. 72-73; Warwick Edwards, "Sources," <u>The New Grove Dictionary of Music</u> and <u>Musicians</u> (London, 1980), Vol. 17, p. 703; the names of the authors of another portion of this article (on p. 682, where Q 18 is grouped with RomeC 2856 as a chansonnier of northern Italian origin) are inadvertently omitted. Edwards characterizes Q 18 as a source of instrumental ensemble music containing an opening section of frottole followed by 73 pieces <u>a</u> <u>3</u> and <u>a</u> <u>4</u>, many probably of instrumental origin. See also Don Harran, "Frottola," <u>The New Grove ...</u>, Vol. 6, p. 869, for a citation of Q 18 as one of almost two dozen Renaissance manuscripts that contain frottole.

it is noted here that Sergio Paganelli identified Giovanni Spataro as one of Q 18's scribes, leading to the hypothesis that the manuscript is Bolognese. Judging from the number of references to Q 18 in the 'iterature, and to a certain degree of confusion surrounding the various descriptions of it, a study of the manuscript in its own right seems justified. As a first step, I present a survey of Bolognese culture and politics as the latter related to culture at the turn of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Bologna as a Center of Culture in the Late Quattrocento

Although Bologna enjoyed a wide reputation as an artistic and commerical center during the Renaissance, the city and its ruling family, the Bentivoglio, rarely spring to mind when one considers the place of music and the great patrons of music in that era. Scholars have long recognized Bologna's importance as a musical center in the mid- to late seventeenth century, but far less is known about music there in earlier times. With the exception of studies of the choirbooks of San Petronio and the theoretical writings of Ramos, Burtius, and Spataro, little has been written about Bologna as a center of musical activity during the Renaissance.¹ Yet several geographical, economic, and political factors gave the city prominence and a thriving

1. Gaetano Gaspari, "La musica in Bologna--Discorso," <u>Gazzetta musicale de Milano (1858)</u>, pp. 1-9; <u>idem</u>, "Richerche, documenti e memorie risguardanti la storia dell'arte musicale in Bologna," <u>Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna VI (Bologna, 1868), pp. 23-60; idem, "Ragguagli sulla capella musicale della Basilica di S. Petronio in Bologna," <u>Atti e memorie VII (1868)</u>, pp. 185-195; idem, "La musica in San Petronio," <u>Atti e memorie VIII (1869)</u>, pp. 23-60 and IX (1870), pp. 1-35; Ludovico Frati, "Per la storia della musica in Bologna dal secolo XV al XVI," <u>Rivista musicale italiana XXIV (1917)</u>, pp. 449-478; idem, La vita privata di Bologna dal secolo XIII al XVII (Rome, 1968), pp. 187-190; Francesco Vatielli, <u>Arte e vita musicale a Bologna (Bologna, 1927)</u>, pp. 14-21; idem, "Il Concerto Palatino della signoria di Bologna," <u>Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per l'Emilia e la Romagna V (1939-40)</u>, pp. 1-29; Frank Tirro, "Giovanni Spataro's Choirbooks in the Archive of San Petronio in Bologna" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974).</u>

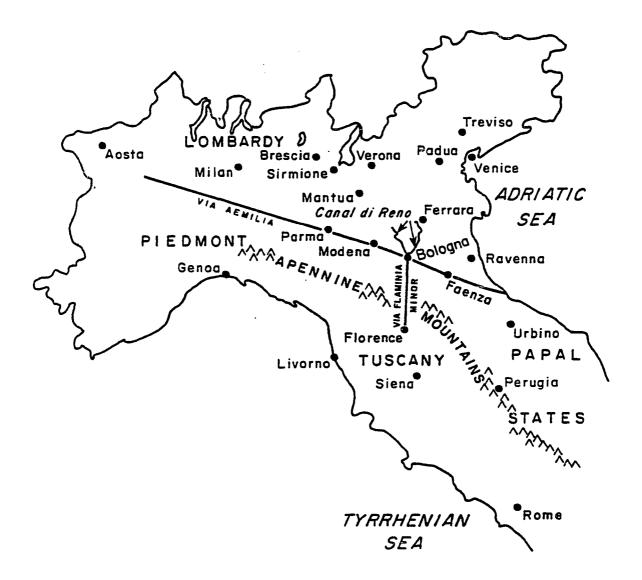
cultural life. Surviving documents, though scarce, give us glimpses of a flourishing artistic center as yet little known.

Because of its central location, Bologna became a major point of communication between northern and southern Italy. Bologna is situated along the old Via Aemilia north of the Apennine mountain range. This great strategic highway, built in 13 B.C. by the Consul Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Roman politician and member of the second triumvirate, linked the cities of Romagna and the Adriatic with those of Lombardy. The Apennine mountains were traversed by another highway, the Via Flaminia Minor, connecting Bologna to Tuscany (Map I).² Travelers from all over Italy and Europe made Bologna a resting place.

During the Middle Ages, Bologna was an independent citystate with powerful merchant companies and guilds, among them lawyers, bankers, cloth merchants, and silk merchants. The city was a bustling commercial center whose wealthy citizens could afford to patronize the arts. The <u>studium generale</u> at Bologna had begun to attract lecturers of international reputation as early as the eleventh century, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Bologna rivaled Paris as a center of learning. The <u>studium</u> was an outgrowth of the cathedral school and eventually became synonymous with <u>universitas</u>. The presence, at the University of Bologna, founded in the late thirteenth century, of numerous scholars, such as Dante, and later Petrarch, provided an important stimulus for the Renaissance transformation

Map I was drawn by Ms. Dean Pendleton, Illustrations Division, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University. The map collection of the Eisenhower Library provided the source material for this map.

Map I. Northern Italy in the Sixteenth Century



of Bolognese culture.³

German nobles sent their sons to Bologna to obtain the Doctor of Laws degree, one of the most coveted academic achievements of the time. Foreign contingents such as the German one, which was considerable and so influential that it became known as the "Natio Germanica," played an important role in the evolution of culture in Bologna.⁴ Paper-makers, bookbinders (catering in particular to the sons of wealthy foreign noblemen), and a renowned school of calligraphy served the needs of the University.

Although the University of Bologna was best known for its law faculty, it also distinguished itself in the liberal arts. In the Middle Ages, music was included among the philosophical disciplines as part of the <u>quadrivium</u> with arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy; but music also had a practical existence in the academic and religious community. As performed by the university trumpeters and shawm players, music adorned many academic ceremonies, particularly doctoral degree investitures, as well as religious feasts. Music and dance played a large and

- 3. Nan Cooke Carpenter, <u>Music in the Medieval and Renaissance</u> <u>Universities</u> (Norman, 1958), pp. 32-34. Nicolaus Burtius in his 1493 <u>Bononia Illustrata</u> stresses the importance of culture in Bologna in the eleventh century, and describes a philosopher and musician at the University of Bologna who was a contemporary of Guido d'Arezzo.
- 4. E. Ph. Goldschmidt, <u>Gothic and Renaissance Bookbindings</u> (London, 1928), Vol. I, pp. 271-275. One German who studied at Bologna was Theodoricus Gresemundus (1472-1512), who wrote a treatise published in Mainz in 1494 on the study of liberal arts at Bologna. Gresemundus described the conflict between the older disciplines and the newer humanistic influences (Carpenter, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 138).

important role in the lives of the students.⁵

An endowed lectureship in music was established at the University in 1450 by Pope Nicholas V, but it may have been immediately abolished, since there is no further evidence of its existence.⁶ Composers Guillaume Dufay and Nicholas Grenon were known to have lived in Bologna during the late 1420s.⁷ The noted Spanish theorist Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareja taught theory and the principles of tuning (with emphasis on newer tunings) privately in Bologna from 1472 to 1482. The University and the numerous churches, most particularly San Petronio, made considerable contributions to the musical life of the city, as did the churches in other Italian cities. At San Petronio in 1479, polyphonic music was sung by five adults. In 1505-6, two more adult singers and an unspecified number of boys were on the pay

- 5. Carpenter, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 34-36, fn. 20, quoting Carlo Malagola, <u>Statuti della università e dei collegi dello</u> <u>studio bolognese</u> (Bologna, 1888), p. 151. A list of expenditures relating to a doctoral degree investiture reveals that "for three shawm players and four trumpet players, two lira and nine soldi were paid." ("Pro piffaris tribus et quatour tubatoribus libre due et solidi novem solvantur.")
- 6. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 130. The post may have been filled in the first year, 1450-51, but in the following year, 1451-2, the name of the music instructor, <u>ad lecturam musice</u>, was erased from the list of lecturers at the University. See Luigi Torri, "Il Trattato di Prosdocimo de' Beldemandi contro il Lucidario di Marchetto da Padova," <u>Rivista Musicale Italiana</u>, XX (1913), p. 712. See also Paul O. Kristeller, "Music and Learning in the Early Renaissance," <u>Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music</u>, I (1947), pp. 257ff.
- 7. David Fallows, <u>Dufay</u> (London, 1982), pp. 28-31, and bibliography on pp. 279-80 for further references (e.g., Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Guillaume Dufay's Masses: a View of the Manuscript Traditions," in Allan Atlas, ed., <u>Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference, Brooklyn College, December 6-7, 1974 (Brooklyn, 1976), pp. 26-60). It has been suggested that Dufay may have been studying canon law at the University of Bologna, but no documentation has been found.</u>

records. By 1540, the number of singers at this largest of Bolognese churches had increased to 15 adults and an unspecified number of boys. No names of instrumentalists appear in any of these pay records.⁸

The Bentivoglio Family and Its Patronage

Of paramount importance, both in patronage and in fostering humanistic culture in Bologna, was the Bentivoglio family, which began to assert dominion over the city during the early Quattrocento. In 1446, Sante Bentivoglio, an apprentice to the wool merchants' guild of Florence and the illegitimate son of Ercole Bentivoglio, was encouraged by his friend and ally Cosimo de' Medici to take his rightful position in Bologna. Sante's first achievement as a despot was to establish relations between Bologna and the Papacy.⁹ Eventually, in 1506, Pope Julius II took possession of the city as a dominion of the Papacy, but for sixty years Bologna and the Bentivoglio family were as inextricably linked as Ferrara and the Estensi, or Mantua and the Gonzaga. The relationship between the ruling family and Bologna is, however, not especially well documented. With the destruction of the Bentivoglio palace in 1507, many of the

Frank D'Accone, "The Performance of Sacred Music in Italy during Josquin's Time, c. 1475-1525." In <u>Josquin des Prez:</u> <u>Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-</u> <u>Conference, New York, 21-25 June 1971.</u> ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (London, 1976), pp. 603, 608.

^{9.} Cecilia M. Ady, <u>The Bentivoglio of Bologna, A Study in Despotism</u> (London, 1937), pp. 36, 44. Sante Bentivoglio married Ginevra Sforza in 1452, when Ginevra was still a child. After Sante died, Ginevra married Giovanni II Bentivoglio, and reigned for almost half a century as the bright star, and also somewhat malevolent genius, of the Bentivoglio court.

visible signs of the greatness of this family passed away.¹⁰ No Bentivoglio papers survive in the Archivio di Stato in Bologna except those relating to the more routine and mundane aspects of government. Likewise, no private correspondence of the signoria exists in the archives.

The Bentivoglio <u>signoria</u> stimulated the citizens of Bologna to artistic and intellectual effort throughout the latter part of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. The intimate network of relationships between this and other ruling families in Bologna gave rise to festive occasions at the Bentivoglio court for the entertainment of important visitors.¹¹

Bentivoglio patronage encouraged a pageantry hitherto unknown in Bologna in the celebration of the feasts of the Church. According to Ady, the most obvious effect of the Bentivoglio hegemony was that the rhythm of every aspect of civic life was accelerated.¹² Festivals and civic ceremonies provided entertainment that could be enjoyed by all classes. For example, the chronicles of Poggio and Ghirardacci (see below), and a letter from Alfonso d'Este to Isabella Gonzaga describe the tournament forming the climax of a pageant on St. Petronio's Day, October 4, 1490, and an anonymous poet remarked that the entire procession rounded the Piazza Maggiore to the sound of wind instruments and drums.¹³

10. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. v and 1.

- Cecilia M. Ady, "Materials for the History of the Bentivoglio Signoria in Bologna," <u>Transactions of the Royal</u> <u>Historical Society</u>, XVII (1934), p. 50.
- 12. <u>Idem, The Bentivoglio of Bologna, A Study in Despotism</u> (London, 1937), p. 169.
- 13. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 171.

To understand fully and to appreciate the Bentivoglio and their relationship to Bologna, one might consult the manuscript chronicles of some of their more enthusiastic clients. For example, many personal insights and some writing based on eyewitness accounts are provided by Giacomo dal Poggio, and the writings of Floriano degli Ubaldini describe the last years of the Bentivoglio rule. Fileno della Tuata points out the unique relationship between the Bentivoglio <u>signoria</u> and the papacy, while the printed <u>Diario bolognese</u>, by Giovanni II's master mason, Gaspare Nadi, describes building operations, weddings, and tournaments that took place during the years of the Bentivoglio rule.¹⁴

Contributing to Bologna's prosperity during the Bentivoglio era were the strong friendships that were forged between the Bentivoglio and other prominent Italian families, the Medici, Estensi, Gonzaga, and Sforza. Many personal letters from the Bentivoglio to members of these other ruling families survive in the Archives of Florence, Milan, Modena, Mantua, Ferrara, and Venice, and they often provide information about Bologna's pivotal position in Italian culture.¹⁵

- Cecilia M. Ady, "Materials . . .," pp. 54-57. The printed chronicles of Cherubino Ghirardacci, <u>Della Historia di</u> <u>Bologna Part 3 (1426-1509)</u>, ed. Sorbelli. <u>Muratori, Rerum</u> <u>Italicarum Scriptores</u>, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. 1, new edition, and Girolamo Burselli (see fn. 27 below) are also guite valuable.
- 15. Peter Laven, <u>A</u> <u>Comprehensive History of Renaissance Italy,</u> <u>1464-1534</u> (New York, 1966), p. 20. The Archivio Gonzaga at Mantua is a particularly rich source of Bentivoglio correspondence. The Sforza and Bentivoglio were related not only by the marriage of Sante Bentivoglio to Ginevra Sforza (see fn. 9), but also by the marriage of Alessandro Bentivoglio and Ippolita Sforza in 1492. Baldassare Castiglione, born in Mantua, who was in the service of the Sforza at Milan from 1496 to 1500, also was related to the Bentivoglio by his marriage in 1516 to Francesca

The <u>Relations</u> between <u>Bologna</u> and <u>Mantua</u>, <u>Ferrara</u>, <u>Florence</u>, <u>and</u> <u>Other Cultural Centers</u> in <u>Northern Italy</u>

The Bentivoglio had a closer relationship with Isabella d'Este and her husband Francesco Gonzaga than with any other members of the ruling families of Europe. There are many descriptions of visits by Gonzaga family members to Bologna and of their dealings with the Bentivoglio through politics and marriage. In the summer of 1472, Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, while staying at the baths of Porretta in the Apennines near Bologna, wrote to his father that he would like him to send the musician Malagista and the painter Mantegna to keep him company in Bologna, to which he would soon journey. He said (perhaps facetiously) that Malagista's playing and singing would make it easier for him to stay awake during his ten days in Bologna.¹⁶

Bentivoglio's daughter, Hippolyte, the granddaughter of Giovanni Bentivoglio. See Chapter III, pp. 112-13, and Sister M. Coeline Lyons, "The Latin Poems of Baldassare Castiglione" (unpublished Master's thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, 1926), p. 83. Regarding the relationship between the Bentivoglio and the Medici, see Filippo de Bosdari, "Relazioni tra Bologna e Firenze dal 1478 al 1482," in <u>Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per</u> <u>le provincie di Romagna</u> (Bologna, 1931), Series IV, Vol. XXI, pp. 137, 144, 158. Bosdari discusses Francesca Bentivoglio's marriages, the first to Galeotto Manfredi and the second to Guido Torelli. Although the Bentivoglio archives at Ferrara are not open for study, the Archivio di Stato in Modena is accessible, and some of Modena's more important Bentivoglio-Estensi documents have been published: U. Dallari, <u>Carteggio tra i Bentivoglio e gli Estensi dal</u> 1401 al 1542 esistente nell'Archivio di Stato in Modena, Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna, III, Vols. 18,19 (Bologna, 1902). Volume 19, pp. 245-372, begins with a letter written in May, 1491 from Annibale II Bentivoglio in Bologna to Ercole I d'Este in Ferrara.

 Julia Cartwright, <u>Isabella D'Este</u>, <u>Marchioness of Mantua</u>, <u>1474-1539</u> (New York, 1903), Vol. I, p. 34. See also <u>idem</u>, <u>Mantegna and Francia</u> (London, 1896), p. 119.

Another illustration of the Bentivoglio-Estensi relationship is recorded in the diary of Gaspare Nadi (see above, p. 19). Nadi carefully documents the wedding of Annibale Bentivoglio, oldest son and heir of Giovanni II, to Lucrezia d'Este, natural daughter of Ercole and half sister to Isabella d'Este. This event, which took place on January, 28, 1487, gave rise to extravagant entertainment beginning about five days days before the actual wedding and continuing into early February. Magnificent banquets, entertainment in the form of dancing and music, tournaments and fireworks, and continuous pageantry were staged to honor this union of the Bentivoglio and Este houses. There were, during the several days of festivities, 800 casks of wine and 30,000 "pounds" of meat for an unspecified number of quests and an additional 3000 spectators, who were treated to recitations commemorating the event by some of the most renowned writers of the day, among them Nicolaus Burtius and Filippo Beroaldo.¹⁷ The wedding culminated in a "grandenisimo [sic] trionfo" in front of San Petronio with "100 trombita e 50 pifari e trombuni e chorni e flauti e tamburini e zamamele innanzi . . . " 18

<u>The Concerto palatino della signoria di Bologna</u>

The use of massed wind instruments in Bologna can be traced back to the employment of the town's criers, or "banditori," in

 G. Nadi, <u>Diario bolognese</u>, ed. Ricci (Bologna, 1886), pp. 120-122. Lucrezia Borgia's wedding to Alfonso d'Este in

^{17.} C.M. Ady, <u>The Bentivoglio of Bologna</u>..., p. 174. Mrs. Ady cites several chroniclers of the events, among them Sabadino degli Arienti and Bernardino Zambotti. Beroaldo was a professor at the University of Bologna and a wellknown humanist writer.

the thirteenth century. At that time the <u>trombetti della</u> <u>signoria</u> sang the news accompanied by instruments. One finds early fifteenth-century descriptions of a <u>Concerto palatino del</u> <u>Magistrato degli Anziani</u>, a group thatincluded eight trumpeters, three shawm players, and a nakers player. The group that performed on the special occasion of the wedding (see above, p. 21) was no doubt a <u>Concerto palatino</u>, greatly expanded. The <u>Concerto palatino</u> often performed on the balcony of the Bentivoglio palace. The players were mostly Italian--some from Bologna, others from Parma, Venice, Sicily--and at least one German, Giovanni di Pietro d'Allemagna, a shawm player traceable as a member of the group in July 1453.¹⁹ Their duties included providing music of various genres, such as canzoni, motets, and dances, for matins, for Mass, for banquets and regular meals, and

1502 had "più di cento trombetti e pifferi." See "Lucrezia Borgia in Ferrara Sposa a Don Alfonso d'Este," in <u>Diario</u> <u>Ferrarese di Bernardino Zambotto dall'anno 1476 sino al</u> <u>1504, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</u>, Vol. XXIV, pt. VII (Bologna, 1928-33), pp. 308-312.

19. Francesco Vatielli, <u>Il Concerto palatino della signoria di</u> Bologna (Bologna, 1940), pp. 1-8, 11ff. Vatielli's monograph is the only one on the subject of instrumental performance groups in Bologna during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a subject that warrants more attention. See the following articles: William F. Prizer, "Bernardino piffaro e i pifferi e tromboni di Mantova: strumenti a fiato in una corte Italiana," <u>Rivista italiana di musicologia</u>, XVI (1981), pp. 151-184; Timothy J. McGee, "'Alla Battaglia': Music and Ceremony in Fifteenth-Century Florence," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXXVI (1983), pp. 287-302. Among the list of first names of condottieri in the complete text for Isaac's composition Alla Battaglia is that of an Annibale, who has been identified by McGee as Annibale Bentivoglio, a soldier in the Florentine army between 1484 and 1487. The poem also refers to other Bolognesi soldiers alongside Sforzeschi and Galleschi. McGee discusses Isaac's Alla Battaglia as both an instrumental composition and a vocal ceremonial piece.

for the comings and goings of the <u>signori</u>.²⁰ In 1508, shawms, trumpets, trombones, cornetts, nakers, lutes, harps, and viols were among the instruments represented in the <u>Concerto</u> <u>palatino</u>.²¹ In a letter to Isabella d'Este dated March 23, 1512, Lucrezia d'Este Bentivoglio describes a Bolognese parade in which two young boys seated on a float played <u>violetta</u> and lute accompanied by the usual trombones, shawms, and trumpets.²² Writing in the mid-sixteenth century to a Bolognese lady named Signora Violina, Andrea Calmo, a Venetian, describes a similar celebration, and seems to be marvelling at the excellence of the instrumentalists:

> But what gaiety is provided all day long by those piffari of the <u>signoria</u>, who play from the top of the balcony of the palace for an hour at a time and who serve churches, monasteries, enclosed within as well as outside, in the places of the most reverend cardinals, kings and pontiffs! Oh what hills, what prairies, oh what valleys! Ah, but whoever can go there from here says: "Are they of Bolognese blood?"₂₃

- 20. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 5-7. Vatielli offers no evidence to show what genres were actually performed. He is simply repeating a commonplace. He does make reference to documents in a volume <u>Diversorum</u>, <u>lib.</u> 9-A carte <u>38</u> recto in the Archivio di Stato in Bologna that include a charter ("capitolo") or decree and some pay records of the <u>Concerto palatino</u> for September-October, 1508. A later charter, dating from 1573, is similar to the 1508 document, but provides more information regarding the function of the group: "Sonino alla Messa le feste principali et quando si va fuori cominciando, finito che habbiano li trombetti, et sonando un motetto." "They play at the Mass in the principal feasts beginning when one goes out, once the trumpets have finished, and playing a motet." In 1508, there were eight trumpets and four or five pifferi. In 1533 there were eight trumpets and eight pifferi.
- 21. Ibid., pp. 20-25.
- 22. William F. Prizer, "Lutenists at the Court of Mantua in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," <u>Journal of</u> <u>the Lute Society of America</u>, XIII (1980), p. 24.
- 23. <u>Le lettere di Messer Andrea Calmo</u>, ed. Vittorio Rossi, (Turin, 1888), p. 331. "Mo che alegrezza se alde tutto el

This reference to the playing of wind instruments, not only outdoors for royalty, but also within the church and monastery for such high officials as cardinals and the Pope, is of interest. Although pay rosters have not been located among church records, we assume that these musicians were employed at San Petronio. Further research may eventually disclose the records of the local governing body responsible for paying the "pifari de la signoria" and allow us to elaborate on Calmo's observations.²⁴

Isabella d'Este and Music at Bologna

Nadi's account and Isabella's own letters confirm that she travelled frequently to Bologna for such occasions as the wedding described above. On another occasion, however, she wrote to her sister Beatrice, in January, 1494, that money was short at Mantua and that Francesco had to go alone to Bologna for the wedding of his brother Giovanni to Laura Bentivoglio.²⁵ Poggio describes the various tableaux that were presented in honor of this marriage and the couple's embarkation to Mantua by state barge on the newly opened Canal di Reno (see Map I), following the

zorno de quei pifari de la signoria, che sona in cima un pergolo del palazzo un'hora de longo e che machine de giesie, de monestieri, cusi de drento, come de fuora, luoghi da reverendissimi gardenali, da re e da pontifici! O che coline, che pradarie, o che valure! Ohimè, mo che se puol andar pi in là, ca dir: Son del sangue bolognese?"

- 24. In D'Accone, <u>op. cit.</u>, D'Accone discusses the subject of instrumental performance in the churches of Northern Italy. A trombonist is mentioned in the records of San Petronio for the first time in 1560. There is evidence that instrumentalists performed in churches on major feast days and during weddings (pp. 615 ff). Performance by instruments is discussed in a later chapter.
- 25. Giacomo Poggio, <u>Cronaca di Bologna di Giacomo Poggi</u> <u>Bolognese</u> (Bologna, Bib. Univ., 1491), f. 61v.

ceremony.²⁶ Five months later, in May, Isabeila traveled to Bologna, where she was entertained by Annibale Bentivoglio and her sister Lucrezia. Two years before, in 1492, Isabella's father Ercole d'Este had visited Bologna, the same year Alessandro Bentivoglio married Ippolita Sforza. Both of these events certainly gave rise to many festivities, among them undoubtedly musical ones, presented in conjunction with the events described.

In the year of our Lord, 1492, Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, coming to Bologna, made a gift of a golden soldier to Ermes, the fourth born son of Lord Giovanni Bentivoglio . . . Lord Alessandro, third son of Giovanni Bentivoglio, married Ippolita, the daughter of Carlo Sforza of Milan. The dowry was 70,000 ducats in real estate, precious jewels, and other things of value and personal effects amounting to 12,000 ducats. When the bride and bridegroom came from Milan to Bologna they were received with great spectacle and honor as is almost impossible to write about. For the feast of Corpus Christi, in the procession, many tableaux were represented, as many from the Old as from the New Testament. They were indeed worthy spectacles--as many say, recalling ancient Rome. In the street, the festive cloister was awarded a prize by the critics to Lord Antonio, knight of the Volta. 27

26. Ibid.

27. Cronica Gestorum Ac factorum memorabilium civitatis Bononie, ed. Fratre Hyeronimo de Bursellis [ab urbe condita ad a. 1497] (ed. A. Sorbelli, <u>Muratori, Rerum</u> <u>Italicarum</u> <u>Scriptores</u>, Vol. XXIII, Pt. 2, new edition), p. 112. "Anno Domini 1492, Hercules dux Ferrariae, Bononiam veniens, Hermetem quarto natum domini Johannis Bentivogli aureatum militem fecit. . . . Dominus Alexander tertius domini Johannis Bentivogli filius desponsavit Mediolani Ypolitam Caroli Sfortie filiam. Dos fuit septuaginta milia ducatorum in bonis immobilibus; gemmarum vero et aliarum rerum mobilium duodecim milia. Cum ex Medio'lano Bononiam sponsus et sponsa venissent, tanto apparatu et honore recepti sunt, ut scribere quasi impossibile sit. In festo Corporis Christi in processione multa representata sunt, tam de veteri, quam de novo testamento. Spectacula adeo fuerunt digna, ut multi dicerent antiquitatem Romanam revixisse. In platea, gyostra celebrata, domino Antonio equiti de la Volta bravium a censoribus adjudicatum est." See Ady. The Bentivoglio . . , p. 172. Corpus Christi was the season of mystery plays. The story of the world was presented in two parts: the first, the Creation from the Old Testament, the

Much entertainment was provided at Giovanni II's country house, Ponte Poledrano, about 25 kilometers north of Bologna. Following the opening of the Canal di Reno in 1494, the journey there was made easily by water. The villa was both farm and palace, and it was a favorite meeting place for friends of the Bentivoglio, particularly at Christmas time. Lucrezia d'Este spent her wedding night there before she and Annibale left for Bologna. Lucrezia Borgia met Alfonso d'Este at Ponte Poledrano in 1502 prior to their wedding journey to Ferrara. The Bentivoglio often went there to escape the heat in Bologna, and each of their visits occasioned a celebration with sport, music, feasting and dancing. Each of the smaller rooms in the country house had a different scheme or decoration embodying mottoes of the Bentivoglio family. One of the rooms in this summer villa still has a design of reeds and palms combined with the motto <u>Spes mea</u> on its walls. The motto <u>Spes</u>, or <u>Spes mea</u>, is closely associated with the Bentivoglio. (For a possible relationship between Francesca Bentivoglio and Spes mea see Chapter III, pp. 109-13 and Chapter VI, pp. 234ff.)²⁸

Besides being a patroness of music, Isabella d'Este was

second, from the Christian era. The Antonio in the last sentence may have been one of several men with that given name. Anton Galeazzo Bentivoglio, the protonotary and eldest son of Giovanni, had been the stage manager for tableaux of the life of St. Augustine presented in San Petronio on the occasion of Laura Bentivoglio's wedding (see above, fn. 25). Elsewhere in Burselli's chronicle, written in a mixture of late Latin and the vernacular, Anton Galeazzo is referred to as Antonius Galiazus, and also Prothonotarius. Another Antonio, a friend and adherent of Giovanni II, who distinguished himself in tournaments (and therefore was known as one of the "equiti"), was the illegitimate son of Sante Bentivoglio.

28. C.M. Ady, The Bentivoglio of Bologna. . . , pp. 192-197.

herself a dedicated musician who took lessons on the lute from Giovanni Angelo Testagrossa, a Milanese musician known to have spent time in Bologna. She often ordered instruments from Lorenzo da Pavia in Venice. Lorenzo had also been to Bologna, and it is possible that paintings by Bolognese artists depict some of his instruments.²⁹ The Bologna-Mantua connection is no better exemplified than in a letter dated June 25, 1494 from Annibale Bentivoglio in Bologna to Isabella d'Este.³⁰

Most illustrious and most excellent lady friend and most honored lady: These past days when I was at Pisa, I gave some attention to music, and I took so much pleasure from it that I am in love with it: and since I know that in Your Excellency's household there are most excellent men in this art, I beseech you to share some new composition or other with me and to send me the <u>capitolo</u> melody: I promise, Your Excellency, not to give a copy to anyone. I know that the monsignor my brother will ask Your Excellency for the same thing: I beseech you not to oblige him and not to send anything except to me alone, since I will consider it not just a little honor, and I will remain eternally obliged to Your Excellency, to whom I offer and recommend myself. Bologna, 25 June 1494, Your Excellency, With affection, Annibale Bentivoglio.31

- 29. <u>Ibid.</u>,p. 112, p. 129; W. F. Prizer, <u>Courtly Pastimes</u>, <u>The Frottole of Marchetto Cara</u> (Ann Arbor, 1980), p. 50. See C.M. Brown, <u>Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia</u> (Geneva, 1982), p. 27, and W.F. Prizer, "Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia, 'Master Instrument-Maker,'" <u>Early Music History</u>, II (1982), pp. 87-127. See Plates I-VII, this chapter.
- William F. Prizer, "Isabella d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia as Patrons of Music: The Frottola at Mantua and Ferrara," forthcoming in <u>JAMS</u> (Spring, 1985).
- 31. Alessandro Luzio and Rodolfo Renier, "La coltura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga," <u>Giornale</u> <u>storico della letteratura italiana</u>, XXXV (1900), p. 199. "Illustrissima ac Excellentissima Donna affinis et Donna observandissima. Questi giorni passati che sono stato ad Pisa ho data opera alquanto ad la musica et ne ho preso tanto piacere che mi sono inamorato de quella: et perche scio che apresso la Excellentia Vostra sono homini excellentissimi in questa arte, pregho quella si voglia dignare di farme parte di qualche compositione nova et mandarme il canto del capitulo, ch'io prometto ad la Excellentia Vostra de non ho dare copia ad alcuno. Scio che monsignor mio fratello richiederà ad la Excellentia

Lorenzo Costa, Painter to the Bentivoglio and the Gonzaga

An important figure in the Bentivoglio-Estensi alliance was the painter Lorenzo Costa, who was born in Ferrara in 1460 and died in Mantua in 1535. Early in the 1480s, after completing numerous works in Ferrara and later studying in Florence, he moved to Bologna where he worked with and came under the influence of Francesco Francia (Franco Raibolini), a goldsmith, painter, and skilled metal engraver and perhaps the greatest Bolognese artist of the age. Costa was known to have been in Venice in 1492, and he returned to Florence in 1496. In 1503, he was sent to Rome as the Bolognese ambassador to the investiture of Pope Julius. In the following year a devastating earthquake hit Bologna, and Giovanni Bentivoglio commissioned Francia and other artists to decorate the chapel of St. Cecilia with frescoes in memory of the city's deliverance from il terremoto. Costa may have felt the need to escape from Francia's shadow, for after the death of Andrea Mantegna in 1506, the same year as the Bentivoglio exile to Mantua, Costa became Isabella's

Vostra questo medesmo: pregho quella non lo voglia servire et che non mandi cosa ad alcuno se non ad me solo, ch'io me la reputerò gloria non poca, et restarò in eterno obligato ad la Excellentia Vostra, ad la quale mi offero et recommando. Bononie, 25 junij 14 1494, Excellentia Vostra Affinis Hannibal Bentivolus." Isabella returned to Bologna in 1498. Other letters dated 1498 (see above, <u>Carteggio tra</u> <u>i Bentivoglio e gli Estensi</u>) from Giovanni II in Bologna, to Ercole I d'Este in Ferrara (nos. 456, 439), concern dealings with the Duke of Milan and Guido Torelli, husband of Francesca Bentivoglio (see above). Much correspondence survives in the Archivio di Stato at Modena between the ruling families of Bologna, Mantua, and Ferrara. Antonio Tebaldeo, a poet of wide renown both at the courts of Ferrara and Bologna, had an active correspondence with Isabella during his time in Bologna.

court artist. He remained in Mantua until his death in 1535.³²

Costa's art is a microcosm of the courtly activity prevalent in Ferrara, Bologna, and Mantua at the turn of the Quattrocento. In a fresco painted in 1488 for the church of San Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna, Costa portrayed 13 members of the Bentivoglio family as worshippers. Above the Madonna and Child are two cherubs, one playing a wind instrument resembling a recorder and the other a lute (Plate I). Two years later, in 1490, Costa completed his <u>Trionfi</u> for the same church to glorify Bologna's ruler, Giovanni II Bentivoglio.

Another of his paintings, <u>Concert Bentivoglio</u>, represents three members of the Bentivoglio family in concert with other singers, along with Costa himself (Plate II). One of the Bentivoglio is most probably Antongaleazzo (number "II" in the list of names at the top of the painting), who is said to have introduced Costa to Isabella d'Este.³³ Alessandro, given the number "X" at the top of the painting, is very likely the same Alessandro who married Ippolita Sforza in 1492, and Ermes (number "VIII") is Alessandro's younger brother, the fourth son of

^{32.} Giorgio Vasari, <u>Lives of the Most Eminent Painters</u>, <u>Sculptors</u>, and <u>Architects</u>, translated by Gaston de Vere (New York, 1979), pp. 596-599. For more on Costa see Ranieri Varese, <u>Lorenzo Costa</u> (Milan, 1967); Clifford Brown, "Lorenzo Costa" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1966).

^{33.} A painting by Francia, <u>Adoration of the Child with St.</u> <u>Augustine and Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio as Donor</u>, dated 1499, in the Pinacoteca in <u>Bologna</u>, confirms that the "Monsignore Bentivogli" in <u>Concert Bentivoglio</u> is most likely Antongaleazzo (see fn. 23). See Bernard Berenson, <u>Italian Pictures of the Renaissance--Central and North</u> <u>Italian Schools</u>, III (London, 1907), no. 1599. Concerning <u>Concert Bentivoglio</u> see Sylvie Béguin, ed. <u>Le Studiolo</u> <u>d'Isabelle d'Este</u> (Paris, 1975), p. 51, no. 142*. See also Adolfo Venturi, Archivio storico lombardico, I (1888), p.

Plate I. <u>Madonna and Child Enthroned with Giovanni II</u> <u>Bentivoglio, his Wife, Four Sons and Seven Daughters,</u> signed and dated August, 1488, Costa, Church of San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna.



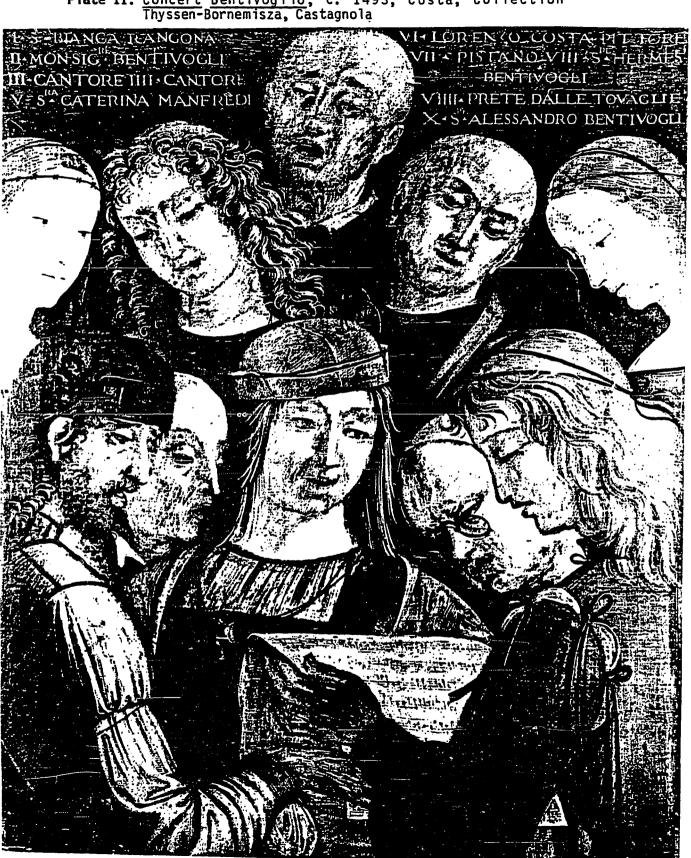


Plate II. <u>Concert Bentivoglio</u>, c. 1493, Costa, Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza, Castagnola

Giovanni II Bentivoglio (see above, fn. 27). A Bolognese musician, Bonaparte dalle Tovaglie, is also named. He was <u>maestro di canto</u> at the Cathedral of San Pietro in Bologna in 1515, and was mentioned in <u>Viridario</u> by Giovanni Achellino, together with Giovanni Spataro, Tovaglie's counterpart at San Petronio, and another Bolognese composer, Alessandro Demophon, a member of Ippolito d'Este's household at Ferrara:

> De musici è dotata questa terra, Che cantano improvisi ogni bel punto; D'assai compositori- a cui non erra L'arte, e molti hanno il canto seco aggiunto. Il Spadàro, il Tovaglia qui si serra, Demophonte col suo contrapunto . . .34

251, n. 5, and D. von Haldeln, "Das Bentivoglio-Konzert von Lorenzo Costa," <u>Pantheon</u>, XIV (1934), pp. 338-40. My thanks to Gertrude Borghero, librarian of the collection Thyssen-Bornemisza at Castagnola, for providing me with information from the exhibition catalogue (1969) edited by Rudolf Heinemann. In his description of Costa's <u>Concert</u> <u>Bentivoglio</u>, Heinemann states that the costumes of the sitters suggest a date of around 1493. Béguin discusses the 1504 correspondence between Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio and Isabella regarding the selection of artists for some of the paintings in the <u>Studiolo</u>. See Egon Verheyen, <u>The Paintings</u> in the <u>Studiolo of Isabella</u> d'Este at <u>Mantua</u> (New York, 1971).

34. Viridario was written by Giovanni Achellino in 1513. "The musicians who brighten this land improvise each beautiful note when singing; And [these musicians] have added much to unembellished song [written by] enough composers who have not the ability. Spataro, Tovaglie who is coming into his own, Demophon with his counterpoint. . . . " The poem (or portions of it) is reproduced in Lodovico Frati, "Per la storia della musica in Bologna dal secolo XV al XVI," Rivista musicale italiana, XIV (1917), p. 475; idem, La vita privata di Bologna dal secolo XIII ad XVII (Bologna, 1900), pp. 187-191, and Gaetano Gaspari, La Musica in Bologna, (Milan, 1858), p. 3. Tovaglie was elected to a post at San Petronio in 1511. Another poet, Casio, dedicated a sonnet to Tovaglie shortly after the musician's death in 1525. The poem contains a reference to polyphonic singing and to Tovaglie's skills on a variety of instruments. Casio was undoubtedly an important member of the Bolognese artistic and intellectual community in the late fifteenth century, as he is portrayed as a shepherd in a picture by Francesco Francia, commissioned by Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio for the high altar of S. Maria della Misericordia in 1498. See C.M.

Several questions arise from an examination of the sheet of music in the painting, and the manner in which the singers are grouped around it. The music does not have the appearance of a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century composition. Perhaps the notes were added at a later date. Only the men have their mouths opened as if in song. The women may have been included either for purposes of artistic balance, or to pay homage to them or their consorts. Costa's interest in music lay not only in the depiction of the instruments of the time, as is described below, but also in the integral role of the musician in court and society.³⁵

The painting <u>Concerto</u>, also attributed to Costa (or Ercole de' Roberti) and at present in the National Gallery in London, represents a mixed performance combination of voices and instruments (lute, pochette or kit, recorder, together with a music book) common at courts in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (Plate III).³⁶

Ady, <u>The Bentivoglio of Bologna</u>, p. 157 and facing plate, <u>Madonna and Saints Adoring the Infant Christ</u>. Concerning Demophon (also spelled Demophonte, Demofonte), see William F. Prizer, "Isabella d'Este and Lucrezia" More information about Giovanni Spataro and his importance to music in Bologna is given in the next two chapters.

- 35. Professor H. Colin Slim has kindly told me that he has been unable to transcribe or identify the music in <u>Concert</u> <u>Bentivoglio</u>, and he suspects that this music is not in its original state. See his forthcoming article in <u>Mélanges</u> <u>Claudio Sartori</u>. According to Professor Roger Rearick, <u>Concert Bentivoglio</u> is in rather poor condition; he theorizes that the original notation had become so unreadable that one of the past owners of the painting had the music "restored."
- Lewis Lockwood, "Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition at Ferrara in the Fifteenth Century," <u>Rivista italiana di</u> <u>musicologia</u>, X (1975), p. 133.

Plate III. <u>Concerto</u>, c. 1490, Roberti or Costa, National Gallery, London.



Costa's so-called <u>Ghedini altarpiece</u>, painted in 1496-7 for San Giovanni in Monte in Bologna, depicts an early Italian instance of a performance on viols (Plate IV). Rebecs and medieval fiddles were associated with street musicians and beggars in the period of transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. Viols were probably not introduced in Italy until the 1490s.³⁷

Two years later, Francia painted an altarpiece for San Giacomo Maggiore that is very similar in composition to the <u>Ghedini altarpiece</u>. The figures at the foot of the throne playing one bowed and one plucked stringed instrument are reminiscent of the little angels playing bowed strings in the same spot in Costa's altarpiece described above. It is possible

Howard Mayer Brown, "On the Performance of Fifteenth-Century Chansons," <u>Early Music</u>, Vol. I (1973), p. 1. See W.F. Prizer, "Isabella and Lorenzo," pp. 101-102; Ian Woodfield, 37. "The Origins of the Viol" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Kings College, University of London, 1977), I, p. 155; and I. Woodfield, "The Early History of the Viol," <u>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</u>, 103 (1976-7), pp. 141-57 and plate 10, p. 154. Both Prizer and Woodfield agree that Costa's painting, which is reproduced in Eustachio Romano, Musica duorum, Rome, 1521 (a collection of duos that Howard Mayer Brown identifies as the first printed source of instrumental ensemble music), suggests that viols were in use in Bologna by 1497. In his De inventione et usu musicae (c. 1487), Tinctoris describes a performance on fiddles, intimating that their presence was something reserved for special occasions, particularly sacred ones. See H.M. Brown, "Instruments and Voices in the Fifteenth-Century Chanson," <u>Current Thoughts in Musicology</u>, ed. John Grubbs (Austin, 1976), pp. 114-115. See also Anthony Baines, "Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's 'De inventione et usu musicae," <u>Galpin Society Journal</u>, III (1950), p. 24. The subject of angels playing instruments was a common one in altar paintings of Bellini, Cariani, Giorgione and other members of the Venetian school from the 1470s to around 1510; in a triptych in the church of San Zeno in Verona, painted by Andrea Mantegna as early as 1457, some angels appear to be singing from music books, and two others--one singing--are playing lutes. Mantegna, Costa's predecessor at the Gonzaga court in Mantua, was probably in Bologna in the 1470s (see this chapter, p. 20).

Plate IV. <u>Ghedini Altarpiece</u> (Madonna and Child Enthroned with SS. Augustine, Posidonius, John, and Francis), signed and dated 1497, Costa, San Giovanni in Monte, Bologna.



that both artists drew their inspirations for these altarpieces from the same source. The friendship between Francia and Costa has been documented. They kept a common workshop from 1498 until 1505, and a mutual influence is apparent in many of their paintings (Plate V). 38

One of Costa's works was painted in Bologna between 1504 and 1506 for the <u>Studiolo</u> of Isabella d'Este at Mantua. This is another example of the close affiliation between the cities of Bologna and Mantua and of Costa's role as liaison. Costa's <u>Coronation of a Lady</u> depicts additional varieties of bowed and plucked instruments, such as a lira da braccio, monochord, and lira (Plate VI).

Raphael's well-known altarpiece in honor of St. Cecilia was commissioned by the Florentine canon Antonio Pucci for the chapel that had been founded by Elena Duglioli dall'Olio in her local church, San Giovanni in Monte in Bologna (Plate VII). Elena's chapel was dedicated to St. Cecilia, who is represented in the altarpiece holding a portative organ and surrounded by other instruments of secular music. She is pictured with other saints, Paul, John the Evangelist, Augustine, and Mary Magdalene.³⁹ The instrument in Cecilia's hands appears to be slipping from her

- 38. Edith E.C. James, <u>Bologna, Its History, Antiquities and Art</u> (London, 1909), pp. 342-350.
- 39. Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, <u>Raphael</u> (New Haven, 1983), pp.144-7. Vasari suggested that the broken instruments discarded by Cecilia were painted by an assistant; however, Vasari does not mention the name of Formiggine who was known to have assisted Raphael in painting <u>St. Cecilia</u> (see Giorgio Vasari, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 551). See also Cartwright, <u>Mantegna and Francia</u> (London, 1896), pp. 86-93, for more on the relationship between Raphael and other Bolognese painters (in this instance, Francia).

Plate V. <u>Altarpiece</u>, 1499, Francia, for Bentivoglio Chapel in San Giacomo Maggiore.



Plate VI. Coronation of a Lady, 1505, Costa, Louvre, Paris.



Plate VII. <u>St. Cecilia</u>, commissioned in 1513-4, installed 1516, Raphael (and Andrea da Formiggine), San Giovanni in Monte, Bologna, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna.



grasp as she is transported by the celestial sounds, coming from above, of six angels singing from two oblong music books. Parallels can be drawn between the composition of this painting and that of earlier works by Costa and others of the Bologna school.

Lorenzo Costa's paintings and those of his contemporaries, then, give us fascinating views of instruments and music-making in northern Italy during the late Quattrocento along with detailed portraits of the Bentivoglio family, and they provide an artistic link between Ferrara, Bologna, and Mantua.

Following the earthquake of 1504, the invasion and conquest of Bologna and the Bentivoglio by Pope Julius II, and the razing of the Bentivoglio palace in 1507, Annibale and Lucrezia Bentivoglio availed themselves of the Gonzaga family's help and sought protection in Mantua. Isabella used this opportunity to build up her own collection with some possessions of her conquered neighbors.⁴⁰ She acquired antiques, songs, poems, and paintings from Bologna. Documents of Mantuan-Bolognese interchanges throughout the early Cinquecento abound, and such documents are especially numerous for periods when Isabella or one of her children happened to be in Bologna. The relationship between the two cities did not end with the coming of Julius II and the end of Bentivoglio rule, but for purposes of this study, we direct our interest to the years prior to that turning point.

Bologna attracted writers, humanists, and artists, many of whom have already been mentioned. Erasmus studied and wrote while at the library of the University of Bologna. Michelangelo

fled to Bologna from Florence in 1494, living and working for one year in the home of the nobleman Gianfrancesco Aldovrandi. During this time, he created several statues for the church of San Domenico. One is a statue of St. Petronius, Bologna's patron saint. St. Petronius was a popular subject, painted during this same period by Lorenzo Costa, and sculpted by Jacopo della Quercia earlier in the fifteenth century. Before leaving Bologna in 1495, Michelangelo studied the figures and reliefs carved by della Quercia that adorned the entrance to San Petronio. He returned to Bologna in 1506, this time remaining for a period of two years. During this second period, he completed (in 1508) a bronze statue of Pope Julius for a niche on the façade above della Quercia's portal in San Petronio. The statue was subsequently melted down by the the Bentivoglio and recast as a cannon to use against the against the Pope.⁴¹

Clearly, Bologna was a lively center of Renaissance culture in the areas of painting, sculpture, literature, philosophy, and patronage. Relatively little has been known about its music-less than about music in Rome, Florence, Venice, Ferrara, and Mantua at this time--and less than about the other aspects of culture. Therefore a study of Q 18 can reveal valuable

^{41.} Charles de Tolnay, The Youth of Michelangelo (Princeton, 1947), pp. 22, 38, 58, 140-141, 219-220. From his letters it is known that Michelangelo was evidently not very happy in Bologna; he complained of the hot climate, expensive and bad wine, and unappreciative people (de Tolnay, p. 38). See also Charles Hill Morgan, The Life of Michelangelo (New York, 1960), pp. 44-45, 81; Robert S. Liebert, Michelangelo, A Study of His Life and Image (New Haven, 1983), p. 64. See also Ephraim Emerton, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (New York, 1899), p. 130. In 1504, Erasmus was in Bologna and, like Michelangelo, complained of the hot climate.

information concerning music and culture in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Bologna.

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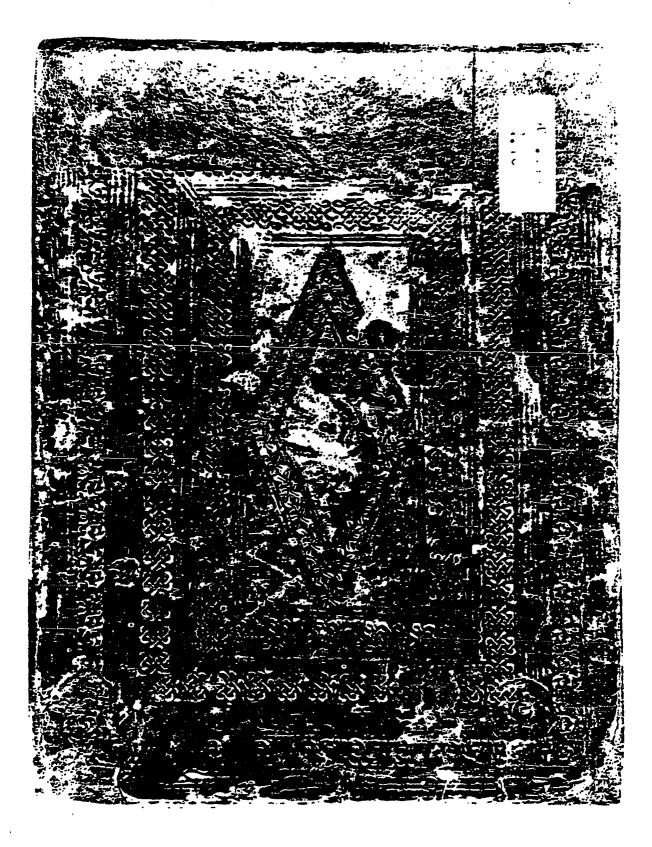
THE MANUSCRIPT BOLOGNA, CIVICO MUSEO BIBLIOGRAFICO MUSICALE CODEX Q 18 (<u>OLIM</u> 143)

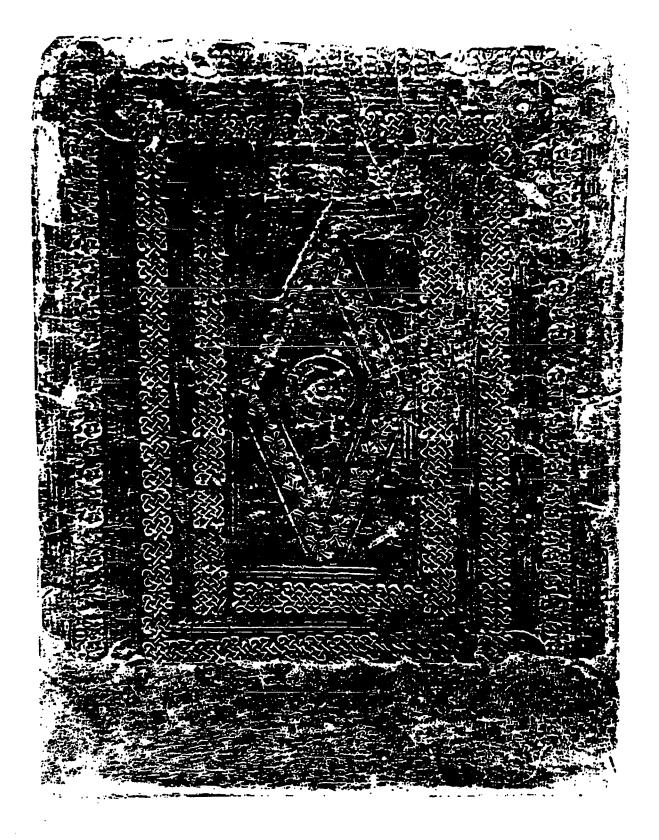
Size, Binding, Foliation, Structure of the Gatherings, Paper

Q 18 is a manuscript in oblong choirbook format measuring approximately 24 x 17 centimeters. The handwritten title "Cantus/Vulgares/ Q 18" appears on the spine. In the upper lefthand corner of the outside front cover is a small rectangular paper label on which an old shelf number, "Cod. 143," is typed above the current number, "Q 18." The front and back covers are of brown, tooled leather over boards and appear to be original, having been incorporated into the new binding when Q 18 was restored in the nineteenth century (See Plates VIII and IX, front and back covers, Q 18).¹ The design is typical of late fifteenth-century Italian blind stamp decorations.² Two concentric frames of, six parallel lines each form an outer rectangle. The two spaces between these frames are filled with rows of small ornamental stamps in a repeated pattern of interlacing knot-work. Two inner rectangles, each consisting of three parallel lines, frame a space filled with a more

^{1.} I am grateful to Sergio Paganelli, the present librarian at the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, for providing me with information regarding the date and process of Q 18's restoration.

^{2.} A comparison between the covers of Q 18 and those of some other representative manuscripts and prints from this period revealed occasional likenesses in the respective designs, but no other cover matched the overall decoration of Q 18. See Ferdinando Ongania, L'Art de l'imprimerie pendant la Renaissance Italienne Venise (Venice, 1896). For further information on the subject of bookbinding in the Renaissance see E. Ph. Goldschmidt, <u>Gothic and Renaissance Museum of Art, The History of Bookbinding, 525-1950 A.D.: An Exhibition Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, November 12, 1957 to January 12, 1958 (Baltimore, 1957).</u>





angular version of the interlacing knotwork seen in the spaces between the outer rectangles. Within the smaller rectangle are two sets of diagonal lines in the form of a diamond. In the center of the diamond is a circular mark, left from a missing boss. Indentations in the leather from four other circular bosses, which were probably made of brass, but which, in any event, are now missing, can be seen in the four corners of each cover. The tooled decoration on the cover is dense, but the cover is devoid of the gildings, gems, or clasps often found on the more elaborate bindings of books belonging to royal or aristocratic patrons.

The manuscript now contains ninety-two paper folios: a modern flyleaf, a leaf with inscription (see below), and ninety numbered leaves. Arabic numerals are entered in the upper right-hand corner of each recto (see Figure V, below), beginning with the first folio that contains music and continuing through the last page, forming a series that runs from folio 1r though folio 93v. The foliation appears to be original. Four folios, 10, 47, 56, and 94, are missing from the manuscript. Q 18 lacks an index. A relatively modern hand has written at the middle of the page preceding the first numbered folio, "Anonimi son gli autori de' componimenti compresi in questo MS.," and at the top right-hand corner a letter "D," partially obscured by another letter, perhaps an "A," appears next to the number "3870."³ This unnumbered folio

^{3.} This number is probably a collocation number used by Gaetano Gaspari in the late 19th century. Gaspari was active in the formation and perpetuation of the Liceo Musicale (founded by Padre Giovanni Martini in the eighteenth century), now the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. The handwriting on this unnumbered folio is examined briefly in Chapter III, p. 115.

contains the imprint of leather marks. These marks indicate that this folio was probably originally pasted to the inside of the front cover and was then separated from the binding during the process of restoration in the nineteenth century (see footnote 1, above). The present end papers pasted to the front and back covers and the extra flyleaf are lighter in weight than the paper in the main body of the manuscript and, according to Sergio Paganelli, were added when Q 18 was restored. Three stubs between the unnumbered page containing the writing "Anonimi . . ." and the first opening that contains music, folio 1r, 4 and a single stub between folios 87v and 88r, seem to be the result of the addition and rearrangment of the endpapers and flyleaves (see Table I, which shows the gathering structure of these unnumbered leaves and stubs).

Although the pages were not trimmed during the restoration process (since the covers are said to be original, it can be assumed that the sheets were not cut), some folios have been repaired with tape very close to the gutter, making it impossible to see the stitch pricking. Vertical guide lines appear on many folios; these were probably used for vertical alignment of the ends of the staves. Q 18 has suffered much damage, some occurring during the

^{4.} On the folio numbered 1 is some notation in lute tablature, headed by the initials "S.M.C." written in brown ink. Both Sergio Paganelli, the present librarian at the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, and Oscar Mischiati, the archivist at San Petronio, believe that the lute tablature was copied into Q 18 during the middle or latter part of the 16th century. They base their assumption on the color of the ink and the calligraphy of the initials at the top of the folio. Further information regarding the possible identity of "S.M.C." is provided in Chapter III (see p. 107), and see Chapter VI, p. 173, for a discussion of the composition on folio 1r.

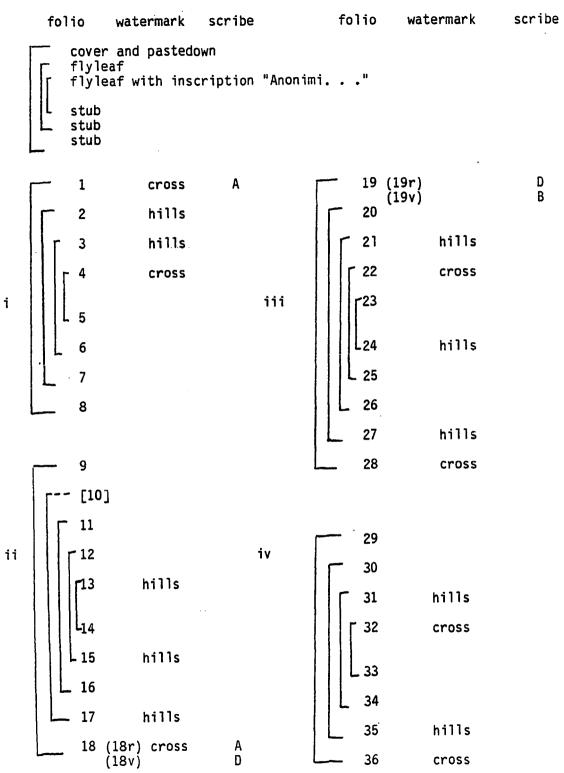
course of its restoration, when the binding tools holding the front and back covers in place pierced holes in the outer folios; the remainder seems to be the result of normal wear and tear. Numerous worm holes are found throughout, and water has damaged some of the folios near the end of the manuscript. Knots of badly beaten fiber and ink bleeding from one side of a folio through to the other obscure some readings. The lower half of folio 86 has been torn out, but no music is lost. Several other folios have separated from the binding. The edges of a number of pages, such as, folios 28v-29r, 32y-33r, 48y-50r, 51y-52r, 57y-58r and 72y-73r, are guite soiled, and it is very likely that the smudges are the result of repeated use or perhaps the attentions of scholars. Certain compositions appear to have been consulted quite a bit more often Six five-line staves occupy each side of a leaf on than others. folios 1v-93v, the actual writing space measuring 19.5×13 centimeters.

As Table I shows, Q 18 contains ten gatherings with musical notation: the first, fourth, and tenth of these are (or were) quarterns, and the remainder are (or were) quinterns. The first two gatherings are devoted exclusively to frottole and laude, and, although no composer attributions appear in the manuscript, most are known to be the work of Italian composers such as Bartolomeo Tromboncino and Marchetto Cara. The only settings with complete texts appear in these first two gatherings. The eight remaining gatherings contain textless pieces: some with text incipits-chansons, motets, mass movements--others with solmization incipits, and finally, compositions with no incipits at all, which, I will show, were probably conceived for instruments. Approximately half

of the compositions in these eight gatherings are known by concordances to have been composed by Franco-Flemish composers who were living in Italy during the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, such as Isaac, Josquin, Compère, Brumel, and Agricola. These works are concentrated in the last four gatherings. (A description of the repertory follows in Chapter V.)

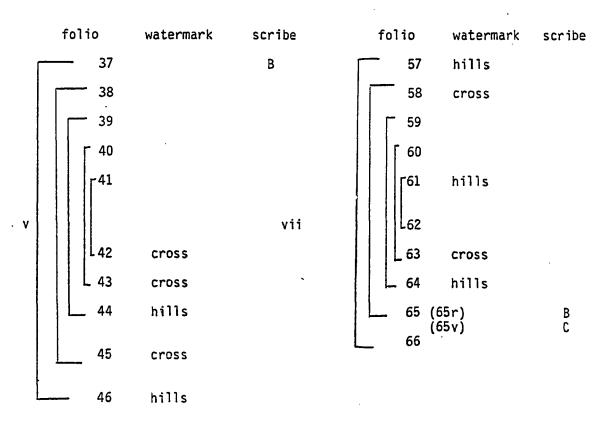
Table I presents the gathering structure of Q 18 and includes data concerning the scribes (referred to by the letters A, B, C [Spataro], D), and the watermark (three hills and a cross, with the foldings separating hills from cross). Descriptions of the watermark and paper, including details of how the paper was folded, follow the discussion of the organization of the fascicles and help to support conclusions regarding the gathering structure. The final section of this chapter concerns matters of scribal hands in Q 18 in both musical notation and text.

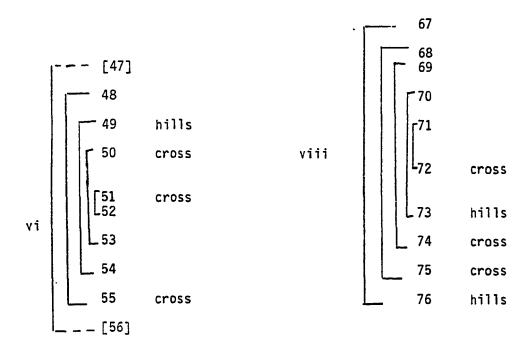
As can be seen from Table I, the quarterns each contain watermarks of two hills and two crosses, and the watermarks of the quinterns are combinations of either three hills and two crosses or two hills and three crosses. The only gatherings containing something other than these combinations are gatherings II and VI, both of which lack folios: folio 10 in gathering II and folios 47 and 56 in gathering VI. Gathering II is the only one having two conjunct leaves with no visible marks in either. Given the pattern of twos and threes in the other quinterns, as described above, one would expect to find--if a watermark were discernible, which, unfortunately, it is not--a cross on either folio 11 or folio 16 in gathering II. From an observation of the quinterns in Table I, another pattern emerges. The watermarks are distributed in one



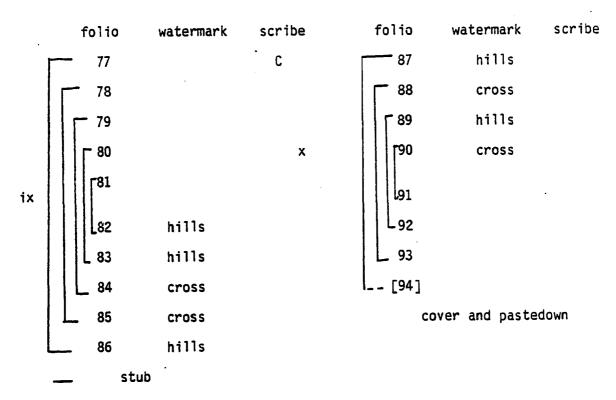
NB: scribe A, f. 1v-18r, scribe B, f. 19v-65r, etc.







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of two ways: either all five marks appear in succession on adjacent folios, or two complementary marks (e.g., hills and cross) appear on adjacent folios in one half of the quintern, three (either two hills and one cross or two crosses and one hill) in the other half. According to this scheme, one would expect to find a cross on folio 11 in gathering II. By the same reasoning, hills would have appeared on folio 47 or folio 56 (most probably 56) in gathering VI.

Scribe C, who I believe was Giovanni Spataro, began to copy toward the end of a gathering (VII), one possible indication that Q 18 was not a collection of miscellaneous fascicles from disparate times and locations but was copied in one place at approximately one time.⁵ A new composition begins (superius and tenor) on the verso

. 53

^{5.} Documentation for presuming Spataro to be one of the scribes of Q 18 is presented in the next section (pp. 74ff). Biographical details appear in Chapter III.

of the last folio in each gathering and is completed (contratenor and bassus) on the recto of the first folio in the following gathering, lending further support to the argument that Q 18 is a unified manuscript. The exceptions to this arrangement are to be found between gatherings V and VI and gatherings VI and VII, but this undoubtedly results from the absence of the first and last folios in gathering VI where, as one might expect, the pieces on either side of those missing folios (on folios 46v, 48r, 55v and 57r) are incomplete.

The gathering structure reveals that the final gathering is a quartern, lacking only its final folio. The piece on folio 93v is incomplete and was probably completed on the now missing 94r. Although one cannot argue with absolute certainty that ten fascicles is all there ever was, it may be possible to state that had all the present fascicles been complete, Q 18 would have contained 94 original leaves of music.

Two compositions in Q 18 show extensive erasures. In one of these pieces, <u>Dapo ch[e] gionta e lora⁶</u> on folios 33v-34r, erasures only partially hide Josquin's <u>Adieu mes amours</u>, which was also copied, by a different scribe, on folios 78v-79r. Both the erased piece and <u>Dapo ch[e] gionta e lora</u> on folios 33v-34r were entered by the same scribe. One possible explanation to account for the presence of this palimpsest is that the scribe wished to include

^{6.} The text incipits are spelled as they appear in Q 18; e.g., Josquin's <u>Adieu mes</u> <u>amours</u> is misspelled below (<u>Adie mes</u> <u>amours</u>) as it appears in Q 18 in order to retain consistency in representing the orthography of the MS (in a very few instances a single letter has been added in brackets to aid in the resolution of a colloquial abbreviation, e.g., <u>Dapo ch[e]</u> <u>gionta e lora</u>).

pieces of a similar kind in the gathering of solmization pieces that now contains Dapo ch[e] gionta e lora. Adieu mes amours is not such a work and therefore would not fit well with the repertory of the gathering (see Chapter VI, pp. 231 ff.). Another possibility is that Adie mes amours in gathering IX may already have been copied before gathering IV was begun, a fact that the scribe overlooked until he had begun the piece in gathering IV. Although not strictly necessary, this might also indicate that the copy of Adie mes amours presently on folios 78v-79r was not immediately at hand as the copyist began, to write on folios 33v-34r. One might surmise, then, that he somehow found out about or was reminded of the first copy of Adie mes amours before he completed a second one. This implies that fascicles in Q 18, as was typical of many collections of pieces in this period, were not necessarily written in the order in which they appear in the manuscript. Moreover, the first and last sides of each eight- or ten-leaf gathering would have been blank at first, and compositions linking the fascicles would have been added shortly after the fascicles were sewn together in their present order. The presence of a composition on folios 18v-19r (linking gatherings I and II), which is written in a hand different from that in the surrounding fascicles (see below, pp. 77-80), tends to support this hypothesis. Since, however, in every other instance, the same scribes copied the compositions bridging and within the respective gatherings, it is not likely that the copying of folios 18v-19r occurred long after the original entries (see above, p. 53).

The impression of unity conveyed by the fascicle structure, the palimpsest, and the hands is reinforced by the watermarks in the

paper itself. The design consisting of three hills and a cross is, in fact, one of three of the five earliest watermarks recorded by Charles Briquet in <u>Les filigranes</u>, dating from Bologna at the end of the thirteenth century. This is Briquet 3775, which, coincidentally, bears a slight resemblance to the three hills so prevalent in Bolognese papers of the late Quattrocentro and early Cinquecento.⁷

In Q 18, the watermark depicts these three hills with a cross set on the middle and tallest hill. The lower half of the watermark, the three hills, can be seen on 23 folios in Q 18 (see Figure I); the upper half, the cross, appears on 22 folios.⁸ No countermark could be found. The part of the watermark depicting the three hills always appears right side up in the center near the top of the leaf and is approximately two centimeters wide by two centimeters high.⁹ Although the width of all 23 watermarks is

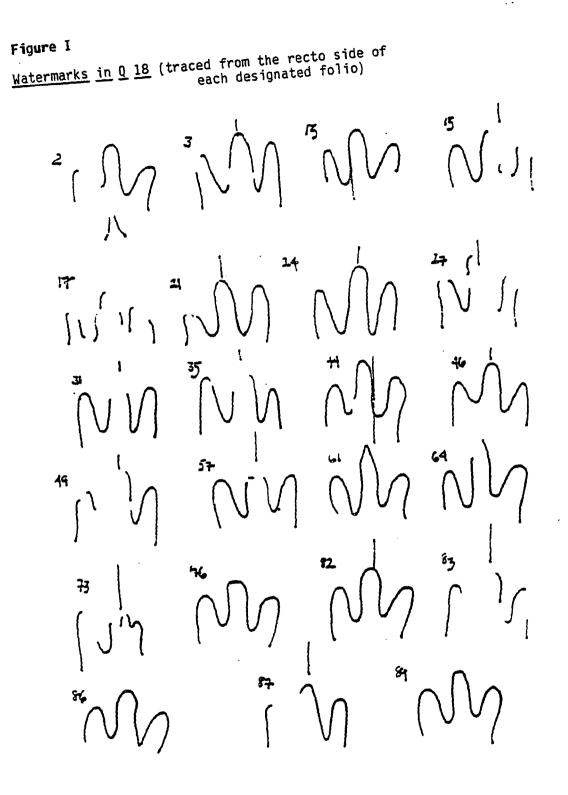
- 7. Charles M. Briquet, <u>Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique</u> <u>des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en</u> <u>1600</u> (Paris, 1907), Vol. III, L-0, "Monts, Montagnes, ou Collines." Nanie Bridgman (see fn. 13 below) and Frank Tirro, "Giovanni Spataro's Choirbooks in the Archive of San Petronio in Bologna" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), both adopt Briquet's classification for this watermark or ones similar to it.
- The compilers of the <u>Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Music:</u> <u>Sources of Polyphonic Music</u> (American Institute of Musicology, 1979) pp. 72-73, as well as Jeppesen (in <u>La Frottola</u> II [Copenhagen, 1968-70], p. 10), state that no watermarks are visible in Q 18. (The siglum for Q 18 in the Census Catalogue is Bolc Q 18.)
- 9. As it was impossible to distinguish between felt and mould surfaces, the full sheet is always imagined as though the watermark is more or less centered in its right-hand half (see Figure IV, below). For a discussion of the standard placement of watermarks on fifteenth-century paper see R. McKerrow, <u>Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students</u> (London, 1927), p. 102. An excellent discussion of ground rules for

almost identical, each of the three hills within the watermark exhibits variations in shape and size that contradict the usual assumptions concerning the use of pairs of moulds in the papermaking process. There are several possible explanations for the apparently chaotic state of the watermarks in Q 18 (a similar situation exists in two contemporaneous Bolognese printed books [see below, p. 59]). One possibility is that there were many moulds in use at one time in one or two mills, and they all had this design. Another possibility is that the manuscript was copied on a mixed batch of paper from three or four mills. And finally, the variations in shape and size of the individual hills may have resulted from poorly made moulds.

Several <u>buste</u> in the Archivio di Stato in Bologna contain papers with watermarks resembling those in Q 18. One of these is the <u>Liber Partitorum</u>, a book containing the acts of the chief magistracy, the <u>Sedici Riformatori</u>, the most important Bolognese governmental organization during the second half of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries.¹⁰ The <u>Lettere del Commune</u> and

describing watermarks is included in the appendix to Alan Tyson's "Beethoven's 'First' Leonore Overture" in <u>JAMS</u>, XXVIII (1975), pp. 332-333.

10. See Cecilia M. Ady, "Materials for the History of the Bentivoglio Signoria in Bologna," <u>Proceedings of the Royal</u> <u>Historical</u> <u>Society</u>, XVII (1934), p. 57. The form taken by the watermark in Q 18 is subject to one of several possible interpretations. The three hills may represent the three virtues, or the three mounts: Sinai, where the Law was given; Moriah, where Solomon built the temple; Calvary, where Christ suffered. The symbol of the three hills and cross was considered an emblem of moral elevation and high thinking in the Renaissance. See H. Bayley, <u>A New Light on the Renaissance</u> (New York, 1909), pp. 68-69.



Senato Partitor also contain papers with watermarks resembling those found in Q 18. The widespread use of the three hills and cross in late fifteenth-century Bolognese papers is demonstrated by the quantities of documents found containing a form of this watermark. Similar marks appear in some of the choirbooks at San Petronio in Bologna, and although it seems impossible to find an exact match for any of the individual marks in Q 18, marks that are almost identical design are found in two printed books, the <u>Musices</u> opusculum of 1487, by Nicolaus Burtius (BolC A 64, A 65) and the Honesta defensio in Nicolai Burtii parmensis opusculum of 1491, by Giovanni Spataro (BolC A 85; this treatise is sometimes found with the title Errori di Burtius). The hills in Burtius's and Spataro's treatises are also heterogeneous, but the watermarks in both of these documents come closest to the size and shape of the ones in Q 18.11 Tracings of these watermarks can be seen in Figure II.

On the last page of Spataro's <u>Honesta</u> <u>defensio</u> of 1491, the following appears:

Registro A.B.C.D.E.F. Tutti son quaderni excepto l'ultimo che e quinterno. Laus Deo. Impresso ne lalma: et Inclyta citta di Bologna per mi Plato de Benedecti Regnate lo Inclyto: et illustre Signor S. Zohane di Bentivogli de lano MCCCCLXXXXI a di XVIe marzo.12

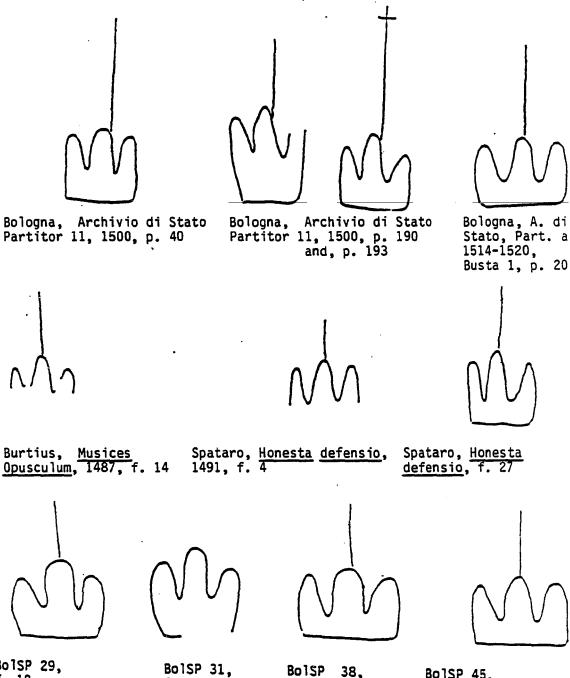
Alongside is the familiar colophon of Francesco (alias Platone)

- 11. Both the Burtius and Spataro treatises were printed on paper that resembles in weight and texture that used in Q 18, and the San Petronio part books. The paper has a stiffness and thickness similar to that of the heavyweight kind used in drawing, making watermarks sometimes difficult to read and find. Both treatises, like Q 18, consist of mixed gatherings of quarterns and quinterns.
- 12. G. Spataro, <u>Honesta defensio</u>... (Bologna, 1491), p. 50.

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Figure II, Watermarks in other Bolognese Papers



BolSP 29, f. 12

f. 23

.

38, f.148

Bo1SP 45, f.104

Benedetti, who published both Spataro's 1491 treatise and Burtius's <u>Musices opusculum</u> of 1487, as well as numerous other philosophic and scientific books. Platone Benedetti was the best-known and most important printer in Bologna from 1487 until 1496. Following his death in the latter year, his son Ettore carried on the business established by his father.¹³ The Benedetti had a preference for works by the humanists and printed, among other things, Poliziano's poems, works by members of the court of the Bentivoglio, and treatises by musicians, such as Spataro.¹⁴

Although at least three letters from persons in other cities to persons in Bologna have been found written on paper containing a watermark resembling the one in Q 18, the card catalogue of documents contained in Busta 7 in the Archivio di Stato in Bologna reveals that all three of these letters were copies made in Bologna. One of the letters was from Louis XII of France, another from Alfonso d'Este (April 3, 1507), and a third from Cardinal Raffaele Riario (October 29, 1507).¹⁵

- 13. Albano Sorbelli, <u>Storia</u> <u>della stampa</u> in <u>Bologna</u> (Bologna, 1942), pp. 43ff. See <u>also R. Bertieri, ed. Editori e</u> <u>Stampatori Italiani del Quattrocento</u> (Milan, 1929), pp. 13 ff., Tavola XIII, and pp. 60-61. Ettore worked for Giovanni Bentivoglio (Ady, <u>The Bentivoglio of Bologna, A Study in Despotism</u> [London, 1937], p. 162).
- 14. Sorbelli, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 46. Alberto Serra-Zanetti, <u>L'arte della</u> <u>stampa in Bologna nel primo ventennio del Cinquecento</u> (Bologna, 1959), pp. 69, 78. Serra-Zanetti includes inventories of the publications of Platone Benedetti and his sons. These inventories reveal that the Benedetti printed other books concerned with the arts and many of the papers of the Senate.
- 15. Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Busta 7, Lettere di Commune, Louis XII, no. 13, Alfonso d'Este, no. 50, Cardinal Riario, no. 107. Many watermarks depicting three hills and a cross have been found by Briquet and others in non-Bolognese papers, but none of these corresponds in size or shape to any of those found in Bologna during this period.

The Q 18 watermark, or one closely resembling it, appears in a manuscript of music dated 1502, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vm.⁷ 676 (ParisBNC 676).¹⁶ The marks in Q 18 and ParisBNC 676 are closer in size and appearance to one another than to any of the examples in Briquet. In both Q 18 and ParisBNC 676, the horizontal line connecting the bottom of the three hills is impossible to discern. The actual height of the watermark is, therefore, difficult to measure.

In general, the watermarks on papers bearing a later date, that is, those found in documents from 1507 and later and those in the choirbooks at San Petronio, are larger than the ones in Q 18, ParisBNC 676, Burtius's <u>Musices opusculum</u>, Spataro's <u>Honesta</u> <u>defensio</u>, and certain papers found in the Archivio di Stato of Bologna and Mantua.¹⁷ In a study of watermarks in these selected documents and in the two archives, paper dated before 1504 was found to contain watermarks that are smaller and more like the ones in Q 18, while those found in documents dated after 1504 are of a larger size and stubbier shape, bearing a closer resemblance to

- 16. Nanie Bridgman, "Un manuscrit italien du début de XVIe siècle à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Dép. de la Musique, Rés. Vm.⁷ 676)," <u>Annales musicologiques</u>, I (1953), pp. 177-267 and IV (1956), pp. 259-60. Bridgman says the watermark in ParisBNC 676 (approximately 2 cm. high and 2.2 cm. wide) resembles Briquet 11712 (Bologna, 1482), which is actually 2.8 cm. high and 2.5 cm. wide. She includes (p. 178) a single representative picture of this watermark and of the other watermark in ParisBNC 676, resembling Briquet 886 (also from Bologna or Ferrara). Briquet, op. cit.
- 17. My thanks to Professor William F. Prizer for his observations about the watermarks in the Bentivoglio letters in the Archivio Gonzaga in Mantua, Busta 1144 (Bologna, 1496-99), Busta 1145 (Bologna, 1500-03), and Busta 1146 (Bologna, 1504-07). During the years 1500-1504, the mark is 2.5 cm. high and 1.8 cm. wide; in October of 1504, the mark appears bigger, 2.5 cm. high x 2 cm. wide.

watermarks in the San Petronio choirbooks.¹⁸ There is a need to be cautious in drawing conclusions about the date of the paper based on the changing size of the watermark. Paper could sit on a shelf for many years before it is used, and conversely, heavily used moulds may wear out in less than a year.¹⁹ Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to state that the smaller watermarks in Q 18 are an indication that the paper used in that manuscript can be dated

- 18. The hills and cross watermark in BolSP 45 is said to resemble Briquet no. 11715 (Bologna, 1505-6), but 11715 is a smaller mark (1.5 cm. high x 2 cm. wide) (see Figure II) than any of the marks in the choirbooks, most of which are about 2 cm. high and between 2.5 and 3 cm. across the width of the hills. Briquet no. 11715 is an exception, a smaller watermark which appears in the post-1505 period.
- 19. Arthur M. Hind, in An Introduction to the Woodcut (New York, 1935), warns that the uncertain period during which stocks of paper might be kept limits the conjectural dating of woodcuts (p. 79). This same warning should apply to the dating of watermarks in manuscripts and incunabula. See Theodor Gerardy, Datieren mit Hilfe Wasserzeichen, Beispielhaft dargestellt an der Gesamtproduktion der Schaumburgishen Papiermühle Arensburg von 1604-1650 (Bückeburg, 1964). By means of complicated statistical formulae, Gerardy presents data on the life of moulds. Some moulds used for making special sizes and grades of paper may have remained viable for many years. Gerardy cites examples from Gerhard Piccard, Die Kronenwasserzeichen (Stuttgart, 1961-), one of which is a watermark whose cross resembles the one in the Costa woodcut. Piccard includes three very similar watermarks with dates spanning a period of 33 years (no. 43, 1472; no. 48, 1487; no. 50, 1505). A series of watermarks in Briquet's collection spans a 67-year period. Jan LaRue in "Watermarks and Musicology," Acta Musicologica, XXXIII (1961), pp. 126-130, believes "that for the period c. 1675-c. 1825 we may date a musical manuscript within approximately five years on either side of a date established for its watermark by collateral evidence." He derives part of his chronology from examining the progressive deterioration of a watermark. For purposes of this study--based on an amalgamation of the above statistics--15 years (more or less) on either side of a datable paper seems to be a reasonable span of time for the useful life of a paper-making mould or moulds plus the estimated time it might have taken to consume the last product of the mould or moulds. This assumes, of course, that older stocks of paper were consumed before newer ones. Though this assumption is not directly demonstrable in most cases, it is used here as the underlying hypothesis for the discussion.

before 1505.

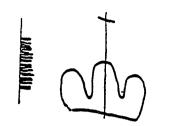
A related watermark with a different style of cross was found on a woodcut by Lorenzo Costa or a member of his school. The size of the hills corresponds to that of Briquet no. 11712.²⁰ Figure III shows the watermarks as they appear in Q 18, ParisBNC 676, Spataro's <u>Honesta defensio</u>, Briquet nos. 11712 and 11715, and the woodcut by Costa.

Bologna has the distinction of having been in the forefront of papermaking. In the fourteenth century, Bolognese paper makers used four standard sizes, the next-to-the smallest of which was <u>meçane</u>, 51.5×34.5 centimeters. In the fifteenth century, about half of all folios were made in <u>forma mediana</u> or <u>fogli mezzani bolognesi</u> on sheets measuring approximately 50×30 to 35 centimeters.²¹ Since these dimensions are approximately double those of the paper in Q 18 (24 x 17 centimeters), it seems likely that this standard size of paper, folded in quarto format, as represented by Figure IV, was used in this manuscript. By first folding the paper along the 48centimeter dimension, and then folding along the 34-centimeter line, one obtains a gathering of four folios. Two of the standard-size

^{20.} Jay Levenson, Konrad Oberhuber, and Jacquelyn Sheehan, <u>Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art</u> (Washington, 1973), pp. xiii-xvi; pp. 489-90, 575. This watermark has not been found in Briquet, Zonghi, or other standard sources, although one similar to it is present in several forms in Piccard. The woodcut is dated 1502.

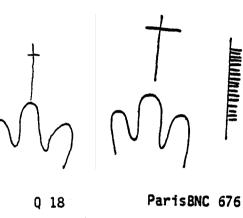
^{21.} P. Gaskell, <u>Introduction to Bibliography</u> (New York, 1972), p. 67. See also Howard Brown, <u>A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229</u> (Chicago, 1983), p. 6. The usual procedure of folding and collecting the sheets into quires and ruling the staves on each sheet, common in most fifteenth-century <u>scriptoria</u>, seems to have been observed in the production of Q 18. The sixth line on folio 1r was added to accommodate the lute tablature. The distance between each of

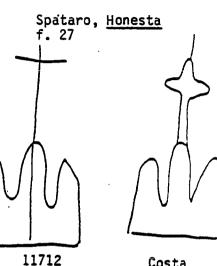
Watermarks, Q 18, ParisBNC 676, Spataro, Honesta Figure III. defensio, Briquet 11712 and 11715, and Costa woodcut











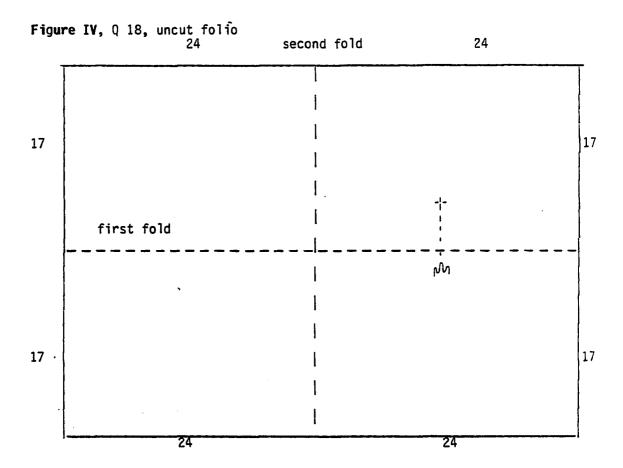
Costa

sheets of paper would, therefore, create a quartern. To obtain a quintern, an extra half-sheet was folded and then inserted in the center (or wrapped around the outside) of each quartern. All the folios were cut along the 24-centimeter line, probably after the folding and gathering processes were completed.²²

Chain lines in such gatherings are vertical, but in Italian paper are faint and often guite difficult to see. When they are

the five staff lines remains uniform from folio to folio. and on many folios throughout the manuscript the second and fourth staff lines are darker than the others, features suggesting that the staves were ruled with the same rastrum. This is further support for the notion that Q 18 is a unified manuscript, not a collection of fascicles.

22. I wish to thank Professor Kristine Forney for her expert advice concerning the folding and guiring of early manuscripts and printed books.



visible, they are approximately three to four centimeters apart, and the chain nearest the center of the leaf occasionally coincides with the top part of the watermark, the cross. An extra chain, or <u>tranchefile</u>, can be seen on one or another end of some folios. The wire lines are approximately one millimeter apart (as in the sample, top left center in Figure V where the sides (24 x 17 centimeters) are reduced by one centimeter, but the watermark, wire lines, etc., are shown in approximately actual size).

The information presented above provides evidence for believing that Q 18 was compiled in Bologna at a time more or less within 15 years of the publication of the Burtius treatise (see fn. 19, above). This conclusion is supported by other features (described

Figure V, sample folio (13r), Q 18				
17 cm.				
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24 cm.	N N			
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in Chapter III): the similarities between Q 18 and other manuscripts, with respect to content, structure, and format; biographical information about one of the scribes; and data concerning certain compositions.

Q 18 is bound, as stated above, in both quarterns and quinterns. Most Northern and Spanish sources, as well as a number of early music prints, are bound in gatherings of four double sheets, or quarterns, while the bulk of Florentine sources are bound in gatherings of five double sheets, or quinterns.²³ Brown has located a prospectus from a Florentine stationery shop showing that paper was sold there in gatherings of five double sheets.²⁴ But documents found in Ferrara, Mantua, and Bologna show that paper was sold in quinterns in those cities as well. One of these documents is a letter, dated 4 June 1491, from Isabella d'Este to Giorgio Brognolo, her agent in Venice.

> Giorgio . . . See to it that a singer or scribe finds four or five quinterns of royal [size] paper to notate songs because those here all absorb [the ink] and it is said that there are good quinternions there [Venice]. . . From our palace Porto [Mantovano]. 4 June 1491.25

- 23. For information on binding in the Northern chansonniers, see Knud Jeppesen, <u>Der Kopenhagener Chansonnier</u> (Copenhagen, 1927) pp. xxiv-xxv; for printed books, see Howard Mayer Brown, <u>Instrumental Music Printed before 1600</u> (Cambridge, 1965); for some Italian sources, see Allan Atlas, <u>The Capella Giulia</u> <u>Chansonnier, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, C.G. XIII.27</u> (Brooklyn, 1975-6), Vol. I, p. 7, and Howard Brown, <u>A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the</u> <u>Magnificent, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco</u> <u>Rari 229</u> (Chicago, 1983), Vol. I, p. 6.
- 24. Brown, <u>A Florentine Chansonnier</u>, p. 6. There is a connection between the selling of paper in quinterns and the development of humanistic script (see B.L. Ullman, <u>The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script</u> [Rome, 1960], p. 81-90). The subject of changing script is examined below.
- 25. My thanks again to William F. Prizer for bringing this document

Similar documentation has been found relating to paper sold by Platone Benedetti. Some compositions written by Bartolomeo Ramos were also written on quinterns.²⁶ The paper used in Q 18 may have been purchased in gatherings of quinterns and quarterns; it seems less likely that Q 18 was purchased as a complete book containing pages with staves of the variety used in music manuscripts.²⁷

The Scribes and the Musical Notation of Q 18

First Section:	folios 1v - 18r	"Scribe A"
	[folios 18v-19r	"Scribe D"]
Second Section:	Folios 19v−65r	"Scribe B" (="Scribe A" ?)
Third Section:	folios 65v-93v	"Scribe C" = Giovanni Spataro

The white mensural notation has a different appearance in each of the three sections of Q 18 outlined above. A single composition, on folios 18v-19r, shows yet a fourth style of writing (see p. 55,

to my attention. It can be found in the Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 2991, Libro 1, f. 1v. "Zurzo. . . Vedeti de fare che uno cantore o scriptore ritrovi quatro o cinque quinterni de folij reali da notare canti perche questi qua sorbeno tuti, et c'è dicto che là gli ne sono de boni da quinternio . . . Ex palatio nostro Portus. 4 Junij 1491."

- 26. A. Sorbelli, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 49-50. Among a list of expenditures in a Benedetto inventory dated May 16, 1498 are: "Per un mezo quinterno de furfantoria, s.1, d. 4," and "Per uno quinterno de confessione, s.2, d.6;" An entry dated April 10, 1497, lists "Dal detto per mezo quinterno de numi de Cristo, s.1, d.4," and another entry dated April 16, 1497 lists "Per uno quintero de nome de Cristo sol. due d. sia [<u>sic</u>], s.2 d.6." The compositions by Ramos were sent to Ercole d'Este; see Oscar Mischiati, "Un'inedita testimonianza su Bartolomeo Ramis de Pareia," Fontes artis musicae, XIII (1966), pp. 84-86.
- 27. Blank music books have not been found among the inventories of the Benedetti, but Brown, in <u>A Florentine Chansonnier.</u>, p. 6, cites instances where such music books consisting of 96 pages made up in gatherings of four were offered by the stationers Gherardo and Monte of Florence.

above). This last mentioned opening is treated separately below.²⁸ A detailed examination of the clefs, mensuration signs, note shapes, <u>custodes</u>, and <u>signa congruentiae</u> in each of these sections provides evidence that the musical compositions in Q 18 were copied by at least three, possibly four scribes, one of whom was Giovanni Spataro.

<u>First Section</u>. The C clefs on folios 1v-18r (most of the first section) employ horizontal lines slanting upward from left to right. The F clefs in this section are a combination of the C clef and a longa with a downward stem curving to the left, placed to the left side of the C clef (Ex. 1).

Ex. 1, Q 18, first section, C clef, folio 12r, 1st staff, and F clef, folio 12r, 6th staff₂₉



Those compositions in the first section of Q 18 are written in <u>tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori</u>. Most of them have a mensuration sign consisting of an small semicircle placed between two staff lines and slashed by a long vertical stroke extending above and below the staff. Both the semicircle and the slash are drawn with rather broad quill strokes (Ex. 2).

Ex. 2, Q 18, first section, mensuration sign, folio 13r, 1st staff

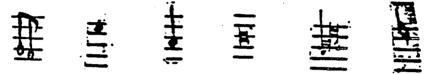
Note shapes drawn in the first section are well-defined lozenges, but some are not quite as angular as are note heads drawn by

29. Staves in Q 18 are numbered 1-6, from top to bottom of each folio.

^{28.} Sergio Paganelli believes that only two scribes were responsible for copying Q 18, and that one of these, Spataro, copied folios 65v-93v. Paganelli does not consider the question of who may have entered folios 18v-19r.

contemporary northern scribes.³⁰ The stems on minims and semiminims are positioned toward the center of the heads; fusas are joined at the end of their stems by a horizontal bar with downward pointing tick on the right side. The vertical bars of the breves and longas extend beyond the square head and are not as broad as the horizontal bars (Ex. 3).

Ex. 3, Q 18, first section, note shapes: folios 11v, 6th staff; 13r, 1st staff; 13r, 1st staff; 13r, 1st staff; 15r, 5th staff; 13r, 5th staff



The <u>custos</u> of the first section is drawn nearly perpendicular to the staff and contains a distinct ripple at its base (Ex. 4). Ex. 4, Q 18, first section, custos, folio 13r, 1st staff

The <u>signum congruentiae</u> in the first section resembles a letter "S" placed slightly above two horizontal dots (Ex. 5).

Ex. 5, Q 18, first section, signum congruentiae, folio 2r, 5th staff



<u>Second Section</u>. Clefs in the second section closely resemble those in the first section except that they lack the curved downward

See Norma Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony in the Archives of the Cathedral of Segovia: Its Provenance and History" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1978), p. 94. See below, pp. 78-79, for an example of musical notation in Q 18 that exhibits greater angularity.

stem on the longa of the F clef, and they are drawn with thinner pen strokes (Ex. 6).

Ex. 6, Q 18, second section, C clef, folio 31v, 5th staff, and F clef, folio 32r, 5th staff

In the second section, <u>tempus imperfectum</u> signs are drawn with thinner pen strokes than found in the first section. This can be seen in examples of <u>tempus imperfectum</u> <u>cum prolatione minori</u>, <u>tempus</u> <u>perfectum</u>, and <u>tempus imperfectum</u> without the vertical slash through the semicircle (Ex. 7).

Ex. 7, Q 18, second section, mensuration signs: folios 23r, 1st staff; 45v, 1st staff; 50r, 5th staff; 61v, 5th staff

a E

The note heads in the second section are somewhat smaller, but in almost every other respect resemble those of the first layer. One difference can be seen in a comparison of semiminims in these two sections. The note heads of semiminims in the second section appear as blackened minims, retaining the well-defined diamond shape, whereas semiminims and other colored notes in the first section appear to have been drawn with less angularity. One reason for the apparent angularity of the semiminims in the second section may be that the scribe wrote with a different quill. Like those in the first section, stems on minims and semiminims are positioned near the center of the heads (Ex. 8). Ex. 8, Q 18, second section, note shapes: folios 52v. 4th staff; 23v, 5th staff; 23v, 6th staff; 23v, 2nd staff; 23v, 1st staff; and 23v, 4th staff

Relatively minor differences in the formation of <u>custodes</u> can aid in distinguishing scribal hands in Renaissance notation. Similarities can be seen between the <u>custodes</u> in each of the first two sections of Q 18, particularly in the perpendicular angles of the upward strokes. The distinct ripple at the base of the <u>custos</u> in the first section is frequently all but omitted in the second section. Perhaps this omission results from the lack of space caused by the crowding of more notes on a line in the second section than in the first section of Q 18 (Ex. 9).

Ex. 9, Q 18, second section, custos, folio 27r, 2nd staff

<u>Signa congruentiae</u> are almost identical in both sections, although they are slightly smaller in size and made with thinner pen strokes in the second section (Ex. 10).

Ex. 10, Q 18, second section, signum congruentiae, f. 36v, 4th staff

A comparison between the musical notation on folio 14r (Vol. II, p. 419) and folio 27r (Vol. II, p. 420) reveals that the compositions in these two sections were perhaps copied by the same scribe. Differences in size of notes and <u>signa</u> and in certain details of shape can very possibly be ascribed to the scribe's need to cram more notes onto a line in the second section where musical compositions often occupy all six staves of a folio. In the first section, music rarely fills more than four or five staves.

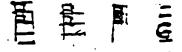
<u>Third Section</u>. The scribe of the third section of Q 18 was Giovanni Spataro, as is shown by a comparison between the writing in the third section of Q 18 and examples known to be in Spataro's hand. Table II includes some samples of musical symbols from Spataro's letters and from a San Petronio choirbook (BolSP 45), which were written by him. Spataro had an old man's hand tremor when he copied the major part of BolSP 45 (between 1527 and 1541, the year of his death at the age of 93).³¹ One must also take into account the larger size of the San Petronio choirbooks and the resultant larger notes and signs when making comparisons between these examples and those in Q $18.^{32}$ These examples from the letters and this choirbook are among the earliest examples of writing known to be in Spataro's hand.

^{31.} One letter (dated 30 July, 1533) is from Giovanni Spataro to Giovanni del Lago (Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Lettere di Spataro), and another (dated January 2, 1533) is from Spataro to Pietro Aaron. Examples are from the choirbook BolSP 45 in the Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronio, folios 5v and 17v. Owing to the dearth of source material in the period, earlier examples of his musical calligraphy are not available.

^{32.} See Frank Tirro, "Giovanni Spataro's Choirbooks in the Archive of San Petronio in Bologna" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), pp. 17, 813. Tirro says that the larger page requires arm or forearm movement rather than finger motion. Besides Q 18 and BolSP 45, Spataro is also known to have been responsible for copying major parts of other choirbooks at San Petronio: BolSP 29, BolSP 31, BolSP 38, and BolSP 46.

TABLE II Samples of Music Handwriting in Spataro's letters and in a San Petronio choirbook

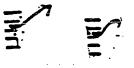
Clefs: letter, 1/2/1533, p. 2, line 16; letter, 7/30/1533, p. 2, line 14; BolSP 45, folio 5v, 1st staff; BolSP 45, folio 17v, 1st staff



Mensuration signs and other <u>signa</u>: BolSP 45, folio 17v, 8th staff; folio 5v, 1st staff; folio 5v, 6th staff



Custodes: BolSP 45, folio 17v, 10th staff; folio 5v, 1st staff



Note Shapes: letter, 1/2/33, p. 2, last line; BolSP 45, folio 17v, 12th staff



Spataro draws his C clefs with the double horizontal bars slanting downward from left to right, opposite to those of the first two sections. In most instances he omits the vertical stroke that borders the right side of the clef. His F clef appears as one, not two, symbols. The G clef on folio 71v is the only one of its kind in Q 18 although there are numerous examples of this clef throughout Spataro's letters and the San Petronio choirbooks. All of Spataro's clefs employ more rounded shapes and bolder pen strokes than the clefs in the first two sections (Ex. 11). Ex. 11, Q 18, third section, C clef, F clef, G clef, folios 65v, 5th staff, 66r, 2nd staff, and 71v, 1st staff

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Spataro's most typical mensuration sign is a wide semicircle, one that often extends beyond the space between the two staff lines. The vertical slash is much shorter than those of the first two sections (Ex. 12).

Ex. 12, Q 18, third.section, mensuration sign, folio 77r, 1st staff

The note heads appearing in Spataro's portion of Q 18 are not the well-defined lozenges found in those of the first two sections. Instead, they are almost oval-shaped. Ascending stems appear to come from the right side of the head, while descending stems are connected to the left of the head. The breves and longas do not have the extending vertical strokes of the breves and longas of the first two sections. Spataro places flags on each of his fusas; in the first two sections of Q 18 fusas are joined by a horizontal beam (Ex. 13).

Ex. 13, Q 18, third section, note shapes: folios 77v, 6th staff; 68v, 6th staff; 68v, 6th staff; 77r, 2nd staff; 77r, 5th staff; 66r, 1st staff

Spataro's <u>custos</u> sweeps off to the right of the staff, and the beginning of the upward stroke is devoid of the flourish commonly found in the <u>custodes</u> of the first section and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the second section of Q 18 (Ex. 14).

Ex. 14, Q 18, third section, custos, folio 71v, 1st staff

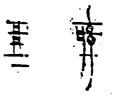
The <u>signum congruentiae</u> in this third section of Q 18 resembles the modern fermata, a dot with a semicircle above, often referred to in this period as a <u>corona</u> (Ex. 15; compare with Table II). Ex. 15, Q 18, Spataro, <u>signum congruentiae</u>, folio 66v, 5th staff

-4.

In almost every detail, there are marked differences between Spataro's hand and the handwriting of the first two sections. In general, Spataro's calligraphy is rounder and made with broader pen strokes. Spataro's clefs lack the vertical stroke that borders the right side of the clefs on folios 1-65r; his <u>custodes</u> sweep off to the right of the staff as opposed to being perpendicular to the staff lines; he employs <u>coronae</u> in place of the S-shaped <u>signum</u>. All of these characteristics match Spataro's writing in the San Petronio choirbooks known to have been copied by him and in the musical examples in his letters (see facsimiles of Q 18, folio 79r, BolSP 45, folio 17v, and second page of letter from Giovanni Spataro to Giovanni del Lago, 30 July, 1533, Vol. II, pp. 421, 423-424).

<u>Folios 18v-19r</u>. The C clefs on folios 18v-19r are composed of descending, rather than ascending, double horizontal bars. Vertical strokes barely extend beyond the horizontal ones. A form of F clef that was quite common in this period, consisting of a longa followed by two minims placed head to head around the fourth staff line. appears on folio 19r, and is the only one of its kind in Q 18 (Ex. 16).³³

Ex. 16, Q 18, folios 18v, 5th staff, 19r, 6th staff, C clef and F clef



The mensuration signs on folios 18v-19r are semicircles. All, except the sign for the F, which is drawn through the F line, are positioned in a space between two lines of the staff. As is the case with the other signs and notes made on folios 18v-19r, the mensuration sign is drawn with a broader pen stroke than was used in either of the first two sections (Ex. 17).

Ex. 17, Q 18, folios 18v, 5th staff, 19r, 5th staff, mensuration signs

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The note shapes drawn on folios 18v-19r have a more pronounced lozenge- or diamond-shape than the notes in the first or second sections. A minim is drawn with five separate strokes, one for the stem positioned in the center of the diamond, two not quite as heavy strokes for two sides of the diamond and two lighter strokes for the remaining two sides. The scribe appears to draw semiminims at first as minims and then to blacken them, as in the second section of Q 18 (Ex. 18 and see fn. 30, above).

^{33.} Other sources that contain this type of F clef include ModE F. 9.9, RISM 1501 (Odhecaton), VatG XIII. 27, FlorBN BR 229, FlorBN Magl. 176, and FlorBN Magl. 178. These clefs are similar to those drawn by other scribes whose hands appear in such San Petronio choirbooks, such as BolSP 45, folios 30v-31r. The form of F clef that appears in the first and second sections of Q 18 also occurs in manuscripts such as ParisBNC 676 and VerBC 757.

Ex. 18, Q 18, folios 18v, 2nd staff, 19r, 2nd staff, note shapes

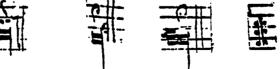


The horizontal bases of the <u>custodes</u> on folios 18v-19r consist of three fairly distinct ripples or flourishes, as compared with one or two in the bases of the other <u>custodes</u> in Q 18. The curlicue at the top of the upward stroke is shorter than the ones in the first two sections (Ex. 19).

Ex. 19, 0 18, folio 18v, 1st staff, custos

The scribe of folios 18v-19r draws both of the kinds of <u>signa</u> seen above, the S-shaped sign placed slightly above two dots (first and second sections) and the <u>corona</u> employed by Spataro. The repetition sign in the superius on folio 18 warrants mention: the double bar is drawn with three parallel dots on either side, as opposed to the two dots seen in the double bars in the first section of Q 18, and in the other voices written on folios 18v-19r (Ex. 20). These symbols appear only on folios 18v-19r in Q 18.

Ex. 20, Q 18, folios 18v, 2nd staff, 6th staff, 19r, 2nd staff, 18v, 1st staff, <u>signa</u>



The music hand does not appear in any other source of Renaissance music, as far as I am able to determine, and the absence of a text incipit makes further speculation regarding the identity of the scribe of this opening difficult (see facsimile, folio 18v, Vol. II, p. 422). <u>Summary of Scribal Characteristics in the Musical Notation</u>. The notation of the first two sections of Q 18 ("Scribe A" and "Scribe B") is similar in almost every category examined. The C clefs have horizontal bars slanting upward from left to right. A minor difference is seen in the F clefs. In the first section, the downward stem on the longa is curved, whereas in the second section, the stem is straight. Spataro's (the third section's) clefs contain horizontal bars that slant downward from left to right, as do the clefs on folios 18v-19r; most of Spataro's clefs lack the second long vertical stroke on the right. His clefs are not only of a different design, but also are made with broader pen strokes.

Mensuration signs in the first two sections are very similar. Spataro employs a wider and larger semicircle. The mensuration signs drawn on folios 18v-19r are closest in appearance to the <u>tempus</u> <u>imperfectum</u> signs (in the second section) that lack the vertical slash.

The note shapes in the first two sections are similar enough to be taken for the work of one scribe. In general, the compositions in the second section are lengthier and require the use of all six staves. This may explain both the somewhat smaller size of the notes and also the crowded appearance of these folios in comparison with earlier ones, where, generally, only four staves are occupied by notes.³⁴ The first section seems to have been copied with more care

^{34.} The individual staff lines are drawn uniformly, not closer together or wider apart according to the exigencies of space, as in some other Renaissance manuscripts. Leger lines are found throughout Q 18 when the range of a voice part makes them necessary. These observations support the idea that the staves were ruled prior to copying the compositions (see fn. 21, above). Occasionally a manuscript is found containing staves drawn in accordance with the demands of the music at hand, as in SegC s.s. See Norma Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript...," pp. 93-95.

than the second. The nature of the material in the first section-short and, in most instances, texted compositions--may have engendered its neater, more meticulous appearance. Spataro's notation, on the other hand, appears to have been executed in haste, many of his notes and stems looking as though they were drawn with a single pen stroke.

--- Perhaps the most marked difference can be observed between the <u>custodes</u> drawn by Spataro and those drawn by the other hands, as discussed above. There are definite similarities between the <u>custodes</u> in the first two sections, although more distinct ripples or flourishes are present at the base of the <u>custodes</u> in the first. Additional flourishes appear at the base of the <u>custodes</u> on folios 18v-19r. The <u>custodes</u> written in the first two sections and on folios 18v-19r lie vertically on the staff, and the staff lines often intersect with the upward stroke. Spataro avoids the flourishes altogether, drawing the <u>custos</u> on a diagonal that sweeps off to the right of the staff, rather than making it perpendicular to the staff lines.

Except for size and very minor ornamental discrepancies, the <u>signa</u> in the first two sections, like other aspects of the notation, were perhaps drawn by one scribe. Spataro employs a different <u>signum</u> <u>congruentiae</u>, and both Spataro's <u>corona</u> and the S-shaped <u>signum</u> of the first two sections appear on folios 18v-19r.

Folios 18v-19r may have been left blank originally (see pp. 55-56, above). Perhaps, on seeing the empty staves, the scribe entered the textless composition, which can be identified from a concordance as <u>Viva e morta voglio amarte</u> by Antenoreus (see Chapter III, p. 120 and Chapter V, p. 168), a piece that accords well with the nature of the repertory in the first section. Note shapes and <u>custodes</u> are not at all like those written by Spataro. Although the notation in the first two sections (folios 1v-65r) differs in some minor details, it may well be that the compositions were entered by one scribe. (But see p. 91 below for a qualification based on text hands.) Therefore, the musical notation of Q 18 is clearly the work of at least three scribes, one of whom was certainly Giovanni Spataro.

The Calligraphy of the Text Matter in Q 18

About the middle of the fifteenth century in northern Italy an interest in classical inscriptions ignited a significant change in calligraphic practice. The famous account in Felice Feliciano's <u>Jubilatio</u> relates how he and a group of Italian humanists, among them Andrea Mantegna, Giovanni Marcanova, and Bartolomeo Sanvito, took an antiquarian excursion along the shores of Lake Garda one autumn day in 1464. They visited the ruined temple of Diana and made copies of the ancient inscriptions there; then, crowned with myrtle, ivy, and laurel in the tradition of Catullus, they sailed from Desenzano to Sirmione, singing and accompanying themselves on the cithara, stopping to gather calligraphic inscriptions along the way.³⁵ Greater care and deliberation in the formation of both majuscules and minuscules and the tendency to make each letter separately were direct results of this growing interest in classical texts and inscriptions.³⁶

- 35. G. Fiocco, "Felice Feliciano amico degli artisti," in <u>Archivio Veneto-Tridentino</u>, ix (Venice, 1926), pp. 188-99; James Wardrop, <u>The Script of Humanism</u> (Oxford, 1963), p. 17. For a discussion of <u>cithara</u> as a generic noun describing a stringed instrument see William F. Prizer, "Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia, 'Master Instrument-Maker," <u>Early Music History</u>, II (1982), p. 107.
- 36. See B.L. Ullman, <u>The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script</u> (Rome, 1960), pp. 12, 15, 81, on the importance of Bologna in the development of humanistic script. See also <u>idem</u>, <u>Ancient Writing</u> and <u>its Influence</u> (New York, 1963); James Wardrop, <u>The</u> <u>Script...</u>, p. 8; <u>idem</u> "Pierantonio Sallando and Girolamo Pagliarolo, Scribes to Giovanni II Bentivoglio," <u>Signature</u>, no. 2,

The influence of classical inscriptions can be seen in the distinct formation of letters in the texts and text incipits in the first and second sections of Q 18.37

First Section: folios lv-18r	At Least Two Handwriting Styles
Second Section: folios 19v-63r and 64v-65r	One Handwriting Style
Third Section: folio 63v and folios 65v-93v	Spataro's Handwriting Style

Several different styles of handwriting may be observed in the first section of Q 18. Fifteen of the eighteen compositions (not including the piece in tablature on folio 1r) in this first section of the manuscript contain texts. One hand (style 1) predominates and is responsible for the texts--but not necessarily the text incipits (see further discussion of this point below)--written between the staves on folios 1v, 2v-3r, 3v-4r, 5v, 6v-7r, 7v-8r, 8v-9r, 9v-10r, 11r, 11v-12r, 16v, and 17v-18r (see Table III). The last six of these twelve compositions (on folios 8v-17v) have no text incipits in the music. All of the poetry is written on the empty staves between the musical voices. If one believes that the music and text are customarily the work of one individual (see fn. 37, below), then the presence of complete texts entered between the staves combined with the absence of a text incipit in the music suggest that a hand other than the one who

n.s. (November, 1946), p. 25; Alfred Fairbank and Berthold Wolpe, <u>Renaissance Handwriting</u> (Cleveland, 1960), pp. 36-41; Albinia C. de la Mare, <u>The Handwriting of Italian Humanists</u>, Vol. I (Oxford, 1973).

37. Joshua Rifkin, "Scribal Concordances for Some Renaissance Manuscripts in Florentine Libraries," <u>JAMS</u>, XXVI (1973), p. 305, fn. 3, suggests, based on his research, that music and text are more likely the work of a single hand rather than a collaborative effort. At least one section of Q 18, the first, seems to be the work of a team, and at least one other section, that copied by Spataro, is almost certainly an individual effort. entered the music may have entered the texts of the six compositions mentioned above and the additional strophes of several other pieces in this section of Q 18, such as folios 1v and 2v-3r, discussed below.

The texts of the first two compositions in this section appear to be entered by two scribes. A different hand (style 2) is evident in the text incipit in the superius on folio 1v, Lontan pur mi convien, in the text incipits in all four voices on folios 2v-3r, and in the superius on folio 2v. De per dio, but style 1 appears on folio 1v between the musical staves and in the superius following the text incipit, and between the musical stayes on folios 2v-3r. The text incipits on folios 4v and 14v also appear to have been written in style 2. In neither instance is it clear how much of the text in the superius voices on some of these folios is also in style 2. It is also difficult to determine whether the remaining texts on the empty staves are written in style 1, or in style 2 with a change of quill and a slightly larger and broader pen stroke (see Table III). The interchange of y and i, as in Oime in the superius on folio 4v, and Oyme in the additional strophes written between the musical staves on the same folio, is not unusual for this period. The juxtaposition of several forms of lower case p and upper case V are also not in themselves an indication that more than one scribe is at work, but all such minor discrepancies, taken together with more obvious differences in calligraphic appearance, sometimes cloud attempts to distinguish handwriting styles 1 and 2.38 The formation of the initial "S" of Sel mi dole esser gabato on folio 13v in the superius and tenor is

^{38.} John Nadas, "The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and Transmission of Trecento Polyphony," <u>JAMS</u>, XXXIV (1981), pp. 407-8, fn. 15, suggests that it is not always possible to determine where one scribe ended and another began his work. Often, one scribe will imitate another in order to present a sense of continuity.

unique to Q 18, but the remainder of the writing on this folio resembles style 2. Since this is the only example of an inital "S" among the text incipits written in style 2, one cannot conclude that the writing on folios 13v-14r is not also in style 2. What can be seen of the initial "S" in the incipit on 14r (see facsimile, Vol. II, p. 419) more closely resembles the calligraphy of style 2. In sum, at least two text hands were responsible for the calligraphy in the first section of Q 18; one, style 1, entered the majority of text written between the staves that contain the music, and another, style 2, seems to have entered many of the text incipits (see Table III).

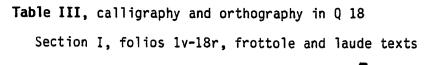
There are no complete texts in the second section of Q 18, only text incipits entered beneath the first staff in each superius. A11. except for one incipit on folio 63v, are written in the same handwriting style, which is somewhat akin to style 2 in the first section of the manuscript, a semi-cursive script incorporating both gothic and humanistic features. Differences, such as in the formation of the majuscule inital "S," the minuscule g, and minuscule "h" (as in <u>Dapo ch[e] gionta</u> e lora in the second section, and in this letter in the word ch[e] as it appears in the first section of Q 18) prevent us from drawing the conclusion that the incipits in the second section were entered by one of the scribes responsible for entering the texts or text incipits in the first section (see Table IV). But it is not impossible that the scribe who entered these text incipits (with the exception of folio 63v) was the same scribe who entered the music in the second section of Q 18 (see fn. 37, above).

The text incipit on folio 63v in the second section and all of the text incipits in the third section were copied by Giovanni Spataro (folios 63v and 65v-93v). Text incipits appear at the beginning of

each voice part in this section of Q $18.^{39}$

Because Spataro entered incipits beneath each voice, one is able to observe that he was not always consistent in the way in which he wrote certain letters. For example, he interchanges upper and lower case in the "T's" in Tant hai de mui, the middle "S's" in Tristis es[t] anima mea, the "D's" in D'un bel maitin, the "B's" in Biblis, the "G's" in Agnus dei, and in his "M's," "H's," and "U's" (see Table III). He follows the widespread custom of interchanging "u" and "v" and "i," "j," and "y," and he also uses the different forms of a letter on a single page (see discussion of calligraphy of the first section of Q 18, above). Moreover, he is irregular in his use of upper and lower case. He frequently employs the upper-case vowels "U," "E," and "A" as the second letter following a lower-case consonant as in <u>mE doibt, tAnt hai de mui, mAter patris, jE quide</u>, rUbinet, nUncha fu pena major etc. Here, he follows the conventional practice of writing first letters as only catch signs for the fancy calligraphic initials (which, as it happens, were never executed). He capitalizes the second letter, because that is in effect where his writing begins. Occasionally, however, the first two letters of a word are both majuscules as in THisys, ADie mes amours, and TAnt hai de mui. Spataro's spelling is also erratic, as in "mjn" and "my" and "gaf" and "ghaf" in Mjn morghen gaf, in the variations in the "A's," and in the orthography of "domine" in Parce domine.

^{39.} In a personal communication, Sergio Paganelli suggested that the other text scribes of Q 18 were members of the chapel at San Petronio. An examination of a number of the San Petronio choirbooks, however, did not reveal any similarities between the calligraphy of these scribes and that of the unknown scribes of Q 18.



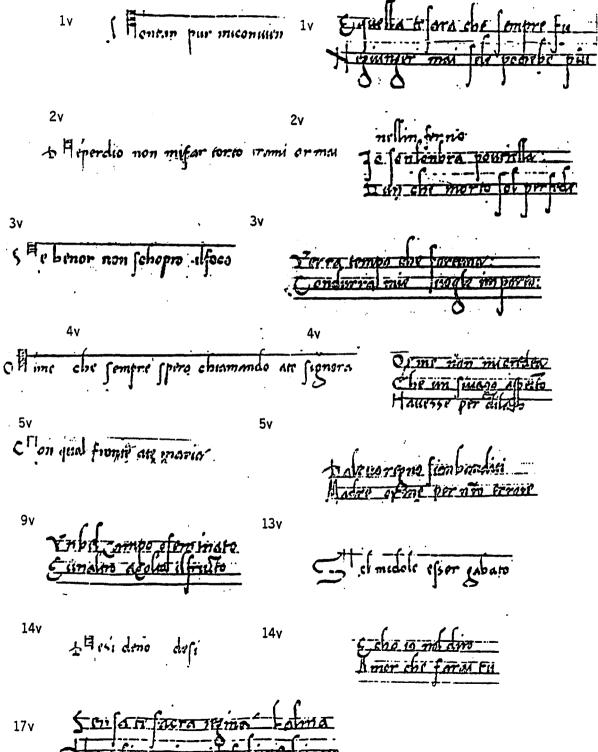
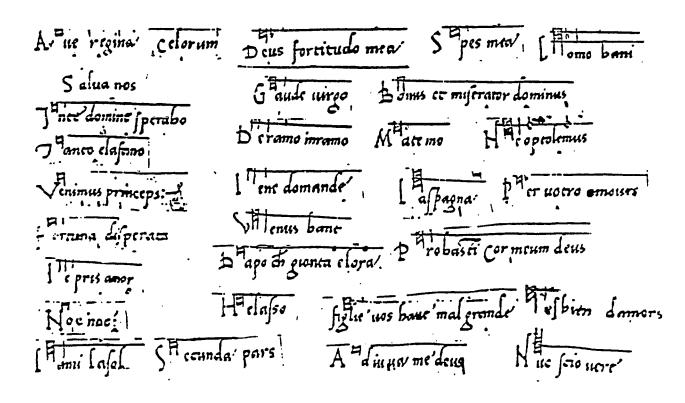


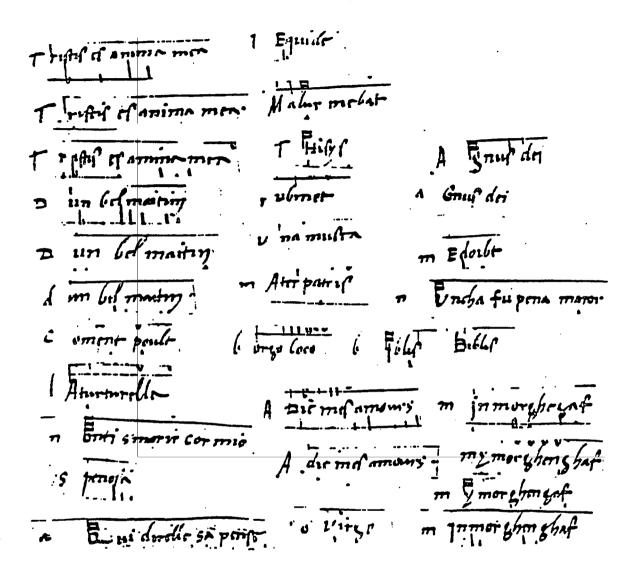
Table III, continued

Section II, folios 19v-63r and 64v-65r, text incipits written under superius only (see Appendix Ia for folio numbers for these incipits)



Section III, folios 65v-93v (and folio 63v) Spataro
wrote text incipits under each voice part (see Appendix Ia
for folio numbers for these incipits)

+ Ant bai de mai a sidedore P Arce domine Arer dumini-5 Idetero, + Aree due - Ant Gai de muy



The third section of Q 18 appears to present the earliest known example of Giovanni Spataro's musical notation and calligraphy, and provides examples of his youthful writing style, which may be compared with the better-known documents in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale (letters) and in archives at San Petronio in Bologna (choirbooks).

Representative samples of Spataro's calligraphy from the letters and one of the San Petronio choirbooks, as well as from Q 18, are shown below (Ex. 21).⁴¹ Spataro avoids the R majuscule in both the third section of Q 18 and in his correspondence.

Ex. 21, Calligraphy, letters/choirbooks (fn. 31 above cites references for letters and choirbook; also see facsimiles on pp. 423-424 in Vol. II)

BolSP 45, folio 17v, 1st staff Å letter, 1/2/33, p. 3, line 22 Åmma letter, 7/30/33, signature line Thir letter, 7/30/33, p. 3, line 12 half letter, 7/30/33, p. 2, line 12 loco letter, 7/30/33, p. 3, line 4 boot letter, 1/2/33, p. 3, line 23 1533: Calligraphy, Q 18

folio 65v, 4th staff T Antfolio 76v, 4th staff (urge (cro folio 76v, 2nd staff -7

The "A" and "T" found in various places in the documents cited above are large and similar in shape to the "A" and "T" in <u>Tant hai</u> <u>de mui</u> on folio 65v. The form of the "b" found in the letters in such words as "bene" and "bologna" is very like that of the "b" in the text incipits of the last part of Q 18, as for example in <u>Borgo loco</u>. On the second page of the del Lago letter, the word "loco" appears almost identical to the "loco" on folio 76v. Finally, the arabic "3" in the date 1533 in Spataro's letter to Aaron is a smaller version of the "3" used to designate <u>proportio tripla</u> in <u>Borgo loco</u>. There is a definite similarity between Spataro's handwriting and the calligraphy of the comment in place of a text incipit on folio 63v, "Absque verbis." Text scribe B undoubtedly omitted the text incipit, and Spataro inserted the observation "Absque verbis" ("without words"), perhaps as he began his work on folios 65v-93v.

^{41.} Because the texts in the choirbook are in Spataro's print rather than in his cursive hand (as in Q 18 and the letters), it is not possible to draw many conclusions by comparisons between the calligraphy in Q 18 and that in the choirbooks.

The calligraphy of the first two sections exhibits a mixture of gothic and humanistic majuscules. In addition to the upright stance of the letters, gothic characteristics include long ascenders and descenders, particularly in the first section. One can find g minuscules in the first and second sections of 0 18 that contain bowls flaring to the left, and majuscule V's having left-hand strokes bending outwards to the left that are sometimes elongated. Although there is some reason for considering music scribes "A" and "B" to be one and the same, it would be very difficult to conclude that the text calligraphy of the first two sections of the manuscript was the work of one scribe, not two or more. It can be said, however, that the text scribes of the first two sections of Q 18 were members of the same calligraphic school. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Spataro alone was responsible for both the music and the text incipits in the third section of Q 18, and his musical notation and calligraphy can easily be distinguished from the musical notation and calligraphy of the rest of the manuscript.

The only complete texts in Q 18 are the ones provided for frottole and laude in the first section of the manuscript.⁴² Text

^{42.} Spataro wrote about proper text underlay, but, and perhaps significantly, he omitted texts from those pieces he is presumed to have copied into Q 18. See Frank Tirro, "La stesura del testo nei manoscritti di Giovanni Spataro," <u>Rivista italiana di musicologia</u>, XV (1980), pp. 31-70. In a letter to Pietro Aaron (see fn. 31, above), Spataro says that the composer is responsible for providing the correct underlay, because the singer cannot be expected to do it. In the San Petronio choirbooks, Spataro showed great concern for the relationship between words and music and for syllabification. Perhaps he was not satisfied with relying on the sources he was copying from, and a significant difference in attention to underlay can be seen in a comparison between a composition in Spataro's San Petronio choirbook and one of its concordances. See Tirro, "Giovanni Spataro's Choirbooks . . . ," p. Taken together with other evidence, this lack of complete 25. texts in the section of Q 18 copied by Spataro may be another clue to the instrumental purpose of the manuscript.

incipits are all that appear on folios 19v-93v of Q 18. As is shown by the inelegant writing, well-worn edges of pages, and lack of illumination, the entire manuscript, but especially the portion containing the untexted compositions on these 74 folios, has the appearance of a collection assembled for immediate practical purposes. One of these purposes may have been for instrumental performance by one or another of the several groups prominent in Bologna during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, perhaps the <u>Concerto</u> <u>palatino della signoria.⁴³</u>

Thus it is possible to draw some conclusions from the musical notation and calligraphy in Q 18. At least three scribes were responsible for the bulk of the musical notation. One (or two) of them copied most of Q 18: the first section, folios 1v-18r, and the second section, 19v-65r. The other one, who was most likely Giovanni Spataro, copied the third section, folios 65v-93r. The musical notation of a single composition on folios 18v-19r appears to have been the work of a third (or fourth) scribe.

The calligraphy of the text matter presents other problems. The text incipits of the third section and folio 63v are written in Spataro's hand, while the remainder of the text matter in Q 18 was written by other (unidentified) scribes--the text incipits of the second section by one, and the texts and text incipits of the first section by at least two--but possibly, not necessarily the same scribe or scribes who were responsible for copying the music on folios 1v-18r and 19v-65r (see fn. 37, above).

Francesco Vatielli, <u>Il Concerto palatino della signoria di Bologna</u> (Bologna, 1940), pp. 5-14. More is said concerning this possibility in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III

THE PROVENANCE OF Q 18

<u>Concordances with Other Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-</u> <u>Century Sources</u>

The following is a list of sources having six or more concordances with Q 18 (Table IV):

Table IV

MSS and Prints containing more than five concordances with Q 18

Petrucci Frottole and Laude publications (RISM 1504 ⁴ , RISM 1505 ³ RISM 1505 ⁴ , RISM 1505 ⁶ RISM 1506 ³ , RISM 1508 ³)	17
FlorBN BR 229 (c. 1492-3)	16
VatG XIII.27 (c. 1492-4)	15
RISM 1501 (<u>Odhecaton</u>)	15
FlorBN Panc. 27 (early 16th c.)	11
RISM [c. 1535] ¹⁴ (Egenolff)	10
FlorBN Magl. 178 (mid-1490s)	10
VerBC 757 (c. 1500)	9
RISM 1502 ² & RISM 1504 ³ (<u>Canti B</u> and <u>Canti C</u>)	9
RomeC 2856 (early 1480s)	9
BolC Q 17 (1490s)	8
RISM 1538 ⁹ (Formschneider)	8
SGallS 463 (c. 1540)	8
ParisBNC 676 (1502)	7
ParisBNC 27 (Thibault lute) (early 16th c.)	7
CapePL 3.b.12 (early 16th c.)	6

It should be noted that the Petrucci prints--(RISM 1501 ($\underline{Odhecaton}$), RISM 1502² (\underline{Canti} B), RISM 1504³ (\underline{Canti} C), and the frottole and laude publications RISM 1504⁴ (Frottole, Book I), RISM 1505³ (Frottole, Book II), RISM 1505⁴ (Frottole, Book III), RISM 1505⁶ (Frottole, Book V), RISM 1506³ (Frottole, Book VI), and RISM 1508³ (Laude, Book II)--contain the greatest overall number of concordances (41) with Q 18. Twelve pieces in the first section of the manuscript (folios 1v-18r, or gatherings I and II)--all but the four unique pieces, the lute piece on folio 1r, and the piece on folio 1v--are found in one or another of the Petrucci prints, particularly the frottole and laude publications.

Allan Atlas suggests that attempting to relate sources on the basis of whether they share merely a large number of concordances is inadequate and misleading, and instead he advocates comparing the readings that each source transmits and tracing the variants from one source to another in order to determine whether these sources could have drawn their readings from a common source, or whether one source may have served as a model for the other. He considers a variant "significant" if one can answer in the affirmative to the the question, "Is the nature of the variant such that two scribes or musicians could not have conceived it independently of one another?" The presence of the same <u>si</u> <u>placet</u> part, similar spellings of text incipits, and ascriptions to the same composer when a piece appears with conflicting attributions, are among other criteria Atlas considers significant

in relating two sources.¹ The Florentine manuscript VatG XIII.27 shares 15 concordances with Q 18; however, Atlas has shown that the readings of only two of these pieces agree significantly, while at least ten disagree. In five of these ten compositions, Q 18 shares readings with RomeC 2856, as well as with certain of the Petrucci prints. A similar situation exists between Q 18 and another Florentine manuscript, FlorBN BR 229, where there are many concordances, but few examples of similar readings. On the other hand, of the six concordances between Q 18 and CapePL 3.b.12, a manuscript that Giulio Cattin believes was compiled in the vicinity of Reggio Emilia (Bologna is in this same province), all show significant agreement in readings.²

- Allan Atlas, The Capella Giulia Chansonnier (Brooklyn, 1975), 1. pp. 39-48. Atlas also examines scribal characteristics, numbers of notes per line, accidentals, coloration, and ligatures in order to arrive at conclusions regarding similarities in readings. Some of the discrepancies do not affect the basic nature of the composition, but occasionally, some do (see Helen Hewitt, Canti B Numero Cinquanta [Chicago, 1967], pp. 6-8). <u>Nuncha fu pena maior</u>, the three-voice setting on folios 89v-90r and folio 46v (superius and tenor only, folio 47 missing) in Q 18, begins with a breve followed by a semibreve in every voice except the superius on folio 89v. In BolC Q 16 and RISM 1501 all four voices begin with a semibreve followed by a breve. Two of the four voices in VerBC 757 begin with a breve followed by a semibreve, as in Q From a cursory glance at these (out of a total of 15) sources of this composition by Urrede, it seems as though Q 18 and VerBC 757 may be more closely related than the statistics in Table IV suggest (see above).
- 2. Cattin, "Nuova fonte italiana della polifonia intorno al 1500, Ms. Cape Town, Grey 3.b. 12," <u>Acta Musicologica</u>, XLV (1973), pp. 168-170, 215. Cattin suggests 1506 as the <u>terminus ante quem</u> for CapePL 3.b. 12. The compilers of CapePL 3.b. 12 probably lived in an environment that discouraged secular music. The purpose of the manuscript, according to Cattin, was to restore the heritage of Italian Benedictine polyphony. Many of the compositions are <u>contrafacta</u>, French and Italian pieces clothed in clerical garb. The scribes, like those of Q 18, included a mix of archaic and modern compositions, undoubtedly in an effort to

Q 18 and sources associated with the Ferrara-Mantua-Emilia orbit. The authors of the article on manuscript sources of Renaissance polyphony in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians place Q 18 in the same family of sources as the manuscript RomeC 2856, among chansonniers of northern Italian origin.³ Atlas. on the basis of similarities in readings, groups Q 18 with still other northern Italian sources, RISM 1501 (Odhecaton), FlorBN Panc. 27, WashLC M6/LonBLE 3051 (Wolffheim/Egerton), VerBC 757, CapePL 3.b.12. and ParisBNC 676.⁴ Like Q 18, the manuscripts ParisBNC 676, CapePL 3.b.12,

FlorBN Panc. 27, and WashLC M6/LonBLE 3051 contain heterogeneous

present diverse forms. Like Q 18 and VerBC 757 (see fn. 1 above), Q 18 and CapePL 3.b.12 may be more closely related than the statistics in Table IV suggest. CapePL 3.b.12 contains numerous texts, but pieces concordant with Q 18 contain only text incipits. See also idem, <u>Italian 'Laude'</u> and <u>Latin 'Unica' in MS Capetown, Grey 3.b.12</u>, in <u>Corpus</u> <u>Mensurabilis Musicae</u>, 76 (American Institute of <u>Musicology</u>, 1977), pp. ix-xi; Atlas, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 237.

- 3. "Sources, MS, IX, 8: Renaissance polyphony, chansonniers," (London, 1980), Vol. 17, p. 682. RomeC 2856 is probably of Ferrarese origin, and is dated 1491 by Atlas, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 239-40. An earlier date of c. 1480 has been suggested by Lewis Lockwood, "Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition at Ferrara in the Fifteenth Century," <u>Rivista italiana di</u> <u>musicologia</u>, X (1975), p. 133; also see Brown, <u>A Florentine</u> <u>• • •</u>, p. 193; Arthur S. Wolff, "The Chansonnier Biblioteca Casanatense 2856, Its History, Purpose, and Music," 2 Vols. (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, North Texas State University, 1970), pp. 29-32; Thomas Warburton, "Sicher's 'Johannes Zela zons plus': A Problem in Identity," <u>Acta Musicologica</u>, LV (1983), p. 80. See also above, Introduction, fn. 17.
- Allan Atlas, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 237. Atlas also suggests that Q 18 drew from the same group of parent sources as RomeC 2856 and RISM 1501 (<u>Odhecaton</u>).

repertories. The first four manuscripts contain Franco-Flemish and Italian sacred and secular pieces. The fifth source, now separated into two fragments, was originally a single manuscript; the first and larger part, LonBLE 3051, contains frottole, and the other part, WashLC MG, contains chansons. Joshua Rifkin believes that this so-called Egerton-Wolffheim manuscript demonstrates a close affinity with sources copied in the regions of Mantua, Ferrara, or Emilia, specifically Q 18 and RomeC 2856. This hypothesis contradicts Jeppesen's earlier supposition that LonBLE 3051 is Florentine.⁵ Rifkin bases his conclusion on similarities between readings of pieces in Egerton-Wolffheim and concordances in northern Italian sources.

Nanie Bridgman, in her 1953 article "Un manuscrit italien du début du XVIe siècle," considers ParisBNC 676 (dated 1502) to be a source of some of the oldest examples of frottole, many by Tromboncino and Cara; she believes that many of the compositions represented in ParisBNC 676 derive from Isabella d'Este's musical circle at Mantua or Ferrara.⁶ A relationship between Q 18 and ParisBNC 676 has been established based on the similarity between one of the two watermarks in ParisBNC 676 and the watermark in Q

6. Annales musicologiques, I (1953), pp. 178-79 and 191.

^{5.} Joshua Rifkin, "A 'New' Renaissance Manuscript," <u>Abstracts</u> of <u>Papers Read at the Thirty-Seventh Meeting of the American</u> <u>Musicological Society</u> (Chapel Hill, 1971), p. 2, and an unpublished typescript of this paper. Based on its repertory and format, Rifkin dates WashLC M6/LonBLE 3051 c. 1495. See also Martin Staehelin, "Eine florentiner Musik-Handschrift aus der zeit um 1500," in <u>Schweizer Beiträge zur</u> <u>Musikwissenschaft</u>, I (1972), pp. 55-81; Staehelin suggests that WashLC M6/LonBLE 3051 was copied around 1500 (with later additions) in Florence. A more convincing case is made by Rifkin for the slightly earlier date and the northern Italian provenance.

18. A further connection between ParisBNC 676 and Q 18 is suggested by the identical comments appearing at the beginning of Isaac's <u>Benedictus</u> from his Missa <u>Quant j'ay au cor</u>. The same remark, "Absque verbis," appears in both manuscripts. Although Isaac's piece is widely disseminated in the sources, the expression "Absque verbis" occurs only in connection with the three-voice piece in ParisBNC 676 and the four-voice version of it in Q 18 (for more on this similarity and its significance see below, fn. 53).

Concordances between ParisBNC 676--a manuscript that predates RISM 1504⁴, the first printed book of frottole, by two years--and Petrucci frottole prints are as follows: seven in RISM 1504^4 (Book I), five in RISM 1505⁴ (Book III), three in RISM 1505^6 (Book V), two each in RISM 1505⁵ (Book IV) and RISM 1506³ (Book VI), one in RISM 1507³ (Book VII), and one in RISM 1509² (Book IX). ParisBNC 676, therefore, contains a greater number of concordances with the Petrucci frottole prints than does Q 18; concordances between ParisBNC 676 and Petrucci frottole books IV and IX lacking in Q 18 suggest that ParisBNC 676 contains a slightly more forward-looking frottola repertory than does Q 18, a manuscript that shares none of its repertory with either Book IV or Book IX.

Atlas and others think that FlorBN Panc. 27, which shares at least 16 concordances with ParisBNC 676, is heavily dependent on RISM 1501 (17 concordances) and other Petrucci publications printed between 1501 and 1503. There are seven concordances between FlorBN Panc. 27 and RISM 1504⁴, seven in RISM 1505⁴,

three in RISM 1505⁵, and one in RISM 1507⁴.⁷ FlorBN Panc. 27 is most likely a northern Italian manuscript; one of its watermarks resembles Briquet 1007 (Reggio Emilia 1510-15), and it, like ParisBNC 676, contains a large number of Italian secular pieces composed for the court of Isabella d'Este at Mantua.⁸ All three of these manuscripts, FLorBN Panc. 27, ParisBNC 676, Q 18, and a fourth, CapePL 3.b.12, share similar readings and probably all were copied in the same general vicinity in northern Italy.

One difference between Q 18 and these other manuscripts is that in Q 18 frottole are grouped in one section (12 concordances with Petrucci frottole and laude prints in the first 16 folios), whereas in both Paris BNC 676 and FlorBN Panc. 27, frottole appear throughout the manuscript. Another difference between the manuscripts ParisBNC 676, FlorBN Panc. 27, and the manuscript Q 18 is that FlorBN Panc. 27 and ParisBNC 676 contain mostly Italian secular pieces and very few French ones. RomeC 2856, a source dating from the 1480s, contains 124 pieces, 105 of which

- 7. Atlas, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 252; Bianca Becherini, "Handschriften der florentiner Bibliotheken," <u>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</u>, IV (Kassel, 1955), <u>col.</u> 394; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, <u>I codici panciatichiani</u>, Vol. I, fasc. 1, comp. Salomone Morpurgo, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione: Indici e cataloghi, 7 (Rome, [1887]), pp. 54-58. Clytus Gottwald, <u>Johannes Ghiselin-Johannes Verbonet:</u> <u>Stilkritische Untersuchung zum Problem ihrer Identität</u> (Wiesbaden, 1962), p. 10; Jeppesen, <u>La Frottola</u>, II, pp. 37-40.
- 8. William F. Prizer, "Isabella d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia as Patrons of Music: The Frottola at Mantua and Ferrara," forthcoming in <u>JAMS</u>. Prizer believes that Ferrara is as likely a place of origin for FlorBN Panc. 27 as Mantua (suggested by Atlas); there is some evidence that "Bar. Pisan." who composed <u>Piange Pisa</u> in FlorBN Panc. 27 may have worked in Ferrara. FlorBN Panc. 27 also contains three "bird-song" frottole, pieces associated with both Mantua and Ferrara.

are French chansons, the remainder Flemish, Latin, and Italian compositions. Of the 92 pieces in Q 18 (93, if one includes the piece in lute tablature on folio 1r), 34 contain Italian texts or text incipits and 20 contain Franco-Flemish text incipits (see Chapter V, p. 151). The transition from a largely Franco-Flemish repertory to one that either included or was dominated by Italian compositions can be seen in certain northern Italian sources. Many of these sources, especially those that contain frottole, such as ParisBNC 676, FlorBN Panc. 27, and Q 18, were compiled in the years following the publication of RISM 1501 (<u>Odhecaton</u>).

Seven pieces in Q 18 have concordances in only one other manuscript or print, and each of these happens to be of northern Italian provenance. These pieces are otherwise not widely disseminated. According to Atlas, the value of these concordances as indicators of relationships between sources is greater than it is for pieces that are widely disseminated.⁹ Of these seven pieces in Q 18, five are concordant with Petrucci prints, <u>Dimi un pocho</u> (folios 11v-12r in Q 18) in RISM 1504⁴, <u>Viva e morte</u> (folios 18v-19r in Q 18) in RISM 1505³, <u>D'un bel maitin</u> (folios 67v-68r in Q 18) and <u>Va va iniqua</u> (folios 8v-9r in Q 18) in RISM 1506³, and <u>Ave Maria</u> (folios 19v-20r in Q 18) in RISM 1508³. The two other compositions in Q 18 that have concordances in one other source are <u>Biblis</u> (folios 77v-78r in Q 18), found in CapePL 3.b.12, with a text from Matthew 15:27, <u>Nam edunt de micis et catellj</u>, and <u>Agnus dei</u> (folios 85v-86r in Q 18), which is textless in

9. Atlas, op. cit., p. 41.

VerBC 757.10

VerBC 757 contains a watermark that is associated with documents dated 1498-99 from the regions of northern Italy near Vicenza and Verona. The nine concordances between VerBC 757 and Q 18 are related by similar readings. Unlike Q 18, the repertory of VerBC 757 is predominantly Franco-Flemish, but the absence of ascriptions and text incipits, and the mixture of sacred and secular pieces suggest a resemblance to Q 18.¹¹ The relationship between Q 18 and those sources that contain pieces found elsewhere only in Q.18 strengthens the hypothesis that Q 18 is in the same family as the Petrucci prints, CapePL 3.b.12, and VerBC 757.

The manner in which a manuscript is bound provides another means of relating sources and of determining provenance. ParisBNC 676 is bound in quaternions and two quinternions; FlorBN Panc. 27 is bound in quaternions. CapePL 3.b.12, another northern Italian manuscript, is bound in ternions, quaternions,

- 10. Giulio Cattin, <u>Italian 'Laude'</u>, pp. ix-xi. A relationship between CapePL 3.b.12 and both Q 18 and FlorBN Panc. 27 has already been pointed out (see this chapter, fns. 2 and 8). Almost one-third of the 85 compositions in CapePL 3.b.12 are <u>unica</u>, and 22 of the pieces found elsewhere are concordant with FlorBN Panc. 27.
- 11. Lawrence F. Bernstein, "Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson," <u>The Journal of Musicology</u>, I (July, 1982), pp. 314-5. See also Giuseppe Turrini, "Il patrimonio musicale della biblioteca capitolare di Verona dal sec. XV al XIX," in <u>Atti dell' accademia di agricoltura</u>, <u>scienze e lettere di</u> <u>Verona</u>, Series VI, Vol. II (1950-51), pp. 1-83. Turrini includes a short description and inventory of the contents of VerBC 757. The note shapes, bassus clefs, and <u>signa</u> in VerBC 757 and folios 18v-19r in Q 18 exhibit certain similarities. VerBC 757 may also be considered a source of instrumental ensemble music along with Q 18, FlorBN Panc. 27, RomeC 2856 and others (see "Sources," <u>The New Grove Dictionary</u> [London, 1980], Vol. 17, pp. 703-704.)

guinternions, and sexternions.¹² WashLC M6/LonBLE 3051, presumed to be of Florentine origin by Jeppesen and northern Italian by Rifkin, is arranged in ten gatherings, as are other northern Italian sources, such as RomeC 2856, ModE F. 9.9 (the Paduan frottola collection), and Q 18. The presence in Q 18 of ten gatherings, common in northern Italy at this time, suggests it is not likely that one or more entire gatherings are missing from the end of the manuscript in its present state.¹³ Spataro's printed treatise Honesta defensio is bound mostly in quarterns except for the last gathering, which is a guintern. Q 18 is bound in a combination of seven guinterns and three guarterns (gatherings I, IV, and X; see Chapter II, pp. 50-54). The Petrucci prints are bound mostly in quaternions. While the presence of quinternions does not necessarily denote Florentine provenance, the presence of quaternions may lend support to the assignment of northern Italian provenance to a manuscript or print. Certainly, the presence of quinterns in Q 18 does not preclude a northern Italian provenance.

<u>The relationship of Q 18 to some peripheral sources</u>. Certain sources contain only two or three concordances with Q 18, but the nature of those few concordances suggests that they may be related to Q 18 nevertheless. TurBN I. 27 has some features in common with Q 18, but remains slightly peripheral to the group of northern Italian sources described above. It contains a mixed sacred-secular repertory and appears to have been prepared, like

12. Cattin, "Nuova. . . ," pp. 168-70.

^{13.} Rifkin, <u>op. cit.</u>, typescript, p. 7. See also Jeppesen, <u>La</u> <u>Frottola</u>, I, pp. 76-82.

Q 18 and several other northern Italian sources, for practical use. It was compiled in the region of Brescia or Bressanone at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁴ Although only two or three of the compositions in TurBN I. 27 are concordant with pieces in Q 18, a relationship with Q 18 is suggested by the order of certain pieces in TurBN I. 27 and their parallel positions in Q 18. It may be significant, for example, that Compère's Garisses moi, folios 90v-91r in Q 18, and Compère's En atendant, folios 91v-92r in Q 18, are located on consecutive folios, 13v-14r, and 13r, in TurBN I. 27, albeit not in the same Often, when two compositions, such as these two by order. Compère, are copied on proximate folios in two different manuscripts, there is reason to believe that the scribes copied the pairs from a common source, if not from one another directly.^{14a} Two compositions by Févin, who belongs to a younger generation of composers than those represented in Q 18, appear in the Turin choirbook, suggesting that TurBN I. 27 may have been compiled after Q 18, and in the case of the two pieces by Compere, copied from 0 18 or a common source.

One composition in Q 18, <u>Semper</u> on folios 38v-39r, is found elsewhere only in German sources, most of them from a much later period. However, one of these German sources, BerlS 40021,

Lawrence F. Bernstein, "La Courone et fleur des chansons a troys: A Mirror of the French Chanson in Italy in the Years between Ottaviano Petrucci and Antonio Gardano," <u>JAMS</u>, XXVI (1973), pp. 14-15.

¹⁴a. For another example of paired copying of compositions, see Appendix III: <u>La mora</u> on folios 72v-73r and <u>Malur me bat</u> on folios 73v-74r in Q 18 are found on consecutive folios in the Florentine MS FlorBN BR 229.

contains an autograph by Isaac, who served at the court of Maximilian at various times from 1494 to 1502 (see Chapter V, p. Martin Just suggests that BerlS 40021, which bears the 161). date [14]95 on one folio, shares a common parent source with SegC s.s. and FlorBN BR 229.¹⁵ A portion of Isaac's Salve Regina is found not only in BerlS 40021 and other German sources, but also in SegC s.s. with the text Ad te clamamus, in FlorBN BR 229 attributed to Isaac. in FlorBN Panc. 27 with the incipit Alleluya, in Paris BNC 676 with the incipit Gratis accepistis et gratis date, and in Q 18 with the incipit Thysis. The presence of Germans in Bologna has already been noted (see Chapter I, p. 15), and there are a number of concordances between Q 18 and later sources of German origin such as RISM 1538⁹ and ZwiR 78/3.¹⁶ There is also the remote possibility that a German shawm player. Giovanni di Pietro d'Allemagna, who was known to have been a member of Bologna's Concerto palatino in the mid-fifteenth century (see Chapter I, pp. 22-23), could have been the source of the German pieces in Q 18.

- 15. Martin Just, Der Mensuralkodex Mus. ms. 40021 der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin: Untersuchungen zum Repertoire einer deutschen Quelle des 15. Jahrhunderts (Tutzing, 1975), p. 120; Census Catalogue, Vol. 1, p. 51.
- 16. ZwiR 78/3 is a set of three part books containing textless pieces belonging to Stephen Ross (d. 1546), the town clerk of Zwickau, who may have been responsible for copying the books (see Howard Brown, <u>A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229</u> [Chicago, 1983], p. 198); perhaps it is not too far-fetched to speculate that the purpose for which ZwiR 78/3 was copied was to provide the town band with an anthology of French chansons and Italian songs like that which appears in Q 18. See Reinhard Vollhardt, "Bibliographie der Musik-Werke in der Ratsschulbibliothek zu

<u>Giovanni Spataro</u>

Most scholars who have studied Q 18 have placed its provenance in northern Italy. Allan Atlas suggests, on the basis of the presence of frottole in the first section, that Q 18 originated in northern Italy, perhaps around Mantua. Others have suggested that Q 18 be grouped, possibly because of their similar instrumental purposes, with the earlier Ferrarese manuscript RomeC 2856.¹⁷ In the <u>Census Catalogue of Manuscript Music:</u> <u>Sources of Polyphonic Music</u> published in 1979, Q 18's provenance is listed for the first time, unequivocally, as Bologna.¹⁸ Perhaps the strongest evidence for concluding that Q 18 was compiled in Bologna is the fact that a hand probably that of Giovanni Spataro, who was born in Bologna in 1458 and died there on January 7, 1541, appears in this manuscript.

In 1482, Spataro completed a course of study with Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareja. In 1491, Platone de Benedetti published Spataro's treatise <u>Honesta</u> <u>defensio</u>, in support of Ramos, which was dedicated to Antongaleazzo Bentivoglio. Spataro refers to himself in the dedication as a "humble professional musician"

Zwickau," <u>Beilage zu den Monatshefte</u> <u>für Musikgeschichte</u>, Vols. XXV-XXVIII (1893-6), pp. 28-30. Vollhardt believed that these part books were copied from Petrucci's <u>Odhecaton A</u> (RISM 1501).

- Allan Atlas, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 237; Howard Brown in <u>A Florentine</u> <u>Chansonnier</u>..., p. 182, citing Atlas; <u>The New Grove</u> <u>Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u> (London, 1980), Vol. 17, p. 682.
- 18. American Institute of Musicology, 1979, Vol. 1, pp. 72-73; William Prizer in <u>Courtly Pastimes</u>, <u>The Frottole of</u> <u>Marchetto Cara</u> (Ann Arbor, 1974 and 1980), p. 335, also cites Q 18's Bolognese provenance and the evidence that part of it was copied by Spataro.

("Johannis Spadarii in musica humilimi professoris"). (Apparently the term professoris here means "professional," not "professor.") No record of his employment is found at the University or in any of the archives until 1505, when he is known to have entered the choir at San Petronio.¹⁹ Tirro suggests that prior to 1505 Spataro may have been a singer in one of the smaller Bolognese churches. Could one further suppose that Spataro, before joining the capella at San Petronio, was employed as a copyist for an ensemble of musicians, such as the Concerto palatino della signoria di Bologna, who were perhaps the "nostri Musici bolognesi" mentioned in his letters (see below)? It is certain, however, that he was active as a composer in these years. In Spataro's letter of April 16, 1533, to Giovanni del Lago, he remarks that he cannot find a Salve regina that he had written about forty years earlier.²⁰ The same letter describes a snowstorm followed by a heavy rain that flooded his choir room, causing the loss of much of his own music.²¹ One of his laude was published by Petrucci in 1508.²² In 1510, Paolo Cortese, in the chapter "De vitandis passionibus deque musica adhibenda post epulas" ("How passions should be avoided, and music used after meals") of his De cardinalatu libri tres, praised Spataro of

- 19. Frank Tirro, "Giovanni Spataro's Choirbooks in the Archive of San Petronio in Bologna" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), pp. 173-74 and pp. 179-80.
- Letter from Spataro to del Lago, April 16, 1533, Vat. lat. 5318, folio 168.
- 21. <u>Ibid</u>.
- 22. <u>Tenebrae facte sunt</u>, ed. by Knud Jeppesen in <u>Die mehrstimmige italienische Laude um 1500</u> (Leipzig, 1935), p. 4.

Bologna along with the great Northern composers Josquin, Obrecht, Isaac, Agricola, Brumel, and Compère.²³ Besides the extant lauda, Spataro is known to have composed six motets and at least seven Masses, referred to by name in his letters.

In 1512, at the age of 53, Spataro was elected <u>maestro di</u> <u>canto</u> of San Petronio. In 1513, the Bolognese writer Giovanni Achellino, in his <u>Viridario</u> (see Chapter I, fn. 34), mentions Spataro among several of "nostri Musici bolognesi." Spataro uses the same phrase in his letters to refer to his colleagues.²⁴

Spataro's earliest surviving letter, to Marco Antonio Cavazzoni da Bologna (one of several possible candidates for the person to whom the initials "S.M.C." on folio 1r in Q 18 refer), dates from August 1, 1517.²⁵ Other extant letters written in

- 24. Tirro, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 175-180. Tovaglie and Demophon were cited by Achellino for their singing as well as for their compositional and improvisatory skills. Achellino also mentions organists (such as Cesare Rugiero di Borgogna, who was one of the few Northerners among San Petronio's mostly local musicians) and other instrumentalists. Cf. Jeppesen, <u>La Frottola</u> (Copenhagen, 1968-70), Vol. I, p. 153.
- 25. Letter from Spataro to Cavazono [sic], Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5318, f. 240 (copy only). Another possibile candidate for the owner of the initials is Don Michele Cimatore, Spataro's successor at San Petronio in 1533 (See Ludovico Frati, "Per la storia della musica in Bologna dal secolo XV al XVI," <u>Rivista musicale italiana</u>, XXIV [1917)] pp. 467-471, and also G. Gaspari,"La Musica in San Petronio," in <u>Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per la Romana</u>, IX [1870], p. 33). The suggestion that the initials belong to Cimatore, whose period of activity is closer to the suspected date of the music on folio 1r, leads to the possible conclusion that Q

^{23.} Nino Pirrotta, "Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy," JAMS, XIX (1966), pp. 146-161. ". . Iuschinus Gallus. . Iacobus Obrechius. . . Herricus Isachius Gallus. . Alexander Agricola, Antonius Brunellus, Lodovicus Compater, Io. Spatarius Bononiensis. . " Pirrotta seems surprised at the presence of the theorist Spataro in Cortese's group of highly productive composers.

Bologna date from the late 1520s and early 1530s. Two treatises by Spataro defending his theories against those of Franchino Gafurius were published in Bologna in 1521. In his <u>Tractato di</u> <u>Musica</u>, which was published in Venice in 1531, Spataro refers to works of Dufay and Ockeghem, and he shows his great admiration for Josquin by naming him "optimo de li compositori del tempo nostro."²⁶ At least three of the San Petronio choirbooks, copied in large part by Spataro, and thought to have been compiled during the years 1512-27, contain works from the Josquin and Willaert generations. From all the evidence at hand, primarily his own letters, it is almost certain that Spataro lived in Bologna virtually all of his life, and one can reasonably conclude that at some point during his long and productive life, he was responsible for the compilation of at least one section of Q 18.

As has already been discussed in Chapter II (see above, pp. 44-69), the watermark and the paper provide additional evidence for determining the Bolognese provenance of Q 18. While there are no coats of arms, escutcheons, signatures, illuminations, or portraits in Q 18, there are a number of further clues about provenance to be derived from two compositions in the manuscript. The first of these compositions, <u>Spes mea</u> on folio 41v, may be connected with the words "Spes mea" as they appear in wall

18 remained in the hands of someone at San Petronio through at least the middle of the sixteenth century. Professor William F. Prizer, in a personal communication, doubts that there is a connection between "S. M. C." and Marchetto Cara.

26. <u>Tractato di Musica di Gioanni Spataro musico Bolognese, nel quale si tracta de la Perfectione de la sesqu[i]altera producta in La Musica Mensurata exercitate (Venice, 1531), Chap. XXI, fol. [e. iiii].</u>

decorations of one of the rooms in the Bentivoglio summer palace (see Chapter I, p. 26). The device of a leopard holding a palm frond on which the Bentivoglio arms are displayed decorates another room in the palace, one that was designated for the use of Annibale Bentivoglio and Lucrezia d'Este following their marriage in 1487. This may very possibly be the same device that is found in the border of each of 192 pages of a beautifully decorated book of hours, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 53, written by Girolamo Pagliarolo in Bologna in 1497 (Ex. 1 and Plates X, XI)). Ex. 1, Bentivoglio device²⁷



27. Ex. 1 is a modern copy of a Bentivoglio device that appears beneath the title on the first page of an article by James Wardrop, "Pierantonio Sallando and Girolamo Pagliarolo, Scribes to Giovanni Bentivoglio," <u>Signature</u>, no. 2, n.s. (November, 1946), p. 4 and see also p. 30. See also Cecilia M. Ady, <u>The Bentivoglio of Bologna, A Study in Despotism</u> (London, 1937), p. 195. My thanks to Dr. Gregory Clark, assistant curator at the Morgan library, for confirming my suspicion that the device appears in Pagliarolo's 1497 <u>Horae</u>. Two full-page miniatures in this same manuscript were ascribed, by Bernard Berenson in 1922, to a pupil of Costa. See Plates X and XI for two other full-page miniatures that contain the Bentivoglio motto in the lower left part of the border on folio 127v and in the lower right on folio 128r (St. George and the Dragon).



Plate X. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 53, f. 127v



Plate XI. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 53, f. 128r

Judging from the Manfredi emblems on the borders of each folio, the book of hours may have been a gift from Giovanni to his daughter Francesca on the occasion of her marriage to Galeotto Manfredi of Faenza in 1481.²⁸ There is, however, a little problem with this idea. Francesca murdered Galeotto six years after they were married, and two folios (folio 16, and folio 191) in the manuscript bear inscriptions in gold letters to Giovanni Bentivoglio, the family coat of arms, and the date 1497, by which time Francesca was already married to Guido Torelli (see Chapter I, fn. 15). Spes and Speranza were divisi of the Torelli family.²⁹ Another member of this family, Barbara di Marsiglio Torelli, countess of Montechiarugolo, wife of Ercole Bentivoglio, is pictured on a medallion under the word Spes.³⁰ Caterina Manfredi is represented by Costa in his portrait Concert Bentivoglio, painted after the death of Galeotto Manfredi (see Chapter I, Plate II), an indication that relations between the Bentivoglio and Manfredi continued despite the wrongdoings of Francesca.

The discussion given below of the solmization incipit <u>fa re</u> <u>mi sol la</u> in the composition <u>Spes mea</u> on folios 42v-43r in Q 18 (see Chapter VI, pp. 234-236) centers around the possibility that the composer may be paying homage to Francesca Bentivoglio. Contained within the inner syllables is a portion of the

- 28. See Wardrop, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 29.
- 29. See Jacopo Gelli, <u>Divise-motti e imprese di famiglie e</u> personaggi <u>italiani</u> (Milan, 1976), no. 1639.
- See Lanfranco Berti, <u>Giovanni II Bentivoglio</u> (Bologna, 1976), facing p. 84.

Bentivoglio name, re mi sol (Ben-ti-vo). The first syllable may be a reference to Francesca (fa) Bentivoglio. The text incipit of another composition in Q 18. Deus fortitudo mea on folio 31v-32r, may be a motto belonging to the Este family.³¹ The incipits of other compositions, such as Venimus princeps on folios 21v-22r (see Chapter VI, p. 247), Borgo loco on folios 76v-77 (see below and Chapter VI, p. 263), and Thysis on folios 79v-80r may also contain references to the Bentivoglio or to Bologna. The text incipit Thysis may be a reference to the Greek hero Theseus who married Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons. 32 A connection can possibly be drawn between the goddess Hippolyta and either Ippolita Sforza who married Alessandro Bentivoglio in 1492, or Hippolyte Torelli, who was born to Francesca Bentivoglio in 1501 (and later married Baldassare Castiglione; see Chapter I, fn. 15). References to Greek heroes in titles of compositions are not without precedent in Q 18. Neoptolemus on folios 52v-53r is another example of the name of a Greek hero used as a text incipit. This piece may refer to Tolomeo Spagnolo, Francesco Gonzaga's secretary (see Chapter VI, p. 260), which, if true, would strengthen the idea of close ties between Bologna and Mantua during this period.

The text incipit or title, <u>Borgo loco</u>, of another piece (folio 76v) may also indicate a Bolognese provenance. During the

31. See Gelli, op. cit., no. 594, and Chapter VI, p. 233.

32. <u>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</u>, ed. N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1970), pp. 1061-62. Theseus was also the subject of a battle relief executed by Michelangelo, who was also inspired by Ovid's <u>Metamorphoses</u> (see Charles de Tolnay, <u>The Youth of Michelangelo</u> [Princeton, 1947], p. 77).

Renaissance, "Borgo locco" or "Borgo locchi" was the name of a street in the vicinity of Santo Stefano and via $Orfeo.^{33}$ In the fourteenth century the same street had been called "via dei Lisignoli," but the name was changed in the next century to honor the Borgolocchi, a noble family who had lived there from about 1460. Another explanation for the title Borgo loco is that it might derive from "alocci." meaning "owls." It is said that a nest of them inhabited a tree in the middle of this street, which at one time had been a Hebrew cemetery. On the other hand, Mario Fanti located a "Borgoloco" in a publication relating to the city of Venice, the spelling of which matches that in Q 18.34 Caution is necessary here, but taken together with all the other evidence pointing strongly to Bologna, it is possible that Borgo loco on folio 76v of Q 18 is an example of local Bolognese repertory and refers to a neighborhood in Renaissance Bologna.

From the numbers of compositions containing allusions to the Bentivoglio family, it seems very likely that these pieces in Q 18 are part of a repertory that would have had local use. It is also further proof that Q 18 was compiled in Bologna. The manuscript most probably never left Bologna.

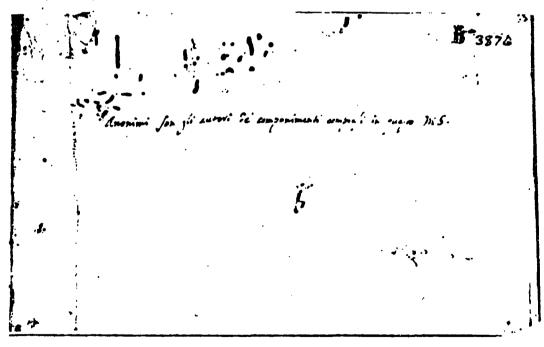
Although there is no documentation, it is very possible that at some point during the eighteenth century Q 18 became a part

34. Fanti, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 194.

^{33.} Mario Fanti, La vie di Bologna (Bologna, 1974), pp. 193-4. See also C. Lasarolla, Origine di tutte le strade, sottera nei e luoghi riguardevoli della città di Bologna (Bologna, 1743), p. 11. My thanks to Professor Robert Greci of the Scuole di Paleografico Musicale in Cremona for making available a copy of Maria Gioa Tavoni's "Richerche sulla Carta nel Basso Medio Evo" (Tesi di laurea, University of Bologna, 1970-1).

of the collection of Padre G. B. Martini (1706-84), the scholar, composer, and bibliophile. Martini acquired other Renaissance manuscripts and theoretical treatises during the 1750s, 1760s, and 1770s, among which were the early Quattrocento source Q 15 (in 1757) and an unnamed treatise by Spataro.³⁵ Martini's signature and some comments about the contents of the manuscript appear on folio 3r of BolC Q 16.³⁶ It is very likely that he acquired BolC Q 16 from one of his many acquaintances in foreign courts, for it is believed that Martini seldom left Bologna.

A comparison between the writing on the unnumbered folio in Q 18 (mentioned in Chapter II, p. 47; see Ex. 2, below) with a Ex. 2, Q 18, unnumbered folio



- Anne Schnoebelen, "The Growth of Padre Martini's Library as Revealed in his Correspondence," <u>Music and Letters</u>, LVII (1976), pp. 392, 394.
- 36. Edward Pease, "A Report on Codex Q 16 of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale," <u>Musica Disciplina</u>, XX (1966), pp. 57-8. Q 16 may have had a Neapolitan or a Roman provenance.

sample in Martini's hand (Ex. 3) reveals that Martini is not responsible for the writing on the unnumbered folio.

Ex. 3, autograph report by $Martini^{37}$

37. E.R. Jacobi, "Rameau and Padre Martini: New Letters and Documents," <u>The Musical Quarterly</u>, L (1964), Plate II. I am indebted to Professor Anne Schnoebelen for examining the writing in Ex. 2 and confirming that it is in Gaspari's hand. Most of Martini's collection was catalogued by Gaetano Gaspari in the late nineteenth century. Gaspari compiled a handwritten index, <u>Zibaldone musicale</u>, which formed the basis of his printed <u>Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale de Bologna</u>. I was unable to consult this index, but it is possible that it contains further clues to the provenance of Q 18.³⁸

Date of Compilation

Most musicologists who have studied Q 18 agree that it dates from the early sixteenth century. Martin Staehelin assigns it a date of 1500, whereas others use a wider range of dates, most frequently 1500-1520.³⁹ Although it does not seem possible to determine the year for the origin of Q 18, certain limits can be set. In order to establish a <u>terminus post quem</u> and a <u>terminus</u> <u>ante quem</u>, it is necessary to review some of the data collected on the watermark and the paper, the presence of frottole, predominance of four-voice compositions, oblong format, the biography of Spataro, and dates of certain compositions in Q 18, particularly Spes mea and Henricus Isaac's La mi la sol.

The watermark and the paper. The size and shape of the

- 38. See Fabio Fano, "Gaetano Gaspari," <u>The New Grove Dictionary</u> of <u>Music and Musicians</u>, Vol. 7, pp. 173-74.
- 39. Martin Staehelin, <u>Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs</u> (Bern/Stuttgart, 1977), Vol.I, p. xx. See Introduction, pp. iii-x for bibliography of others who studied Q 18, such as Jeppesen, Perkins, Evans, and Prizer, all of whom date the MS in the early sixteenth century. None of the evidence regarding Q 18's watermark or paper has been published.

watermark on certain folios in Q 18 closely resembles some of the watermarks found in Nicolaus Burtius's <u>Musices opusculum</u>, published in 1487, in Giovanni Spataro's <u>Honesta defensio</u>, published in 1491, and in ParisBNC 676, dated 1502, in addition to papers, dated around 1500, in the Archivio di Stato di Bologna See Chapter II, pp. 56-65).⁴⁰ All of these bear a more remote resemblance to Briquet 11712, dated 1482, Bologna. The paper in Q 18 is similar in weight and texture to that used by the Bolognese printer of those two treatises, Platone Benedetti, who died in 1497.

It is very possible that some of the same moulds were used for the Burtius treatise of 1487, for Spataro's <u>Honesta defensio</u> of 1491, for ParisBNC 676, dated 1502, and for Q 18. The deteriorated condition of the watermark in Q 18, the difficulty one has in distinguishing the cross, and the faintness of the mark on certain folios lead one to surmise that the moulds had been in use for a longer time than those used in the two treatises and in ParisBNC 676, where the watermarks seem to be in better condition and are easier to discern.

On the basis of this information and on the theory, derived from concepts developed by Jan LaRue, that we can date a musical manuscript within approximately 15 years on either side of a date established for its watermark by collateral evidence (see Chapter II, fn. 19), one may be able to postulate that Q 18 was copied somewhat, but not significantly, later than 1502.

^{40.} This manuscript contains a series of scribal entries showing that the MS was begun on October 9, 1502 and finished on October 26th of that year.

Presence of frottole. The presence of frottole is not necessarily by itself a reliable indicator that a source was compiled in the early years of the sixteenth century or after the publication of the Petrucci prints. Be that as it may, Q 18 contains no compositions from Petrucci's seventh book of frottole (RISM 1507³), a collection generally regarded as reflecting the latest style of writing known at that date, and has no concordances with the fourth book of frottole (RISM 1505^5), in which strambotti outnumber barzellette for the first time in Petrucci's series. These two facts make Q 18 seem earlier than On the other hand, LonBLE 3051 (Egerton), presumed by 1505. Rifkin and others to be an earlier source than Q 18, contains frottole that appear in Petrucci's eighth and eleventh books (RISM 1507⁴ and RISM 1509²).⁴¹ LonBLE 3051, ModE F.9.9--which shares its greatest number of concordances with ParisBNC 676 (eight), but no concordances with Q 18--and ParisBNC 676 almost certainly predate the Petrucci frottole publications. Since Q 18

41. See this chapter, p. 97, fn. 5, for Rifkin's and Staehelin's speculations on the date of Egerton (1495 and 1500, respectively). Prizer states that Egerton, ModE F.9.9, and MiIT 55 all predate Petrucci's first book of frottole (see William F. Prizer, "Ana, Francesco d'," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians [London, 1980], Vol. 1, p. 339). There has been some more recent speculation that Egerton (LonBLE 3051) may be a later manuscript, since two pieces by Lurano are copied back to back in both Egerton and Petrucci's fourth book (RISM 1505⁵), and this is often an indication that two sources relied on one another, or on a third and common source. Two other consecutive pieces in Egerton are copied back to back in Petrucci's sixth book (RISM 1506³), but in this instance, the two pieces in Petrucci's frottole book appear with different texts from the ones in Egerton. From an examination of the sources, it appears more likely that, if any copying of one from the other took place, Petrucci copied from Egerton or Egerton's parent source rather than vice versa.

shares concordances with the earliest of the printed frottole books and contains none of the more progressive pieces from this genre, such as those in Book IV (RISM 1505^5), it is quite possible that Q 18 also predates those Petrucci sources.

Q 18 contains seven pieces in its first section that are also found in RISM 1504⁴. ParisBNC 676 and FLorBN Panc. 27 each share seven concordances with RISM 1504⁴. Three pieces in Q 18's first section are found in FlorBN Panc. 27, while only one composition from this section, In te domine speravi on folios 12v-13r, is found in ParisBNC 67.6. <u>De si de no de si</u>, on folios 14v-15r in Q 18, appears both in RISM 1504⁴ and FlorBN Panc. 27. The second half of the tenor of this frottola is missing in Q 18 but is present in RISM 1504⁴ and in FlorBN Panc. 27, which suggests that the scribe of Q 18 either copied <u>De si de no de si</u> inaccurately or copied from an incomplete source. In either event, it does not seem likely that he copied this composition from the same source that was used as a model for RISM 1504⁴ or FlorBN Panc. 27.

In Q 18, texts are included for only two of the five pieces that are found in only one other source: <u>Dimi un pocho</u> and <u>Va va</u> <u>iniqua</u>. Some textless pieces in Q 18 are found with texts in other sources: <u>Viva e morte</u> by Antenoreus is missing from the January 8, 1504, edition of Petrucci's second book of frottole (RISM 1505³), but it is present, with text, in the January 29, 1507, exemplar. The composition is textless in Q 18, but scribal features suggest that the piece, which occupies folios 18v-19r, may have been a later addition (see Chapter II, pp. 77-81). <u>Ave</u> <u>maria</u> and <u>D'un bel maitin</u> are found in sources copied after 1505, but the presence or absence of texts is not, of course, an

indication of which source was copied first.

It is possible to conclude with reasonable certainty that Q18 was not copied from the Petrucci prints on the basis of the variants between frottole as they appear in Q 18 and as they are printed in the Petrucci books, the appearance of frottole in Q 18 and in only certain of the Petrucci prints, and the relationship of other early frottcla sources to the printed collections and to Q 18. In fact, Q 18 may have been compiled prior to these publications.

Predominance of four-voice compositions. In his paper "The Transformation of the Chanson at the End of the Fifteenth Century," Howard Brown indicates that by about 1507 most chansons were written for four voices. The change from three to four voices opened up a myriad of opportunities for composers beyond the simple enriching of texture by the addition of a fourth voice.⁴² A comparison between the numbers of three-voice and four-voice compositions contained within several given manuscripts or prints could indicate how these sources relate to one another. Although this test is usually applied to sources with homogeneous contents, such as chansonniers, it is possible to examine heterogeneous sources, such as Q 18, CapePL 3.b.12, ParisBNC 676, and FlorBN Panc. 27--sources that contain both chansons and Italian-texted compositions--in order to find their place within the trend toward four-voice composition. Of these four manuscripts, Q 18 contains the greatest number of chansons.

^{42.} In <u>Report of the Tenth Congress of the International</u> <u>Musicological Society</u>. Ljubljana, 1967 (Kassel, 1970), p. 85.

The following table groups these and other representative sources (those containing pieces that are also found in Q 18) into one of three categories: 1. sources containing mostly three-voice compositions; 2. sources containing almost equal numbers of threevoice and four-voice compositions; 3. sources containing mostly four-voice compositions (Table V).

Table V

 Sources containing mostly three-voice compositions (see also Table VI)

RomeC 2856 (early 1480s) FlorBN BR 229 (c. 1492-3) VatG XIII.27 (c. 1492-4) BolC Q 16 (1480s with additions in 1490s) FlorBN Magl. 178 (mid-1490s) · CapePL 3.b.12 (early 16th c.) VerBC 757 (c. 1500)

Sources containing almost equal numbers of three-voice and four-voice compositions

RISM 1501 SegC s.s. (between 1498 and 1501)

3. Sources containing mostly four-voice compositions

ParisBNC 676 (1502) FlorBN Panc. 27 (early 16th c.) Q 18 (between 1502 and 1505) RISM 1502²

Many of the four-voice pieces in Petrucci's chanson collections (RISM 1501 [Odhecaton], RISM 1502² [Canti B], and RISM 1504³ [Canti C]), as well as some of those in Q 18, are in fact three-voice compositions with <u>si placet</u> parts. These fourth voices in the Petrucci prints were perhaps added by Petrucci's editor, Petrus Castellanus, in order to modernize older

compositions.⁴³ The "modernizing" of pieces by the addition of a si placet voice takes place in a number of sources, the majority of which are in categories 2 and 3 in Table V. Isaac's Benedictus (which is labelled "Absque verbis" in Q 18), for example, is a composition that contains an added altus in SeqC s.s., VerBC 757, FlorBN Panc, 27, Q 18, and SGallS 462. Helasso is another example of a composition with a si placet voice common to Q 18, FlorBN Panc. 27, RISM 1501, and SegC s.s. Tanto e lafano appears with an added altus in Q 18 and with a different one in RISM 1504^3 , but in the remaining sources the piece is found a 3. The same is true of Fortuna par te; Q 18 contains an added fourth voice different from that in BolC Q 16, the other source containing an added altus.⁴⁴ The only four-voice versions of De tous bien plen (on folios 36v-37r) and [D]es bien damors are the ones in Q 18. An extra rest before the opening note of the superius and tenor voices of [D]es bien damors is present in Q 18 and also in BolC Q 16 and RomeC 2856. Atlas suggests that BolC Q 16 and RomeC 2856, both earlier sources of this composition, had access to a four-voice version, but chose not to use the added

- 43. Martin Picker, "Petrucci, Ottaviano," <u>The New Grove</u> <u>Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u> (London, 1980), Vol. 14, pp. 595-597. Petrus Castellanus is mentioned as the editor of the music of the <u>Odhecaton A, Canti B</u>, and <u>Canti C</u> (RISM 1501, RISM 1502², and RISM 1504³) in a letter of recommendation from Bartolomeo Budrio to Petrucci's patron Girolamo Donato.
- 44. The instruction "Per diateseron intensa" is written over the added voice, indicating that this part should be performed a fourth higher than written. See H. Brown, <u>A Florentine</u>..., p. 225; Helen Hewitt, <u>Harmonice musices Odhecaton A</u> (Cambridge, 1942), p. 156, and Allan Atlas, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 95, evidently following her, incorrectly suggest that the instruction in Q 18 creates a fifth voice.

part.⁴⁵ Q 18 is also the only source that writes out the fourth (canonic) voice of <u>Una musca</u>. On the other hand, certain pieces, such as <u>Nuncha fu pena maior</u> and <u>Sy dedero</u>, transmitted <u>a 4</u> in some sources, are found <u>a 3</u> in Q 18.

In sum, the number of four-voice compositions in Q 18 far outweighs the number of three-voice pieces, and the bulk of the three-voice pieces is concentrated in the final section of the manuscript, as they are in a number of other sources from this period (e.g., Canti B contains ten three-voice pieces grouped at the end of the print, and WashLC M6/LonBLE 3051 contains eleven three-voice pieces grouped at the end of the manuscript [the last two pieces in this manuscript, Costanzo Festa's Se per gelosia and Surge amica mea, were, according to Rifkin, later additions to LonBLE 3051; see fn. 5, above]). CapePL 3.b.12, which shares many concordances with FlorBN Panc. 27 and is believed by Cattin to have been compiled in the early sixteenth century (see this chapter, p. 95), is an exception in that it contains more compositions a 3, but the overview of the sources indicates that a trend around the beginning of the sixteenth century was toward four-voice rather than three-voice texture. Four-voice texture may also reflect the practical purpose of a source. The

45. Atlas, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 102. Atlas thinks that the four-voice versions in FlorBN Panc. 27 and CapePL 3.b.12 are in fact Isaac's revisions of Martini's piece (also see Brown, <u>A Florentine</u>..., p. 213, and the insert in his transcription, Vol. II, p. 41). The text incipit in FlorBN Panc. 27 reads <u>Les bien damore</u>, but the inscription at the head of folio 49v is <u>Omnis labor habet finem</u>; the piece is attributed to "Izach." This title is almost identical to the incipits in all voices of this piece in CapePL 3.b.12, <u>Omnis habet finem labor</u>, in <u>me regula fallit</u>, suggesting a fairly close relationship between these two northern Italian sources.

preponderance of four-voice pieces in sources with known dates of 1500 or later, taken together with other evidence, lends credence to the theory that Q 18 was compiled after 1500.

<u>Source format</u>. Several of these same sources can be grouped according to whether they have the older upright format, common in Italian manuscripts of secular music until the early 1490s, or the more modern oblong format, which became popular during the second half of the last decade of the fifteenth century. Rifkin suggests that, for Florentine manuscripts, the middle of the 1490s was a watershed date for the shift from small upright format to oblong format.⁴⁶ Table VI presents various sources grouped by upright or oblong format.

Table VI

Upright Format

Oblong Format

	FlorBN Magl. 178- (mid-1490s)
FlorBN BR 229- (c. 1492-3)	ModE F. 9.9- (c. 1495)
RomeC 2856- (early 1480s)	VerBC 757- (c. 1500)
VatG XIII.27- (c. 1492-4)	RISM 1501
WashLC M6/LonBLE 3051- (c. 1495)	RISM 1502 ²
ParisBNC 676- (1502)	CapePL 3.b.12- (early 16th c.)
	Q 18- (between 1502 and 1505)
	RISM 1504 ⁴
	FlorBN Panc. 27- (early 16th c.)

WashLC M6/LonBLE 3051 is upright and ModE F.9.9 is oblong, but each of these manuscripts has approximately the same date (mid-1490s, the period when the shift from upright to oblong format was taking place). ParisBNC 676, dated 1502, contains more four-voice than three-voice compositions, but it has an upright format. RISM 1502² (published in the same year that ParisBNC 676

^{46.} Rifkin, <u>op. cit.</u>, typescript, pp. 7-8. FlorBN Magl. 178, a MS dating from the mid-1490s contains more compositions <u>a 3</u> than <u>a 4</u>, but is written in the more modern oblong format.

was copied) has, as well as more four-voice compositions, an oblong format. VerBC 757, which is written in oblong format, contains neither texts nor composer attributions, but its repertory includes one rather archaic composition, Walter Frye's <u>Ave regina celorum</u>, thought to have been composed about 1460. Also present are six pieces by Johannes Martini (which makes VerBC 757 the third largest source of this composer's music following Romeč 2856 and FlorBN BR 229), and there are fewer four-voice than three-voice pieces and no frottole. According to Bernstein, its watermark is associated with documents dated around 1498-99.⁴⁷

Only Q 18 and FlorBN Panc. 27 have all these features in common: shared concordances, heterogeneous repertory (frottole and Franco-Flemish chansons), predominance of four-voice pieces, and an oblong format. Moreover, FlorBN Panc. 27 contains a watermark resembling one that was common in Emilian papers during the first decade of the sixteenth century and, therefore, may be said to be one of the sources most closely related to Q 18 (see pp. 98-99, above).

<u>Biographical data concerning Giovanni Spataro, scribe of the</u> <u>third section of Q 18</u>. Data concerning the life of Spataro (see this chapter, pp. 105-8) and the history of Bologna provide other clues to dating the manuscript. Between the publication of Spataro's <u>Honesta defensio</u> in 1491 and his entrance into the choir

Lawrence Bernstein, "Notes...," p. 314. See this chapter, p. 101.

in 1505, we know nothing of where he was or what he was doing.⁴⁸ In the dedication to his 1491 treatise Spataro refers to himself as a musician without an official post or title. Perhaps he copied music for an ensemble such as Il Concerto palatino della signoria, a group for which Q 18 would have provided suitable repertory (see this chapter, p. 105).⁴⁹ In 1506, the year after Spataro entered the choir at San Petronio (also the year in which Bologna was hit by a devastating earthquake), the Bentivoglio signoria were expelled from Bologna. At this time, the services of the Concerto palatino della signoria may have been suspended for a time. Spataro's entrance into the choir at San Petronio. which of course would not have performed the secular or instrumental compositions in Q 18, and the fact that there is no extant biographical information about him in the years between 1491 and 1505, along with the evidence presented above, suggest that the third section of Q 18 (the part of the manuscript believed to have been copied by Spataro) and probably the entire manuscript was compiled prior to 1505.

Furthermore, if Spataro copied his part of Q 18 at about the same time as some of the San Petronio choirbooks (between 1512-1527), in the years following the return of political stability to Bologna, one must question why Q 18 contains no compositions by Willaert, Mouton, Lhéritier, Richafort, La Fage, Févin, Demophon, or Spataro. In a 1524 letter to Pietro Aaron, Spataro states

- 48. Tirro, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 173.
- 49. Francesco Vatielli, <u>Il Concerto palatino della signoria di Bologna</u> (Bologna, 1940), pp. 4, 5, 8, 12. References to the group or to one of its members can be found in documents dated 1487, 1508, and 1509.

that Willaert's duo <u>Quid non ebrietas</u> was performed by "nostri Musici bolognesi."⁵⁰ The famous meeting of Francis I and Pope Leo X that took place in Bologna in 1515 was an occasion for which Mouton wrote several commemorative compositions. If Q 18 were compiled after 1515, one might expect to find in it some of the pieces mentioned by Albert Dunning as having being associated with this important event.⁵¹

- For further discussion of the May 23, 1524 letter from Spataro to Aaron (Vat. lat. 5318, fol. 212r) and several 50. other letters from Spataro to both Aaron and Marc Antonio Cavazzoni regarding the controversial piece see J.S. Levitan, "Adrian Willaert's Famous 'Duo' Re-Examined" <u>Tijdschrift</u> <u>der Vereeniging</u> <u>voor Nederlandsche</u> <u>Muziekgeschiedenis</u>, XV (1939), p. 175, and Edward E. Lowinsky, "Adrian Willaert's Famous Duo 'Quidnam Ebrietas," <u>Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse</u> <u>Muziekgeschiedenis</u>, XVIII/1 (1956), pp. 22ff. See also Dietrich Kämper, Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblemusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien, Analecta Musicologica, X (1970), pp. 91-92, and Lewis Lockwood, "Willaert, Adrian," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London, 1980), Vol. 20, p. 422. Spataro in the letter to Aaron mentions that the Willaert duo (an intricate work, thought to have been composed in about 1518 or 1519, that makes use of far-ranging hexachordal modulations) could not be performed by the singers of the papal chapel of Leo X, but was played, albeit not very well, on viols; Spataro then refers to a fine performance both vocally and instrumentally by "li nostri Musici bolognesi," who also diligently examined the work. ". . . et diceva che li cantori de sua beatitudine non lo poterno mai cantare: ma che fu sonato con li violoni ma non troppo bene: per tanto io, el quale sempre desidero de imparare, per mezanità de uno mio amico bolognese el guale habita in Ferrara, ho obtenuto gratia da M.^r Adriano in Modo, che sua Ex.^{tia} s' è dignato di sua propria mano mandarmi tale Duo, e quale è stato cantato, sonato et diligentemente examinato da li nostri Musici bolognesi, et laudato per opera subtillissima et docta."
- 51. Albert Dunning, <u>Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555</u> (Utrecht, 1970), pp. 110-118. Dunning associates Mouton's <u>Exultet</u> <u>coniubilando Deo</u> and Bruhier's <u>Vivite felices</u> with the events of 1515. Howard Brown, "Mouton, Jean," <u>The New Grove</u> <u>Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u> (London, 1980), Vol. 12, p. 658, suggests that Mouton's <u>Missa Quem dicunt homines</u> may have been one of the pieces intended for performance at that event; see also Lewis Lockwood, "Jean Mouton and Jean Michel:

Henricus Isaac's La mi la sol. Further information regarding the compilation date of Q 18 may be gleaned from a study of one composition contained within it. The date of Isaac's La mila sol, which appears on folios 26v-28r, has been the subject of controversy because of a letter to Duke Ercole d'Este from his agent Gian de Artiganova. The letter is dated September 2. No year is given, but Lewis Lockwood has presented evidence (based on the second part of this letter and a communication by an agent of Josquin's named Coglia [Girolamo da Sestola], who was attempting to influence the Duke to hire Josquin, not Isaac) demonstrating that Gian probably wrote the letter in 1502, not 1495 or 1498, as was previously suggested by others. In this letter, Gian says that Isaac composed a "motet" on the motive La mi la sol in only two days.⁵² The piece is found in Q 18 with the solmization syllables, but it occurs in other sources, one of which was published only two years later, RISM 1504¹, with the text Rogamus te, which is not mentioned in Gian's letter. If one assumes that Gian, whose meaning is not crystal clear, is referring in his letter to the recent, not the distant, past, one may suppose that Isaac composed the work a very short time prior

French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505-20," <u>JAMS</u>, XXXII (1979), pp. 212 and 244-45.

^{52.} See Lewis Lockwood, "Josquin at Ferrara: New Documents and Letters," in Josquin des Prez: Proceedings . . , pp. 112-114 & Doc. 16 & 17, pp. 132-3; See also Martin Just, "Heinrich Isaac's Motetten in italienischen Quellen," <u>Analecta Musicologica</u>, I (1963), pp. 3-6; Martin Staehelin, <u>Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs</u> (Bern/Stuttgart, 1977), Vol. I, pp. 29 and 82. For a facsimile of Gian's letter see Hellmuth Osthoff, "Despres, Josquin," <u>MGG</u>, Vol. VII (1958), tafel 10, facing col. 194: "ha facto uno moteto sopra una fantasia nomata la mi la so la so la mi lo qualle e molto bono e hallo facto in dui g[i]orni"

to September 2, 1502. Since there is no reason to believe that the piece on folios 26v-28r in Q 18 was added to the manuscript at a later date, Q 18 may be one of the earliest known sources of <u>La mi la sol</u>. In light of this information the <u>terminus post</u> <u>quem</u> for this fascicle of Q 18 could possibly be set at 1502. If so, then the text <u>Rogamus te</u> would seem to have been added to the music after 1502.

Although it has not been possible to affix a precise date to other pieces in Q 18, several, such as the anonymous <u>La</u> <u>turturella</u> (folios .69v-70r), Josquin's <u>In te domine speravi</u> (folios 12v-13r), Isaac's <u>Benedictus</u> (="Absque verbis," folios 63v-64r), Isaac's <u>Thysis</u> (folios 79v-80r; see this chapter, pp. 112-113), the anonymous <u>Salva nos</u> (folios 20v-21r), and the anonymous <u>Spes mea</u> (folios 41v-42r; see this chapter, pp. 112-113), are presumed, on the basis of various bits of evidence, to have been composed prior to 1502.⁵³ Certainly, the piece <u>Spes</u>

Howard M. Brown, A Florentine Chansonnier ..., p. 279; 53. Atlas, op. cit., pp. 141-2. Obrecht's La tortorella may have been composed during the composer's sojourn in Ferrara in 1487-8. It is possible that Obrecht and the unknown composer of La turturella (folios 69v-70r in Q 18) both drew on the same pre-existent tune; the similarities between the two compositions (see Chapter VI, pp. 214-17) suggest that one composer may have known the work of the other. A fragment of the melody of this piece also appears in an anonymous zibaldone in FlorBN Magl. 164-7, a set of Florentine partbooks dated around the second decade of the sixteenth century. See <u>Census-Catalogue</u>, Vol. I, p. 229. For information on the dating of <u>In</u> te <u>domine</u> <u>speravi</u>, see Gallico, "Josquin's Compositions on Italian Texts and the Frottola," in <u>Josquin</u> des <u>Prez</u>: <u>Proceedings</u>..., p. 450. The complete Missa Salva nos by Isaac is found in sources dated after 1500; however, the Kyrie II, Osanna II, and Cum sancto movements appear as parts of the motet Quis dabit, located in the manuscript VatG XIII. 27 (dated c. 1492-94) and in the print RISM 1503³. See Atlas, op. cit., pp. 156ff. It seems possible that Isaac composed the Missa Salva nos,

<u>mea</u>, whose text incipit served as a motto of the Bentivoglio family, would only be likely to appear in a manuscript compiled prior to the expulsion of the ruling family from Bologna (1506). The supposed dates of composition of these pieces are compatible with the proposed time frame for the compilation of Q 18, and no composition in the manuscript is known to have been composed after 1502.

From the information presented above, it seems possible to date Q 18 on the basis of certain characteristics, such as the condition of its watermark, concordances in several other manuscripts as well as in the Petrucci prints, presence of frottole, a majority of four-voice pieces, oblong format, and historical data regarding one of its scribes. One can postulate 1495 (the earliest known appearance of frottole compositions in a source) or 1502 (if La mi la sol was composed in that year) as

the motet <u>Quis</u> <u>dabit</u>, and possibly the anonymous motet in Q 18 on folios 21v-22r all within a short time of each other. See Chapter VI, pp. 183-199. (During the Renaissance sacred compositions tended to have a greater longevity than secular ones, judging from their continued appearance in sources years after they were composed or first copied into a manuscript or print. On the other hand, secular compositions were copied into sources and performed for a more circumscribed period of time.) The scribes of Q 18 and ParisBNC 676 (dated 1502) may have both copied the composition labelled "Absque verbis" (Benedictus from Isaac's Missa Quant j'ay au cor) from a common source, since these are the only two manuscripts out of over two dozen sources for Isaac's Benedictus that contain the remark "Absque verbis." In Q 18 the piece has an added fourth voice. The same added voice occurs in several other sources, among them SegC s.s., which is believed to have been compiled before ParisBNC 676. See Brown. op. cit., p. 194. SegC s.s. was probably compiled between 1498 and 1501.

the <u>terminus post quem</u>, and 1505 (the year Spataro entered the choir at San Petronio and the last year of Bentivoglio rule in Bologna) as the <u>terminus ante quem</u> of Q 18. Possibly the composition on folios 18v-19r and most certainly the lute tablature on folio 1r are later additions. As a general rule, textless chansons (to be discussed below in Chapter IV) do not appear in the extant sources that postdate Petrucci's prints, unless these sources were copied from one of those prints.⁵⁴ With the possible exception of folios 18v-19r (<u>i.e.</u>, <u>Viva e morte</u> by Antenoreus, added by another scribe [D?] at a later date), Q 18 appears to have been copied from a source or sources that predate the publication of the Petrucci frottola books, and therefore some time prior to 1504, the date of publication of Petrucci's first such collection (RISM 1504⁴).

^{54.} RISM 1538⁹ and RISM 1542⁸ are exceptions to this general rule. Louise Litterick, "On Italian Instrumental Ensemble Music in the Late Fifteenth Century," <u>Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe</u>, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 127-9 and fn. 21.

CHAPTER IV

INSTRUMENTAL ENSEMBLE MUSIC IN THE LATE QUATTROCENTO AND EARLY CINQUECENTO

Instrumental Performance of Polyphonic Compositions in the Late Fifteenth Century

Musicians performing on a variety of instruments are depicted in many Italian paintings of the late Quattrocento (see Chapter I, Plates I and III-VII), a reflection of the fact that numerous instrumental virtuosi, native and foreign, worked in Italy. Ercole d'Este's <u>pifferi</u> were considered so distinguished a group that Charles VIII of France was said to have preferred them to his own players.¹ In 1502, Louis XII brought back six musicians from Milan, among them sackbut and shawm players, to add to his ensemble of Italian trumpeters.² Instrumentalists are known to have performed at many theatrical, religious, and social functions during this part of the Renaissance, and many of these musicians belonged to civic musical ensembles, such as the <u>Concerto palatino della signoria</u> in Bologna. The questions to be addressed here are: How did the instrumentalists learn the music,

- 1. Isabelle Cazeaux, <u>French Music in the Fifteenth and</u> <u>Sixteenth Centuries</u> (Oxford, 1975), p. 240.
- 2. William F. Prizer, "Bernardino Piffaro e i pifferi e tromboni di Mantova: strumenti a fiato in una corte italiana," <u>Rivista italiana di musicologia</u>, XVI (1981), Docs. 4,5,7; Lewis Lockwood, "Josquin at Ferrara: New Documents and Letters," in <u>Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival Congress.</u>.., ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (New York, 1971), p. 113, fn. 32. See also Lockwood, "Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition at Ferrara in the Fifteenth Century," <u>Rivista italiana di musicologia</u>, X (1975), p. 117, fn. 7, for a list of instrumentalists sent to Naples by Ercole in 1473. The list included 12 pifferi et sonatori, consisting of seven trombetti, two pifferi, two tromboni, and an organist, in addition to Pietrobono and his tenorista.

what was the make-up of a typical instrumental ensemble group, and what music did these instrumentalists play?

<u>How did the instrumentalists learn the music?</u> Iconographic evidence of musicians reading from music books and performing polyphony in the sixteenth century has of course long been familiar to scholars. The frontispiece to Silvestro Ganassi's <u>Opera intitulata Fontegara</u>, 1535, for example, shows three recorder players and two singers reading from three music books. The lutes and viols hanging on the wall behind the performers may hint at the versatility of these musicians (Plate XII).³

Pietrobono, the lutenist-singer at Ferrara, is said to be typical of those who improvised polyphony in secular music throughout the fifteenth century.⁴ Other fifteenth-century instrumentalists, particularly shawm players, improvised from tenors, so the ability to read music from notation was not essential.

Howard Brown suggests that although professional musicians of the fifteenth century had no need to read the kind of music inserted as <u>pauses</u> in plays, occasionally their repertory included compositions such as <u>La mora</u> and <u>La bernardina</u>, both in Q 18 (see below), that would have been difficult to perform by those who could not read music. Perhaps some of the <u>ménétriers</u>

4. See Lockwood, "Pietrobono . . ," p. 130.

Sylvestro Ganassi, <u>Opera Intitulata Fontegara</u>, <u>Venice</u>, <u>1535--A Treatise on the Art of Playing the Recorder and of</u> <u>Free Ornamentation</u>, ed. Hildemarie Peter (Berlin, 1959), p. 7. See also the numerous plates in Heinrich Besseler, "Umgangsmusik und Darbeitungsmusik im 16. Jahrhundert," <u>Archiv für Musikwissenschaft</u>, XVI (1959), pp. 32ff.

Plate XII, Ganassi, Frontispiece to Opera Intitulata Fontegara (1535)



and bands of wind players were sufficiently sophisticated in their musical training to be able to go beyond improvising from tenor melodies. Brown also mentions that iconographic evidence shows minstrels, together with amateur members of a court, playing and singing from part books.⁵ Presumably, performance of ensemble music required the ability to read mensural notation at some point before 1535, the date of Ganassi's frontispiece.

Until some years ago, some scholars believed not only that fifteenth-century instrumentalists generally did not read music, but also that polyphonic dance compositions were not as a rule written down until after the fifteenth century.⁶ A polyphonic dance composition in BolC Q 16 by Guglielmus (see below, p. 144), a two-voice arrangement of the popular basse dance melody <u>La</u> <u>Spagna</u>, provides some insight into the improvisatory tradition, and also provides concrete evidence that instrumental music, in this instance dance music, was written down during the fifteenth century.^{6a}

- 5. Howard Brown, <u>Music in the French Secular Theater</u> (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), pp. 149, 150, 151ff. Brown is referring to Besseler's "Umgangsmusk . . ." (e.g., plates 2, 9, 12, 18, and 20).
- 6. Daniel Heartz, "Hoftanz and Basse Dance," JAMS, XIX (1966), pp. 15-18. Heartz, citing Pirro, maintained in that article that it is characteristic to show vocalists, but not instrumentalists, reading from music. An artist can depict an instrumentalist performing without showing written music, but he cannot very easily show a performer singing merely by having him appear with his mouth open. To portray a singer, an artist must enlist the aid of a musical instrument, or a sheet or a book of music.
- 6a. At least three other pieces of evidence suggest that instrumental music was written down during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Illibro di appunti di un suonatore di tromba del quindicesimo secolo," <u>Rivista italiana di musicologia</u>, XVI (1981),

The well-known story of George Cely's music lessons suggests that instrumentalists were being taught to perform polyphonic compositions as early as the 1470s.⁷ It is not certain precisely how musicians of the official town bands were trained, but they seem to have been engaged in some sort of guild/apprenticeship system.⁸ Although illustrations of town bands do not show them using music books during performances, Polk thinks that the

pp. 16-37, describes a manuscript Cotton Titus A XXVI (compiled between 1444-1449) containing polyphony that was written for a mariner's band. The MS RomeC 2856 is very likely the volume of "Cantiones a la pifarescha" referred to in an archival record of music holdings at the court library of Ferrara in 1495. See Lewis Lockwood, <u>Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century</u> (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), pp. 218 and 268-9. An example from a later period is found in Antwerp Cathedral, Rekeningen der Gilden van O-L-Vrouwe Lof, 1487-1527, folio 133r. "It(em) om twee mottete(n) te scrive(ne) voor de stadt pijpers, ij s(chellingen), vj d(eniers)," 1508. This is a record of payment made to a scribe for copying two motets that were written for the city players. I am grateful to Professor Kristine Forney for bringing this document to my attention.

- 7. Cely, an English wool merchant, took lessons in lute, harp, and dance from the minstrel teacher Thomas Rede. In a period of two years, 1473-5, Cely learned seven polyphonic chansons, 26 dance pieces on the harp, and 14 on the lute. Although Rede may have taught Cely by rote or by improvisation, it seems likely that the teacher referred to written examples, particularly for the polyphonic chansons. See Alison Hanam, "The Musical Studies of a Fifteenth-Century Wool Merchant," <u>Review of English Studies</u>, n.s. VIII (1957), pp. 270-274.
- 8. Keith Polk, "Flemish Wind Bands in the Late Middle Ages: A Study of Improvisatory Instrumental Practices" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1968), Chapters 5-9, and idem, "Municipal Wind Music in Flanders in the Late Middle Ages," Brass and Woodwind Quarterly, II (1969), p. 13. See also Jeanne Marix, Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420-67) (Strasbourg, 1939), pp. 96-108, on minstrel schools, the composing and playing of chansons, rondeaux, virelais, and ballades, and the use of instruments in Philip's court.

better instrumentalists were probably expected to read music in order to learn new repertory, as well as to impart their knowledge to apprentices.⁹

<u>The makeup of instrumental ensemble groups in the late</u> <u>fifteenth century</u>. Membership in civic and court <u>alta</u> bands undoubtedly required musicians to develop facility on a number of instruments (see p. 134 and Plate XII, above).¹⁰ Timothy McGee has found pay records mentioning civic musicians in Florence in the late fifteenth century. These records list only instrumentalists, but he suggests that civic officials would have had ensembles of vocalists available to them, or that the instrumentalists were versatile enough to play as well as sing.¹¹ A document from the minutes of the city council of Verona, dated February 17, 1484, supports McGee's theories.

They continue to offer publicly to this most worthy city, without any payment, the whole art of our music, that is, <u>piffari</u> [shawms?], trumpets, flutes, harps, lutes, organ, and singing, and all those other skills that for us they will be able to exercise for your praise, pleasure, and honor, being certain that what many other cities have given and offered them, this [city], where they were born and raised, will not deny them; and that, as much as possible, this is what we ask and beseech reverently. For that we continuously recommend ourselves.₁₂

- 9. Polk, "Municipal . . . ," p. 14.
- 10. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 2, 3, 11. See Tinctoris's designation of "alta" bands in footnote 19 of the chapter.
- 11. Timothy McGee, "'Alla Battaglia': Music and Ceremony in Fifteenth-Century Florence," JAMS, XXXVI (1983), pp. 295-6.
- 12. I should like to thank Professor Howard M. Brown for bringing this document to my attention. E. Paganuzzi, C. Bologna, L. Rognini, G.M. Cambie, and M. Conati, <u>La Musica a</u> <u>Verona</u> (Verona, 1976), pp. 80-82. "Item die veneris xvii februari 1484. In Consilio xij e L^{ta}. In quo fuerunt

Therefore if Q 18 were compiled for <u>alta</u> band (see Chapter I, pp. 22-24, this chapter, fns. 10 and 19), these same instrumentalists might also have sung the texted frottole in the first section of the manuscript. The civic musicians of Verona and those of Bologna's <u>Concerto palatino</u> were undoubtedly called upon to play and sing festive music for ceremonial occasions, jousts, banquets, and official city functions. If <u>i musici</u> <u>bolognesi</u> performed a piece as complicated as Willaert's duo <u>Quid</u> non <u>ebrietas</u> (see Chapter III, p. 128), then it is probable that these musicians were capable of going beyond improvising from pre-existing tenors and of performing polyphonic music of the kind represented in Q 18.¹³

<u>Criteria for Classification of Music as Instrumental in the Late</u> <u>Quattrocento and Early Cinquecento</u>

Independent instrumental compositions were written during the late Quattrocento, some for specific purposes, such as wedding ceremonies, banquets, battles, entr'actes for theatrical

votantes 46 praesente Magnifico Domino potestate . . . Offertoro seguiranno, et a questa dignissima cità publicamente senza alcun premio tuta larte nostra musica: cioe piffari; trombeti; fiauti; arpe; lauti; organo: e canto: et tute quelle altre virtu che per nui sempre in laude piacere et honore vostro se potranno operare, essendo certi che quello che molte altre cità gli hanno dato et offerto, questa ne la quale sono nassuti e cressuti non glielo negarà, et de ciò quanto possible e devotamente pregamo et suplicamo. A le quale continuamente se ricomandiamo." Part of this document also appears in William F. Prizer, "Bernardino Piffaro . . .," pp. 162-63. Prizer also discusses the repertory of the vocal/instrumental ensembles (see pp. 164-76).

13. See Polk, "Municipal Wind Music...," p. 11, and William F. Prizer, "Bernardino Piffaro...," <u>Rivista italiana di</u> <u>musicologia</u>, XVI (1981), p. 176 for discussion of the use of shawms in the performance of sacred music. productions, and musical instruction, but most music of this period had a double identity as either vocal or instrumental, and was not yet idiomatically conceived for either voices or instruments, as was the case later on.¹⁴

Many explanations for lack of texts in the chansonniers of the late fifteenth century have been proffered, and one is that the words ceased to be relevant. For example, the words to Isaac's <u>Alla battaglia</u> do not appear in later concordances largely because the poetry, which commemorated a very specific occasion, was longer considered important.¹⁵

Many vocal chansons were selected by compilers for inclusion in instrumental repertories, and still other compositions were originally conceived for instruments. Several criteria, including notational form and internal musical characteristics, have emerged as means for trying to categorize some of the pieces of this period as instrumental compositions. These criteria and categories have been presented by a number of scholars, among them Dietrich Kämper, Warwick Edwards, Louise Litterick, Sarah

^{14.} On the subject of music at weddings see Chapter I, p. 21; McGee, <u>op. cit.</u>; William F. Prizer, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 165 and p. 173; see also this chapter, fn. 30.

^{15.} Timothy McGee, "'Alla battaglia'...," JAMS, XXXVI (1983), p. 296. Another explanation for the absence of texts in many music manuscripts and prints is that the texts were copied into separate manuscripts; see C. Gallico, <u>Un libro di poesie per musica dell'epoca d'Isabella d'Este (Mantua, 1961). See also William F. Prizer, Courtly Pastimes, The Frottole of Marchetto Cara (Ann Arbor, 1974 and 1980), Doc. 15; Tolomeo Spagnolo writes to Isabella d'Este "Le parole de li canti annotate in una cartha da per sè in uno de li quadernetti."</u>

Fuller, and Howard Brown. ¹⁶

Notational form as a criterion for determining possible instrumental intent in a late-fifteenth-century composition. Kämper states that notational form, rather than internal characteristics of melody and embellishment, is the main basis for determining whether a piece was intended for instrumental performance. For Kämper, notational form includes arrangement of voices, mensural signs, clef combinations, form and extent of text underlay, and title of a composition. Kämper also examines the ranges of instruments of this period to see whether they could accommodate the range of voice parts in the compositions he believes were conceived for instruments.¹⁷ Lockwood has suggested that RomeC 2856 was intended for performance by shawm or sackbut band in Ferrara.¹⁸ The absence of complete texts and

- 16. Dietrich Kämper, <u>Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblemusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien</u>, Vol. X of <u>Analecta Musicologica</u> (1970) (Kämper claims that several factors, among them the humanistic ideal of <u>imitatio antiquitatis</u>, led to the use of instruments to accompany the voices); Warwick Edwards, "Songs without Words by Josquin and his Contemporaries," in <u>Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe</u>, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 79-92; Louise Litterick, "On Italian Instrumental Ensemble Music in the Late Fifteenth Century," in <u>Music in Medieval.</u>.., pp. 117-130; Sarah Fuller, "Additional Notes on the 15th-Century Chansonnier Bologna Q 16," <u>Musica Disciplina</u>, XXIII (1969), pp. 94-99; Howard Brown, <u>A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent</u>, Florence, <u>Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229</u> (Chicago, 1983), pp. 140-142.
- 17. Kämper, op. cit., pp. 63, 67.
- 18. See fn. 6a, above, and Brown, <u>A Florentine</u> ..., p. 193. The physical features of this manuscript warrant mention; the size of the notes is somewhat larger than in other late fifteenth-and early sixteenth-century sources, and compositions are spread out over a greater number of folios (for example, a piece that is copied on two openings in one source, may be written on four openings in RomeC 2856, often

the notion that RomeC 2856 was, like BolC Q 16, assembled for practical use, supports the hypothesis that many of its compositions are instrumental. Fuller also explores the question of whether Renaissance instruments were capable of accommodating the unusally low ranges of some of the compositions in BolC Q 16, particularly the three pieces written with gamma clefs, so rare in this period. Low contratenor parts occur in Q 18 as well. Examples in Q 18 include Busnois's <u>Ie ne demande</u> (folios 39v-40r) and the anonymous <u>Salva nos</u> (folios 20v-21r), both of which contain bassus clefs in contratenor and bassus. There are also some extremely wide ranges in one or more voice parts in several pieces in Q 18. Tinctoris, writing in about 1487 in his <u>De</u> <u>Inventione et usu musicae</u>, states that where such low contratenor parts occur, brass players, who play upon the kind of tuba which in Italy is called "trompone," are added to shawm players.¹⁹

with the designation "Secunda pars" at the top of the third folio). RomeC 2856 has the appearance of a manuscript that was meant to be used for performance, perhaps by three or four members of the <u>Cantiones a la pifarescha</u>. Arthur Wolff ("The Chansonnier Biblioteca Casanatense 2856, Its History, Purpose, and Music" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, North Texas State University, 1970]) states that the MS was probably part of the many treasures accumulated by Duke Ercole, and he also describes Ercole's orchestra and the likelihood that polyphony of the kind in RomeC 2856 was performed at the Palazzo Schifanoia (cf. Wolff, p. 133ff). Some of the pieces, such as Caron's Helasso and Busnois's Ie ne demande (also in Q 18), were referred to in treatises of the period as carmina, that is, pieces capable of being played or sung. See also Lewis Lockwood, Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505: The Creation of Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century, Studies in the History of Music, 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), pp. 268-271.

 Anthony Baines, "Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's <u>De Inventione et Usu Musicae</u>," <u>Galpin Society</u> <u>Journal</u>, III (1950), p. 21. Tinctoris states in Book III: "Imos tamen contratenores semper: ac sepe reliquos: tibicinibus adjuncti tubicines: ea tuba quam superius Fuller also suggests that some of these pieces with low tessiture could be performed by three bass viols (see Chapter I, p. 35, for a discussion of the appearance of viols in Italy).²⁰

<u>Musical characteristics as criteria for determining</u> <u>instrumental performance of a late fifteenth-century composition</u>. Kämper states that the presence of sequence, ostinati, and what he calls <u>Spielfiguren</u> are not in themselves reliable indicators that a composition was instrumentally conceived, because they are features found also in vocal compositions. Nevertheless, he considers some pieces to be instrumental on the basis of such internal characteristics as short melodic phrases, ascending scalar <u>passaggi</u>, sequential patterns, strongly marked rhythmic character, and homorhythmic texture. Brown also, but not without reservation, discerns the difference between vocal and instrumental music on the basis of style characteristics:

The short, concise, syncopated motives which are tossed back and forth between the lower two voices are seldom formed into longer melodic lines; rather, they are transposed, placed in sequences, or merely stated by each voice in turn while the other rests, techniques more suited to an instrumental fantasia than to a sung performance of a lyric poem.21

Sarah Fuller, basing her conclusions on the presence of numerous sequences, ostinati, and close imitations in many of the

tromponem ab Italis . . . " The designation "alta" comes from the next sentence: "Quorum omnium omnia instrumenta simul aggregata communiter dicuntur alta." Tinctoris's <u>alta</u> or "loud" ensemble included treble and tenor shawms and a trombone (sackbut), probably a more common group in terms of size. See Prizer, "Bernardino Piffaro . . . ," pp. 158-9.

- 20. Fuller, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 98. See also Edward Pease, "A Report on Codex Q 16 . . . "
- 21. Brown, <u>A Florentine</u> . . ., p. 141.

pieces in BolC Q 16, believes that this manuscript includes an instrumental repertory. She holds that some of the pieces are based on vocal models, while others were undoubtedly conceived originally for instruments.²² The compositional characteristics she describes are not limited to <u>unica</u> in BolC Q 16; she suggests that pieces in BolC Q 16 were foreunners of those by Isaac (<u>La</u> <u>mora</u>, Q 18, folios 72v-73r), Josquin (<u>La bernardina</u>, Q 18, folios 82v-83r), and other similar compositions in RISM 1501.²³ According to Manfred Bukofzer, at least one composition, <u>La</u> <u>bassa castiglya</u> (<u>Falla con misura</u> in PerBC 431) by M. Gulielmus (see above, p. 136), has no patterned repetition but is almost certainly instrumental.²⁴ Fuller singles out another duo in BolC Q 16 that has the clear characteristics of instrumental music: Le servitor, a piece that is closely related in style to

22. Fuller, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 92.

- 23. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 90.
- Manfred Bukofzer, "A Polyphonic Basse Dance of the Renaissance," in <u>Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music</u> (New York, 1950), pp. 192-210. One feature of this two-24. voice arrangment of the basse dance La Spagna, besides the insight it gives into the improvisatory dance repertory of the period, is the conflict of mensuration signs between the two voices. The tenor notes must be augmented in order for the voices to fit together; however, the augmentation is left to the performer (cf. Bukofzer, pp. 199-201, for a discussion of the resolution of the conflicting mensuration signs and of the four types of basse dances enumerated by Antonio Cornazano in his Libro dell'arte del danzare; the fourth type, the bassa danza proper or misura imperiale, requires that every note be doubled in value). Likewise, no sign of augmentation appears in the tenor of Nunquam fuit on folio 46v in Q 18 (see Chapter VI, p. 207), although augmentation must be employed. If the tenor of the textless piece on 48r (superius and tenor on the missing folio 47v) also required augmentation, then this composition, the two La Spagna pieces, and Nunquam fuit, would have formed a homogeneous section within Q 18.

the La Spagna by Gulielmus.²⁵

In addition to these criteria for determining instrumental performance of late fifteenth-century compositions, other criteria, such as the presence or absence of borrowed material, can determine whether a composition was conceived for voices or instruments.

Pieces based on vocal models: frottole and other Italiantexted compositions. Kämper suggests that frottole containing texts underlaid in the superius and other verses printed below the staff were to be sung, accompanied by instruments. When these same pieces appear untexted, Kämper proposes that the choice of vocal or instrumental performance was left to the discretion of the performer. For example, Kämper thinks that frottole in Q 18 such as Josquin's In te domine speravi (folios 12v-13r) and the anonymous D'un bel maitin (folios 67v-68r) were copied there for possible instrumental performance. D'un bel maitin, which appears with a fragmentary Italian text in RISM 1506³, is, according to Rubsamen, imitative in the manner of an instrumental piece.²⁶ D'un bel maitin is included in the third section of Q 18, not in the first section with the texted frottole, and its placement away from the frottole may indicate

^{25.} Brown, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 94, and 97. Fuller describes specific pieces in BolC Q 16 and RomeC 2856 and points out some of the remnants from the improvisatory tradition found in them. She also describes some of the ways in which they differ in terms of motivic, rhythmic, and contrapuntal procedures from the chanson idiom of the late fifteenth century.

^{26.} Walter Rubsamen, "The Justiniane or Viniziane of the 15th Century," <u>Acta Musicologica</u>, XXIX (1957), p. 175.

that <u>D'un bel maitin</u> was not meant to be performed vocally. <u>In</u> <u>te domine speravi</u> is included without text or text incipit in the first section of Q 18, but the reason behind the omission is obscure; perhaps the text was omitted on the assumption that it was well-known, or perhaps <u>In te domine speravi</u> was included as an example of a frottola that was meant to be performed instrumentally.

Pieces based on vocal models: settings of the rondeau quatrain, rondeau cinquain, or bergerette. Pieces based on res facta such as one or more voices of Ie pris amor and De tous bien plen, each of which is a veritable In nomine of late fifteenthcentury music, are included by Kämper and Edwards in this Louise Litterick, using the term "instrumental category. chanson" borrowed from Kämper, describes a type of composition that is an offshoot of the forme fixe chanson and quotes a snippet of melody from the model. Where the rondeau is concerned, the form provided a general framework for these compositions, and sometimes the signa occur, approximately where they appear in the vocal model; but basically these compositions are successions of phrases, often more than the typical four or five of the putative vocal model. In a rondeau, the superius usually begins with long, even note values followed by guicker rhythms, whereas in the instrumental offspring the rhythms are more uniform.²⁷ Strings of motives rhythmically similar to one

^{27.} Litterick, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 120. To illustrate these differences, Litterick includes examples from Hayne van Ghizeghem's <u>rondeau</u> <u>Mon souvenir</u> (measures 20-29) and Martini's "instrumental chanson" <u>[D]es bien damors</u> (measures 28-37).

another are often treated in imitation. Sometimes the outer voices move in parallel tenths; at other times these voices are treated imitatively against a slowly moving tenor. Litterick, however, urges caution in forming conclusions based on internal analyses, since sequences and repetition also occur in vocal compositions.

Brown also includes in this group certain compositions based on pieces with Italian texts, like Obrecht's <u>La tortorella</u>, which may have been conceived as an instrumental arrangement of a <u>strambotto</u>. Perhaps, therefore, all pieces based on preexisting frottole belong in this category.²⁸

<u>Pieces based on monophonic models, but lacking the</u> <u>characteristics of the formes fixes</u>. The improvisatory practice of the late fifteenth century was rooted in the cantus firmus tradition, and improvisers made use of standard tunes of the day, many drawn from the basse dance repertory.²⁹ Some of the

28. Brown, op. cit., p. 142.

See Beatrice Pescerelli, "Una sconosciuta redazione del 29. Trattato di Danza di Guglielmo Ebreo," Rivista italiana di musicologia, IX (1974), p. 51. "In questo tempo i pifferi e'l tronbone cominciaro [<u>sic</u>] a sonare un saltarello"; Giulio Cattin, "Canti, Canzoni a ballo e danze nelle Maccheronee di Teofilo Folengo," <u>Rivista italiana di</u> musicologia, X (1975), pp. 180-215; Keith Polk, "Municipal Wind Music...," and also by the same author, "Flemish Wind Bands...," and "Wind Bands of Medieval Flemish Cities," <u>Brass and Woodwind Quarterly</u>, I (1968), pp. 93-113. Polk says that the basse dance repertory provided the largest corpus of material unequivocally tied to instrumental performance. Daniel Heartz, in "Hoftanz and Basse Dance," p. 19, citing Otto Gombosi (Compositione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola [Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1955]) states that most polyphonic compositions based on La Spagna have an "art-musical career" and that the tune was a favorite cantus firmus for generations of students who struggled to set it. but that these exercises were not necessarily meant to be danced.

tunes, such as the <u>La Spagna</u> melody, are quoted freely, and many are presented in augmented notes, three or more of which ascend or descend stepwise. Edwards telieves that this type of melody precludes effective text setting. The outer voices in these pieces proceed in virtuosic runs of parallel sixths and tenths against the cantus firmus, a further indication that the pieces were probably not meant to be sung.

<u>Pieces derived from polyphonic vocal models: Mass movements,</u> <u>psalms, song motets, and other liturgical settings</u>. A few compositions that appear in sources without text or with text incipits only may have been motets or movements from Masses. Some of these have texts in other sources, but they are found textless in collections presumably prepared for instrumental purposes. Fuller suggests that these same compositional procedures (discussed below in Chapter VI, pp. 218-227) appear in Masses of this period, vocal music having assimilated some of the instrumental idioms and <u>vice versa</u>. Most of these pieces have superius-tenor construction with a non-melodic contratenor.

<u>Instrumental pieces not based on any vocal models</u>. Kämper and Edwards both assign Isaac's <u>La morra</u> and Josquin's <u>La</u> <u>bernardina</u> to another category of instrumental composition, one containing pieces for which poetry is not likely ever to be found, the "instrumental fantasia," which is freely composed without any reference to vocal models. These <u>tricinia</u> or instrumental <u>carmina</u>, as they were sometimes called, contain head motives, sequential patterns, and quick imitations.³⁰ Brown states that these pieces differ from those in the other yroups in that they employ no borrowed material, but the same stylistic traits prevail: sequences, fast-running passages, fragmentary motives. He once again cautions that such pieces look enough like vocal music as to make it difficult for a listener to distinguish between them.

<u>Pieces that are difficult to categorize</u>. After accounting for all the compositions in FlorBN BR 229 with texts, incipits, or titles, as well as the textless pieces that were probably vocally conceived, Howard Brown turns his attention to a category of fifteen textless compositions, probably conceived as instrumental <u>carmina</u>, that elude what he refers to as "neat classification."³¹

Warning that it is nearly impossible to establish fixed criteria for distinguishing vocal from instrumental music, Brown examines these fifteen pieces to see if they might be settings of <u>rondeaux</u>, <u>virelais</u>, or <u>bergerettes</u>. None of them contains vestiges of these <u>formes fixes</u>. In some, the highest voice has so many rests that a text could not easily have been

Both Josquin's La bernardina and Isaac's La morra were interpolated into French stage productions as entr'acte music, that being one certain function of these instrumental compositions. See H. M. Brown, <u>Music in the French Secular Theatre, 1400-1550</u> (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 132-3, and this chapter, p. 134.

^{31.} Brown, <u>A Florentine</u> ..., p. 140. Most of these compositions are anonymous, although some textless pieces by Martini, Isaac, and Rubinet are also included in this group. Of the fifteen anonymous textless compositions in FlorBN BR 229, eight are grouped together at the end of the manuscript.

accommodated. Others have too many phrases to have been <u>rondeaux</u> <u>quatrains</u> or <u>rondeaux cinquains</u>. Oddly, only two pieces in this group of pieces employ a known <u>cantus prius factus</u>; the remaining 13 <u>unica</u> lack any <u>cantus firmus</u>, canon, or repeated material. Since improvisers generally employed preexistent melodies, the examples of instrumentally conceived compositions in FlorBN BR 229 do not seem to be written-down versions emanating from an improvisatory tradition.

Brown describes a further subdivision of the above category of instrumental music in FlorBN BR 229. This group includes pieces such as four compositions by Isaac and one by Martini. These pieces not only lack any textual identification, but their style would also make the setting of a text very difficult. Again Brown advises that "the criteria for establishing this category must be applied with special care, and conclusions, never certain, must be advanced gingerly and with due reservations."³²

These criteria for assigning textless compositions to various categories of instrumental ensemble music may serve as guidelines for separating related pieces in Q 18 into different groups. An examination of the composers represented in the manuscript and a general survey of the contents of Q 18 precede an implementation of the above suggestions in a detailed study of the repertory, with an emphasis on the <u>unica</u>.

CHAPTER V

THE REPERTORY

<u>General Characteristics of the Contents of Q 18</u>

The repertory of Q 18 consists of frottole, laude, Franco-Flemish chansons, motets, Mass movements, and what appears to be instrumental pieces. Italian texts (frottole) and Italian text incipits predominate, followed in number by vocal (or instrumental?) pieces with Latin text incipits, and finally, by chansons with French, Spanish, or Flemish text incipits. Only 15 compositions in Q 18, all of which appear in the first 17 folios of the manuscript, are fully texted. Four pieces in Q 18 lack any text matter whatsoever, three of which are known by concordances to be frottole and one of which is incomplete as a result of a missing folio. The remainder have text incipits (or titles) only.¹

number of compositions in Q 18

Italian texts	15
Italian text incipits	19
Latin text incipits	29
French text incipits	17
Flemish text incipits	3
Spanish text incipits	4
textless	4

1. Text matter is spelled as written in Q 18. Some of the Italian text incipits are in fact corruptions of French texts (e.g., <u>Helasso = Helas que</u>). All unique pieces mentioned in this chapter are discussed in greater detail in Chapter VI, and all pieces known elsewhere by concordances are listed with their concordances in Appendix III. The lute piece on folio 1r is not included in these figures.

There are a large number of four-voice compositions in Q 18 (See Chapter III, pp. 121-5). Apart from the expected four-voice frottole, there are a total of sixty-four compositions $\underline{a} \ \underline{4}$ in the manuscript. Nineteen compositions are $\underline{a} \ \underline{3}$. Only two of these three-voice compositions appear outside of the section copied by Spataro. All but two of the seventeen compositions $\underline{a} \ \underline{3}$ copied by Spataro are known elsewhere by concordances. These two pieces, <u>Tristis es[t] anima mea</u> on folios 66v-67r and <u>0 virgo</u> on folios 92v-93r, and <u>[0] Venus bant</u> on folios 61v-62r, are the only three-voice <u>unica</u> in Q 18. Because of missing folios, two frottole and another four pieces contain only two voices, and we can only speculate as to how many voices appeared on the missing folios. There is only one five-voice composition in the manuscript, <u>Bonus et miserator</u> dominus on folios 54v-55r.

<u>Unica</u>. 38 of the 91 compositions in Q 18 are unique to this manuscript; in the absence of composer attributions in Q 18, they remain anonymous. The majority of these thirty-eight compositions in Q 18 are located in the middle of the manuscript, or in the second of three sections (See Chapter II, pp. 51 ff., for the fascicle structure of Q 18). There are seven in gathering V and eight in gathering VI. Gatherings III and IV contain five unique pieces each, gathering VII contains four, gatherings I, II, VIII, and IX have two each, and the tenth and final gathering contains one. In the third section of Q 18 (folios 65v-93r), the portion thought to have been copied by

Giovanni Spataro, there are only 6 <u>unica</u> out of a total of 29 pieces. It seems that Spataro, an experienced and trained musician, chose to copy compositions that were more widely disseminated than those copied in either the first section, folios 1v-18r (4 <u>unica</u> out of a total of 18 compositions) or, more strikingly, in the second section, folios 19v-65r (28 <u>unica</u> out of 44 compositions copied). The following chart indicates the percentages of <u>unica</u> in each section of Q 18.

Percentage of unica in each section of Q 18

	<pre># of pieces</pre>	<u>unica</u> ·	%
first section	18	4	22
second section	44	28	63
third section (Spataro)	29	6	20

The unusually high percentage of <u>unica</u> in the second section of Q 18 suggests that these pieces were not widely disseminated because many of them were composed by local Bolognese musicians.² Several of these compositions can be described as combining characteristics of the frottola and of the Franco-Flemish chanson. More is said concerning their style in Chapter VI.

Some of the text incipits or titles of <u>unica</u> in Q 18 appear in connection with different musical settings in other

Some of the <u>unica</u> have the appearance of work that might have been done by a student following a pedagogical or didactic model, perhaps a model similar to <u>Difficiles alios</u> by Tinctoris or a comparable composition by Spataro. See Bonnie J. Blackburn, "A Lost Guide to Tinctoris's Teachings Recovered," Early Music History, I (1981), pp. 29 ff.

manuscripts: <u>Sel mi dole esser gabato</u>, <u>Sensa te sacra regina</u>, <u>De</u> <u>tous bien plen</u> (its unique setting on folio 51v), <u>Da pacem</u>, <u>Salva</u> <u>nos</u>, <u>Fortuna disperata</u>, <u>La Spagna</u>, <u>Nunquam fuit</u>, <u>[O] Venus bant</u>, <u>La turturella</u>, and <u>Non ti smarir cor mio</u>. Four of the text incipits of these unique compositions also are found in connection with other settings within Q 18: <u>De tous bien plen</u> (its first appearance on folio 36v, Busnois's <u>Chi dit on</u> <u>benedicite</u>), <u>La Spagna</u> (folios 48v-49r and folios 49v-50r), <u>Nunquam fuit</u> on folio 46v (and <u>Nuncha fu</u> on folios 89v-90r), and <u>[O] Venus bant</u> (folios 60v-61r and folios 61v-62r).³

<u>Contrafacta</u>. At least nineteen pieces in Q 18 appear in other sources with different text incipits and often with complete texts. Many of these compositions with incipits and titles in various languages in Q 18 are found with Latin texts or text incipits in the other sources that transmit these works. The Q 18 incipits strongly suggest that the pieces in question were copied from now-lost sources that preserved them as contrafacta or as models for contrafacta.

^{3.} See Howard Mayer Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance," JAMS, XXXV (1982), pp. 1-48, and Chapter VI below.

<u>Text</u>	<u>incipit</u>	<u>in</u>	other
	sourc	:es	

1v-2r,	<u>Lontan pur mi convienLatin</u>
3v-4r,	Se benor non schoproLatin
22v-23r,	Noe noeLatin
25v-26r,	Tanto e lafanoFrench
	La mi la solLatin
32v-33r,	Gaude virgoFrench, Latin
35v-36r,	HelassoGerman/Latin
36v-37r,	De tous bien plenFrench, Latin
37v - 38r,	Fortuna par teLatin
58v-59r	Figlie vos have mal grande.Latin
	[D]es bien damorstwo Latin texts
	Tant hai de muiLatin
68v-69r,	<u>Coment poult</u> two Latin texts, one Germag
71v-72r,	<u>Ie quide</u> Latin, solmization incipit ⁴
724-720	le quide latin, Soluization incipit
	La moraLatin, Italian
77v-78r,	BiblisLatin
79v-80r,	ThysisAd te clamamus from
	Salve Regina, two other
0001	Latin incipits
80v-81r,	RubinetFrench

Two of the sources that contain many Latin text incipits or texts substituted for the incipits (or titles) of works in Q 18 are BerlPS 40098 (Glogauer Liederbuch) and CapePl 3.b.12, a manuscript that is almost entirely <u>contrafacta</u>. <u>Thisys</u> and <u>Biblis</u> are text incipits unique to Q 18. The music of <u>De tous</u> <u>bien pien</u> on folios 36v-37r and <u>Gaude virgo</u> on folios 32v-33r is found in other sources with different texts, but nowhere else with these words as text incipits.

^{4.} Burtius refers to <u>Primum querite regnum Dei</u> in his treatise <u>Musices opusculum</u>, 1487 (see <u>Musicological Studies and</u> <u>Documents</u> [Stuttgart, 1983] p. 67), as an example of the first authentic mode. In CapePL 3.b.12, these same words are set to music used in Q 18 for <u>Ie quide</u>. See Howard Brown, <u>Music in the Renaissance</u> (Englewood Cliffs, 1976), p. 94, for further discussion of text incipits that apparently refer to <u>contrafacta</u>.

<u>Pieces in Q 18 found in lute or keyboard intabulations</u>. The popularity of some of the compositions in the manuscript can be attested to by the appearance of 21 pieces in lute and keyboard intabulations (See Appendix III for references):

De per dio, folios 2v-3r <u>Al la fe si</u>, folios 6v-7r <u>Poi che lalma</u>, folios 9v-10r <u>Non po lomo</u>, folio 11r <u>In te domine spervai</u>, folios 12v-13r <u>De si de no de si</u>, folios 14v-15r <u>Tanto e lafano</u>, folios 25v-26r <u>Gaude virgo</u>, folios 32v-33r <u>Fortuna par te</u>, folios 37v-38r <u>Figlie vos</u>, folios 58v-59r "Absque verbis," folios 63v-64r <u>Sy dedero</u>, folios 70v-71r <u>Ie quide</u>, folios 71v-72r <u>La mora</u>, folios 72v-73r <u>Malur me bat</u>, folios 73v-74r <u>Adie mes amours</u>, folios 78v-79r <u>Rubinet</u>, folios 80v-81r <u>La bernardina</u>, folios 75v-76r <u>Parce domine</u>, folios 84v-85r <u>Nuncha fu</u>, folios 89v-90r

<u>Ranges of Voices</u>. An examination of the ranges of the voices of compositions in Q 18 reveals that some of the pieces, particularly those with unusually wide ranges, such as <u>La</u> <u>bernardina</u> and <u>Speciosa</u> on folios 82v-84r (both contains bassus parts with ranges of a 14th), may have been grouped together on the basis of these similar ranges. (See Appendix V for a chart of the ranges of voices in Q 18, and Appendix III, comments for folios 75v-76r, 84v-85r, and 85v-86r, regarding speculation that some voice parts may have been exchanged from their position in other sources for ease of performance.) In another section of

the manuscript, four pieces a 3, from Sy dedero on folios 70v-71r to Malur me bat on folios 73v-74r, contain ranges of an 11th in their superius parts. The second section of Q 18, particularly from folios 29v-42r, contains a number of compositions with ranges of a 13th in one or more voice parts. La guercia on folios 34v-35r has ranges of a 14th in its contratenor and a 13th in its tenor. Forsa chi schopra on folios 40v-41r has three lower voices all with the range of a 13th. In general, most of the compositions on folios 19v-93v contain wide ranges in at least one voice part, usually the contratenor or bassus (see Appendix V). Occasionally a superius has a range of a 13th, such as in La Spagna on folios 48v-49r and Lomo bani on folios 62v-These ranges are almost certainly more feasible for · 63r. instruments such as shawms (capable of playing an octave and a seventh) or viols, than for voices.⁵

Among the frottole, there are a few instances of wide ranges in one of the lower voices, but the tessitura of each of these voices often remains within the octave-to-tenth range. Two frottole contain intervals of a 10th or 11th in the superius, but

^{5.} Thomas Noblitt ("Contrafacta in Isaac's 'Missae Wohlauf gut G'sell von hinnen," <u>Acta Musicologica</u>, XLVI (1974), p. 221) discusses the instrumental nature of Isaac's <u>Missa Wohlauf</u> <u>gut G'sell von hinnen</u>, which includes the instrumental <u>tricinium Coment poult</u> (folios 68v-69r in Q 18; see Appendix III). Certain ranges are even beyond the capabilities of wind instruments (two octaves and a third) and may have been performed on a positive organ. See William F. Prizer, "Bernardino Piffaro e i pifferi e tromboni di Mantova: strumenti a fiato in una corte italiana," <u>Rivista italiana</u> <u>di musicologia</u>, XVI (1981), p. 158.

the majority of the superius voices in these vocal pieces lie witnin the range of a 5th to a 9th. The great number of compositions with wide and non-vocal ranges indicates that these pieces perhaps were included for purposes other than singing and, therefore, provides further evidence that Q 18 is a manuscript that was compiled for instrumental use.

A little more than half of the pieces in Q 18 are compositions that were widely disseminated in the central sources of polyphony of the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento. Many of these pieces led double lives, as secular and liturgical compositions. Some are known to have been instrumental compositions, or at least appear in sources thought to have been prepared for use by instrumentalists. Although the number of three-voice compositions in $0^{'}$ 18 comprises only about one-fifth of the total number of pieces in the manuscript, the ratio of three-voice to four-voice compositions among the identifiable pieces (that is, not unique) is larger: 18 pieces a 3 to 35 Many of the three-voice compositions, known pieces a 4. elsewhere by concordances, fit the general criteria for instrumental performance delineated in Chapter IV. The significance of these figures lies in the apparently large number four-voice unica. The unique si placet voice parts of of several compositions in Q 18 (found a 3 in other sources) exhibit instrumental gualities. One suspects that the large number of four-voice unica indicates something about the needs of the performers for which Q 18 was compiled. Taken together with

other general features of the manuscript and some specific details, such as the ranges of each of the voices in each piece, a closer examination of the unique compositions strongly suggests that Q 18 was a special manuscript, one that had a very specific purpose, which was to serve as a repository of the instrumental repertory for a group such as the Concerto palatino of Bologna.

Distribution of Composers in the Manuscript

There are no composer attributions in Q 18, with the possible exception of one to "S.M.C." on folio 1r (see Chapter II, p. 48 and Chapter III, p. 107) and another to "Rubinet" on folio 80v-81r. This latter attribution, if it is that, is written in the place normally reserved for the text incipit.⁶ It has been possible to identify, by means of concordances, the composers of many works entered anonymously in Q 18. The composers represented, in order of frequency, are the following:

6. The piece occurs elsewhere as Ha traistre Amours by Stochem (see Appendix III for a list of concordances for this piece and all other pieces discussed in the present chapter). This composition contains an opening motive that resembles that of Je voy, attributed to F. Rubinet in FlorBN BR 229, folios 109v-110r. A number of other pieces in FlorBN BR 229 are also attributed to F. Rubinet. Both Rubinet and Stochem were in Florence at about the same time (see Introduction, fn. 11). Perhaps Spataro, who copied the composition in Q 18, thought the piece resembled one by Rubinet, failed to remember the title, and inserted the composer's name in the place normally reserved for the text incipit. There is also a composition by "Rubinus" in Ber1PS 40098, a manuscript that shares concordances with Q 18. Exchange of composer names, nicknames, and titles of pieces is not unknown during this period of the Renaissance (cf. Jean Braconnier, also known as "Lourdault," and the piece Lourdault in Canti B).

Number	of	Compositions	in	Q	18

Isaac, 1450-1517 Tromboncino, c. 1470-c. 1535 Josquin, c. 1440-1521		or or	
Compère, c. 1445-1518 Busnois, c. 1430- 1492	4 2	or	5
Brumel, c. 1460-c. 1515 Obrecht, 1450-1505	2 2 2		
Caron, fl. 2nd half of 15th century	2		
Agricola, 1446-1506 Cara, c. 1465-1525	2 1	or	2
Martini, 1440-1497 Urrede, fl. 2nd half of 15th century		or	
Vincenet, c. 1400-1479	1		
Antenoreus, fl. 1505-14 Lurano, c. 1475-after 1520	1		
Pesenti, c. 1470-after 1524 Congiet, born c. 1440	1	or	0
Japart, born c. 1440	1	or	0
Stochem, c. 1440-c. 1500 Rubinet, born c. 1450	1	or or	0
Ockeghem, c. 1420-1497 Malcort (unknown)	1 1	or or	-

Composers

As can be seen in the following chart, the majority of pieces identified by means of concordances are by Franco-Flemish composers.

Pieces by Franco-Flemish composers	33
Pieces by Italian composers	10
Anonymous pieces (Franco-Flemish incipit)	5
Anonymous pieces (Italian text incipit	5
or frottola)	
total number of compositions in Q 18	
identified by means of concordances	53
Unica	38
total number of pieces in Q 18	91

An examination of biographical data pertaining to some of the composers represented in Q 18, taking note of the other manuscripts that contain their music, serves to explain the nature of Q 18's repertory. Henricus Isaac is the best represented composer in Q 18, consistent with the fact that he played a pivotal role in the creation of a number of manuscripts written during the late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento. A few observations about Isaac, his career, his relationships with other composers, the distribution of his works in other sources, and his style of composition, precedes some comments regarding the other Franco-Flemish composers in Q 18 together with observations regarding the Italians, Tromboncino, Cara, Pesenti, Lurano, and Antenoreus.

<u>Henricus Isaac</u>

Henricus Isaac composed at least nine of the pieces in Q 18, and one anonymous piece, <u>Salva nos</u> on folios 20v-21r, may have been composed by him as well (see Chapter VI, pp. 183-198). Isaac's travels between German cities (where he was court musician to Maximilian I), Ferrara (where he may have been for brief periods in the 1480s),⁷ and Florence (where he served Lorenzo de' Medici and his son Piero for nearly 20 years), may be perceived as a symbol of the connection between German sources with Florentine and northern Italian ones, like Q 18.⁸ Isaac

- 7. Martin Staehelin, <u>Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs</u> (Bern and Stuttgart, 1977), Vol. 1, pp. 18-19 and 56-59.
- Howard Brown, <u>A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco Rari 229</u> (Chicago, 1983), Vol. I, p. 42.

composed Franco-Flemish sacred and secular music, Italian compositions and carnival songs, and German Lieder.

Isaac's music seems to have been very popular in Italy during the early Cinquecento. Petrucci devoted an entire volume to his Masses (RISM 1506), and Isaac's compositions are found in a variety of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century sources.⁹ FlorBN BR 229, for example, contains 29 compositions by him. Another Florentine manuscript, FlorBN BR 230, containing works predominantly by Italian composers, includes seven pieces by Isaac. The only Northern composers represented in FlorBN BR 230 are Isaac and Agricola (two pieces), both of whom lived and worked in Florence.¹⁰ Also there are more than a dozen compositions by Isaac in VatG XIII.27, a Florentine manuscript Compositions by Isaac are also found in dating from the 1490s. northern Italian sources dating from the early sixteenth century, such as VerBC 757, ParisBNC 676, FlorBN Panc. 27, RISM 1501 (Odhecaton), and CapePL 3.b.12.11

Isaac's relationship with Johannes Martini and possible connection with Ferrara: Lockwood's courier theory. An

^{9.} See Chapter III, pp. 95-104, for dates and provenances of sources mentioned below.

^{10.} Jeppesen in La <u>Frottola</u> (Copenhagen, 1969), Vol. II, pp. 24ff, dates this MS c. 1500.

Martin Staehelin, "Isaac, Heinrich," <u>The New Grove</u> <u>Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u> (London, 1980), Vol. 9, pp. 330-331.

association between Florence and Ferrara, two cities important in Isaac's career, has recently been uncovered by Lewis Lockwood. Cornelius di Lorenzo, a member of the Ferrarese court chapel during the 1480s, traveled back and forth between Florence and Ferrara in those years, serving as a courier for musical compositions.¹² Perhaps Lorenzo is responsible for the great number of compositions by Martini in FlorBN BR 229 (24 pieces, only five fewer than the number by Isaac in that MS; compositions by Martini and Isaac alternate in the first 19 folios). Although Johannes Martini had close ties with the court of Ferrara, he had little or no connection with the Medici court at Florence, the major base of activities for Isaac. These facts are reflected in the different contents of RomeC 2856 and FlorBN BR 229. Even though there are many concordances and a similar repertory between these two manuscripts, each issued from a different center of patronage, the former from the Ferrarese-Mantuan circle prior to the emergence of the frottolists.¹³ the latter from Florence at a slightly later date. RomeC 2856 contains 26 compositions by Martini but none by Isaac. VerBC 757 contains almost equal numbers (five or six) of pieces by Martini and Isaac, and BolC Q 16 and VatG XIII. 27 each contain about

^{12.} Howard Brown, op. cit., p. 42.

RomeC 2856 is an instrumental manuscript; see Chapter III, pp. 95-96 and Chapter IV, p. 141 for connection between this MS and Q 18.

four pieces by each, but there are almost no pieces by Martini in ParisBNC 676, FlorBN Panc. 27, RISM 1501 (<u>Odhecaton</u>), or CapePL 3.b.12, a group of northern Italian sources that contain compositions by Isaac. Judging from the scarcity of Martini's works in these early sixteenth-century sources (except for RISM 1504³ [<u>Canti C</u>], which contains four pieces by Martini), it would seem as though interest in his compositions waned following the composer's death in 1497.

<u>The Compositions of Henricus Isaac in Q 18.</u> Because Isaac composed the greatest number of works in the Q 18, his music may be representative of the style of writing found there. Many of his secular pieces survive without text. Although if words for them are discovered, some of these pieces may turn out to be French, German, Dutch, or Italian songs. Howard Brown thinks that others were most likely conceived originally as autonomous instrumental compositions.¹⁴ According to Brown, only one of Isaac's rondeaux with surviving text, <u>Je ne puis vivre (Gaude</u> virgo, folios 32v-33r in Q 18), was not based on preexistent material. Such pieces as <u>E qui la dira</u>, folios 86v-87r, and <u>Figlie vos</u>, folios 58v-59r, on the other hand, allude to or are based on popular tunes. Isaac favors writing for four voices and is often able to achieve satisfying designs in his compositions transmitted in Q 18 with neither text nor recourse to structural

Howard M. Brown, <u>Music in the Renaissance</u> (Englewood Cliffs, 1976), p. 172.

devices such as a <u>cantus firmus</u> or canon. In <u>Gaude virgo</u>, he alternates three and four voices in imitative and homophonic passages to achieve a variety of textures uncommon in compositions by his contemporaries.¹⁵ A piece such as <u>La mora</u>, folios 72v-73r, illustrates an amalgamation of Franco-Flemish, German, and Italian styles. In <u>La mora</u>, Isaac utilizes short melodic motives ricocheting among the voices and ending abruptly, fast running passages, a playful, rhythmic lightness, clearcut cadences, and sequences. It seems likely that he conceived this composition for instruments. The soiled corners of the folios on which <u>La mora</u> is copied in Q 18 are a likely indication of its popularity among the users of the manuscript.

Four of the remaining five compositions by Isaac in Q 18 have liturgical connections, and some do employ <u>cantus firmi</u>: <u>Benedictus</u> (designated "Absque verbis" on folios 63v-64r, a movement from his <u>Missa Quant j'ay au cor</u>), <u>La mi la sol</u> on folios 26v-28r (=<u>prima</u> and <u>secunda</u> pars of <u>Rogamus te</u>), <u>Coment</u> <u>poult</u>, folios 68v-69r (a movement from his <u>Missa Wohlauf gut</u> <u>G'sell von hinnen</u>), <u>Thysis</u> on folios 79v-80r (=<u>secunda pars</u> of motet <u>Salve regina</u>). The fifth composition, <u>Je pris amor</u> on folios 59v-60r, not only employs a <u>cantus firmus</u> in the tenor, but also relies heavily on motivic organization. One motive permeates all the voices except the tenor, and another resembles

15. Idem, A Florentine Chansonnier. . . , pp. 95-98.

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similar melodic ideas in Isaac's Lied Innabruck, ich muss dich

Josquin and the Other Franco-Flemish Composers in Q 18

Josquin, Obrecht, and Brumel are also known to have worked in the Ferrarese-Mantuan circle. Josquin spent a year in residence at Ferrara (1503-4). Obrecht was in Ferrara during the years 1487-1488, and he returned during 1504-1505. Brumel worked for Alfonso d'Este at the Ferrarese chapel from 1506 to 1510.17Although some of the other Northerners whose compositions are represented in Q 18 (Agricola, Caron, Compère, Vincenet) were not known to have lived or worked in Ferrara or Mantua, they spent some years in Italy--Caron's whereabouts are uncertain, Agricola was in Florence, Compère was in Milan, Vincenet was in Rome and possibly in Naples--as attested to by the presence of much of their music in Italian sources. Urrede was probably Flemish, but worked for a number of years in Spain. Urrede was the composer of a widely disseminated polyphonic composition (Q 18, folios 89v-90r) based, according to Higinio Anglés, on the Spanish tune Nunca fue pena mayor, and both Bartolomeo Ramos and Giovanni Spataro held him in very high

- 16. See Richard Taruskin, ed., <u>J'ay pris amour</u>, <u>Renaissance</u> <u>Standards</u>, RS5 (Ogni Sorte Editions, 1982), p. 4.
- See Edgar Sparks, "Obrecht, Jacob," <u>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u> (London, 1980), Vol. 13, pp. 477ff; Gustave Reese, "Desprez, Josquin" <u>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u> (London, 1980), Vol. 9, pp. 715-16; Barton Hudson, "Brumel, Antoine" <u>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u> (London, 1980), Vol. 3, pp. 377-78.

esteem.¹⁸ These particular Franco-Flemish composers may be well represented in Q 18 because of the stylistic features common to many of their pieces in keeping with the purpose of the manuscript, which was possibly to serve as a repertory for instrumentalists. This subject is discussed in greater detail below.

Mantua, Ferrara, and the Italian Composers in Q 18

Q 18, FlorBN Panc. 27, ParisBNC 676, and CapePL 3.b.12 contain compositions by Bartolomeo Tromboncino, Marco Cara, and other composers linked to Isabella d'Este and the cities of Mantua and Ferrara. In addition to those pieces by Tromboncino and Cara, Q 18 contains one by Honophrius Antenoreus, one by Filippo Lurano, and one by Michele Pesenti. Pesenti was also known to have been active around the first decade of the sixteenth century in and around Ferrara and Mantua. The others were active during this same time period at neighboring courts in northern Italy--Antenoreus possibly at Padua and Lurano at

18. Edward R. Lerner, "Agricola, Alexander" The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London, 1980), Vol. 1, pp. 162ff; Genevieve Thibault, "Caron, Philippe," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London, 1980), Vol. 3, p. 816; Joshua Rifkin, "Compère, Loyset," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London, 1980), Vol. 4, pp. 595-6; Tom Ward, "Vincenet, Johannes," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London, 1980), Vol. 19, pp. 781-2; Isabel Pope, "Urreda, Johannes," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London, 1980), Vol. 19, p. 467. Spataro mentioned Urrede in his Tractato di musica. The agonymous Nunquam fuit pena maior on folio 46v in Q 18 (superius and tenor only) employs the Spanish tune in augmentation in the tenor (see Appendix III).

Cividale.¹⁹

All of these composers belong to a younger generation than that of the Franco-Flemish musicians represented in Q 18. Even though none of their pieces in Q 18 is unique to this manuscript, it may be possible to consider Antenoreus, Lurano, and Pesenti the <u>maestri più piccoli</u> of Q 18, hence important additional clues to the dating and provenance of the manuscript.

Little is known about Antenoreus, except that he flourished around 1505-1514 and wrote at least 13 frottole, all of which appear in the Petrucci frottola books.²⁰ The only manuscript to contain a piece by Antenoreus is Q 18 (this piece being <u>Viva e</u> <u>morte</u> on folios 18v-19r, probably a later addition to the manuscript; see Chapter II, pp. 77-82, and Chapter III, p. 120).

José Llorens suggests that the composer "Phelippon" of <u>Tant</u> <u>fort</u>, the opening composition in the Ferrarese manuscript RomeC 2856, might possibly be Caron, Basiron, or Filippo de Lurano.²¹ If Lurano was born, as William Prizer thinks, in 1475, it is unlikely that one of his compositions could appear in a

^{19.} William F. Prizer, "Tromboncino, Bartolomeo," "Cara, Marchetto," "Antenoreo, Onofrio," "Lurano, Filippo de," and "Pesenti, Michele," <u>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u> (London, 1980), Vol. 19, pp. 161-3, Vol. 3, pp. 764-6, Vol. 1, p. 452, Vol. 11, p. 339, and Vol. 14, pp. 572-3, respectively.

^{20.} William F. Prizer, "Antenoreo, Onofrio," p. 452.

José M. Llorens, "El Códice Casanatensa 2.856 identificado como el Cancionero de Isabella d'Este (Ferrara), esposa de Francesco Gonzaga (Mantua)," <u>Anuario Musical</u>, XX (1965), p. 174.

manuscript thought to have been compiled in the early 1480s (see Chapter III, p. 96). However, many of Lurano's compositions do appear in LonBLE 3051 (nine or ten), a manuscript dated c. 1495 (see Chapter III, p. 97, fn. 5), five are found in FlorBN BR 230 (see above, p. 162), four in FlorC 2441, one in ParisBNC 676, one in Q 18, and none in FlorBN Panc. 27. All but one of his frottole appear in Petrucci's frottola books printed between 1504 and 1509.²² The presence of his pieces in LonBLE 3051 suggests that Lurano may have flourished as early as the last decade of the fifteenth century.

Michele Pesenti, perhaps the best known of these three <u>maestri più piccoli</u>, was born in Verona, but at the beginning of the sixteenth century he was in the service of Ippolito d'Este at Ferrara. He may also have served the Gonzaga family at Mantua at a later date. A letter of his, dated August 16, 1505, mentions that he was on his way from Ferrara to Bologna, but it is not known exactly how much time he spent in Bologna, nor exactly what his purpose was in being there.²³ Pesenti was active in and around Mantua and Ferrara in the first decade of the sixteenth century.

- 22. William F. Prizer, "Lurano, Filippo de," <u>The New Grove</u> <u>Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u> (London, 1980), Vol. 11, p. 339.
- 23. Knud Jeppesen, <u>La Frottola</u> (Copenhagen, 1968-70), Vol. I, pp. 158-9; letter in Archivio di Stato, Modena, "Musica e Musicisti," Busta 2, 14.

Further connections between Ferrara and Mantua, and Spataro and Bologna. Several composers besides Pesenti may have had a connection with Spataro or with Bologna at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, but they are not represented by compositions in Q 18. Malagista, a musician in the household of the Gonzaga family, was probably in Bologna during the 1470s (see Chapter I, p. 20), at which time Spataro was in his teens (see Chapter III. p. 105). In the 1480s, Ercole d'Este received from Bologna a composition by Bartolomeo Ramos, who was teaching there at that time.²⁴ Perhaps Ramos's activity predates the compilation of Q 18, but it is certain that he taught Spataro (see Chapter III, p. 105). Frank Tirro suggests that Spataro's connections with Ferrara were made through the Flemish composer Ghiselin, a contemporary of Martini's at Ferrara, but a composer not represented by any pieces in Q 18.²⁵ It is very possible that Ghiselin passed through Bologna on his way from Florence to Ferrara during the 1490s.²⁶ But again, his presence in Bologna would seem to

- 24. Lewis Lockwood, "Music at Ferrara in the Period of Ercole I d'Este," <u>Studi musicali</u>, I (1972), p. 115. See also Oscar Mischiati, "Un'inedita testimonianza su Bartolomeo Ramis de Pareia," <u>Fontes Artis Musicae</u> I (Jan/April, 1966), pp. 84-86.
- Frank Tirro, "Giovanni Spataro's Choirbooks in the Archive of San Petronio in Bologna" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), p. 125.
- 26. Clytus Gottwald, "Ghiselin, Johannes [Verbonnet]," <u>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</u> (London, 1980), Vol. 7, p. 340. Ghiselin <u>Landon</u>, in Florence in 1492 and 1493, Ferrara in 1491, 1492, 1502, 1503, <u>1</u>504. In 1503, Ghiselin

2 2 2 2 C

predate the compilation of Q 18. Spataro refers, in his letter of May 23, 1524 to Pietro Aaron (see Chapter III, fn. 50, above), to a Bolognese friend of his who lives in Ferrara as the source of his copy of Willaert's duo <u>Quid non Ebrietas</u>. It is very possible that Spataro had such connections earlier in the sixteenth century during the time of the compilation of Q 18.

Alessandro Demophon (see Chapter I, p. 32), who was listed by Spataro in his letters as one of "i Musici bolognesi," was, like Pesenti, a paid member of Ippolito d'Este's retinue. A piece by Demophon is included in Petrucci's second book of laude, RISM 1508³, the same volume that contains a lauda by Spataro.²⁷ Colinet de Lannoy, a French musician active at Isabella's court in Mantua, was also known to have been in Bologna, even if only in passing.²⁸ Malagista was undoubtedly too old, but perhaps

was also in Ferrara, and later in that year in Lyons with Josquin. A liturgical composition by Ghiselin appears in BolSP 29 (copied by Spataro after 1512).

- 27. Jeppesen, <u>op. cit.</u>, Vol. I, p. 143; also William F. Prizer, "Isabella d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia: Women as Patrons of Music in the Renaissance," typescript of paper read at the annual meeting of The American Musicological Society (Louisville, 1983), p. 19. Demophon (or Demophonte) was perhaps a more noteworthy composer than is indicated by the relatively small number of his extant compositions, since a piece of his is included by Bossinensis in BROWN 1509₁, arrangements for lute and voice of supposedly the best frottole. See also Francesco Luisi, <u>La Musica vocale nel Rinascimento: Studi sulla musica profana in Italia nei secoli XV e XVI (Turin, 1977), pp. 90-91.</u>
- 28. A letter from Colinet to Isabella is dated 1499, Bologna; see Antonio Bertolotti, <u>Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga in</u> <u>Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII</u> (Milan, 1890), p. 16.

Ghiselin, Demophon, Colinet, Pesenti, or some acquaintance of Giovanni Spataro, played a role similar to that of Cornelius di Lorenzo, acting as couriers between Ferrara and, in this instance, Bologna. Since it is believed that Q 18 was copied in Bologna, such couriers may have brought to that city the frottole found in the first section of the manuscript.

The importance of Mantua and Ferrara to the development of music in the years 1480 to 1520 was very great. The proximity of Bologna to these two prominent centers of music amply explains the presence in Q 18 of so many works by composers associated with them. Pieces by the approximately 20 composers listed above (p. 160) represent only about half of the compositions in Q 18. The others, including all the unique pieces, remain anonymous. The final chapter presents an examination of the unique compositions in the manuscript to further support the theory that Q 18 was intended as a repertory for Bolognese instrumentalists during the early Cinquecento.

CHAPTER VI

COMMENTS ON THE UNICA IN Q 18

Introduction

Having described the contents of Q 18, having established its Bolognese provenance and its likely origins in the first five years of the sixteenth century, having given a background of the history, music, and culture of Bologna, and having looked at some reasons for which such a manuscript might have been compiled, I now shall examine individual compositions in the manuscript and shall suggest further reasons for its compilation. Since all the compositions of Q 18 that have concordances elsewhere have already been discussed from several viewpoints, this chapter will concentrate on the unica (that is, compositions unknown elsewhere by concordances and compositions that contain a unique si placet voice). A discussion of the lute tablature on folio 1r, the unique frottole and laude in the first section, and a more detailed examination of a single composition--Salva nos on folios 20v-21r--that may prove to be the work of Henricus Isaac precede a discussion of the remaining unique pieces arranged by category, using criteria similar to those of Chapter IV.

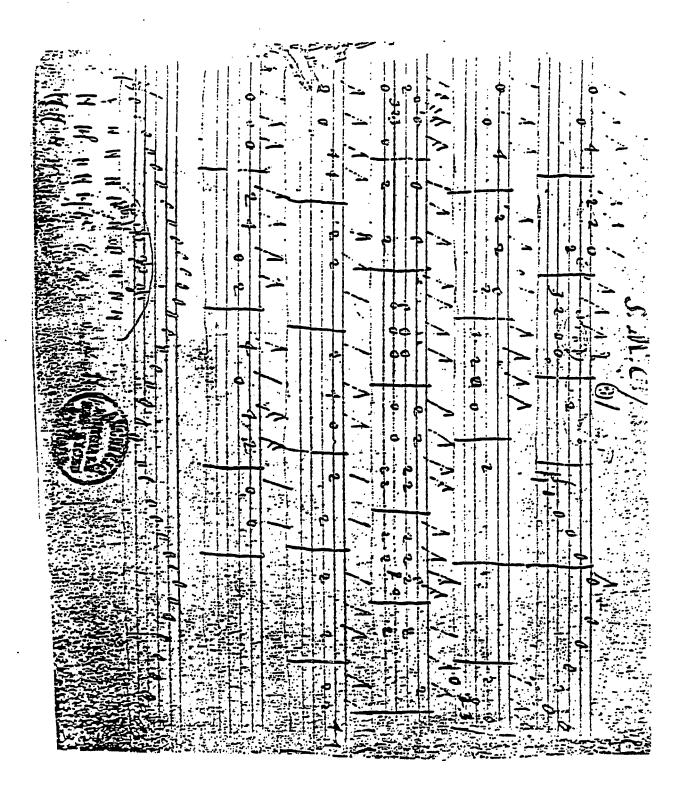
Folio Ir, S.M.C., Lute Tablature

The lute tablature on folio 1r may provide a clue to the possible instrumental function of Q 18. Folio 1r also contains what may be the only ascription in the manuscript, "S.M.C." (see Chapter II, p. 48, and Chapter III, p. 107). It is likely that

the first copyist (or copyists) left this folio blank and that the lute tablature was entered on it some time after folios 1v-93r were copied.

Two systems of notation are presented simultaneously on folio 1r (see Plate XIII). The interpolations in mensural notation in measures five and six (and the rhythmic stroke above measure five) and at the bottom of the folio have nothing to do with the music written in conventional Italian lute tablature. These interpolations seem to represent some kind of pen trials executed by the same scribe who wrote the tablature (see Appendix III, folio 1r, for the possibility that the notes on the first staff represent a false start).

The page of tablature in Q 18 is certainly for lute or viol. Given the rhythmic character of the opening figure and the repetition of pitches, the composition on folio 1r could possibly be a bit of <u>basso seguente</u> that abstracts the lowest-sounding lines from an instrumental canzona.



Frottole and Laude

All eighteen pieces on folios 1v-20r, <u>D'un bel maitin</u> on folios 67v-68r, and <u>Non ti smarir cor mio</u> on folios 81v-82r are frottole or frottola-related,¹ but only the four <u>unica</u> in the first two gatherings are discussed in this section. <u>Non ti</u> <u>smarir cor mio</u> is grouped with compositions in the category "Pieces with abstract organization."

<u>Folios 4v-5r, Oime che sempre spero</u>. This piece is a simple <u>aria per cantare ode</u>, such as is found in most frottole collections. Here the <u>aria</u> is given with a seven-strophe <u>oda</u>, each strophe consisting of the usual three hectosyllabic and one quatrosyllabic lines in the rhyme scheme a b b c, c d d e, etc. The music, which is repeated for each strophe, consists of five phrases, each accommodating the feminine verse-ending with a repeated pitch. The third and fourth lines are sung twice. (See Appendix IV for text and Vol. II for a transcription.)

This is one of four compositions in Q 18 that refer to hope in their text incipits, the others being <u>In te domine speravi</u>, <u>In</u> <u>te domine sperabo</u>, and <u>Spes mea</u>. These all may relate to either or both the mottoes of the Bentivoglio family of Bologna, <u>Io</u> <u>spero</u> or <u>Spes mea</u>, or to one of the mottoes of Isabella d'Este during her residence at Mantua, "Nec spe nec metu."

Q 18 may be the earliest-known source for some of these compositions (since the other sources that contain them date from after 1505): Lontan pur mi convien on folios 1v-2r may be the earliest source for this text incipit (LonBLE 3051, an earlier source, has a Latin text incipit), <u>De per dio</u> on folios 2v-3r, <u>Al la fe si</u> on folios 6v-7r, <u>Va va iniqua</u> on folios 8v-9r, <u>Dimi un pocho</u> on folios 11v-12r, <u>De si de no</u> <u>de si</u> on folios 14v-15r, <u>Poi che lalma</u> on folios 16v-17r, <u>Ave maria</u> on folios 19v-20r, <u>D'un bel maitin</u> on folios 67v-

<u>Folios 5v-6r, Con qual fronte a te Maria</u>. This lauda takes the form of a secular <u>barzelletta</u>, consisting of a four-line <u>ripresa</u> (rhyme a b b a), a two-line refrain (a b), and a single stanza made up of two <u>piedi</u> of two lines each (c d c d), a fourline <u>volta</u> (d e e a), and the refrain (a b).² The music of the <u>ripresa</u> is accommodated to the text of the stanza in the following way:³

refrain

<u>ripresa</u>: a b | b a |<u>b a</u>

stanza: ||: c d :|| d e ||: a :|| <u>b</u> c d e <u>a</u> <u>piedi volta</u> refrain

Each of the six phrases of music is three measures in length, with the exception of the fourth, which is seven measures long. This fourth phrase begins with the presumably instrumental lower three voices, while the superius, the apparent vocal part, rests for two measures.

68r. Q 18 may also be the earliest-known source for Josquin's <u>Alma redemptoris</u> on folios 55v and 57r (see Appendix III for comments regarding this composition). Jeppesen in <u>La Frottola</u>, Vol. II, p. 108, includes in his list of frottole in Q 18 all of the compositions in the first section (except <u>Con qual fronte</u>), and seventeen other pieces in the manuscript, mostly <u>unica</u>, but also Isaac's <u>La</u> <u>mora and Thysis</u>, Stochem's piece on folio 80v (<u>Rubinet</u>), Josquin's <u>La bernardina</u>, and Caron's <u>Tanto e lafano</u>. A facsimile of the unique <u>De ramo in ramo on folios 53v-54r</u> appears as Plate XXVII, p. IX, in La Frottola, Vel. II.

- 2. This composition is transcribed into modern notation in Giulio Cattin, "Contributi alla storia della lauda spirituale. Sulla evoluzione musicale e letteraria della lauda nei secoli XIV e XV," <u>Quadrivium</u>, II (1958), pp. 71-72. Diagramming of musical and textual form is based on a system established by William F. Prizer. See his "Performance Practices in the Frottola," <u>Early Music</u>, III (1975), pp. 227-235. None of the standard literary sources for the lauda transmit this text.
- 3. Prizer, "Performance Practices . . . ", p. 234.

As is true of many works in this genre, the rhythmic logic of <u>Con qual fronte a te Maria</u>, derived from the stereotyped accent pattern of the octosyllabic verse, is opposed to the imperfect-minor mensuration of its notation. Typically, the eight-syllable line will imply the following metrical scheme (Ex. 1): Ex. 1, stereotypic rhythmic formula 6 3 July July 1

63 42 123456 78

In <u>Con qual fronte</u>, however, the first line of text is offset by a <u>minim</u> rest; the stereotyped rhythm is regained in lines 2-3 (Ex. 2).

Ex. 2, Q 18, superius rhythm, lines 1-3

Meanwhile, the underlying triple meter is clearly expressed by the lower three accompanying voices, as shown, for example, by the rhythm of the bassus (Exx. 3a amd 3b): Ex. 3a, Q 18, bassus rhythm, lines 1-3

Ex. 3b, Q 18, bassus rhythm, which is notated as

tobold dd dd dd dd dd dd

The four-voice texture is rhythmically animated homophony. Harmonies generally include the third, as in the cadences shown below (Ex. 4).

Ex. 4, Q 18, folios 5v-6r, mm 2-3, mm 5-6,



Folios 13v-14r, Sel mi dole esser gabato. The setting of the barzelletta Sel mi dole esser gabato in Q 18 contains only the text of the <u>ripresa</u>. Another setting of the same text by Bartolomeo Tromboncino appears in Petrucci's <u>Frottole III</u> (RISM 1505^4), where the incipit reads "Se me duol esser gabato."⁴ In addition to the three and one-half lines of text found in Q 18, Tromboncino's setting includes four further stanzas, each consisting of six octosyllabic lines. The poetic form is <u>barzelletta</u> with a two-line volta; music is written for the <u>ripresa</u> and refrain only. The poetic rhyme scheme is as follows: abbaab', cdcddb, ba,/ efeffb, ba,/ ghghhb, ba,/ ijijjb, ba (the slashes represent ends of stanzas). The musical phrases as they are written in Q 18 may be diagrammed as follows:

Gaetano Cesari <u>et al.</u>, eds. <u>Le Frottole nell'edizione</u> principe di Ottaviano Petrucci (Cremona, 1954), p. 109, text, p. 41.

1 2 : ||: 3 4 : ||: 1 2'

<u>Sel mi dole esser gabato</u> should be performed in the following manner:

<u>ripresa</u>	refrain	piedi	<u>volta</u> refrain		
1234	1 2'	:12: :	34:		
a b <u>b a</u>	a b'	C d C d	db (<u>ba</u>)		

This work represents a type of <u>barzelletta</u> quite different from the <u>barzelletta-lauda Con qual fronte</u> but nearly as common. The eight-syllable lines are interpreted here as regular trochaic tetrameter rather than the more lilting pattern of primary and secondary accents (u u / u / u / i) of <u>Con qual fronte</u>, considered to be the classic octosyllabic meter. The rhythm of the superius, a nearly unrelieved series of semibreves in imperfect-minor mensuration, is followed slavishly by the accompanying voices. The resulting emphasis placed on harmony rather than counterpoint produces a bassus dominated by leaps of fourths, fifths, and octaves. The narrow range and formulaic character of the vocal line is like a <u>modus dicetur</u>, suitable for singing any poem of this form and structure.

Folios <u>17v-18r</u>, <u>Sensa te sacra regina</u>. Like <u>Con gual fronte</u> on folios <u>5v-6r</u>, <u>Sensa te sacra regina</u> is a lauda following the form and meter of a <u>barzelletta</u>.⁵ One strophe of <u>Sensa te sacra</u> <u>regina</u> was also set in a straightforward homophonic style by Adam

^{5.} The Q 18 composition is transcribed into modern notation in Cattin, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 69-70.

de Antiquis Venetus,⁶ but the setting in Q 18 is completely independent. Though Adam sets only one strophe, Q 18 includes three other stanzas. The rhyme scheme of this <u>barzelletta</u> with a two-line <u>volta</u> is as follows: abba, cdcdda, efeffa, ghghha. The form of the music as it appears in the manuscript is:

12:||34 |1:||:2'

The repeat sign following the first part of the closing refrain, [1:]], seems to be a superfluous addition and should be disregarded. Each phrase of music is 6 breves in length, except for the fourth phrase (3), and 2', which have 12 and 14 breves, respectively. Phrases 2 and 3 are the same, musically. The manner of performance may be described as follows:

ripresa	<u>refrain</u>	<u>piedi</u>	<u>volta</u>	<u>refrain</u>	
1223 abba	1 2' a b'	: 1 2 : c d c d	23 da	12': ab'	

The eight-syllable line is interpreted as in <u>Con qual</u> <u>fronte</u>. The rhythm of the first two phrases (also heard in phrases 2' and 4) is notated as follows (Ex. 5):

Ex. 5, Sensa te sacra regina, notated rhythm, mm 1-6



6.

<u>Sensa te sacra regina</u> by Adam is found in RISM 1508³ (Petrucci, Laude Book II); modern edition in Knud Jeppesen, <u>Die Mehrstimmige Italienische Laude um 1500</u> (Copenhagen, 1935), no. 28.

In performance, however, the pattern sounds as follows (Ex. 6a):

Ex. 6a, <u>Sensa te sacra regina</u>, Q 18, folio 17v, rhythmic pattern, in effect

Phrases 2 and 3 have a rhythmic pattern that functions as the consequent to the above example (Ex. 6b).

Ex. 6b, <u>Sensa te sacra regina</u>, Q 18, folio 17v, rhythmic pattern, phrases 2 and 3

d d d | d. A.d d | 0, i.e., 43 d d d d d d d | 0

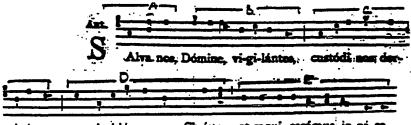
All phrases that display the antecedent rhythmic pattern cadence on D, while those with the consequent pattern cadence on A. The ending is actually two successive cadences, the first a full cadence on D, and the final, a plagal cadence on A (Ex. 7).⁷ Ex. 7, Sensa te sacra regina, Q 18, folios 17v-18r, mm 22-25



 <u>Come el pio[m]bin</u> on folios 15v-16r in Q 18 contains a unique altus, which has been transcribed by Jeppesen in <u>La</u> <u>Frottola</u> (Copenhagen, 1970), Vol. III, pp. 167-8 and is therefore not included in this discussion of <u>unica</u> in Q 18.

Folios 20v-21r, Salva nos

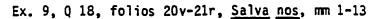
The motet in Q 18 on folios 20v-21r is a cantus-firmus setting for four voices of the antiphon <u>Salva nos</u> (Ex. 8):⁸ Ex. 8, <u>Salva nos</u>, antiphon



mi- éntes : ut vi-gi-lémus cum Christo, et requi- escámus in pá-ce.

The A and B sections of the chant appear lightly paraphrased until measures 19-20 where the completion of the B phrase is a strict quotation.⁹ At measure 24, the bassus quotes, in sustained notes, the C, D, and E sections of this chant. The melodic material in the altus, superius, and tenor voices at the beginning of the motet (Ex. 9) strongly resembles the head motive occurring in three of the four voices of the Kyrie I of Henricus Isaac's Missa Salva nos (Ex. 10).

- 8. <u>The Liber Usualis</u>, ed., The Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, 1959), pp. 271-272.
- 9. My thanks to Professor Martin Picker for pointing out this relationship between the A and B sections of the chant, and the bassus of the motet. He believes that while a relationship exists between Isaac's <u>Missa Salva nos</u> and the Q 18 motet, they may have belonged to different liturgical traditions as evidenced by the variants in the chant.





Ex. 10, Isaac, Missa Salva nos, Kyrie I, mm 1-7



This motive is also similar to the melodic content of two of the four voices in the <u>Sanctus</u> (Ex. 11), the <u>Domine Deus</u> (Ex. 12), and the superius of the <u>Agnus I</u> (Ex. 13).¹⁰ The bassus of the <u>Kyrie</u> (Ex. 10) bears a strong resemblance to the bassus at the beginning of the <u>Salva nos</u> motet.

Ex. 11, Isaac, Missa Salva nos, Sanctus, mm 1-5



Ex. 12, Missa Salva nos, Domine Deus, mm 1-10



 Martin Staehelin, <u>Die Messen Heinrich Isaacs</u>, Band I, Beilage, "Thematische Anfänge . .." (Bern, 1977), pp. 6-7. Walter Pass, ed., <u>Heinrich Isaac Missa 'Salva nos' 4 vocum</u>, <u>Thesauri musici</u>, III (Vienna, 1971). Martin Staehelin, <u>Musikalische Denkmäler</u> Band VIII, <u>Heinrich Isaac Messen</u> Band II (Mainz, 1973), pp. 45ff. Ex. 13, Isaac, Missa Salva nos, Agnus I, superius, opening



Although the mensuration of the Kyrie is <u>tempus perfectum</u> and that of the Q 18 motet is <u>tempus imperfectum</u>, the melodic material is essentially the same in the openings of both works. The head motive, which is common to the Q 18 motet and those sections of the Mass noted above, consists of an elaborate paraphrase of the A and B segments of the chant melody. One minor difference between the two openings results from the treatment of the bassus voice. Right at the outset of the Kyrie, the bassus voice accompanies the head motive, whereas in the Q 18 motet it enters after the other voices. However, the order and time interval of the entrances of the three upper voices is identical in both compositions: The altus begins, followed after two measures by the superius, and then two measures later by the tenor. In addition, the voices enter imitatively at the same melodic intervals in both compositions.

A new motive, based on the B segment of the chant, enters in the tenor of the motet at measure 8, imitated in the next measure by the superius in anticipation of material to be heard in the tenor at measure 11 (Ex. 14). This idea is imitated in turn by the superius at measure 14 (Ex. 15). A very similar motive can be heard in the altus at the opening of the <u>Christe</u> section of the Mass at measures 17-21 (Ex. 16), where it serves as a counterpoint to the C section of the chant. Ex. 14, Q 18, folios 20v-21r, mm 8-13



Ex. 15, Q 18, folios 20v-21r, mm 14-19



Ex. 16, Mass, Christe, mm 17-21



The tenor quotes the C portion of the chant at the original pitch in measure 19, while the superius in measure 17 and the bassus in measure 18 (Ex. 16 above) anticipate the tenor at the fourth above and fifth below, respectively. The first four notes of C are heard in the tenor of the Q 18 motet at measure 16 (Ex. 15). At measures 22 and 23 in this piece, the superius and tenor engage in imitation leading up to the entrance of the long-note cantus firmus in the bassus at measure 24 (Ex. 17). Ex. 17, Q 18, folios 20v-21r, mm 22-28



The D portion of the <u>Salva nos</u> chant follows in the bassus of the Q 18 motet at measure 36. Isaac uses a slightly different version of the chant melody in his Mass, and wherever this D fragment occurs, it is paired with C. Perhaps as a result, there is little or no similarity between this section of the Q 18 composition and any part of the <u>Missa Salva nos</u>.

The tenor of the Q 18 motet enters in the second half of measure 46 with the final portion of the chant, E (Ex. 18). Ex. 18, Q 18, folio 20v, tenor, mm 46-50



This entry anticipates the final statement by the bassus in measure 50 (Ex. 19). Melodic material in the tenor from measures 51-55 also occurs in the <u>Cum Sancto</u> section of the <u>Missa Salva</u> <u>nos</u>, beginning at measure 133 (Ex. 20; the passage marked by <u>x</u> is discussed below). In addition, the superius of the Q 18 composition at measure 50 anticipates the tenor, and the altus follows the tenor in imitation of the superius at measure 51. In the <u>Cum Sancto</u>, the tenor quotes the statement of E, while the superius contains the melodic material common to the Q 18 tenor, and the altus and bassus fill in with complementary counterpoint. Ex. 19, Q 18, folio 21r, bassus, mm 50-57



Ex. 20, Cum Sancto of Missa Salva nos, mm 133-139



In addition to the Mass described above, Isaac composed a motet based on the <u>Salva nos</u> antiphon, <u>Quis</u> <u>dabit</u> <u>capiti</u> <u>meo</u>

<u>aquam?</u> on the death of Lorenzo de' Medici,¹¹ a setting of a text by Angelo Poliziano. The last section, E, "et requiescamus in pace," of the plainchant forms the basis of the entire <u>Quis dabit</u> motet and is the only part of the antiphon employed by Isaac in this composition. Three sections of the <u>Missa Salva nos</u> are also based on the E portion of the chant, and these sections, <u>Kyrie</u> <u>II</u>, <u>Cum Sancto</u>, and <u>Osanna II</u>, are musically identical to parts of <u>Quis dabit</u>.

Aside from the chant, there is a motive in the superius of <u>Quis dabit</u>, at measure 52, that is the same as the motive quoted above in the Q 18 tenor at measure 51 (Ex. 19). The <u>Cum Sancto</u> passage at measure 133 (Ex. 20) and the following quotation from <u>Quis dabit</u> (Ex. 21) are almost identical in all four voices, except for one note, the note B, which is circled in the tenor in Ex. 19 (Q 18) and the superius in Ex. 21 (<u>Quis dabit</u>), but absent in the corresponding measure of Ex. 20 (<u>Cum Sancto</u>). Ex. 21, <u>Quis dabit</u>, mm 52-58



Johannes Wolf, ed., <u>Heinrich Isaac, Weltliche Werke I</u>, in <u>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich</u>, Bd. 28 (Vienna, 1907), pp. 45-48.

There are still other motives and cadential figures common to all three of these compositions, which perhaps are coincidental but are nonetheless worthy of mention. The figure of six eighth notes followed by a descending third, marked with an <u>x</u> in Exx. 20, 21, and 22, appears throughout the Mass and in both of the motets. A more unusual figure is that of the ascending octave followed by the interval of a second in the same direction, <u>y</u>. This pattern is common to both the final cadence of the <u>Salva nos</u> motet (Ex. 22) and also to several points within the <u>Christe</u> of the Mass (Ex. 23).

Ex. 22, Q 18, folios 20v-21r, mm 56-60



Ex. 23, Christe, mm 23, 37, 49



The charming effect created by this somewhat atypical melodic figure, \underline{y} , is enhanced by a strong dissonance in the phrygian final cadence of the motet, marked by an asterisk in Ex. 22.

Much has been written concerning the motet <u>Quis dabit capiti</u> <u>meo aquam</u>. Martin Just analyzed it in his article "Heinrich Isaac's Motetten in italienischen Quellen" in 1963.¹² In 1969, Wolfgang Osthoff discussed the possibility that the ostinato in the bassus throughout the <u>secunda pars</u> of the motet, which is set to the text "et requiescamus in pace," bears a relationship to the plainsong melody <u>Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine</u> in the Matins service (Nocturn III after Lesson IX, <u>Liber Usualis</u>, pp. 1798-9) for the Office of the Dead, and he pointed out that this motive permeates the entire composition.¹³ (It should be kept in mind that this <u>secunda pars</u> of the motet is not directly related to the music of the <u>Missa Salva nos</u>.)

In his dissertation and in an article based on a part of it, Allan Atlas revealed that, in the manuscript Vat& XIII. 27, folios 66v-68r, beneath the text by Angelo Poliziano of the motet <u>Quis dabit</u>, lay another, perhaps original text that had been scratched out--that is, a palimpsest: <u>Cantantibus organis</u>, in praise of St. Cecilia. Atlas then took up the difficult task of attempting to determine which of these two texts was the one originally set by Isaac. His discovery of the <u>Cantantibus organis</u>

12. Analecta Musicologica I, pp. 1-19.

 Wolfgang Osthoff, <u>Theatergesang und darstellende Musik in</u> <u>der italienischen Renaissance</u> (Tutzing, 1969), Vol. I, pp. 178-9.

text suggested that the music of Isaac's motet was written prior to Lorenzo's death, April 8, 1492. Accordingly, Atlas proposed, as one of several hypotheses, that Poliziano was called upon, after Lorenzo died, to write an appropriate lament to fit preexisting music originally composed in honor of St. Cecilia. The feast of St. Cecilia, he noted, was one of those celebrated by a guild connected with San Giovanni, a major church in Florence for which Isaac may have composed a Cecilian text having nothing to do with funerals or death.¹⁴

In another hypothesis, Atlas suggested that scribe A of VatG XIII. 27 simply made a mistake in entering the <u>Cantantibus</u> <u>organis</u> text and that Isaac's music was originally set to Poliziano's elegy. Isaac himself was thought by Atlas to have had a hand in the compilation of this manuscript, but Atlas relegated responsibility for the texts to two scribes, scribe A and scribe B, the so-called proofreader scribe who scratched out the Cecilian text and replaced it with Poliziano's poem. He speculated that scribe A, or perhaps Isaac himself, went through the manuscript a third time, adding to the end of the superius the inscription "Domine Jesu Christi- Nichil enim sunt dies mei," a paraphrase of "Parce mihi Domine: nihl enim sunt dies mei" from the Book of Job (7:16), which deals with the concept of death and resurrection.

Allan Atlas, <u>The Capella Giulia Chansonnier (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, C.G. XIII.27)</u> (New York, 1975), Vol. I, pp. 155-60; also, <u>JAMS</u> XXVII (1974), pp. 103-110, and XXVIII (1975), pp. 565-6.

Having considered these alternatives, Atlas concludes that:

Poliziano wrote the 'Quis dabit' elegy in such a way as to make it conform with the already existing music. And certainly, Poliziano, probably the greatest Latin poet of his day, was technically capable of such a feat. Moreover, perhaps this proposal helps somewhat to explain what one critic has called the 'extremely puzzling. . . metre of the poem.'15

Martin Staehelin, writing in the same journal a year later.¹⁶ pointed out the relationship, which had remained unnoticed until then, between three rather long passages of Quis dabit and parts of Isaac's Missa Salva nos, and stated, rather unequivocally, that Isaac wrote the Mass composition before he wrote the motet.¹⁷ He also pointed out that both compositions draw their cantus firmus material from the antiphon Salva nos and not from the Matins service for the Office of the Dead, as was previously thought by both Osthoff and Atlas, thereby accounting for the appearance of the words "et requiescamus in pace." To substantiate his claim. Staehelin demonstrated how Isaac's carefully planned use of the entire chant melody in the Missa Salva nos ruled out the possibility that parts of the motet were incorporated into the Mass. It was his opinion that, on the contrary, the motet was derived from sections of the Mass with

Allan Atlas, <u>JAMS</u>, XXVII, p. 110; Atlas quotes John Sparrow, "Latin Verse of the High Renaissance," <u>Italian Renaissance</u> Studies, ed. E.F. Jacob (London, 1960), pp. 404-5.

Martin Staehelin, "Communication," <u>JAMS</u>, XXVIII (1975), p. 160.

^{17.} Idem, Die Messen Heinrich Isaac, III, pp. 32-33.

the addition of some newly composed material.¹⁸

A few months later, again in the same journal, Atlas presented his rebuttal to Staehelin's allegations. After acknowledging Staehelin for providing two valuable pieces of information, Atlas claimed that the motet had to have preceded the Mass because of the "standard compositional procedure of the period, which, beginning with a small-scale work, would build a larger one upon it."¹⁹ In defense of this thesis he cited examples, not only from Staehelin's own edition of Isaac Masses, where the <u>Missa Virgo prudentissima</u> and the <u>Missa La mi la sol/O praeclara</u> were said to be based on pre-existing motets or instrumental compositions, but also from the two Isaac masses based on the German Lied <u>Wohlauf gut G'sell von hinnen</u>, where smaller tricinia were the basis for the larger Masses.²⁰

Atlas gave additional evidence, albeit with certain reservations, for the priority of <u>Quis dabit</u>, which he arrived at by means of an examination of the chronology of the sources that transmit the Mass and the motet. The earliest source for the motet <u>Quis dabit</u> seems to be VatG XIII. 27, which can be dated about the early 1490s, while the earliest source for the Mass

18.	<u>Idem</u> ,	"Commu	unicatio	on," <u>JAN</u>	<u>15</u> , X	XVIII	(1975),	160.		
19.	Allan	Atlas,	"Comm	unicati	on,"	<u>JAMS</u> ,	XXVIII	(1975),	p.	565.
20.	Isaac	's Mis	6; Atla ssae 'W <u>a</u> , LXVI	ohlauf	gut	: G'se	Noblitt ell von L6.	, "Contr hinne	afa π,"	cta in <u>Acta</u>

could be VerBC 756, which dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century, from a decade or so after VatG XIII. $27.^{21}$

In <u>An Anthology of Renaissance Music</u>, Edward Lerner, acting as an advisor to editor Paul Maynard, maintained, after reviewing the Staehelin and Atlas claims, that the Mass had to be the earlier composition. He based his decision, clearly agreeing with Staehelin, on the ideal molding of the structure of the Mass to the complete antiphon.²²

In an article in <u>Current Musicology</u> (1976), "Settling an Old Score, A Note on Contrafactum in Isaac's 'Lorenzo Lament,'" Richard Taruskin attempted to resolve the issue once and for all. He took both Atlas and Staehelin to task for what he said was a failure to base their contentions on the evaluation of positive evidence, but he quickly added that he supported Staehelin's thesis.²³ He then stated his own case for the priority of the Mass over the motet. For one thing, the Mass sections in common with the motet are only those that use the E segment of the chant. Isaac thus acted neither capriciously nor randomly, but purposefully used precisely those portions of the Mass that were suitable to a funeral motet. In the Mass, the sections based on E served as finales to the Kyrie (Kyrie II), Gloria (<u>Cum Sancto</u>), and Sanctus (<u>Osanna II</u>), and were, as such, too much a part of the carefully planned structure of the Mass to have been placed

23. Vol. XXI, pp. 83-92

^{21.} Ibid.

Noah Greenberg, and Paul Maynard, eds. (New York, 1975), p. 266, fn. 2.

there haphazardly.²⁴ Taruskin also expressed the view that the Poliziano poem fits Isaac's music "like a glove" in the <u>secunda</u> <u>pars</u>.²⁵ This apparent contradiction to Atlas's statement regarding the "puzzling metre" of the poetry can easily be explained. The <u>secunda pars</u>, which uses the E portion of the chant as an ostinato descending through an octave, was most likely freshly composed for the occasion of Lorenzo's demise, and would be expected to fit the poem perfectly, while those passages that were set to preexisting music would reveal certain irregularities in poetic meter.

Taruskin cautioned against Atlas's seemingly rigid assertion that larger compositions evolved from smaller ones, calling attention to another Isaac Mass, <u>Quant j'ay au cueur</u>, where the Mass apparently preceded the widely distributed instrumental composition <u>Benedictus</u>, extracted from it. Applying Atlas's "standard compositional procedure"

> would presuppose that Isaac 'built' his Mass around this preexistent instrumental piece, which coincidentally already bore the title Benedictus. One might add that this Benedictus would be a rather peculiar starting point for the conception of this particular Mass, since it does not carry the Busnoisderived tenor on which the Mass as a whole is based.₂₆

In questioning Atlas's use of the dates of sources, Taruskin returned to the case of the two tricinia that are concordant with the two <u>Missae Wohlauf</u>. One of these is the same as the <u>Qui</u> <u>tollis</u> sections in both Masses and is found in sources compiled

26. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 88.

^{24.} Ibid., pp. 85-87.

^{25. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 85.

in the early 1530s, more than fifty years after the earliest sources of the Mass. How then, asks Taruskin, can both Atlas and Thomas Noblitt claim, on the basis of chronology of sources, that the instrumental tricinium preceded the Mass? And further, he wonders why Atlas attempted to make a case, however feeble, for the priority of <u>Quis dabit</u> over the <u>Missa Salva nos</u> on the basis of a ten-year difference in their appearances in the sources.²⁷

Amidst all the assertions and speculations, no one mentioned the anonymous composition in Q 18, <u>Salva nos</u>, even though there is thematic and structural material common to it and the two Isaac compositions. The similarities seem to be more than merely coincidental. The inclusion of musical ideas from Isaac's two works in the <u>Salva nos</u> in Q 18 suggests that Isaac may have been the composer of that work as well. Since the motet in Q 18 shares a greater amount of material with the <u>Missa Salva nos</u> than it does with the motet <u>Quis dabit</u>, it is possible, then, that both motets stemmed from the same source, the <u>Missa Salva nos</u>, or that this Mass was based on ideas that Isaac reworked from both motets. The discovery of the relationship between the two Isaac compositions and the motet in Q 18 may, in fact, demand a reopening of the Missa Salva nos/Quis dabit debate.

27. Ibid., p. 91, fn. 9.

Remaining Unica Arranged by Category

 Pieces based on vocal models: settings of <u>rondeaux</u> or <u>bergerettes</u>.

2. Pieces based on monophonic melodies, and lacking the characteristics of the <u>formes</u> <u>fixes</u>.

3. Pieces based on parts of Masses, psalms, song motets, Marian antiphons, or other liturgical music.

4. Pieces not based on a vocal model, but having schematized organization.

5. Pieces with 'indeterminate organization.

The above categorization is based upon criteria discussed in Chapter IV (see above, pp. 145 ff). A certain amount of overlap is unavoidable, since certain pieces fit into more than one category, and there are, to be sure, a few categories of compositions in Q 18 that are not represented among the <u>unica</u>, but discussion of pieces from these groups (e.g., <u>Lomo bani</u>, folios 62v-63r, by Agricola and <u>Me doibt</u>, folios 87v-88r, by Compère, compositions for which words, but no preexistent melody can be found) would strengthen the argument still further that Q 18 is dominated by compositions conceived or selected for instrumental performance.

Pieces Based on Vocal Models: Settings of Rondeaux or Bergerettes

In several of the compositions in Q 18 that are settings of <u>rondeaux quatrains</u>, <u>rondeaux cinquains</u>, or <u>bergerettes</u>, poetry could be applied to the music according to stereotypic formulas. On the other hand, a number of these pieces rely only loosely on

the structure of the rondeau as a general framework (such as [D]es bien damors, folios 64v-65r), and in addition, they appear in collections presumably prepared for instrumentalists and may have led double existences. The following compositions in Q 18 fall into this category: Tanto e lafano on folios 25v-26r, Helasso on folios 35v-36r, <u>De tous bien plen</u> on folios 36v-37r, Fortuna par te on folios 37v-38r, Le ne demande on folios 39v-40, Ie pris amors on folios 59v-60r, [D]es biens damors on folios 64v-65r (See Appendix III for a discussion of [D]es biens damors in Q 18 with its unique si placet voice); Tant hai de mui on folios 65v-66r, Ie quide on folios 71v-72r, Malur me bat, folios 73v-74r (the text is lost, but, judging from the music, it was probably a rondeau), Adie mes amours on folios 78v-79r (a monophonic melody resembling a bergerette in form employed as a cantus firmus in the tenor and bassus), Rubinet on folios 80v-Nuncha fu on folios 89v-90r, and the anonymous and 81r. incomplete Nunquam fuit on folio 46v (both based on the Spanish villancico melody, but this piece has an augmentation tenor (see below) and is discussed under the heading of "Pieces Based on Monophonic Melodies"), Garisses moi on folios 90v-91r, and En atendant on folios 91v-92r. The unica are discussed below.

Folios 25v-26r, Tanto e lafano. The si placet altus on folio 26r is not the same as the added voice in the otherwise concordant <u>Le despourveu infortune</u> in RISM 1504³ (<u>Canti C</u>). (See Appendix III for a list of concordances for the three-voice composition.) Since the bassus begins in the middle of the staff at the conclusion of the contratenor, it is apparent that the

latter, the <u>si placet</u> voice, was copied at the same time as the three other voices, not added later. The superius, tenor, and bassus of <u>Tanto e lafano</u> in Q 18 are less ornamented and contain more ligatures than these same voices in the other sources of this piece. In <u>Canti C</u> the <u>si placet</u> voice serves to fill in many of the harmonies, as well as to conform to the shape of the horizontal lines; in Q 18, the added voice, thoroughly instrumental in nature--having scale passages, extended series of minims, and idiomatic instrumental figures--only coincidentally contributes to the vertical sonority, without fitting the curves of the three other voices.

.

Folios 36v-37r, <u>De tous bien plen</u>. This composition is Busnois's three-voice <u>Chi dit on benedicite</u> with an added altus. The three-voice piece is found in FlorBN BR 229 and several other late fifteenth-century sources, both with and without text, and in BerlPS 40098 as a <u>contrafactum</u> with the text <u>Laudem demus</u> <u>parvulo</u> (see Appendix III).²⁸ Q 18 is the only source that contains a four-voice setting of <u>De tous bien plen</u> (<u>Chi dit on</u> <u>benedicite</u>) and one other composition, <u>[D]es bien damors</u> on folios 64v-65r.

<u>Chi dit on benedicite</u> is a setting of a <u>rondeau cinquain</u>. The fourth voice in Q 18 is melodically and rhythmically more

^{28.} See Howard M. Brown, <u>A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo The Magnificent (Chicago, 1983), Vol. 1, p. 230, & Vol. II, pp. 111-112. There is no relationship between this composition on folios 36v-37r and the melody <u>De tous bien plaine</u> by Hayne van Ghizeghem. For a discussion of a piece in Q 18 that does employ the Hayne melody, see commentary for <u>De tous bien plen</u>, folios 51v-52r, pp. 203-204.</u>

active than the three other voices. Wide melodic leaps, small note values, and more coloration may be an indication that this added altus was intended to be performed by an instrument rather than sung (Ex. 24).

Ex. 24, Q 18, folio 37r, altus, mm 20-28



<u>Folios 37v-38r; Fortuna par te</u>. Vincenet's three-voice rondeau <u>Fortune par ta cruaulté</u> appears in several Renaissance manuscripts and has received considerable attention in the literature. In his edition of Vincenet's works, Bertran Davis, who transcribes the original three voices as transmitted in NHavY 91 (Mellon), suggests that the added altus in Q 18 has an instrumental character. This added voice bears the rubric "Per diateseron intensa," and it is different from the added <u>si placet</u> voice in BolC Q 16.²⁹

This rubric indicates that the altus must be performed a fourth higher than written, and indeed dissonances with the three remaining voices are created if the fourth voice is performed at

^{29.} See Appendix III for a list of concordances for the superius, tenor, and bassus of the piece on folios 37v-38r in Q 18. Bertran E. Davis, <u>The Collected Works of Vincenet</u> (Madison, 1978), p. xxv, xxvii. Davis says there is an added ascription, "Vincenet," in Q 18, but no such ascription exists in the manuscript. He also provides a complete listing of the variants in each of the sources. See also Leeman L. Perkins and Howard Garey, <u>The Mellon Chansonnier</u> (New Haven and London, 1979), Vol. II, commentary for no. 18, Vol. I, pp. 259-60.

pitch. It has been suggested that the canon calls for the derivation of a fifth voice, which must be performed together with the altus untransposed.³⁰ However, the addition of a fifth voice would necessarily compound the difficulty. The fourth voice in Q 18 provides the piece with added vitality, particularly in the passage from measures 39-43 (Ex 25).

Ex. 25, Q 18, folio 38r, altus, mm 39-43



<u>Folios 51v-52r, De tous bien plen</u>. This composition uses the tenor of Hayne van Ghizeghem's setting of the same text, as Howard Brown discovered.³¹ Helen Hewitt, however, made no mention of it, although she did list the other <u>De tous bien plen</u> in Q 18, folios $36v-37r.^{32}$ The melody of Hayne's tenor, transposed up a fifth, appears as a <u>cantus firmus</u> in the superius of the piece on folios 51v-52r (Exx. 26a and 26b).

- 31. Howard M. Brown, <u>Music in the French Secular Theatre</u> (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 206.
- 32. Helen Hewitt, <u>Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A</u> (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), no. 20. (See this chapter, p. 201, for commentary on Busnois's <u>Chi dit on benedicite</u>, which appears on folios 36v-37r in Q 18 with the text incipit <u>De tous bien</u> plen.)

^{30.} Both Helen Hewitt and Allan Atlas (evidently following Hewitt) incorrectly claim that the resolution of the canon applied to the added altus in the four-voice version in Q 18 produces a fifth voice (Hewitt, <u>Harmonice musices Odhecaton</u> <u>A</u> [Cambridge, Mass., 1942], p. 156; Atlas, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 95).



Ex. 26b, Q 18, folios 51v-52r, superius, mm 1-7



The three lower voices contain the parallel thirds, sixths, and tenths and the numerous leaps of fifths and octaves common in <u>cantus firmus</u> compositions in this part of the manuscript and in other late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century sources. But <u>De tous bien plen</u> on folios 51v-52r is one of a small group of <u>unica</u> in Q 18 (also including <u>Fortuna disperata</u>, folios 28v-29r, and <u>[O] Venus bant</u>, folios 60v-61r) bearing the <u>cantus</u> firmus in a voice other than the tenor.

<u>Pieces Based on Monophonic Melodies, and Lacking the</u> <u>Characteristics of the Formes Fixes</u>

Several compositions in Q 18 are based on monophonic melodies whose poetry is either not extant or not in the form of a <u>rondeau</u> or <u>bergerette</u>, such as <u>Figlie vos have mal grande</u>, folios 58v-59r, <u>Una musca</u>, folios 74v-75r,³³ <u>Myn morghen gaf</u>, folios 88v-89r, and <u>A qui direlle sa pense</u>, folio 93v. A number of <u>unica</u> fall into this category: <u>Fortuna disperata</u>, folios 28v-29r, could fit into the previous category of pieces based on the <u>rondeau</u>, but its two inner voices and most of its bassus

See Appendix III for a discussion of this and the other nonunique pieces in this section.

display no trace of the structure imposed by one of the <u>formes</u> <u>fixes.</u> <u>Nunquam fuit</u>, folio 46v, uses the Urrede tenor, but since it is one of a series of augmentation pieces, it has been included in the present category. <u>La turturella</u>, folios 69v-70r (Brown places Obrecht's <u>La tortorella</u> in another category; see Chapter IV, p. 147), both <u>La Spagna</u> compositions, folios 48v-50r, and both <u>Venus bant</u> compositions, folios 60v-62r, also belong in the present category.

Folios 28v-29r, Fortuna disperata. The Fortuna disperata setting in Q 18 contains Busnois's chanson melody³⁴--which served as the basis for Masses and chansons by Obrecht, Josquin, and Isaac--in the superius together with the first five notes of his accompanying bassus in its lowest voice. Of the many settings of the Busnois melody or its accompanying countermelody, a three-voice setting attributed to Josquin³⁵ comes closest in

- 34. Fortuna disperata is ascribed to Busnois in SegC s.s. and is also found in LonBL 31922 ("Henry VIII MS") anonymously. A modern edition appears in Josquin des Prés, <u>Werken</u>, ed. A. Smijers, <u>Wereldlijke Werken</u>, II, ed. M. Antonowycz and W. Elders (Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 25ff.
- 35. Claudio Gallico, "Josquin's Compositions on Italian Texts and the Frottola," in <u>Proceedings of the International</u> <u>Josquin Festival Conference. . 21-25</u> <u>June 1971</u>, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (London, 1976), pp. 446-47, states that the <u>Fortuna disperata</u> attributed to a "Josq(ui)n du pres" in SegC s.s. may not be authentic. The two upper voices of this piece are identical to those voices in the <u>Fortuna</u> <u>disperata</u> by Busnois also found in SegC s.s. A modern edition of the "Josquin" piece appears in Josquin des Prés, <u>Wereldlijke Werken</u>, II, ed. M. Antonowycz and W. Elders (Amsterdam, 1965), p. 166.

style to the composition in Q 18. The active bassus part of Josquin's work, with its leaps of octaves and fifths, its scalar ascending and descending passages, and, in particular, its passage of alternating thirds beginning at measure 34, may have provided the model for the rather unusual three lower voices of the composition in Q 18 (Exx. 27 and 28).

Ex. 27, Josquin, Fortuna disperata, mm 34ff



Ex. 28, Q 18, Fortuna disperata, folios 28v-29r, mm 1-6



The anonymous composition in Q 18 begins with inner voices that sound almost like a modern barrel organ; this pattern continues in two or in all three of the lower voices until the end of the piece. Perhaps as a joke, the motive doggedly persists in the altus even after the final cadence (Ex. 29). The <u>si placet</u> altus parts of certain other compositions in Q 18, such as <u>Tanto e lafano</u> on folios 25v-26r and <u>Fortuna par te</u> on folios 37v-38r, also continue beyond the final cadence, almost as if to highlight such voices. The two inner voices, similar in character to one another and to the bassus after measure 10, make <u>Fortuna disperata</u> one of the liveliest of the <u>unica</u> in this manuscript.

Ex. 29, Q 18, folios 28v-29r. final cadence, mm 56-57



<u>Folio 46v</u>, <u>Nunquam fuit</u>. As folio 47 is missing, it is not possible to say whether <u>Nunquam fuit</u> on folio 46v is a three- or a four-voice composition. Only the superius and tenor are extant, the tenor being the same as the tenor of the <u>villancico</u> by Johannes Urrede, <u>Nuncha fu</u>, on folios 89v-90r in Q $18.^{36}$ The

^{36.} Tromboncino composed a frottola (Petrucci Book III [RISM 1505⁴], no. 55) based on the text and music of <u>Nuncha fu</u> by Urrede. See Appendix III for a list of concordances of the composition on folios 89v-90r.

second half, or <u>copla</u>, of the tenor is not present, and an attempt to transcribe the tenor as written not only results in a superius without accompaniment in its second half, but also in awkward counterpoint between the two existing voices. By trial and error I found that in order for the notes of the superius to fit with those of the tenor, the tenor notes must be augmented (see Chapter IV, fn. 24). The augmentation solution works without the necessity of adding or subtracting any notes. There is no special mensuration sign (<u>tempus perfectum</u> is written in both voices), canon, or rubric to help resolve the conflict.

Against this slowly moving tenor is a fast-moving, ornamental superius, both voices being written in a manner not dissimilar to the <u>Spagna</u> compositions on folios 48v-49r and 49v-50r in Q 18, as well as to the altus and bassus on folio 48r, two voices of a four-voice composition whose superius and tenor were written on the now missing folio 47v.

Measures 13-16 in the superius are characteristic of the type of ornamental, non-vocal writing in <u>Nunquam fuit</u> (Ex. 30).

Ex. 30, Q 18, folio 46v, superius, mm 13-16



<u>Folio 48r [altus and bassus only; no title]</u>. Although the superius and tenor, voices which would have appeared on folio 47v, are missing, the altus and bassus that remain on folio 48r seem to belong to a composition typical of this part of Q 18. The altus contains many small note values, runs, and non-vocal melodic leaps, and the bassus is harmonic throughout (Exx. 31 and 32).

Ex. 31, Q 18, folio 48r, altus, mm 1-13



Ex. 32, Q 18, folio 48r, bassus, mm 1-13



It may be that this composition on folio 48r, <u>Nunquam fuit</u> on folio 46v, and the two <u>Spagna</u> compositions that follow on folios 48v-50r form a group of pieces based on monophonic melodies presented in augmentation. If one can postulate that the tenor on the missing folio (47v) was written or meant to be performed in augmentation, then it may be possible to state that each of the compositions on folios 46v-50r contain a monophonic melody in the tenor voice. This could be one of the few places in Q 18, besides the first layer of frottole, where pieces of the same kind appear on consecutive folios. Folios 48v-49r, La Spagna, and folios 49v-50r, La Spagna. The <u>basse danse</u> tune that forms the basis of many late fifteenthcentury instrumental compositions also becomes the tenor of the two compositions on folios 48v-50r in Q $18.^{37}$ In the first fourvoice <u>La Spagna</u> on folios 48v-49r, three melodically and rhythmically active voices surround the augmented, transposed, and somewhat freer version (than in the piece on folios 49v-50r) of the tune carried by the tenor voice.

The parallel thirds, sixths and tenths, short note values, runs, and sequences in the superius, altus, and bassus of this <u>La</u> <u>Spagna</u> represent what instruments might have improvised. (See Chapter IV, p. 136 for a discussion of a duo by Guglielmus [in BolC Q 16] that might be a written example of the improvisatory practice of the late fifteenth century.) Measures 10-14 of the piece on folios 48v-49r demonstrate the disjunct melodic intervals, runs, and other internal musical characteristics of music conceived for instrumental performance (Ex. 33).

37. Bernard Thomas, ed., Four Instrumental Pieces (London, 1973), transcriptions of La Spagna on folios 48v-49r and La Spagna on folios 49v-50r, and commentary at the beginning of the edition. Thomas transcribes all four voices of the piece on folios 48v-49r in triple meter, although there are duple mensuration signs in three of them. For more on La Spagna settings see Manfred Bukofzer, "A Polyphonic Basse Dance of the Renaissance," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (New York, 1950), 190-212, and the especially detailed bibliography, pp. 212-216, and also Otto Gombosi, ed., Compositione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola, Lute-Book (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1955), pp. lxiiff. for lists of La Spagna compositions, and Frederick Crane, Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth-Century Basse Danse (Brooklyn, 1968), pp. 74ff.

Ex. 33, Q 18, folios 48v-49r, mm 10-14



The piece on folios 49v-50r opens with the first four notes of the tenor melody in the superius. After the tenor sounds its opening notes, it proceeds with a fairly straightforward presentation of the <u>Spagna</u> tune in augmentation. The altus is the most active of the four voices; the bassus is less active and has more of a harmonic function than the bassus in the preceding La Spagna on folios 48v-49r.

Folios 60v-61r, [0] Venus bant, and folios 61v-62r, [0] Venus bant. The Flemish tune <u>0</u> Venus bant forms the basis of the two compositions on folios 60v-62r in Q 18.³⁸ The four-voice

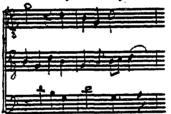
^{38.} Richard Taruskin, ed., <u>0 Venus Bant</u>, <u>Renaissance Standards</u>, RS3 (Ogni Sorte Editions, 1979). No. 6 is the four-voice composition on folios 60v-61r, and no. 5 is the piece on folio 61v-62r. All note values are reduced by four in his transcriptions; in Examples 34-38, a breve is transcribed as a half note. Nevertheless, since I do not offer a transcription of these pieces, I am retaining Taruskin's measure numbers. Taruskin suggests that most of the ten settings edited by him are suitable, and in fact probably are intended, for instrumental performance. Two settings are by Agricola, one by Isaac, one by Josquin, and one by Clemens non Papa.

setting on folios 60v-61r presents the Flemish folk song <u>cantus</u> <u>firmus</u> in the superius, as do a small number of other pieces in Q 18. (See commentaries for <u>Fortuna disperata</u> on folios 28v-29r, and <u>De tous bien plen</u> on folios 51v-52r.) Imitation is used sparingly and often consists of short fragments, such as at measures 17-18 when the contratenor picks up a fragment of the theme from the superius, and at measure 20 in the three lower voices (Exx. 34 and 35).

Ex. 34, Q 18, folios 60v-61r, mm 17-18, superius and contratenor



Ex. 35, Q 18, folios 60v-61r, m 20, three lower voices



One short passage in the bassus on folio 61r exemplifies the active and instrumental character of the accompanying voices (Ex. 36). And the outer voices of the three-voice piece on folios 61v-62r also have an improvisatory appearance, approaching the style of instrumental music of the period, similar to the kind of writing seen in <u>La Spagna</u> in Q 18 on folios 48v-49r. Two brief examples are given in Exx. 37 and 38.

Ex. 36, Q 18, folio 61r, bassus, mm 8-9



Ex. 37, 0 18, folios 61v-62r, mm 18-19



Ex. 38, Q 18, folios 61v-62r, mm 36-38



In the three-voice setting of the Flemish folk song (folios 61v-62r), the <u>cantus firmus</u> melody is written in the tenor, surrounded by an active superius and bassus. The highly ornamental quality of the outer voices stands in contrast to the markedly slow tenor, set in augmentation.

<u>Folios 69v-70r, La turturella</u>. Albert Smijers attributed the composition on folios 69v-70r in Q 18 to Obrecht.³⁹ Both Atlas and Brown have pointed out that <u>La tortorella</u> by Obrecht in RISM 1504^3 (<u>Canti C</u>) and <u>La turturella</u> in Q 18 have quite similar beginnings.⁴⁰ The most obvious similarity is the likeness in the head motives (Exx. 39 and 40). Obrecht's <u>La tortorella</u> may have been written about 1487 or 1488, during Obrecht's first stay at Ferrara.⁴¹

- Albert Smijer's, "Vijftiende en zestiende eeuwsche 39. muziekhandschriften in Italië met werken van nederlandsche componisten," <u>Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse</u> <u>Musiekgeschiedenis</u>, XIV (1935), 165ff. Allan Atlas, <u>The</u> Capella Giulia Chansonnier (Brooklyn, 1975), pp. 141-142. Atlas points out that part of the same head motive appears in an anonymous "zibaldone," or quodlibet, in the MS FlorBN Magl. 164-7; Norma Baker in her dissertation "An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony in the Archives of the Cathedral of Segovia: Its Provenance and History," University of Maryland (1978), says that Zart Reyne Vrucht, a 4, by Roellrin, on folio 124, also uses the same tune (in its superius) as La turturella on folios 69v-70r in Q 18. Actually, only the first part of the tune is similar in these two compositions. Giulio Cattin in "Canti, Canzoni a ballo e danze nelle Maccheronee de Teofilo Folengo," Rivista italiana di musicologia, X (1975), pp. 199-215, includes La tortorella with La mora, Una musca (Une mousque de Biscaye), La Spagna, and De tous bien plaine as melodies that apparently formed the basis of canzoni and dances during the Renaissance.
- 40. Atlas, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 141-2, and Howard Mayer Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance," <u>JAMS</u>, XXXV (1982), p. 13.
- 41. Atlas, <u>op. cit.</u> p. 141, citing Rubsamen who bases his suggestion of dates on several factors: The dates of Obrecht's Italian sojourns, the likelihood that Obrecht would not have set an Italian text before coming to Italy, and also the date of FlorBN BR 229, which also contains <u>La</u> tortorella. Obrecht's <u>La tortorella</u> is, apparently, the only secular composition by him that is datable within such narrow limits.

Ex. 39, Obrecht, La tortorella, mm 1-542



Ex. 40, Q 18, folios 69v-70r, mm 1-11



The two compositions are stylistically different, there being more use of imitation in the anonymous piece than in the one by Obrecht. Walter Rubsamen has suggested that the alternating duet and trio sections in Obrecht's piece, which contains a partial text, are a probable indication of vocal performance.⁴³

- 42. Johannes Wolf, ed. <u>Jacobus Obrecht, Wereldlijke Werken</u>, reprint (Amsterdam, 1968), Vol. VII, no. 13, pp. 43-47.
- 43. Walter Rubsamen, "From Frottola to Madrigal: The Changing Pattern of Secular Italian Vocal Music," <u>Chanson and Madrigal</u>, <u>1480-1530</u>, ed. James Haar (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), p. 64.

The alternation of duet and trio also occurs in the Q 18 composition--in which no text aside from the incipit survives--at the beginning and at measure 30. The alternation of textures, both three- and four-voice and homorhythmic and imitative, occurs in many of the works of Isaac (see Chapter V, pp. 161ff), and is a common feature of Franco-Flemish music.

Both the Obrecht piece and the one in Q 18 clearly drew on the same preexistent folk melody, which Obrecht weaves throughout his piece in all voices. The composer of <u>La turturella</u> in Q 18 introduces a motive at measure 12, a rhythmic variant of the opening melodic idea, that becomes the dominant motive throughout the remainder of the piece (Ex. 41). Ex. 41, Q 18, folios 69v-70r, mm 12-14



Brown hypothesizes that some of these pieces that begin alike but end differently may have been pedagogical exercises. A master teacher may have given his student one of his own compositions to use as a model and then assigned him the task of creating a new work.⁴⁴ (See comments for <u>Dapo ch[e] gionta e</u>

44. Brown, "Emulation," p. 13.

lora, folios 33v-34r.)

The final cadence of the Q 18 composition with its forwardlooking <u>cambiata</u> suggests that this anonymous piece postdates Obrecht's (Ex. 42).

Ex. 42, Q 18, folios 69v-70r, final cadence



The category of pieces under discussion here, that are based on vocal models, particularly on settings of one of the <u>formes</u> <u>fixes</u>, contains the greatest percentage of compositions in Q 18 that are known elsewhere by concordances. There are very few <u>unica</u> in this category. A common feature of almost every piece discussed above is the use of a known melody. Sometimes an entire three-voice composition is transformed by the addition of a <u>si placet</u> altus of instrumental character, such as <u>Tanto e</u> <u>lafano</u> on folios 25v-26r, <u>De tous bien plen</u> on folios 36v-37r, and <u>Fortuna par te</u> on folios 37v-38r and <u>[D]es bien damors</u> on folios 64v-65r.

Q 18 thus provides additions to already existing pieces, in terms of its unique <u>si placet</u> parts. In every instance, the versions in Q 18 are suitable for performance by an instrumental ensemble of four players, with one or two exceptions, e.g., the three-voice [0] <u>Venus bant</u> on folios 61v-62r.

<u>Pieces Based on Parts of Masses, Psalms, Song Motets, Marian</u> <u>Antiphons and Other Liturgical Music</u>

The works in this category include <u>Noe noe</u> on folios 22v-23r,⁴⁵ <u>Semper</u> on folios 38v-39r, <u>Alma redemptoris</u> on folios 55v and 57r, <u>Benedictus</u> on folios 63v-64r (designated "Absque verbis" in Q 18), <u>Sy dedero</u> on folios 70v-71r, <u>Mater patris</u> on folios 75v-76r, <u>Biblis</u> on folios 77v-78r,⁴⁶ <u>Thysis</u> on folios 79v-80r, <u>Parce domine</u> on folios 84v-85r, and <u>Agnus dei</u> on folios 85v-86r. Some of the <u>unica</u>, such as <u>Salva nos</u> on folios 20v-21r (see commentary above, pp. 183-198), <u>Ave regina celorum</u> on folios 21v-22r, <u>Da pacem</u> on folios 30v-31r, <u>Tristis es[t] anima mea</u> on folios 66v-67r, and <u>Speciosa</u> on folios 83v-84r also belong in this category. Several compositions in Q 18 have text incipits that are possibly paraphrases of psalm verses, e.g., <u>In te domine</u> <u>sperabo</u> and <u>Deus fortitudo mea</u>, but certain characteristics of

- 45. See Helen Hewitt, <u>Canti B Numero Cinquanta</u>, <u>Monuments of Renaissance Music</u>, III (Chicago, 1967), p. 55. A carol text beginning <u>Noe noe</u> probably once existed, but is no longer extant. An extensive use of sequence compared to other works in RISM 1502², comes as a surprise to Hewitt. This supports the thesis that pieces in Q 18 were selected for inclusion in the MS based on their suitability for instrumental performance.
- 46. Giulio Cattin, "Nuova fonte italiana della polifonia intorno al 1500 (MS Cape Town, Grey 3.b.12)," <u>Acta Musicologica</u>, XLV (1973), pp. 187 and 215. Cattin thinks that <u>Nam edunt de</u> <u>micis et catellj</u> (Matthew, Ch. 15, verse 27, "Yet, the dogs eat the crumbs which fall from their master's table") is not really a text, but a short religious sentence that substitutes for a title. He also points out that the music is instrumental in character.

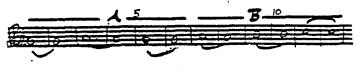
these compositions, such as the presence of a solmization tenor in <u>Deus fortitudo mea</u>, lead to their placement in other categories. Other pieces in Q 18 appear in some sources with Latin texts or text incipits (see Chapter V, p. 155, for a list of <u>contrafacta</u>), but they are not included in this category because their design warrants placement elsewhere. Several of the pieces known elsewhere by concordances, such as <u>Benedictus</u> (designated "Absque verbis" in Q 18), <u>Thysis</u>, and <u>Biblis</u>, appear in Q 18 without the one vestige of their ecclesiastical trappings, a sacred text incipit.

<u>folios 21v-22r, Ave regina celorum</u>. Despite the text incipit <u>Ave regina celorum</u>, the <u>cantus firmus</u> of this four-voice compositions is <u>Regina caeli</u>. The plainchant is transposed up a whole step from F and placed in the superius (Exx. 43 and 44). Ex. 43, <u>Regina caeli⁴⁷</u>

Egina caéli

47. For <u>Regina caeli</u>, see the <u>Liber Usualis</u> p. 275. Neither <u>Ave</u> regina <u>caelorum</u> <u>ave domina</u> (<u>Liber Usualis</u>, p. 274) nor <u>Ave</u> regina <u>caelorum</u> <u>mater regis</u> (<u>Liber Usualis</u>, p. 1864) bears any relationship to the composition on folios 21v-22r in Q 18.

Ex. 44, A and B segments of cantus firmus, Q 18, folio 21v, superius, mm 1-12



Motives from the <u>cantus firmus</u> are scattered among all the voices of this piece. The A segment of the <u>cantus firmus</u> in the superius at the opening is accompanied by a countermelody treated imitatively in the three lower voices (Ex. 45).

Ex. 45, Q 18, folio 21v, tenor, mm 1-3



Following its first appearance in the tenor at measure 1 on G, this countermelody is imitated at the fifth below in the bassus at measure 2 and at the fifth above in the altus in measure 3. At measure 6, a portion of the countermelody is heard in both the altus and tenor, imitated by the bassus. Each repetition of the motive occurs a whole step higher (Ex. 46). Ex. 46, Q 18, folios 21v-22r, mm 6-12



The next statement of the <u>cantus firmus</u>, slightly altered from its first appearance in the superius at measure 1, appears in the tenor at measure 22 (Ex. 47) and is accompanied by a new countermelody, which is first heard in the altus at measure 23 and then imitated in both the superius and the bassus in measure 26 (Ex. 48).

Ex. 47, Q 18, folios 21v, tenor, mm 22-32



Ex. 48, Q 18, folios 21v-22r, mm 25-32

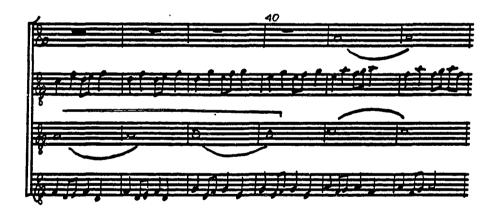




The superius and bassus voices continue in parallel tenths against both the altus in rhythmic imitation and the tenor in long notes. Again, each repetition of the motive rises by step.

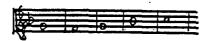
The third statement of what appears to be the B segment of the original <u>cantus firmus</u> is heard in the tenor at measure 37, surrounded by a new countermelody in the altus and bassus voices. This melody once again consists of a short motive, each of whose repetitions occur at a whole step above. These two voices are presented homophonically, again in parallel intervals, and have a characteristically instrumental figuration (Ex. 49).

Ex. 49, Q 18, folios 21v-22r, mm 37-42



Such motives, repetitions, counterpoint, and rhythms suggest that this piece was composed with instrumental performance in mind.

<u>Folios 30v-31r, Da pacem</u>. This composition is based on the first five notes of the plainsong melody <u>Da pacem</u>, <u>Domine</u> (<u>Liber</u> <u>Usualis</u>, pp. 1867-8). The melody is foreshadowed imitatively in altus and superius, and is first heard completely in the tenor (Ex. 50). It appears subsequently in whole or in part in each of the voices throughout the piece, always as a series of breves as a migrating <u>cantus firmus</u>. An ascending scalar motive also recurs throughout the composition in the altus (m 3), bassus (mm 18 and 29), and tenor (m 29), along with a descending motive (Ex. 51) in the altus (mm 6, 29-30, 34-5), superius (mm 6, 14, 16, 18, 24, 34, 49), tenor (m 16), and bassus (mm 24, 44, 48). Ex. 50, Q 18, folio 30r, tenor, mm 5-9



Ex. 51, Q 18, folio 30r, altus, m 3 and mm 6-7

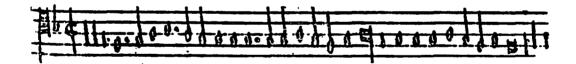


The combination of migrating <u>cantus firmus</u> and intensive use of a short motive, ascending and descending, in all voices gives <u>Da pacem</u> a tight contrapuntal structure typical of the Franco-Flemish motet, while the plethora of cadences and the sectional character of the composition may be a result of the influence of the frottola. Wide ranges of an octave and a fifth in the bassus and an octave and a fourth in the altus may indicate that these parts (as well as perhaps the entire composition) are instrumental.

<u>Folios 66v-67r, Tristis es[t] anima mea</u>. The melodic material of the three-voice composition on folios 66v-67r in Q 18 doesn't bear very much, if any, resemblance to any known plainchant with the text. The melody in the tenor has all the earmarks of a chant recitation formula, but could not be identified.⁴⁸

The Q 18 tenor is presented three times, each time separated by a number of measures of rest in the tenor voice, five measures before the first and second statements, and one and a half measures before the statement at measure 36 (Ex. 52).

Ex. 52, Q 18, folio 66v, first presentation of tenor melody.



Material from the tenor appears in the superius and bassus. A statement of the first segment of the <u>cantus firmus</u> (assuming it

48. Of the chant repertories in modern editions, such as <u>Antiphonaire monastique...de Lucques</u> (Pal. mus. IX), p. 189, <u>Officium hebdomadae</u> <u>sanctae</u>, p. 778, and <u>Antiphonaire...de Worcester</u> (Pal. mus. XII), p. 118, the melody that comes closest (although not close enough to claim identity) to the one on folio 66v is found in the <u>Liber Usualis</u>, p. 635. The text incipit <u>Tristis es[t] anima</u> <u>mea</u> is found in Matthew, Chapter 26, verse 38. is a preexistent melody) occurs in the superius at the very beginning of the composition prior to its first presentation in the tenor.⁴⁹

<u>Folios 83v-84r, Speciosa</u>. This piece contains several characteristics found in a number of other four-voice, untexted compositions in Q 18, such as a tenor melody (which is here in the phrygian mode) that appears to be derived in part from a preexistent model, 49a motivic repetition, and sequence. The rising four-note scalar pattern in the bassus at the opening is found throughout the piece (Ex. 53).

- 49. For the purpose of this study, anticipatory imitation of the <u>cantus firmus</u>, terminology borrowed from Gustave Reese, will serve hereafter to describe this technique. See <u>Music in the Renaissance</u> (New York, 1954, revised edition, 1959), pp. 76, 93, 108, etc., for examples from works by Dufay and his generation, and Busnois and his generation. See also Edgar Sparks, <u>Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet: 1420-1520</u> (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963, reprint, New York, 1975), pp. 310-311, for examples by Obrecht and pp. 339-40, for examples by Josquin.
- 49a. None of the <u>Speciosa</u> melodies found in the modern chant or hymn repertories corresponds to the melodic material in <u>Speciosa</u> on folios 83v-84r in Q 18. The scalar movement in the tenor and the alternating ascending seconds and descending thirds in the bassus are not in themselves indicative of a preexistent melody.

Ex. 53, Q 18, folios 83v-84r, mm 1-8



The passage at measures 43-53 (Exx. 54a and 54b) hints at the possibility of a <u>cantus firmus</u> that migrates from the altus to bassus to tenor to superius, and then to tenor and bassus through measure 55. The altus, for almost the entire passage, rhythmically enlivens the fabric by proceeding in descending motivic sequence.

Ex. 54a, Q 18, folios 83v-84r, mm 43-49



Ex. 54b, Q 18, folios 83v-84r, mm 50-53



The ranges of the three lower voices in <u>Speciosa</u> are somewhat wider than what occurs in most vocal music, but perfectly in keeping with the range of certain instruments of the period, for example, lutes or viols:⁵⁰

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Q 18 altus: c-a'
Q 18 tenor: c-g'
Q 18 bassus: F-e'
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The range of the superius is c'-e' and would therefore be within normal range for a vocalist. This could suggest that

50. See Sybil Marcuse, <u>A Survey of Musical Instruments</u> (New York, 1975), p. 497. Lanfranco, writing in 1533, <u>Scintille</u> <u>di musica</u>, gave the following tunings for viol consort:

tenor viol:

(the treble was pitched a fourth higher and the bass a fifth lower than the tenor).

<u>Speciosa</u> is a vocal composition with an instrumental accompaniment in the three lower voices, but it is not possible to trace either the rhythm of a <u>barzelletta</u> or a formula for <u>aria per cantare ode</u> in the superius. It is therefore quite possible that <u>Speciosa</u>, a composition organized by imitation, sequence, and to some extent by <u>cantus firmus</u>, was intended for instrumental performance.

None of the pieces described above (<u>Ave regina celorum</u>, <u>Dapacem</u>, <u>Tristis es[t] anima mea</u>, or <u>Speciosa</u>) has more than a loose connection to a liturgical melody or model. All have characteristics that would make them suitable for performance by instruments. It is at least questionable that singers could perform one of them, <u>Speciosa</u>.

<u>Pieces Not Based on a Vocal Model, but Having Schematized</u>

At least 21 pieces in Q 18 (both <u>unica</u> and compositions identified by means of concordances) have <u>cantus firmus</u> tenors in long notes. Some of these tenors resemble the <u>soggetto cavato</u> <u>dalle vocali</u>, a feature of some of the works of Josquin and Spataro. Others have patterns that resemble aspects of isorhythm.⁵¹ The classic example of a composition that contains

^{51.} Josquin's <u>Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae</u> and his <u>Vive le roy</u>, and possibly also Spataro's lost motet (referred to by Spataro in two of his letters to Giovanni del Lago [MS Vat. lat. 5318, fols. 139ff, dated October 30, 1527, and 141ff, dated September 1, 1528]) composed for Pope Leo X in around 1515 are examples of pieces that contain a <u>soggetto cavato</u> (the tenor cantus firmus of this motet with unknown title is

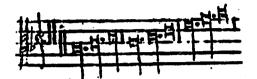
a schematized compositional structure is <u>La mi la sol</u> on folios 26v-28r, which also happens to appear in some sources with a liturgical text, but nonetheless is discussed in this category. A large number of <u>unica</u> in Q 18 have some sort of schematized organization. Those included in the present category do not have any known vocal model, and seem to be grouped together in certain sections of the manuscript, for example: <u>Deus fortitudo mea</u> on folios 31v-32r, <u>Dapo ch[e] gionta e lora</u> on folios 33v-34r, <u>La</u> <u>guercia</u> on folios 34v-35r, <u>Spes mea</u> on folios 41v-42r, <u>Ma temo</u> on folios 42v-43r, <u>Adiuva me deus</u> on folios 44v-45r, <u>Sol fa mi</u> <u>re</u> on folios 45v-46r, <u>De ramo in ramo</u> on folios 53v-54r, and <u>Bonus et miserator dominus</u> on folios 54v-55r.

Folios <u>31v-32r</u>, <u>Deus fortitudo mea</u>. The title of this fourvoice polyphonic composition is a motto that was used by at least

included in the letter of September 1, 1528). See Frank Tirro, "Giovanni Spataro's Choirbooks in the Archives of San Petronio in Bologna" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), p. 186. Rolf Dammann in "Spätformen der isorhythmischen Motette im 16. Jahrhundert," Archiv flr Musikwissenschaft, X (1953), pp. 16-40, says that this period is not too late for the appearance of compositions written with isorhythmic tenors. Around 1500, through-imitation replaced the cantus firmus as the up-to date means of unifying a composition, but occasionally the cantus-firmus technique, and more specifically, the isorhythmic tenor, can be identified in pieces (particularly several motets by Josquin) written after 1500. Ernest Sanders disagrees with Dammann (see "Isorhythm," <u>The New</u> Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians [London, 1980], Vol. 9, p. 354), saying there is no talea in the lower voice or voices of such pieces. In his monograph Studien zur <u>instrumentalen</u> Ensemblemusik <u>des 16. Jahrhunderts in</u> <u>Italien, Analecta Musicologica</u>, X (1970), p. 79, Dietrich Kämper describes a progressively diminuted cantus firmus tenor. There are several such examples in Q 18.

three Italian families, Este, Fieschi, and Mazzola.⁵² The tenor consists of a series of notes corresponding to the solmization syllables "fa sol la" in each of three hexachords, soft, hard, and natural (Ex. 55).⁵³

Ex. 55, Q 18, folio 31v, tenor, hexachord theme



The tenor, which possibly might be a <u>soggetto cavato dalle</u> <u>vocale</u>, is made up of three successive rising hexachordal fragments repeated three times. The first presentation is in predominantly dotted longas, and each successive presentation displays progressively diminished note values. The tenor pattern is suggestive of the principle of isorhythm, a technique quite common in the works of the preceding generation of Franco-Netherlanders.⁵⁴

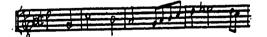
- 52. J. Gelli, <u>Divise, motti e imprese di famiglie e personaggi italiani</u> (Milan, 1976), p. 153. The Mazzola family was associated with Parma, the Fieschi with Genoa. The title of the piece on folios 31v-32r in Q 18 is also contained within Psalm 42, verse 2, <u>Quia tu es Deus fortitudo mea</u>.
- 53. In her discussion of solmization pieces in this repertoryin the article "Christian Egenolff, imprimeur de musique (A propos du recueil Rés. Vm⁷ 504 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris)," <u>Annales musicologiques</u>, III (1955), p. 189, fn. 1-- Bridgman mentions the chanson <u>Fa sol la</u> (in RISM [c. 1535]¹⁴, a printed source that also contains a northern Italian repertory). There is no relationship between that chanson and <u>Deus fortitudo mea</u>. Although numerous possibilities exist, it has not been possible to identify unequivocally the person or place whose name corresponds to the syllables "fa sol la" in <u>Deus fortitudo mea</u>.
- 54. See fn. 51. Q 18 contains another solmization piece, <u>La mi</u> <u>la sol</u> by Isaac. It is composed in a manner similar to <u>Deus</u> <u>fortitudo mea</u>, with a tenor <u>color</u> of eight notes and a <u>talea</u> of four maximas (repeated), followed by four longas repeated in the second <u>color</u>, breves in the third, and so

Although <u>Deus fortitudo mea</u> has many characteristics of an instrumental composition, such as small note values, imitation, wide melodic leaps, and passages that would not easily accommodate a text, there is always the possibility that a text existed (as it does for Isaac's <u>La mi la sol</u>; see Chapter III, pp. 129-130).

<u>Folios 33v-34r, Dapo ch[e] gionta e lora</u> (See Chapter II, p. 54, for a discussion of the palimpsest on folio 33v; <u>Adie mes</u> <u>amours</u> had been entered in the superius and then erased). Like several other compositions in Q 18, this one is constructed over a tenor <u>cantus firmus</u> whose first entry, in m 10, is heralded by anticipation here seen in the bassus (imitated in the altus at m 3 and the superius at m 6) (Exx. 56 and 57). Ex. 56, Q 18, folio 33v, tenor, mm 10-19



Ex. 57, Q 18, folio 34r, bassus, mm 1-4



The complete head motive which contains long, even note values followed by quicker rhythms is treated imitatively against the slowly moving tenor, a procedure characteristic of the "instrumental chanson" (see Chapter IV, p. 146).

on. See Martin Just, "Heinrich Isaacs Motetten in Italienischen Quellen," <u>Analecta</u> <u>Musicologica</u>, I (1963), pp. 11-12.

<u>Dapo ch[e] gionta</u> is composed around a repeating tenor pattern. Following two measures of rest, the six-note <u>cantus</u> <u>firmus</u> melody repeats at measure 22, transposed a step downward, beginning on c'. After eight measures of rest, the <u>cantus</u> <u>firmus</u> is repeated twice more in diminution (dotted longas becoming breves, breves becoming semibreves) beginning on a' and g'. Thus, the four presentations of the <u>cantus firmus</u> pattern form two pairs of statements, the second pair diminished and a fifth higher than the first pair.

Three- and four-voice texture alternates, in part as a result of the rests between the statements of the <u>cantus firmus</u> melody. A duet between the altus and bassus at measure 32, accompanied by the superius (in long notes), is written note against note (Ex. 58).





Falling fifths in the head motive, numerous descending fifths, and melodic intervals of fifths, fourths, and octaves throughout <u>Dapo ch[e] gionta e lora</u> are indications that this composition may be instrumental. The somewhat awkward

anticipation of the G in the superius of the penultimate bar inclines one to suspect that \underline{Dapo} ch[e] gionta e lora is not the work of one of the masters of the late fifteenth century.

<u>Folios 34v-35r, La guercia</u>. A literal translation of the title of this four-voice composition might be "the squinting lady" or "the one-eyed woman." It is one of seven <u>unica</u> in Q 18 that has been published previously and therefore is not included in the present edition.⁵⁵

A two-measure motive first presented by the superius, pervades the entire composition (Ex. 59). Ex. 59, Q 18, folio 34v, superius, mm 1-2



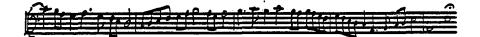
It occurs in each of the four voices, treated imitatively, transposed, repeated, and combined with other thematic material.

Thomas believes that <u>La guercia</u> is a most unusual piece for its time because of the manner in which a two-measure "theme" permeates the entire composition. Every measure contains the motive or a part of it in some form or other. Most "free" or "fantasia-like" instrumental pieces of the late fifteenth century employ points of imitation or an artifical <u>cantus firmus</u>, such as a hexachord scale, as a structural unifying device. According to Thomas, the use of a pervasive "theme" in <u>La guercia</u> is more

^{55.} Bernard Thomas, ed., Four Pieces of the Late Fifteenth <u>Century</u> (London, 1973).

typical of vocal music, such as certain Masses of Josquin, some sacred compositions by Obrecht, and the frottole.⁵⁶

The bassus voice, especially from measure 31 to 34 (according to Thomas's transcription in four-two meter; see above, fn. 38, p. 211), best exemplifies the instrumental character of writing in <u>La guercia</u> (Ex. 60). Ex. 60, Q 18, folio 35r, bassus, mm 31-34



<u>Folios 41v-42r, Spes mea</u>. The title of this piece, <u>Spes</u> <u>mea</u>, is a motto of the Bentivoglio family that has been found among their papers, in books dedicated to them and commissioned by them, and as decoration on the walls of their residences (SEG Chapter I. fn. 24).⁵⁷

The tenor <u>cantus firmus</u> is made up of five notes and might be connected to Francesca ("fa") Bentivogli[a] ("re, mi, sol, la") (Ex. 61, and Chapter III, pp. 112-13). The absence of a "mi"

^{56. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, preface. Other vocal compositions, such as <u>A qui</u> <u>direlle sa pense</u> on folio 93v (superius and tenor only) in Q 18, employ the same rhythmic motive throughout. For a complete reading of <u>A qui direlle sa pense</u> see RISM 1502² (<u>Canti B</u>), folios 18v-19r; modern edition Helen Hewitt, ed. <u>Canti B</u> <u>Numero Cinquanta</u>. <u>Monuments of Renaissance Music</u>, III (Chicago, 1967), pp. 134-37.

^{57.} Several liturgical texts, among them a number of hymns and a passage from Jeremiah (Chapter 17, verse 7), contain the words "Spes mea." The association of this incipit in Q 18 with the Bentivoglio seems in keeping with other evidence presented above (watermark, paper, scribe etc.) regarding the provenance of the manuscript.

between the concluding "sol" and "la" makes this interpretation uncertain.

Ex. 61, Q 18, folio 41v, tenor <u>cantus firmus</u>

The note values are reduced by half in each successive entrance of the <u>cantus firmus</u>, as in other compositions in this manuscript, such as <u>La mi la sol</u>, <u>Deus fortitudo mea</u>, <u>Dapo che</u> <u>gionta e lora</u>, and <u>Sol fa mi re</u>. At the outset, the note values are maximas, and in the last statement they are minims. Each presentation is identical melodically, except for a supernumerary e' semibreve followed by a d' minim at the end of the semibreve statement. All of the <u>cantus firmus</u> entrances are separated by rests, two breves in length between the first two sections, one breve between the second and third, and a minim in length prior to the last two statements. The superius, altus, and bassus in the passage at measures 26-28 are written in noteagainst-note style (Ex. 62).

Ex. 62, Q 18, folios 41v-42r, mm 26-29



The kind of writing in the above example, and a preponderance of triadic motives, particularly in the altus and

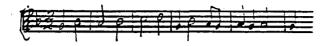
bassus, but also in the superius, hint at the possibility that <u>Spes mea</u> was conceived as an instrumental composition. Octave leaps occur not only in the altus and bassus in Ex. 62, but also in measure 5 in the superius and altus, measure 9 in the bassus, measure 35 in the superius, measure 43 in the altus, and again in the altus at measure 50.58

<u>Folios 42v-43r, Ma temo</u>. "But I fear" is a piece that consists of eight freely accompanied statements of a single fivemeasure melodic phrase, which is heard several times in each of the four voices. This phrase concludes with a cadence, and the statements of it in the various voices never overlap with one another. Hence, the compositional technique has more in common with ostinato than with imitation.

Variety is introduced by changes in the number of voices employed, introduction of new material in the accompanying counterpoint, and insertion of a brief, somewhat canonic episode in more animated rhythm during which the repeated melodic phrase is temporarily absent. The beginning of the phrase is identical to the first six notes of <u>Malagrota</u> on folios 78v-79r in ParisBNC 676, and this suggests the possibility that it was the opening of a widely known tune (Ex. 63).

58. See Howard Brown, <u>A Florentine Chansonnier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Banco rari 229 (Chicago, 1983), Nos. 135 [Textless Composition] and 203, <u>Martinella</u> [Johannes Martini], for similar passages. Caution is necessary here. Vocal pieces can always be found that share similar features to those described above.</u>

Ex. 63, Q 18, folio 42v, superius, measures 1-6



<u>Folios 44v-45r, Adiuva me deus</u>. A number of compositions in this manuscript begin with head motives that might derive from preexisting pieces. It has not been possible to trace the notes of the head motive or any of the long notes in the tenor and bassus of this composition to any liturgical chant or secular melody. All four voices begin the piece with the same three-note head motive, which expands in the superius and tenor into a melodic phrase six measures in length (Ex. 64).



What appears to be a <u>cantus firmus</u> begins in the tenor at measure 18. The tenor is joined by similar long notes in the bassus in measures 32-36, and from measure 36 to measure 40 the bassus alone is written in long notes, giving it the character of a harmonic bass (Exx. 65 and 66). The remainder of <u>Adiuva me deus</u> contains no further long-note passages.

Ex. 65, Q 18, folio 44v, tenor, mm 18-31



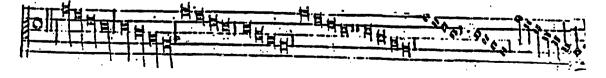
Ex. 66, Q 18, folio 44v-45r, tenor and bassus, mm 32-36, and bassus, mm 36-40

The style of <u>Adiuva me deus</u> is Franco-Flemish, but some characteristic Italianate features are evident--in particular, a rhythmic simplicity similar to that of the frottola. A profusion of cadences, such as those from measures 15 to 20 (Ex. 67), measures 41 to 43, and measures 50 to the final cadence, may represent an attempt to structure a composition in the absence of a vocal model. Ex. 67, Q 18, folios 44v-45r, mm 15-20



<u>Folios 45v-46r, Sol fa mi re</u>. Besides <u>La mi la sol</u> (folios 26v-28r), <u>Sol fa mi re</u> is the other piece in Q 18 that contains solmization syllables in its text incipit. The tenors of other compositions in Q 18, such as <u>Deus fortitudo mea</u> on folios 31v-32r and <u>Spes mea</u> on folios 41v-42r, also are based on repeating patterns, but the vowels in the text incipits of these two compositions do not relate to the solmization syllables in their tenors. The eight-note <u>cantus firmus</u> melody of <u>Sol fa mi re</u> appears five times in the tenor, each successive presentation (except for the third, which is repeated in same note values as the second statement) in smaller note values (and rests), beginning with longas and ending with minims. The last presentation lacks a repeated note and a rest at the point separating the natural from the hard hexachord (Ex. 68).

Ex. 68, Q 18, folio 45v, tenor



The three other pieces mentioned above that employ solmization patterns as their tenor <u>cantus firmus</u> melodies are written in <u>tempus imperfectum</u>, but <u>Sol fa mi re</u> is in <u>tempus perfectum</u>, a mensuration less frequently found in compositions in Q 18 and in other late fifteenth-century sources. The other difference between those compositions and <u>Sol fa mi re</u> is that their tenor patterns do not contain repetitions of the melody in the same note values, as in statements two and three of the five presentations of the <u>cantus firmus</u> in <u>Sol fa mi re</u>.

As is true of several other compositions in Q 18, all four voices of <u>Sol fa mi re</u> exhibit greater activity during the last statement of the <u>cantus firmus</u>, building toward a climax before the final cadence. The superius and altus engage in a kind of imitative duet involving short note values, and the bassus alternates between moving in parallel with the altus and holding back with longer notes. A passage at measure 32 seems to anticipate the conclusion of the piece (Exx. 69 and 70). Ex. 69, Q 18, folios 45v-46r, m 32



Groups of four minims and semiminims abound in this composition, descending stepwise as in the <u>cantus firmus</u> (minims: superius, mm 47-49, 51; altus, m 34; tenor, m 49; semiminims: superius, mm 8, 10, 14, 26, 31; altus, mm 13, 18, 20, 29, 33, 44, 46; m 45 in the bassus) and also ascending (minims: altus, mm 49-50, 53-54; semiminims: superius, mm 17, 28; altus, mm 33, 46; tenor, m 50; bassus, mm 44-46).

In <u>Sol fa mi re</u>, as in a number of other pieces in Q 18, such as <u>Salva nos</u>, <u>Da pacem</u>, <u>Ma temo</u>, <u>Probasti cor meum</u>, <u>Adiuva</u> <u>me deus</u>, <u>La Spagna</u> (the second one on folios 49v-50r), <u>De ramo in</u> <u>ramo</u>, <u>Per votro amours</u>, <u>Tristis es[t] anima mea</u>, <u>La turturella</u>, <u>Borgo loce</u>, and <u>Speciosa</u>, anticipatory imitation precedes the entrance of the tenor voice. In some of these pieces the tenor has a long-note melody, and the anticipation proceeds in smaller note values; in others, all voices are written in the same note values. In all of these compositions imitation provides structure to the relationship between voices, and in eleven of them repetition or manipulation of the <u>cantus firmus</u> contributes to the formal structure.

<u>Folios 53v-54r, De ramo in ramo</u>. The head motive of <u>De ramo</u> <u>in ramo</u> is D,F,E,D, a pattern of intervals that is found in many other compositions of the late fifteenth century, particularly ones thought to be instrumental. These four notes first appear unaccompanied in the altus, followed by a rest that breaks the melodic line and perhaps would preclude effective setting of a text. <u>De ramo in ramo</u> is another one of the numerous <u>cantus</u> <u>firmus</u> compositions in Q 18 that employs the principle of anticipatory imitation. The <u>cantus firmus</u> enters at measure 13 in the tenor, a fifth higher than the initial statement of the head motive (Exx. 71 and 72).

Ex. 71, Q 18, folios 53v-54r, head motive, altus, mm 1-4



Ex. 72, Q 18, folios 53v-54r, tenor cantus firmus, mm 13-27

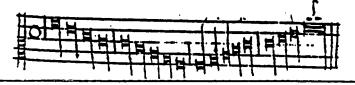


The second statement of the <u>cantus firmus</u> occurs at measure 36 and employs the same pitches as the head motive. At measure 50, the third statement repeats the pitches of the first statement but in reduced note values. Each of these statements is separated by rests--twelve measures before the opening statement, eight measures before the second statement, and, finally, four measures before the final statement.

Frequent cadences and the overall design of the underlying <u>cantus firmus</u> help to unify this composition structurally. On the other hand, it seems surprising that the composer did not take advantage of the strong profile of his opening motive by weaving it into the melodic fabric of any voice other than the tenor.

<u>Folios 54v-55r, Bonus et miserator dominus</u>. This is the only five-voice composition in Q 18. The scalar <u>cantus firmus</u> in the tenor is a palindrome, the second half being the retrograde of the first (Ex. 73).⁵⁹ The tenor consists of two segments, the first of four notes descending stepwise preceded and followed by two breves of rest and a repetition of the last note, which then is followed by the stepwise descent through the rest of the octave. The two segments, therefore, outline the species of fourth and fifth that define the first mode transposed to A (with F natural). Two breves of rest divide the descending and ascending forms of the scale.

Ex. 73, Q 18, folios 54v-55r, tenor cantus firmus



59. Brumel's <u>Noe</u>, <u>noe</u> on folios 22v-23r in Q 18 appears in GreifU 640-1 with the text incipit <u>Bonus et rectus</u> <u>dominus</u>, but there is no relationship between the Brumel piece and <u>Bonus et miserator dominus</u> on folios 54v-55r.

The concept of building a cantus firmus on a scale was not new and can be seen, for example, in a four-voice motet by Josquin, Ut Phoebi radiis, found in Petrucci's Motetti libro quarto (Venice, 1505) (RISM 1505²).⁶⁰ In Josquin's composition, the cantus firmus is a series of scales, ascending in the prima pars and descending in the secunda pars, stated in canon between the tenor and bassus. The hexachordal scales are built note by note, beginning with a single note and adding another on each subsequent statement, which is separated by rests of equal duration. Each segment of this <u>cantus</u> firmus derives its solmization syllables from the text, and the same degrees of the scale form the opening motive of each new segment of the upper, free voices as well. Alternation of duets and homorhythmic passages in the superius and altus complement the canon in the lower voices. Freer passages, lacking the rigidity or structure of the cantus firmus scaffold, occur before the cadences in both prima and secunda pars.^{60a}

- 60. Josquin des Pres, <u>Werken</u>, ed. Albert Smijers, <u>Motetten</u>, I (Amsterdam, 1924), pp. 110-113. The subject of the hexachord <u>cantus firmus</u> in motets by Josquin and Compère and the relationship to "steps" or "ladders" in art and literature is explored by Lester Brothers, "The Significance of the Scale in the Renaissance Motet," <u>Abstracts of Papers Read at the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the American</u> Musicological Society, Philadelphia, Penna, 1984.
- 60a. Edgar Sparks, <u>Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet: 1420-1540</u> (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963, reprint, New York, 1975), pp. 393-394. Other motets by Josquin contain long-note tenors that exhibit progressive augmentation, ostinato patterns, anticipatory imitation by other voices, etc. <u>Domine Dominus noster</u>, <u>a 5</u>, contains a tenor that is presented in progressively longer note values, and an alternation of four-voice homorhythm and imitative duets. Josquin's motets are generally much longer than the pieces in Q 18, the ranges of the voices are not as wide, and there are fewer instances of sudden expansion of melodies into

Although <u>Bonus et miserator dominus</u> on folios 54v-55r lacks some of the sophistication and artistry of the motet by Josquin described above, the construction as of the basic <u>cantus firmus</u> is similar, and though the four free voices are sometimes organized by points of imitation, they seem to derive nothing from the <u>cantus firmus</u>.

Although some of the compositions in the present category resemble motets and have even been compared to one or another well-known motet written during this period, they are all shorter in length and all exhibit some form of schematized organization; it is precisely this organization that lends unity in place of a text. Perhaps texts did exist for some or all of them at one time: On the other hand, the setting of a text, in a few instances, seems precluded by the nature of the melodic writing.

long notes such as occurs in the examples in Q 18. The tenor of <u>O</u> decus eccelsiae, a five-voice motet by Isaac (see R. Gerber, <u>Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel</u>, <u>Das Erbe deutscher Musik</u>, XXXIII [Kassel, 1960], no. 96 [LeipU 1494, folios 118v-121r]), is organized schematically, beginning with a single breve C, followed by a single rest, progressing in linear ascent to two breves C and D, followed by two rests, and continuing through to six breves, C to A, reversing direction to return to the single C at the close of the <u>prima pars</u>. The <u>secunda pars</u> of this motet employs the same tenor. <u>O</u> decus ecclesiae contains many idiomatic instrumental figures, scalar passages, minims and semiminims, wide leaps, wide vocal ranges, and a preponderance of ligatures in the remaining voices.

Pieces with Indeterminate Organization

This final category includes all pieces not based on vocal models, not directly related to any portion of the liturgy, and not organized schematically. The instrumental fantasias La mora on folios 72v-73r, and La bernardina on folios 82v-83r belong in this category. Two other compositions are frottola-related: one. D'un bel maitin, found in Petrucci's sixth book of frottole (RISM 1506³), appears in Q 18 on folios 67v-68r, not in one of the first two gatherings with the other frottole, but in the eighth gathering, one that was very likely copied by Spataro. As has already been mentioned (see Chapter IV, p. 145), D'un bel maitin has many of the characteristics of an instrumental piece. The other frottola-related composition is Non ti smarir cor mio on folios 81v-82r, which has the same text incipit as two known frottole and bears a slight musical resemblance to one of them; nevertheless, Non ti smarir cor mio in Q 18 also has many of the features of a piece that was not necessarily meant to be sung. In te domine sperabo on folios 24v-25r might be related to Josquin's In te domine speravi, but the anonymous piece is much more like an instrumental fantasia than Josquin's frottola. The remainder of the compositions in this group all have a similar indeterminate organization: Venimus princeps on folios 23v-24r, Surge on folios 29v-30r, Forsa chi schopra on folios 40v-41r, Probasti cor meum deus on folios 43v-44r, Nu[n]c scio vere on folios 50v-51r, Neoptolemus on folios 52v-53r, Per votro amours on folios 57v-58r, Borgo leco on folios 76v-77r, and 0 virgo on folios 92v-93r.

<u>Folios 23v-24r, Venimus princeps</u>. Although this four-voice composition is written in <u>tempus perfectum</u>, in performance it sounds more like a piece in duple meter. In the middle of the last staff of each of the voices the scribe has written an arabic "3." The change from duple to triple meter for closing sections was common in motets of the late fifteenth century, but was also a feature of pieces presumed to have been written for instruments, such as Martini's <u>Martinella</u>, folios 12v-13r in FlorBN BR 229. In the penultimate section of Martini's piece, the triple meter in <u>proportio sesquialtera</u> produces a rhythmic climax.⁶¹ There are several other pieces employing this device in Q 18, one of which is Brumel's <u>Mater patris</u> on folios 75v-76r and another of which is the anonymous <u>Borgo loco</u> on folios 76v-77r, discussed below.

One unusual feature of <u>Venimus princeps</u> is the point of imitation at the beginning of the composition, in which the pitches of the opening notes of the superius are imitated by the bassus and tenor, but not their rhythms (Ex. 74).

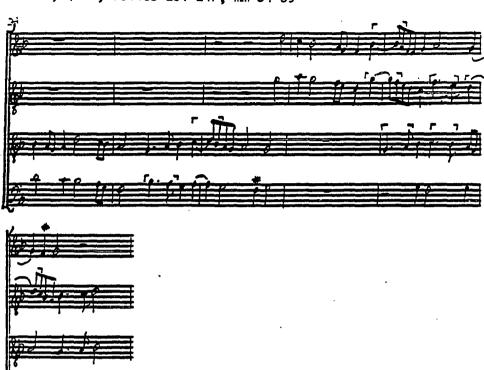


61. Howard Brown, <u>A Florentine Chansonnier</u> . . , p. 92.

This is one of several compositions in Q 18 whose Latin text incipit seems to have no particular liturgical significance. The phrase <u>Venimus princeps</u> suggests rather that it may have been a ceremonial piece associated with a courtly event.⁶²

Both Franco-Flemish and Italianate characteristics are present. The former are manifested in the contrapuntal writing, e.g., the paired voices and imitation between the superius and bassus at measures 34-39 (Ex. 75). Pervading imitation is set off by short chordal passages consisting of repeated notes with a characteristic d d d or d d pattern, such as at measures 15-17, 22-23, 30-33, 40-43, and 45-46. These contrasting homorhythmic passages were common in the music of Josquin, who may have been influenced in his writing by the Italian secular style. There is no evidence of <u>cantus prius</u> <u>factus</u> in <u>Venimus princeps</u>, and the piece is through-composed.

^{62.} The Latin text incipit could not be found in any of the chant repertories in modern editions. Although the Bentivoglio, the ruling family of Bologna during the late Quattrocento, were not royalty, they were often referred to by means of royal titles. Giovanni II had the title <u>Rei</u> <u>Publice Bononie Princeps</u>. see Giovanni Gozzadini, <u>Delle</u> Torri Gentilizie di Bologna e Delle Famiglie, (Bologna, 1875), pp. 151-154. Two of three portrait medals by Sperandio, who worked for the Bentivoglio in Bologna from 1478-1490, contain the word "princeps" in their inscriptions. The first, "Joannes Bentivolus Bononiensis Libertatis Princeps," commemorates Giovanni's rise to power; the third medal contains the same inscription as was found carved on urns buried in the foundation of the tower of the Bentivoglio palace in 1490, "Patriae Princeps ac libertatis columen" (see Ady, <u>The Bentivoglio of Bologna</u> [London, 1937], p. 154. Principe referred to ruler in the general sense during this period (see writings of Castiglione and Machiavelli); princeps in the title of the composition on folios 23v-24r may possibly be a reference to Giovanni Bentivoglio as prince of Bologna during the late fifteenth century.

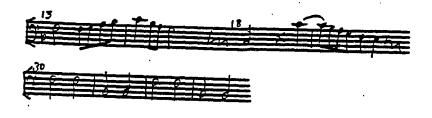


<u>Folios 24v-25r.</u> In te domine sperabo. In her inventory of the MS ParisBNC 676, Nanie Bridgman observes that <u>In te domine</u> <u>sperabo</u> in Q 18 is a different piece from the frottola by Josquin found in ParisBNC 676 and a dozen other Renaissance manuscripts (<u>Annales musicologiques</u>, I [1953], p. 201). She does not, however, note the presence of the Josquin piece on folios 12v-13r in Q 18. Indeed, there is no relationship between Josquin's frottola <u>In te domine speravi</u> and the anonymous <u>In te domine</u> <u>sperabo</u> in Q 18, but the fact that they both appear in the same manuscript suggests that the composer of <u>In te domine sperabo</u> may have been indulging in a play on words. The title <u>In te domine</u> <u>sperabo</u> may also be a paraphrase of Psalm 54, <u>Ego autem sperabo</u>

Ex. 75, Q 18, folios 23v-24r, mm 34-39

in te domine. None of the thematic material of Josquin's frottola occurs in the piece on folio 24v. There may be a relationship, albeit very tenuous, between the eighth-note runs in the lower voices of <u>In te domine speravi</u> and the fifths in the bassus near the end and similar kinds of rhythmic activity present in <u>In te domine sperabo</u> (Exx. 76 and 77).

Ex. 76, Q 18, folio 13r, bassus (<u>In te domine speravi</u>, by Josquin), mm 13-14, 18-19, 30-33



Ex. 77, 0 18, folio 25r, bassus, mm 35-36, 38-39, 51-55



Each of the voices contains runs, scalar motives, and generally small note values, the melodic writing being more characteristic of that for instruments than for voices. The sudden expansion of the superius into long notes followed by runs, such as at mm 10-14, is an example of the instrumental character of this composition (Ex. 78).

Ex. 78, Q 18, folio 24v, mm 10-14



Although there is some imitation, the technique does not play a significant part in the underlying structure of <u>In te</u> <u>domine sperabo</u>. The rising and falling fifth motives, as seen in the opening two measures and in the bassus at measures 6-8, provide a sense of cohesiveness to the overall structure of this composition (Ex. 79).

Ex. 79, Q 18, folios 24v-25r, mm 1-4



Ex. 79, Q 18, folios 24v-25r, mm 5-8, continued



Measures 50-55 are noteworthy for the unusual ostinato in the bassus consisting of reiterated fifths (see Ex. 77 above). Also striking in the same passage are the repetitive cadence in the superius and the general instrumental quality of the melodic writing. The fifths in the bassus accompany octaves in the superius and tenths in the altus (Ex. 80).

Ex. 80, Q 18, folios 24v-25r, superius and altus, mm 50-55



This passage and the passage beginning at measure 10 are indicative of the kind of contrapuntal writing found throughout <u>In te domine sperabo</u>. There is a rhythmic vitality inherent in this composition that, together with other internal evidence, such as wide melodic intervals and numerous scalar passages, and the overall indeterminate organization suggests that <u>In te</u> <u>domine sperabo</u> may have been intended as an instrumental piece. <u>Folios 29v-30r, Surge</u>. Imitation, repetition of motivic material, and parallel thirds, sixths, and tenths play major roles in the compositional framework of this piece. An ascending motive in the altus accompanies the opening melody in the tenor voice. The direction of the melody and the style of writing seem appropriate to the meaning of the text incipit of this four-voice composition. <u>Surge</u> in Q 18 bears no resemblance to the frottola <u>Surge, cor lasso hormai</u> in RISM 1505⁵ (Petrucci Book IV).

The seven-measure tenor melody (E:. 81) is treated imitatively in three of the four voices at the beginning of the piece.

Ex. 81, Q 18, folio 29v, tenor theme, mm 1-7



The parallel thirds in measure 7 and the tenths in measure 8 set the stage for further use of parallel intervals later in the composition. The rhythmic pattern 1/1/1/1, undoubtedly an outgrowth of the opening counterpoint in the altus (Ex. 82) and the third and fourth measures of the melody in the tenor (see Ex. 81), dominates the next section in stretto-like imitation. This first rhythmic pattern occurs at measure 10 in the bassus, imitated at the octave above in the superius and accompanied by the tenor in intervals of parallel tenths in measures 11-12. The tenor is then imitated by the altus in measures 12-13, followed by the tenor and bassus in parallel sixths in measures 13-14. Ex. 82, Q 18, folio 30r, altus, mm 1-2



These ascending and descending eighth-note motives are treated both imitatively and homophonically (in parallel intervals) throughout the composition. There are two rather lengthy sequential sections, one in groups of long note values in the superius from measures 27-38, and another at measure 58, where the tenor and bassus present a variation of the rhythmic pattern described above in which the first note of each group is tied over the bar (Ex. 83).

Ex. 83, Q 18, folios 29v-30r, tenor and bassus, mm 57-62



This same pattern occurs again in the bassus at measure 65, imitated by the altus and superius, and repeated in the bassus at measure 66. The somewhat wide ranges of the altus (an octave and a fifth) and the bassus (an octave and a sixth) throughout <u>Surge</u> are another indication that the piece was intended for instruments.

As in the anonymous <u>La turturella</u> on folios 69v-70r, a piece that resembles a vocal setting by Obrecht (see this chapter, pp. 214-217), textures change frequently throughout <u>Surge</u>. A passage <u>a 2</u> in the tenor and bassus alternates with another duo in the superius and altus from measure 39 to measure 44 (Ex. 84). Ex. 84, Q 18, folios 29v-30r, mm 39-44



Judging from its wide leaps, abundant small note values, and wide melodic ranges in the altus and bassus voices, as well as its emphasis on imitation and sequence as structural unifying devices and its lack of any remnants of one of the <u>formes fixes</u>, one might well conclude that <u>Surge</u> is an instrumental composition.

<u>Folios 40v-41r, Forsa chi schopra</u>. Each of the three lower voices of this piece is written in the range of a thirteenth, and the superius encompasses the range of a twelfth. These ranges are similar to those of <u>Speciosa</u> on folios 83v-84r (see p. 227 above) and suggest that <u>Forsa chi schopra</u>, like <u>Speciosa</u>, was meant to be performed by instruments capable of these relatively wide ranges.

The head motive in the superius of <u>Forsa chi schopra</u> and the imitation that ensues are somewhat obscured by continuous accompaniment in the non-imitative voices, and there are very few rests to set off the points of imitation. The bassus, from measures 15-32, consists almost entirely of a descending four-note motive with the rhythmic pattern

possibly derived from the material in measure 1 in that same voice.

The general direction of the melodic lines in all voices of <u>Forsa chi schopra</u> is one of descent until the altus enters at measure 37 (Ex. 85).

Ex. 85, Q 18, folios 40v-41r, mm 37-41



The repetitive melodic figure and the range, which lies higher than that of the superius, create the effect of a solo voice.

Octaves, melodically ascending and descending, such as at measures 10 (superius), 22 (superius), 27 (altus), 38 (superius), and 50 (tenor), play a prominent role in the piece. The melodic octave and fifth, as well as small note values, and repetitive cadential figures form the basis of the more active final section from measures 47 to 58. The cadential passage beginning at measure 59 followed by a three-measure pedal point in the superius at measure 62 seems inconclusive. <u>Folios 43v-44r, Probasti cor meum deus</u>. The text incipit of this composition resembles a motto of Francesco Gonzaga, "Probasti me domine." There is no correspondance between any known setting of a similar text and the music of <u>Probasti cor</u> <u>meum deus</u>. Beginning in measure 5 and continuing through measure 70, the tenor of this four-voice composition is written in long notes, but, assuming the melody is a <u>cantus firmus</u>, it could not be identified.⁶³

At the outset, the altus introduces the first five pitches of the <u>cantus firmus</u>, followed by imitation of it in the bassus in measure 3. Both voices anticipate the entrance of the <u>cantus</u> <u>firmus</u> in the tenor in measure 5. This is the only instance of imitative writing in the piece (Exx. 86a and 86b).

Ex. 86a, Q 18, folios 43v-44r, mm 1-4



63. See Paolo Giovio, <u>Ragionamento sopra i motti, e disegni</u> <u>d'arme e d'amore che communemente chiamano imprese</u> (Venice, 1556), p. 89. The gradual melody <u>Probasti, Domine, cor</u> <u>meum (Liber Usualis, 1594)</u> is one of several melodies unrelated to the composition on folios 43v-44r in Q 18. Others include the antiphon verse <u>Probasti Domine cor</u> <u>meum/Igne me examinasti (Antiphonaire . . de Worcester, p.</u> 348), the introit <u>Probasti Domine cor meum (Graduale</u> <u>Romanum, p. 586), and the verse of the great responsory</u> <u>Probasti Domine cor meum/In craticula (Antiphonaire</u> <u>monastique</u>. . . de Lucques, p. 439). Ex. 86b, Q 18, folios 43v-44r, mm 5-9



In several places the rhythm loses its momentum, the cadences and melodic figures lay unrelieved emphasis on the final and fifth degree of the transposed fifth mode, and these features lend a somewhat static quality to the composition. Some sequences, such as those in the altus in measures 26-29, are made up of leaps suggesting instrumental rather than vocal writing and, given the presence of parallel perfect intervals, do not appear to have been written by a master of contrapuntal style (Ex. 87).

Ex. 87, Q 18, folios 43v-44r, mm 26-29



Folio 50v-51r, Nu[n]c scio vere. The chant Nunc scio vere, an introit for the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul (Liber Usualis, p. 1518), bears no resemblance to any melodic material in the composition on folios 50v-51r. Nu[n]c scio vere in Q 18 lacks unifying structural devices like a <u>cantus firmus</u> melody, imitation, repetition, or frequent cadential figures. The altus may be the most active voice, although all the voices seem equal in importance. Long notes, mostly found in the bassus voice, but also scattered throughout the superius and tenor, may be evidence of some sort of paraphrase technique. From mm 24-29, the superius rests for five of the six measures, the altus and the tenor are written in parallel thirds, sixths, and tenths, and the bassus proceeds in long notes, the resulting stratification giving the passage a decidedly Franco-Flemish flavor (Ex. 88). Ex. 88, Q 18, folios 50v-51r, mm 24-29



Folios 52v-53r <u>Neoptolemus</u>. According to Greco-Roman mythology, Neoptolemus was another name for Pyrrhus, the son of

Achilles, who was married to Hermione, the daughter of Helen of Troy and Menelaus. He was called "Neoptolemus" or "new soldier" after he killed Priam. At other times he was referred to as Pyrrhus because of his yellow hair.⁶⁴ In the musical repertory of the late Quattrocento it is rare to find the name of a mythical character in the title of a musical composition. There may be an explanation for the title <u>Neoptolemus</u> in the letters of Francesco Gonzaga's secretary, Tolomeo Spagnolo, who signed his name with a variety of sobriquets, such as "Ptolemaeus," and "Ptolemeus."⁶⁵ It might be that the composition on folios 52v-53r has some connection with the Mantuan duke's secretary.

The music of <u>Neoptolemus</u> resembles a Franco-Flemish motet of c. 1500 for the following reasons: Throughout the piece there is pervasive imitation. Several of the points of imitation are based on motives apparently derived from the opening figure (Ex. 89).

Ex. 89, Q 18, folios 52v-53r, motives that could be perceived as derived from opening figure



- 64. <u>Oxford Classical Dictionary</u>, ed. N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1970), pp. 727-8.
- 65. William F. Prizer, <u>Courtly Pastimes:</u> <u>The Frottola of</u> <u>Marchetto Cara</u> (Ann Arbor, 1980), Appendix I, pp. 209 and 323.

rhythmic activity and textural density increase toward the middle and decrease toward the end. These phrases are occasionally interrupted by passages in long notes or by several measures of rest in one of the voices.

Another characteristic feature of Netherlands polyphony is the use of sequence. The penultimate cadence, in particular, is prepared by an eight-measure passage that contains a long, canonically treated descending sequence, syncopated dotted rhythm, and increasing textural complication. The passage calls to mind the "drive to cadence" so typical of late Dufay, Ockeghem, and Josquin (Ex. 90).

Ex. 90, Q 18, folios 52v-53r, mm 66-71

70.



Concerning the cancelling of accidentals placed by the scribe, see Appendix III, p. 331. The scribe may have included these accidentals because he saw the tritone leap in the superius at measure 69. After adding a flat to create a perfect interval, he then needed to add two flats in the tenor in the same measure to avoid both a cross relation and another tritone. These accidentals would lead to a C-flat [!] in the bassus at measure

All of the factors mentioned above, the pervasive imitation, cadential treatment, and extended use of sequence, lend clarity and unity to the form of <u>Neoptolemus</u>, a piece that was probably intended for instrumental performance.

<u>Folios 57v-58r, Per votro amours</u>. This is one of the longer <u>unica</u> in Q 18, but it is cohesive.⁶⁶ Imitation, variety of textures, and repetition of motivic fragments are the major means of achieving musical unity. <u>Per votro amours</u> has much in common with another four-voice composition in this section of Q 18 on folios 52v-53r, <u>Neoptolemus</u>. Points of imitation, so pervasive in <u>Neoptolemus</u>, are relied upon less heavily in <u>Per votro amours</u>, but an extended sequence leading to the penultimate cadence plays a prominent role in both compositions. In place of pervasive points of imitation, emphasis is placed on repetition of rhythmic and melodic motives, and an alternation of polyphonic and noteagainst-note textures.

The penultimate cadential passage, from measures 52-58, is written in coloration for all four voices. Sequential treatment and imitation reach an apogee at this point in the composition (Ex. 91).

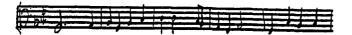
^{66.} SegC s.s. contains a musically unrelated <u>Pour vostre amours</u> by Brumel, on folio 187v.

Ex. 91, Q 18, folios 57v-58r, mm 52-58



Folios 76v-77r, Borgo loco. The title, or text incipit, accompanying each of the four voices of this composition has already been examined in light of its being a possible clue to the provenance of Q 18 (see Chapter III, pp. 113-14). The ranges of the three lower voices--octave and fourth in the altus, octave and fifth in the tenor, and octave and third in the bassus--may be an indication, along with the small note values and the sudden expansion into long notes, that these lower voices, if not the superius as well, were intended for performance by instruments. Imitation at the opening of the piece plays an important role, as it frequently does in the unique compositions in this manuscript. From measure 1 through measure 13, the bassus, followed by the tenor and finally by the superius, engage in imitation of a four-measure melody (Ex. 92).

Ex. 92, Q 18, folio 77r, bassus, mm 1-5



Melodic material presented in the altus at measures 2-4 is almost identical to the altus at measures 6-8 (Exx. 93 and 94). Ex. 93, Q 18, folio, 77r, altus, mm 2,3, and 4



Ex. 94, Q 18, folio 77r, altus, mm 6,7, and 8



The second semiminim in measure 3 in the altus is an A, whereas G appears in the corresponding place in measure 7. By means of this slight alteration, the composer of <u>Borgo loco</u> avoided creating a dissonance with the bassus. Passages in the bassus, such as measures 23-29, similar to passages in other compositions in Q 18, such as <u>In te domine sperabo</u> on folios 24v-25r and <u>Fortuna disperata</u> on folios 28v-29r, demonstrate the growing emphasis on "tonic" and "dominant." A D pedal in the altus, and the alternation of G and D in the bassus accompany a duet between the superius and the tenor. This passage is reminiscent of a "stuck record" (Exx. 95a and 95b).

Ex. 95a, Q 18, folios 76v- 77r, mm 20-24



Ex. 95b, Q 18, folios 76v-77r, mm 25-29



The same effect recurs in measure 36, with the D pedal moved to the bassus, an alternation of A and D in the altus, and a duet--based on a dotted note motive that may be derived from the opening melody--between the superius and tenor. Alternating polyphonic and homorhythmic passages, as well as changes from duple to triple meter, are also characteristic of the Parisian chanson, and therefore it is not absolutely certain that <u>Borgo</u> <u>loco</u> is an instrumental composition.

There is a return to the strong feeling of G at measure 41, and at measure 43 the superius changes abruptly to triplet figuration, written in <u>proportio sesquialtera</u> and marked by the metrical symbol "3" (see p. 247 above), providing an ornamental flourish to the drive to the final cadence (Ex. 96). Ex. 96, Q 18, folio 76v, superius, mm 43-47

<u>Folios 81v-82r, Non ti smarir cor mio</u>. Serafino dall'Aquila is the author of the text of this four-voice composition.⁶⁷ Two other, but entirely different musical settings of this poem have been found, one in MilT 55, folios 44v-45r, and the other in RISM 1505⁵ (Petrucci, Book IV), folio 28.⁶⁸ Rubsamen says of the Petrucci setting--a composition unrelated to the one in Q 18--that it may well have been the fruit of artistic collaboration between Josquin and Serafino, because of the use of what he calls a "Netherlandish canonic trick."⁶⁹

Beyond beginning and ending on the same pitches, there is only the slightest musical relationship between the compositions in Q'18 and MilT 55. The latter seems well suited to the poetry and decidedly vocal.

There are several characteristics of <u>Non ti smarir cor mio</u> that are somewhat unusual for <u>strambotto</u> settings in general, and these features may explain the selection of this composition for possible instrumental performance and for inclusion within the portion of Q 18 lacking complete texts. Leaps of fifths and

- 67. G. Mazzatinti, <u>Inventario dei MSS italiani delle biblioteche</u> <u>di Francia</u> (Rome, 1887), II, p. 194; the poem is ascribed to Serafino in ParisBNI 1543.
- 68. Walter H. Rubsamen, Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca. 1500) (New York, 1972), pp. 14-15. The setting in RISM 1505⁵ is also found in LonBLE 3051, folios 10v-11r, and both are for five-voices. A modern edition of the MilT 55 setting appears in Knud Jeppesen, La Frottola (Copenhagen, 1968), Vol. III, no. 45; a modern edition of the RISM 1505⁵ setting can be found in Rudolf Schwartz, ed., <u>Ottaviano Petrucci, Frottole, Buch I und IV, Publikationen alterer Musik</u>, VIII, ed. Theodor Kroyer (Leipzig, 1935), p. 73.
- 69. Rubsamen, op. cit., p. 14.

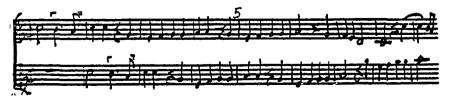
octaves occur in all the voices but are particularly prominent in the bassus, where the tendency reveals itself as early as the first six measures of the piece (Ex. 97). Ex. 97, Q 18, folio 82r, bassus, mm 1-6



More than the usual amount of imitation is present. At several places the rhythm of the superius expands into long note values (mm 17-20 and 33-37), which gives prominence to the lower voices (Ex. 98). And the superius melody itself contains internal repetition, variation, and patterning of pitch and rhythm of a sort not commonly encountered in the frottola repertory (Ex. 99). Repeated notes and homorhythmic passages reflect a style commonly associated with either the frottola or the Parisian chanson (Ex. 100). The general features of <u>Non ti</u> <u>smarir cor mio</u> in Q 18 reflect the capabilities of instruments and provide sources of indeterminate musical design that make the piece comprehensible and interesting, even without text. Ex. 98, Q 18, folio 81v, superius, mm 33-37



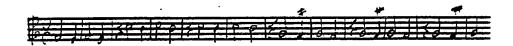
Ex. 99, Q 18, folios 81v-82r, superius and altus, mm 1-9



Ex. 100, Q 18, folios 81v-82r, mm 12-15

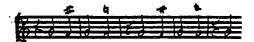


One noteworthy example of pitch-patterning is found in the superius from measures 40-51: it consists of a series of seconds, f to e, c to b, and g to f (Ex. 101). Ex. 101, Q 18, folio 81v, superius, mm 40-51



The end of the above example is particularly reminiscent of similar passages in Henricus Isaac's <u>Der Hund</u> (Exx. 102 and 103).⁷⁰

Ex. 102, Isaac, Der Hund, superius, mm 46-50



70. Arnold Geering, <u>Das Liederbuch des Johannes Heer von Glarus.</u> Schweizerische <u>Musikdenkmäler</u>, Vol. V (Basel, 1967), no. 61.

Ex. 103, Isaac, Der Hund, mm. 83-90.

<u>Folios 92v-93r, 0 virgo</u>. This is the penultimate composition in the manuscript and one of seventeen three-voice pieces concentrated in Spataro's section of Q 18. It is also one of only three unique compositions in Q 18 that are written <u>a 3</u>. Several Latin texts begin with the words <u>0 virgo</u>, but none of the liturgical melodies associated with any of these texts correspond to the music of the piece <u>0 virgo</u> in Q 18.

At first glance, the superius seems to have the qualities of a typical Franco-Flemish chanson, with clear-cut cadential phrases, linear and repetitive melodic treatment, and imitation. Upon further examination of all three voices, however, it becomes evident that their wide ranges may indicate that <u>O virgo</u> was intended for performance by instruments. The tenor encompasses an octave and a fourth, while the superius and bassus extend over the range of an octave and a fifth.

Imitation is an important factor in this piece, but it is not pervasive. All three voices engage in a short imitative passage from measures 10-12: The bassus enters in measure 10, followed by the altus on the last minim of the measure, at the third above, followed by the superius, with slight alterations, in measure 11, and concluding with the altus in measure 12.

THE MANUSCRIPT BOLOGNA, CIVICO MUSEO BIBLIOGRAFICO MUSICALE, CODEX Q 18 (<u>OLIM</u> 143): A BOLOGNESE INSTRUMENTAL COLLECTION OF THE EARLY CINQUECENTO

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Volume I

bу

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CONCLUSIONS

Renaissance Bologna is comparatively little known and studied because the accidents of history have obliterated many of its records. But enough material survives to allow us to view the Bentivoglio as significant patrons of the arts during the late Quattrocento, and to give us a glimpse of the city that attracted Dufay earlier in the fifteenth century and composers such as Corelli, Mozart, and Rossini in later centuries.

Judging from its watermark, paper, scribes, and repertory, Q 18 is a Bolognese musical manuscript that dates from near the end of the Bentivoglio rule, c. 1502-5 or 1506. The initials "S.M.C." on the first folio suggest that Q 18 may have been at one time in the possession of one of a number of Bolognese musicians, such as Michele Cimatore, Spataro's successor at San Petronio, or Marco Antonio Cavazzoni, with whom Spataro had correspondence.

Q 18 is now in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna (formerly the Liceo Musicale), but was, in the eighteenth century, probably in the collection of Padre Giovanni Martini, founder of the Liceo Musicale. Like several other manuscripts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Q 18 was prepared for practical purposes.

At least one composition in Q 18 relates directly to the Bentivoglio family; the motto that serves as the title of this piece, <u>Spes mea</u>, appears beneath the crest or emblem found throughout Pagliarolo's Book of the Hours, dated 1497, and also as decoration on the walls of the family's summer palace.

The disparate repertory in Q 18 reflects its private, rather than institutional, character. In general, manuscripts and printed works from this period contain heterogeneous repertories. Sacred and secular music could be intermixed; Latin motets and Mass movements that are of approximately the same length as chansons were often scattered among the secular compositions. Vocal works, that is, pieces with known texts in one or another source, were mixed with instrumental pieces, that is, works with titles and no known connection with a literary text. Smallscale motets, Mass movements, chansens, and instrumental pieces are found in Q 18. What separates Q 18 and a few other sources (e.g., FlorBN Panc. 27, ParisBNC 676, WashLC M6/LonBLE 3051 [Wolffheim/Egerton]) from the majority of chansonniers is the presence of Italian frottole and laude, pieces otherwise found grouped together only in early prints.

The twird section of Q 18 was copied by Giovanni Spataro and contains a large proportion of compositions that were widely disseminated in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century sources. Spataro, like Petrucci's music editor, Petrus Castellanus,⁷¹ chose a cross-section of the finest secular polyphony of the late fifteenth century. The unusually high

^{71.} Helen Hewitt, ed. <u>Harmonice musices Odhecaton A</u> (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), pp. 9-14.

percentage of <u>unica</u> in the second section of Q 18 suggests that many of these anonymous pieces may have been composed by local Bolognese composers who were influenced by the compositional styles of Josquin, Compère, Isaac, and other Northerners responsible for the identifiable compositions in this and other sections of Q 18. The large number of <u>si placet</u> fourth voices present may be an indication that some attempt was made to update the repertory.

Renaissance composers rarely, if ever, specified performance instructions for a particular composition. Pieces were no doubt performed differently according to the occasion or to highlight the capabilities of especially talented musicians. Some pieces (such as frottole) may have been performed by combinations of voices and instruments. The size of the ensemble could be enlarged or reduced to please a patron or to gain the most from the location of the performance.

Nino Pirrotta has suggested that the <u>Odhecaton A</u> (RISM 1501), the first printed collection of polyphonic music, was intended for instrumental performance. Pirrotta believes that this print and the two successive collections of Franco-Flemish chansons printed by Petrucci, <u>Canti B</u> and <u>Canti C</u> (RISM 1502² and RISM 1504³), as well as other contemporary sources, were meant for the lesser nobility and upper bourgeoisie who were perhaps capable of playing polyphony on instruments, but were not quite able to produce the same pitches reliably in vocal performance of

the same music. 72

Bologna was privileged to have an instrumental group that probably performed in all of the above categories: The Concerto It might have been difficult for the palatino della signoria. musicians to read together from one page, but it is possible that the music was learned from the manuscript and that Q 18 served as a reference book, a record of the repertory of the Concerto The compositions in Q 18, the frottole and laude palatino. (the latest compositions in the manuscript aside from the lute tablature on folio 1r), motets, pieces based on sacred and secular vocal models, and instrumental fantasias, many of them organized schematically and based on a long-note cantus firmus, e.g., a solmization melody, were very likely performed on shawms capable of reaching an octave and a seventh, the widest of any of the ranges of the voices in Q 18. Members of the Concerto palatino played not only shawms, but also sackbuts, trumpets, lutes, harps, etc. The porticoes of the public buildings in Renaissance Bologna provided shelters from the excesses of the Bolognese climate,⁷³ and may have also provided the performers with the perfect "concert hall" for this music. Although many of the compositions seem appropriate for the more formal civic and court functions, a few, such as In te domine sperabo on

- 72. "Italy: Art music, Renaissance," <u>The New Grove Dictionary of</u> <u>Music and Musicians</u> (London, 1980), Vol. 9, p. 365.
- 73. Cecilia M. Ady, <u>The Bentivoglio of Bologna: A Study in</u> <u>Despotism</u> (London, 1937), p. 158.

folios 24v-25r and <u>Fortuna disperata</u> on folios 28v-29r, may have been equally appropriate for the sheer delight of the company at major aristocratic banquets. On other occasions, this rather versatile civic band may have been called upon to perform in connection with observances at one of Bologna's churches.

Some of the compositions in Q 18 were undoubtedly written with vocal performance in mind, particularly the frottole and laude with texts in the first section, but of course these could have been performed with instruments.⁷⁴ It is very likely, however, that the majority of pieces in the manuscript were intended only for instrumental performance. Many of these compositions share common features, such as schematized organization, ostinato tenor patterns, anticipatory imitation of the <u>cantus firmus</u>, wide ranges, and stratified textures. The style of writing in some of the compositions evinces an

See Tav. I, Esecuzione vocale-strumentale--Particolare dal 74. 'Banchetto del ricco Epulone' and Tav. II, Esecuzione vocale-strumentale di una frottola--Particolare dal 'Ritrovamento di Mose Bambino', both by Bonifacio Pitati, reproduced in Gaetano Cesari et al., eds. Le Frottole nell'edizione principe di Ottaviano Petrucci (Cremona, 1954). In both paintings, the singers and instrumentalists (a singer, and a bowed and a plucked string instrument in Tav. I, a wind instrument and three singers in Tav. II) appear to be reading from a music book (Tav. I), or from two oblong music books (Tav. II). In his Il Cortegiano, written in 1508, but not published until 1528, Castiglione suggests that lutes and viols be added to the voice in order to give the words grace and strength--"ma sopra tutto parmi gratissimo il cantare alla viola per recitare; il che tanto di venusta ed efficacia aggiunge alle parole, che è gran maraviglia" (Milan, 1922 edition, p. 152). For information about Castiglione's relationship to the Bentivoglio, see Chapter I, p. 20.

amalgamation of Franco-Flemish and Italianate techniques. Although some of the pieces in Q 18 are more difficult to categorize, these pieces too appear to have been selected or conceived for the the purpose of being performed instrumentally.

In sum, the Bolognese manuscript Q 18 is an additional source of many of the more popular pieces of the late fifteenth century, including frottole. (It is an example of a manuscript not copied in Mantua or Ferrara that contains a sizable group of frottole.) The edition provided below of the unica--half of the works in Q 18--presents a corpus of previously unknown compositions. A third of the manuscript represents an early sample of the scribal efforts of Giovanni Spataro and, therefore, contributes to our knowledge of this important Renaissance Thus, a study of Bologna in the late musical figure. Quattrocento and an examination of Q 18 leads perhaps to an understanding of what kinds of compositions were selected or conceived for performance by instrumental groups like the Concerto palatino, and it also presents a small picture of musical life in a Renaissance city c. 1500.

APPENDIX Ia

Q 18: TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 1r [Lute tablature], S.M.C.
- 1v Lontan pur mi convien [Anon.]
- 2v De per dio non mi far torto [B.T.]
- 3v Se benor non schopro il foco [B.T.]
- 4v Oime che sempre spero
- 5v Con qual fronte a te Maria
- 6v Al la fe si al la fe bona [Anon.]
- 7v Helasso donna hormai [Philippus de Lurano]
- 8v Va va iniqua e disleale [Anon.]
- 9v Poi chel ciel contrario [B.T.] two voices missing,
- (f. 10 missing)
- 11r Non po lomo che vol dire [two voices; text is third strophe
 of Cara's Se de fede hor vengo]
- 11v Dimi un pocho che vol dir [Michael Pesenti]
- 12v [In te domine speravi, Josquin]
- 13v <u>Sel mi dole esser gabato</u>
- 14v <u>De si de no de si</u> [M.C.]
- 15v [Come el pio(m)bin, Anon.]
- 16v Poi che lalma per fe molta [B.T.]
- 17v <u>Sensa te sacra regina</u>
- 18v [<u>Viva e morta voglio amarte</u>, Honophrius Antenoreus]
- 19v <u>Ave maria</u> [B.T.]
- 20v <u>Salva</u> nos
- 21v Ave regina celorum
- 22v Noe, noe [Brume1]
- 23v Venimus princeps

- 24v In te domine sperabo
- 25v Tanto e lafano [Caron]
- 26v La mi la sol [Isaac]
- 27v Secunda pars of 26v
- 28v Fortuna disperata
- 29v Surge
- 30v Da pacem
- 31v Deus fortitudo mea
- 32v Gaude virgo [Je ne puis vivre, Isaac]
- 33v Dapo ch[e] gionta e lora
- 34v La guercia
- 35v <u>Helasso</u> [Caron]
- 36v De tous bien plen [Chi dit on benedicite, Busnois]
- 37v Fortuna par te [Vincenet]
- 38v Semper [Benedicta, semper sancta sit trinitas, Anon.]
- 39v <u>Ie ne demande [autre de gre</u>, Busnois]
- 40v Forsa chi schopra
- 41v Spes mea
- 42v <u>Ma</u> temo
- 43v Probasti cor meum deus
- 44v Adiuva me deus
- 45v <u>Sol fa mi re</u>
- 46v Nunquam fuit pena maior [two voices only]
- (f. 47 missing)
- 48r [two voices only; no title]
- 48v La Spagna
- 49v La Spagna
- 50v Nu[n]c scio vere

- 51v De tous bien plen
- 52v Neoptolemus
- 53v <u>De ramo in ramo</u>
- 54v Bonus et miserator dominus
- 55v <u>Alma redemptoris</u> [Josquin]
- (f. 56 missing)
- 57r Secunda pars of 55v
- 57v Per votro amours
- 58v Figlie vos have mal grande [Isaac]
- 59v Ie pris amor [Isaac]
- 60v [0] Venus bant
- 61v [0] Venus bant
- 62v Lomo bani [Agricola]
- 63v "Absque verbis" [Benedictus, Isaac]
- 64v [D]es bien damors [Martini]
- 65v Tant hai de mui [Compère]
- 66v Tristis es[t] anima mea
- 67v <u>D'un bel maitin</u> [Anon.]
- 68v Coment poult [Isaac]
- 69v La turturella
- 70v Sy dedero [Agricola]
- 71v <u>Ie quide</u> [Congiet/Japart]
- 72v La mora [Isaac]
- 73v Malur me bat [Martini/Ockeghem]
- 74v Una musca [Josquin]
- 75v Mater patris [Brumel]
- 76v Borgo loco

- 77v Biblis [Nam edunt de micis, Anon.]
- 78v Adie mes amours [Josquin]
- 79v Thysis [Ad te clamamus from motet Salve regina, Isaac]
- 80v Rubinet [Ha traistre Amours, Stochem]
- 81v <u>Non ti smarir cor mio</u>
- 82v La bernardina [Josquin]
- 83v Speciosa
- 84v Parce domine [Obrecht]
- 85v Agnus dei [Anon.]
- 86v <u>E chi la dira</u> [Isaac]
- 87v Me doibt [Compère]
- 88v Mjn morghen gaf [Anon.]
- 89v Nuncha fu pena maior [Enrique/Urrede]
- 90v Garisses moi [Compère]
- 91v En atendant [Compère]
- 92v <u>0</u> virgo

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93v <u>A qui direlle sa pense</u> [Anon.] (last folio missing)

APPENDIX Ib

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF TEXT INCIPITS

"Absque verbis," Isaac, 63v-64r Adie mes amours, Josquin, 78v-79r Adieu mes amours, Josquin, 78v-79r Adiu mors, Josquin, 78v-79r Adiuva me deus, 44v-45r Ad te clamamus, Isaac, 79v-80r Agnus dei, Anon., 85v-86r Al la fe si al la fe bona, Anon., 6v-7r Alleluya, Isaac, 79v-80r Alma redemptoris, Josquin, 55v-56r A qui direlle sa pense, Anon., 93v-94r A traite amour, Stochem, 80v-81r Ave amator casti, Martini, 64v-65r Ave maria, Tromboncino, 19v-20r Ave regina celorum, 21v-22r Ave sanctissima Maria, Isaac, 58v-59r Ave sydus, Caron, 35v-36r Benedicta, Anon., 38v-39r Benedictus, Isaac, 63v-64r Biblis, Anon., 77v-78r Bonus et rectus dominus, Brumel, 22v-23r Bonus et miserator dominus, 54v-55r Borgo loco, 76v-77r Chi dit on benedicite, Busnois, 36v-37r Come el pio[m]bin, Anon., 15v-16r

- Coment poit, Isaac, 68v-69r Coment poult, Isaac, 68v-69r Con qual fronte a te Maria, 5v-6r Da pacem, 30v-31r Dapo ch[e] gionta e lora, 33v-34r De biens damours, Martini, 64v-65r De per dio non mi far torto, Tromboncino, 2v-3r De ramo in ramo, 53v-54r Der seydenschwantcz, Caron, 35v-36r Deh si deh no deh si, Cara, 14v-15r Des biens, Martini, 64v-65r [D]es bien d'amors, Martini, 64v-65r De si de no de si, Cara, 14v-15r De tous bien plen, Busnois, 36v-37r De tous bien plen, 51v-52r Deus fortitudo mea, 31v-32r Dieu d'amors, Martini/Ockeghem, 73v-74r Dimi un pocho che vol dir, Pesenti, 11v-12r · Dona gentil, Isaac, 72v-73r Dum bel matin, Anon., 67v-68r D'un bel maitin, Anon., 67v-68r E chi la dira, Isaac, 86v-87r Elaes, Caron, 35v-36r Elaes, Isaac, 72v-73r Eloy, Vincenet, 37v-38r En atendant, Compère, 91v-92r Et incarnatus est, Isaac, 68v-69r
- <u>Et in spiritum sanctum</u>, Isaac, 68v-69r

- Et qui la dira, Isaac, 86v-87r
- Ey que la dire, Isaac, 86v-87r
- Figlie vos have mal grande, Isaac, 58v-59r

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- File vos, Isaac, 58v-59r
- Filofosfz, Isaac, 58v-59r
- Fille vos ave mal garde, Isaac, 58v-59r
- Fille vous avez mal guarde, Isaac, 58v-59r
- Forsa chi schopra, 40v-41r
- Fortuna disperata, 28v-29r
- Fortuna par te, Vincenet, 37v-38r
- Fortuna parti crudeley, Vincenet, 37v-38r
- Fortune per ta crualte, Vincenet, 37v-38r
- Fortuna per te crudele, Vincenet, 37v-38r
- Fortuna vincinecta, Vincenet, 37v-38r
- Garisses moi, Compère, 90v-91r
- Guerisses moy, Compère, 90v-91r
- Gaude virgo, Isaac, 32v-33r
- <u>Gratis accepistis et gratis date</u>, Isaac, 79v-80r
- Harraytre amours, Stochem, 80v-81r
- Ha traistre Amours, Stochem, 80v-81r
- Hay trayt amorus, Stochem, 80v-81r
- Helas, Caron, 35v-36r
- Helas m'amour ma tres parfete amye, Caron, 35v-36r
- Helas que poura devenir, Caron, 35v-36r
- Helasso, Caron, 35v-36r
- Helasso donna hormai, Caron, 35v-36r
- Hellas mon ceur, Caron, 35v-36r
- Iay pris amours, Isaac, 59v-60r

- <u>Ie ne demande</u>, Busnois, 39v-40r
- <u>Ie pris amor</u>, Isaac, 59v-60r
- <u>Ie quide</u>, Congiet/Japart, 71v-72r
- In te domine sperabo, 24v-25r
- In te domine speravi, Josquin, 12v-13r
- Ja cuide, Congiet/Japart, 71v-72r
- J'ay pris amours, Isaac, 59v-60r
- Je cuide se ce temps, Congiet/Japart, 71v-72r
- Je ne demande, Busnois, 39v-40r
- Je ne puis vivre, Isaac, 32v-33r
- Je prins amours, Isaac, 59v-60r
- Je quido, Congiet/Japart, 71v-72r
- Jesu dolce mio sposo, Anon., 1v-2r
- La bernardina, Josquin, 82v-83r
- La guercia, 34v-35r
- La mi la sol, Isaac, 26v-27r
- La mora, Isaac, 72v-73r
- La morra, Isaac, 72v-73r
- La re, Martini, 64v-65r
- La Spagna, 48v-49r, 49v-50r
- La turturella, 69v-70r
- Laudem demus parvulo, Busnois, 36v-37r
- Le desporveu infortune, Caron, 25v-26r
- Les bien amore, Martini, 64v-65r
- Lhome banni, Agricola, 62v-63r
- Lomo bani, Agricola, 62v-63r
- Lontan pur mi convien, Anon., 1v-2r
- Loratione e sempre bona, Tromboncino, 3v-4r

Malheure me bat, Martini/Ockeghem, 73v-74r Malior me bat, Martini/Ockeghem, 73v-74r Malur me bat, Martini/Ockeghem, 73v-74r Ma temo, 42v-43r Mater patris, Brumel, 75v-76r Me doibt, Compère, 87v-88r Mora, Isaac, 72v-73r Muteta, Isaac, 72v-73r Mjn morghen gaf, Anon., 88v-89r Mijn morken gaf, Anon., 88v-89r Nam edunt de micis, Anon., 77v-78r Neoptolemus, 52v-53r Nihil est opertum, Vincenet, 37v-38r Noe noe, Brumel, 22v-23r Non po lomo che vol dire, Cara, 11r Non ti smarir cor mio, 81v-82r Nu[n]c scio vere, 50v-51r Nunca fue pena mayor, Enrique/Urrede, 89v-90r Nuncha fu pena maior, Enrique/Urrede, 89v-90r Nunquam fo pena major, Enrique/Urrede, 89v-90r Nunquam fui pena maior, Enrique/Urrede, 89v-90r Nunquam fuit pena maior, 46r Oime che sempre spero, 4v-5r Omnis habet finem labor, Martini, 64v-65r 0 regina, Isaac, 72v-73r [0] Venus bant, 60v-61r, 61v-62r 0 virgo, 90v-91r 0 vos omnes, Compère, 65v-66r

- Parce domine, Obrecht, 84v-85r
- Perigrinando vo, Anon., 1v-2r
- Per votro amours, 57v-58r
- Philephos aves, Isaac, 58v-59r
- Plytzgan, Isaac, 63v-64r
- Poi che lalma per fe molta, Tromboncino, 16v-17r
- Poi chel ciel contrario, Tromboncino. 9v-10r
- Primum querite regnum dei, Congiet/Japart, 71v-72r
- Probasti cor meum deus, 43v-44r
- Repletuorum corda fidelium, Isaac, 72v-73r
- Rogamus te, Isaac, 26v-27r
- Rubinet, Stochem, 80v-81r
- Salva nos, Isaac (?), 20v-21r
- Salve regina, Isaac, 79v-80r
- Se benor non schopro il foco, Tromboncino, 3v-4r
- Se de fede hor vengo, Cara, 11r
- Sel mi dole esser gabato, 13v-14r
- Semper, Anon., 38v-39r
- Semper sancta sit trinitas, Anon., 38v-39r
- Sensa te sacra regina, 17v-18r
- Sy dedero, Agricola, 70v-71r
- <u>Sol fa mi re, 45v-46r</u>
- Speciosa, 83v-84r
- Spes mea, 41v-42r
- Surge, 29v-30r
- Tant hai de mui, Compère, 65v-66r
- Tant ay dennuy, Compère, 65v-66r
- Tanto e lafano, Caron, 25v-26r

- Thome banni, Agricola, 62v-63r
- Thysis, Isaac, 79v-80r

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- Thisys, Isaac, 79v-80r
- Tristis es[t] anima mea, 66v-67r
- Trium, Brumel, 75v-76r
- Una mosque de bisqualla, Josquin, 74v-75r
- Una musque de buscgaya, Josquin, 74v-75v
- Una musca, Josquin, 74v-75r
- Une moisque de biscaie, Josquin, 74v-75r
- Une mousse de bisquaye, Josquin, 74v-75r
- Va va iniqua e disleale, Anon., 8v-9r
- Venimus princeps, 23v-24r
- <u>Viva e morta voglio amarte</u>, Antenoreus, 18v-19r
- Wes gyre, Isaac, 32v-33r
- Wolauff gut gsel von hinnen, Isaac, 68v-69r

APPENDIX Ic

COMPOSER LIST

Composers	Compositions in Q 18
Agricola	Lomo bani, 62v-63r, <u>Sy dedero</u> , 70v-71r
Antenoreus	<u>Viva e morta voglio amarte,</u> 18v-19r
Brumel	<u>Noe, noe,</u> 22v-23r, <u>Mater patris</u> , 75v-76r
Busnois	<u>De tous bien plen,</u> 36v-37r, <u>Ie ne demande</u> , 39v-40r
Cara	<u>Se de fede hor vengo, 11r, De si de no de si, 14v-15r</u>
Caron	<u>Tanto e lafano, 25v-26r, Helasso,</u> 35v-36r
Compère	<u>Tant hai de mui,</u> 65v-66r, <u>Me doibt</u> , 87v-88r, <u>Garisses moi,</u> 90v-91r, <u>En atendant</u> , 91v-92r
Congiet/Japart	<u>Ie guide</u> , 71v-72r

Enrique/Urrede	<u>Nuncha fu pena maior</u> , 89v-90r
Isaac	<u>Salva nos</u> , 20v-21r(?), <u>La mi la sol</u> , 25v-27r, <u>Gaude virgo</u> , 32v-33r, <u>Figlie vos have mal grande</u> , 58v-59r, "Absque verbis," 63v-64r, <u>Coment poult</u> , 68v-69r, <u>La mora</u> , 72v-73r, <u>Thysis</u> , 79v-80r, <u>E chi la dira</u> , 86v-87r
Josquin	<u>In te domine speravi, 12v-13r, Alma redemptoris,</u> 55v and 57r, <u>Una musca</u> , 74v-75r, <u>Adie mes amours</u> , 78v-79v, <u>La bernardina</u> , 82v-83r
Lurano	<u>Helasso donna hormai,</u> 7v-8r
Martini	[D]es <u>biens</u> <u>damors</u> , 64v-65r
Martini/Ockeghem	<u>Malur me bat</u> , 73v-74r
Obrecht	Parce domine, 84v-85r
Pesenti	<u>Dimi un pocho che vol dir, 11v-12r</u>
Stochem	<u>Rubinet</u> , 80v-81r
Tromboncino	De per dio non mi far torto, 2v-3r, Se benor non schopro il foco, 3v-4r, Poi chel ciel contrario, 9v-10r, Poi che lalma per fe molta, 16v-17r, Ave maria, 19v-20r
Vincenet	<u>Fortuna</u> <u>parte</u> , 37y-38r

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APPENDIX II

Sigla of Manuscripts Cited

- AmiensBM 162 Amiens. Bibliothèque Municipale. MS 162
- AugsS Mus. 25 Augsburg. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek. MS 4⁰ Mus. 25
- BarcBC 454 Barcelona. Biblioteca Central. MS 454
- BasU F.X. 17-20 Basel. Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F.X. 17-20
- BasU F.X. 22-24 Basel. Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F.X. 22-24
- Ber1PS 40098 East Berlin. Formerly Preussische Staatsbibliothek. MS Mus. 40098 ("Glogauer Liederbuch")
- Ber1S 22048 West Berlin. Staatsbibliothek Proussischer Kulturbesitz. MS Mus. 22048
- BerlS 40021 West Berlin. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. MS Mus. 40021
- Bolc Q 16 Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS Q 16
- Bolc Q 17 Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS Q 17
- [BolC] Q 18 Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS Q 18
- BolC Q 19 Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS Q 19 ("Rusconi Codex")
- BolC R142 Bologna. Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. MS R142 (tenor partbook)
- Bologna. Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronio. MS A. XXIX
- BolSP 31 Bologna. Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronio. MS A. XXXI
- BolSP 38 Bologna. Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronio. MS A. XXXVIII
- BolSP 45 Bologna. Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronic. MS A. XXXXV
- BolSP 46 Bologna. Archivio Musicale della Fabbriceria di San Petronio. MS A. XXXXVI
- BrusBR 228 Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale. MS 228

- BrusBR IV. 90 Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale. MS IV.90 (superius) [see also TourBV 94]
- CambriP 1760 Cambridge. Magdalene College, Pepys Library. MS 1760
- CambriT R.2.71 Cambridge. Trinity College Library. MS R.2.71
- CapePL 3.b.12 Cape Town. South African Public Library. MS Grey 3.b.12
- CivMA 59 Cividale del Friuli. Museo Archeologico Nazionale. MS LIX
- CopKB 1848 Copenhagen. Det Kongelige Bibliotek. MS Ny kongelige Samling 1848, 2⁰
- CorBC 95-6 Cortona. Biblioteca Communale. MSS 95-96 [see also Paris BNN 1817]
- DijBM 517 Dijon. Bibliothèque Municipale. MS 517
- DresSL 1/D/505 Dresden. Sächsische Landesbibliothek. MS Mus. 1/D/505 (olim Annaberg. Bibliothek der St Annenkirche. MS 1248)
- FlorBN II.I.232 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS II.I.232
- FlorBN BR 229 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Banco Rari 229
- FlorBN BR 230 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Banco Rari 230
- FlorBN BR 337 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Banco Rari 337
- FlorBN Magl.107bis Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Magliabechi XIX. 107bis
- FlorBN Mag1. 117 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Magliabechi XIX. 117
- FlorBN Magl. 121 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Magliabechi XIX. 121
- FlorBN Mag1.164-7 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MSS Magliabechi XIX. 164-7
- FlorBN Mag1. 176 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Magliabechi XIX. 176
- FlorBN Magl. 178 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Magliabechi XIX. 178
- FlorBN Panc. 27 Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MS Panciatichi 27

FlorC 2439 Florence. Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini. MS Basevi 2439 Florence. Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi FlorC 2440 Cherubini. MS Basevi 2440 Florence. Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi FlorC 2441 Cherubini. MS Basevi 2441 Florence. Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi FlorC 2442 Cherubini. MS Basevi 2442 Florence. Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana. MS Acquisti e FlorL 666 doni 666 ("Medici Codex") Florence. Biblioteca Riccardiana. MS 2356 FlorR 2356 FlorR 2794 Florence. Biblioteca Riccardiana. MS 2794 Greifswald, Universitätsbibliothek, MSS BW 640-641 GreifU 640-1 HeilbS X/2 Heilbronn. Stadtarchiv, Musiksammlung. MS X/2 HradKM 7 Hradec Králové. Krajske Muzeum. Knihovna (Regional Museum Library). MS II A 7 ("Specialnik Codex") Jena 31 Jena. Universitätsbibliothek, MS 31 Leipzig. Universitätsbibliothek. MS Thomaskirche 49 LeipU 49 (1-4) and MS Thomaskirche 50 Leipzig. Universitäsbibliothek. MS 1494 ("Apel Codex") LeipU 1494 LonBL 31922 London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 31922 ("Henry VIII MS") LonBL 35087 London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Additional 35087 London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of LonBLE 3051 Manuscripts. MS Egerton 3051 [see also WashLC M6] LonBLR 20 A.XVI London. British Library, Reference Division. Department of Manuscripts. MS Royal 20 A. XVI MadP 1335 Madrid. Biblioteca del Real Palacio. MS 1335 ("Cancionero de Palacio") Milan. Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo. Sezione MilD 1 Musicale. Librone 1 (olim 2269)

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MilD 2 Milan. Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo. Sezione Musicale. Librone 2 (olim 2268) MilD 3 Milan. Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale. Librone 3 (olim 2267) Milan. Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo. Sezione MilD 4 Musicale. Librone 4 (olim 2266) Milan. Biblioteca Trivulziana e Archivio Storico Civico MilT 55 (Castello Sforzesco). MS 55 Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS F.9.9 ModE F.9.9 MunBS 1516 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung. Musica MS 1516 MunBS 3154 Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 3154 ("Chorbuch des Nikolaus Leopold") MuGlar (see MunU 322-5) Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. MSS 8⁰ 322-325 (also MuGlar) MunU 322-5 Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Munü 326 Universität. MS 8^U 326 Munich. Universitätsbibliothek der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. MS 8⁰ 327 MunU 327 NHavY 91 New Haven. Yale University, Beinecke Library for Rare Books and Manuscripts. MS 91 ("Mellon Chansonnier") 0xfBA 831 Oxford. Bodleian Library. MS Ashmole 831 PadU 684 Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 684 PadU 1475 Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria. MS 1475 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Rés. Vm⁷ 676 ParisBNC 676 ParisBNF 1597 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Fr. MS 1597 ParisBNF 9346 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Fr. MS 9346 ("Manuscrit de Bayeux")

ParisBNF 12744 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Fr. MS 12744

ParisBNF 15123 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits. Fonds Fr. MS 15123 ("Pixérécourt Chansonnier")

ParisBNN 1817 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Nouv, Acq. Fr. 1817 [see also CorBC 95-96] Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des ParisBNN 4379 Manuscrits. Nouv. Acg. Fr. MS 4379 [see SevC 5-I-43] Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Rothschild. MS ParisBNR 2973 ("Chansonnier Cordiforme") 2973 Perugia. Biblioteca Communale, Augusta. MS 431 PerBC 431 Perugia. Biblioteca Communale, Augusta. MS 3065 PerBC 3065 Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. C 120 RegB C 120 Regensburg. ("Pernner Codex") Regensburg. Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek. A.R. 940/41 RegB 940-1 RomeC 2856 Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 2856 Segovia. Archivo Capitular de la Catedral. MS s.s. SeqC s.s. Catedral Metropolitana, SevC 5-I-43 Seville. Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina. MS 5-I-43 (olim Z Tab. 135, n.⁰ 33) [see Paris BNN 4379] SevC 5-5-20 Seville. Catedral Metropolitana, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina. MS 5-5-20 (olim Z Tab. 137, n.⁰ 25) Seville. SevC 7-I-28 Catedral Metropolitana, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina. MS 7-I-28 SGa11S 461 Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. MS 461 ("Sicher Liederbuch") Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. MS 462 ("Heer Liederbuch") SGa11S 462 SGa11S 463 Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. MS 463 ("Tschudi Liederbuch") superius and altus only StuttI. 39 Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek. Cod. mus. fol. I. 39 TurBN I. 27 Turin. Biblioteca Nazionale, Riserva musicale. MS I. 27 TourBV 94 Tournai. Bibliothèque de la Ville. MS 94 (tenor), [see Brussels, Bib. Royale, MS IV.90] TrentC 89 Trent. Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio. MS 89 U1mS 237 Ulm. Münster Bibliothek, Von Schermar'schen Familienstiftung. MS 237 a-d

UppsU 76a	Uppsala. Universitetsbiblioteket. MS Vokalmusik i handskrift 76a
UppsU 76e	Uppsala. Universitetsbiblioteket. MS Vokalmusik i handskrift 76e
VatS 35	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cappella Sistina 35
VatG XIII.27	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Cappella Giulia XIII. 27
VatV 11953	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS Vaticani Latini 11953 (bassus part book)
VerBC 757	Verona. Biblioteca Capitolare. MS DCCLVII
VienNB 11883	Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. MS 11883
VienNB 18810	Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. MS 18810
VienNB SM 15500	Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. MS Suppl. Mus. 15500
WarU 2016	Warsaw. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. MS Mf.2016 (<u>olim</u> Mus. 58)
WashLC L25	Washington, D.C. Library of Congress, Music Division. MS M2.1.L25 Case ("Laborde Chansonnier")
WashLC M6	Washington, D.C. Library of Congress, Music Division. MS M2.1.M6 Case ("Wolffheim Chansonnier")
ZürZ 906	Zdrich. Zentralbibliothek. MS Q 906 (<u>olim</u> Bern. Landesbibliothek. MS G 938)
ZwiR 78/3	Zwickau. Ratsschulbibliothek. MS LXXVIII, 3

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<u>Sigla of Prints Cited</u>

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RISM 1501	Ottaviano Petrucci, co	ompiler. <u>Harmonice musices</u> Odhecaton <u>A</u> (Venice,1501)
RISM 1502 ¹		<u>Motetti A</u> (Venice, 1502)
RISM 1502 ²	···································	<u>Canti B numero cinquanta</u> (Venice, 1502)
RISM 1503 ¹		<u>Motetti B</u> (Venice, 1503)
RISM 1504 ¹	<u></u>	<u>Motetti C</u> (Venice, 1504)
RISM 1504 ³	·•	<u>Canti C numero cento cinquanta</u> (Venice, 1504)
RISM 1504 ⁴	<u> </u>	<u>Frottole</u> <u>I</u> (Venice, 1504)
RISM 1505 ²	··•	<u>Motetti Libro Quarto</u> (Venice, 1505)
RISM 1505 ³		<u>Frottole II</u> (Venice, 1505)
RISM 1505 ⁴	<u></u>	Frottole III (Venice, 1505)
RISM 1505 ⁵	•	<u>Strambotti, ode, frottole, sonetti</u> Libro IV (Venice, 1505)
RISM 1505 ⁶		<u>Frottole V</u> (Venice, 1505)
RISM 1506		<u>Misse Henrici Isaac</u> (Venice, 1506)
RISM 1506 ³		<u>Frottole VI</u> (Venice, 1505)
RISM 1507 ³	<u> </u>	Frottole VII (Venice, 1507)
RISM 1507 ⁴	•	Frottole VIII (Venice, 1507)
RISM 1508 ³	•	Laude II (Venice, 1507)
RISM 1509 ²	•	Frottole IX (Venice, 1508)
RISM 1510	A. Antico, compiler.	<u>Canzoni</u> <u>nove con alcune</u> <u>scelte</u> <u>de varii libri di canto</u> (Rome, 1510) (also known as Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, k.k. II. 32)
RISM 1513 ¹	- <u></u> •	<u>Canzoni sonetti strambotti et frottole libro tertio</u> (Rome, 1513)

•

RISM 1514 ¹	Ottaviano Petrucci, compiler. <u>Motetti de la corona.</u> <u>Libro primo</u> (Venice, 1514)
RISM 1514 ²	<u>Frottola XI</u> (Venice, 1514)
RISM 1515 ²	P. Sambonetti, compiler. <u>Canzone</u> <u>sonetti</u> <u>strambotti</u> <u>et</u> <u>frottole</u> <u>libro primo</u> (Siena, 1515)
RISM 1519 ²	Ottaviano Petrucci, compiler. <u>Motetti de la corona.</u> <u>Libro tertio</u> (Venice, 1519)
RISM [c. 1535] ¹	⁴ Christian Egenolff, compiler. No title. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Res. Vm ⁷ 504 (Frankfurt, c. 1535), superius only
RISM 1538 ⁸	Georg Rhaw, compiler. <u>Symphoniae iucundae atque</u> adeo breves quatour vocum. (Wittenberg, 1538)
RISM 1538 ⁹	Hieronymus Formschneider, compiler. <u>Trium vocum carmina</u> (Nuremberg, 1538)
RISM 1542 ⁸	Georg Rhaw, compiler. <u>Tricinia</u> (Wittenberg, 1542)
RISM 1547 ¹	Henricus Glareanus. <u>Dodecachordon</u> (Basel, <u>1</u> 547)
RISM 1549 ³⁷	J. vom Berg and U. Neuber, compilers. <u>Der dritte Teyl, schöne alter,</u> <u>lieblich und newer teutscher Liedlein</u> . (Nuremberg, 1549)
<u>Sigla of Tablat</u>	ures <u>Cited</u>
BASEL F. IX. 22	Basel. Universitätsbibliothek, MS F. IX. 22 ("Kotter Tablature")
BERLIN 40026	West Berlin. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. MS 40026
BERLIN 40632	West Berlin. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. MS 40632
BOL 596	Bologna. Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 596. HH. 2 ⁴
BROWN 1507 ₁	Francesco Spinacino. <u>Intabulatura</u> de <u>Lauto. Libro</u> <u>Primo</u> (Venice, 1507)
BROWN 15072	. Intabulatura de Lauto. Libro Secundo (Venice, 1507)

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BROWN 15082	Joan Ambrosio Dalza. <u>Intabulatura de Lauto. Libro</u> <u>Quarto</u> (Venice, 1508)
BROWN 1509 ₁	Francisci Bossinensis. <u>Tenori e contrabassi</u> <u>intabulati col sopran in canto figurato</u> <u>per cantar e sonar lauto.</u> Libro primo (Venice, 1509)
BROWN 1511 ₁	<u>intabulati col sopran in canto figurato</u> <u>per cantar e sonar lauto.</u> <u>Libro secundo</u> (Venice, 1511)
BROWN 15317	Pierre Attaingnant. <u>Treze motetz musicaulx avec ung</u> prelude (Paris, 1531)
BROWN 1536 ₆	Hans Newsidler. <u>Ein newgeordnet künstlich Lauten-</u> <u>buch</u> (Nuremberg, 1536)
BROWN 15367	Hans Newsidler. <u>Der ander theil des Lautenbuchs</u> (Nuremberg, 1536)
BROWN 1544 ₁	Hans Newsidler. <u>Das erst Buch. Ein newes</u> Lautenbüchlein (Nuremberg, 1544)
BROWN 1556 ₂	Benedikt de Drusina. <u>Tabulatura continens insignes</u> <u>et selectissimas quasdam fantasias</u> (Frankfurt, 1556)
BROWN 1562	Wolf Heckel. Lauttenbuch (Strasbourg, 1562)
BUXHEIM	Munich. Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 352b ("Buxheimer Orgelbuch")
CAPIROLA	Chicago. Newberry Library, MS 107501 ("Capirola lute book")
CRACOW S. SPIRITUS	Cracow. Bibliotheca St. Spiritus. MS without call number (<u>olim</u> Warsaw. Polinski Collection, MS 564)
MUNICH 718	Munich. Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4 ⁰ Cod. MS 718
PARISBNC 27	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmd 27 (<u>olim</u> Paris. G. Thibault Collection) (c. 1505)
ST. GALL 530	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 530 ("Fridolin Sicher" keyboard tablature)
VIENNA 18688	Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 18688
WERT	Wertheim-am-Main. Fürstlich Löwenstein-Wertheim Gemeinschaftliches Archiv, MS 6

APPENDIX III

INVENTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT AND EDITORIAL COMMENTS ON THE UNIQUE PIECES*

Folio 1r, [lute tablature], S.M.C.



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 173-174, for a discussion of this piece. The transcription in Volume II does not include the notation on the first staff on folio 1r. The pitches and rhythms of the four measures on the first staff are almost identical to the music of the first four measures on the second staff (where the transcription begins). It is possible that the scribe, after copying four measures, realized that he had begun on the wrong pitch, and decided to begin anew on the second staff. The interpolations in mensural notation at the end of the first staff represent the same kind of pen trials that appear at the bottom of folio 1r.



Manuscripts

CapePL 3.b.12	73v-74r	Jesu dolce mio sposo
LonBLE 3051	11v-12r	Peregrinando vo per mio destino
MilT 55	36v-37r	Lontan pur me convien

Prints

RISM 1515² 11v-12r Lontan pur mi convien

* Square brackets indicate words or letters supplied by this editor (parentheses indicate letters supplied by the editors of other sources). Number of voices is indicated only where there is a conflict in the various sources of a composition, in particular, with the setting in Q 18. Intabulations are for lute unless otherwise noted. All <u>unica</u> are discussed in Chapter VI and transcribed (except when a published edition is noted below) in Volume II, but any editorial emendations to the transcriptions are included in this inventory. Folio 1v-2r, Lontan pur mi convien (continued)

Texts

<u>Jesu dolce mio sposo</u>, the text in CapePL 3.b.12, is a fragment of the lauda LXV (A l'amor ch'è venuto) by Jacopone da Todi; <u>Lontan</u> <u>pur mi convien</u> is a strambotto. Q 18 contains one strophe of text. The complete text is published in JeppLaF, III, 258-60.*

MODERN EDITIONS

CattinIt1, no. 29. GiazOnde, pp. 65-67. JeppLaF, III, pp. 258-260.

000 CONCORDANCES Manuscripts FlorC 2441 26v - 27rDe per Dio no(n) mi far torto Prints RISM 1504⁴ 23v-24rDeh p(er) Dio n(on) mi far torto, B.T. Intabulations ı. BROWN 1511, 53r-53v Deh per dio no(n) mi far torto, B.T. PARISBNC 27 47v De per Dio non me far torto MODERN EDITIONS Ces/Mont, p. 131 DisertoriFr, pp. 578-579 SchwartzPet, p. 18 COMMENTS Q 18 contains the refrain and three strophes of the text.

* See Appendix II and Bibliography for sigla used in this Inventory.

Folios 2v-3r, <u>De per dio non mi far torto</u> [Bartolomeo Tromboncino]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

Ber1S 22048	1r	Se ben or non scropo el foco
CapePL 3.b.12		L'oratione è sempre bona
FlorBN BR 230	22v-23r	Se ben or no(n) scopro el focho, Tronboncino
FlorBN Panc. 27	60v-61r	Se ben hor scopri el fuoco
LonBLE 3051		Se ben hor non scropo el foco
MilT 55	32v-33r	Se ben hor no(n) scopro el fuocho

Prints

RISM 1504⁴ 18v-19r <u>Se ben hor no[n] scopro el foco</u>, B.T.

Texts

The text in Cape PL 3.b.12 is a lauda ascribed to Feo Belcari.

MODERN EDITIONS

Bartha, no. 35 BesM, p. 220 CattinItL, no. 31 Ces/Mont, p. 16 GiazOnde, pp. 63-65 JeppLaF, III, pp. 249-50 SchwartzFR, no. 6 SchwartzPet, pp. 14-15, no. 21 WolfSing, pp. 55-56, no. 22

COMMENTS

Cattin says the version in CapePL 3.b.12 is not derived from RISM 1505^4 but is closer to the Florentine MSS and Q 18. Q 18 contains the refrain and three strophes of the text.

Folios 4y-5r, Oime che sempre spero



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, p. 176, for a discussion of this piece and Appendix IV for text.

Folios 5v-6r, Con qual fronte a te Maria



MODERN EDITIONS

CattinQ, no. 16

COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, p. 177, for a discussion of this piece and Appendix IV for text.

The first semibreve in the bassus voice on folio 6r has been inserted by a later hand. In the superius at measure 9 of the transcription, an F breve has been divided into two semibreves in order to accommodate the text.

Folios 6v-7r, <u>Al la fe si al la fe bona</u>



CONCORDANCES

Prints

RISM 1505⁴ 50v-51r <u>A la fe si a la fe bona</u>

Intabulations

PARISBNC 27 47r <u>A la fè si a la fè bona</u>

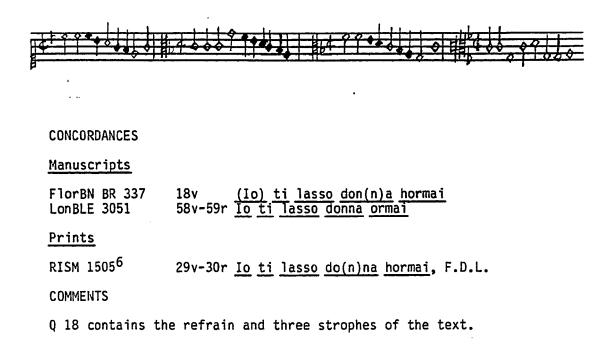
MODERN EDITIONS

Ces/Mont, p. 19 SchwartzPet, p. 16

COMMENTS

A piece based on the same text appears in ParisBNC 676, 37v-38r. The intabulation contains a tenor and bassus that fit the superius of the frottola, but these voices are different from those in RISM 1505⁴ and Q 18.

0 18 contains the refrain and two strophes of the text.



Folios 8v-9r, <u>Va va iniqua e disleale</u>



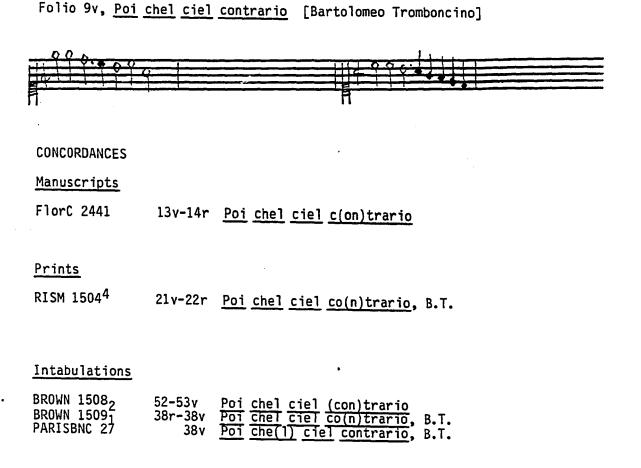
CONCORDANCES

Prints

RISM 1506³ 25v <u>Vale iniqua e desliale</u>

COMMENTS

Q 18 contains the refrain and three strophes of the text.



304

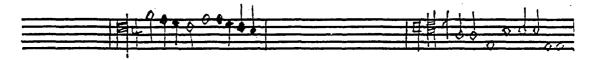
MODERN EDITIONS

Ces/Mont, p. 18 DisertoriFr, pp. 402-403

COMMENTS

The next folio (10), on which the tenor and bassus of this composition were undoubtedly written, is missing from Q 18. Q 18 contains the refrain and one strophe of the text.

Folio 11r. Non po l'omo [Marchetto Cara]



CONCORDANCES

Prints

RISM 1504⁴ 8v-9r <u>Se de fede hor vengo</u>, M.C.

Intabulations

BROWN 1509131r-31vSe de fede ve(n)go, M.C.PARISBNC 2736rSe di fede io vengo a meno

MODERN EDITIONS

Ces/Mont, pp. 7-8 DisertoriFr, pp. 382-383 JeppLaF I, pp. 78-79, 114-115 SchwartzPet, p. 6

COMMENTS

Only the tenor and bassus are present in Q 18. The superius and altus would have been written on folio 10v. I am grateful to Professor William F. Prizer for pointing out that <u>Non po l'omo</u> is the third and fourth strophe of Cara's <u>Se de fede hor vengo</u> from Petrucci's first book of frottola. See PrizerCourt, pp. 348 and 352.



CONCORDANCES

Prints

RISM 1504⁴ 33v-34r <u>Dime un pocho che vol dire</u>, Michael [Pesenti]

MODERN EDITIONS

Ces/Mont, p. 27 SchwartzPet, p. 26

COMMENTS

Q 18 contains the refrain and two strophes of the text.

Folios 12v-13r, [In te domine speravi] [Josquin]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

BasU F.X. 17-20	no . 6 8	In te domine speravi
BasU F.X.22-24	no. 47	In te d(omi)ne sp(er)avi
FlorBN BR 337	73v	textless
FlorBN Panc. 27	42v-43r	In te domine speravi, Josquin D.
FlorC 2441	56v-57r	In te domine speravi
LonBLE 3051	56v-57r	In te domine speravi
MadP 1335	56v	In te domine speravi, Jusquin Dascanio
ParisBNC 676	17v-18r	In te domine speravi
RegB 940-1	no. 42	In te domine speravi
SGa115 463	no. 25	In te domine speravi, Josquinus Pratensis,
		<u>a</u> <u>3</u> <u> </u>

Prints

RISM 15044	49v-50r	In te domine speravi, Josquin	Dascanio
RISM 1538 ⁸	no. 1	<u>In te Domine speravi</u> , Joskin	Dascanio

Intabulations

BROWN 1509₁ 38v-39r In te d(omi)ne speravi, Josquin Dascanio

MODERN EDITIONS

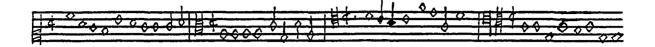
Anglés, no. 84 Barb, no. 68 Ces/Mont, pp. 38-39 DisertoriFr, pp. 404-405 HAM, no. 98 KieseT, p. 71 SchwartzPet, p. 37

COMMENTS

Textless in Q 18. This piece is sung as a lauda with the words of Bernardo Giambullari: <u>A te virgo, ognor clamavi</u> (GallettiBel, no. CCCLXXXIV).

GallicoJ, p. 451-2, claims ParisBNC 676 is the earliest of the known sources of this composition (1502). He assumes, therefore, that LonBLE 3051 (Egerton) was compiled after 1502. For more information on the dating of this manuscript see Chapter III, p. 97.

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COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 179-80, for a discussion of this piece and Appendix IV for text.

Two editorial emendations were needed to the transcription: A G at the end of measure 20 in the altus was changed to A, as in the corresponding place in measure 3. Also, the last note in measure 31 in the altus is G, but it should read either A or F#. F# was chosen for the transcription because A occurs in the bassus. The scribe's exemplar may well have contained a descent of a third, but he resolved the penultimate A to G by mistake. Folios 14v-15r, <u>De si de no de si</u> [Marchetto Cara/Bartolomeo Tromboncino]



CONCORDANCES <u>Manuscripts</u> FlorBN Panc. 27 32v-33r <u>Deh si deh no deh si</u> <u>Prints</u> RISM 1504⁴ 14v-15r <u>Deh si deh no deh si</u>, M.C. <u>Intabulations</u> BROWN 1509₁ 28r <u>Deh si deh no deh si</u>, B.T. MODERN EDITIONS Ces/Mont, p. 12

DisertoriFr, p. 363 Sartori, p. 10 SchwartzPet, pp. 11-12

COMMENTS

In the 1509 Bossinensis print (BROWN 1509]), <u>De si de no</u> is attributed to B.T. [Tromboncino]; in the 1504 Petrucci print (RISM 1504⁴), it is attributed to M.C. [Cara]. The intabulation in ParisBNC 27 (folios 25v-26r) does not concord with the setting in Q 18.

Q 18 contains the refrain and four strophes of the text, more text than in the other sources, but lacks the second half of the tenor that in the other sources begins "Oime."

Folios 15v-16r, [Come el pio(m)bin]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

FlorBN BR 230	26v-27r	Come	el	pionbino
MilT 55	19v-20r	Come	e	pionbin

Prints

RISM 1506³ 13r Come el pio(m)bin

MODERN EDITIONS

JeppLaF, Vol. III, pp. 218-219. JeppU, pp. 91-92.

COMMENTS

This piece is textless in Q 18. The contratenor in Q 18 is unique to this manuscript (see Chapter VI, p. 182, fn. 7, and transcription in JeppLaF, Vol. III, pp. 167-168).



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

FlorC 2441 21v-22r Poi che lalma p(er) fe molta

Prints

RISM 1504⁴ 24v-25r <u>Poi che lalma (per) fe molta</u>, B.T.

MODERN EDITIONS

Ces/Mont, p. 19. SchwartPet, pp. 18-19

COMMENTS

Q 18 contains the refrain and one strophe of the text.

Folios 17v-18r, Sensa te sacra regina



MODERN EDITIONS

CattinQ, no. 15

COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 180-81, for a discussion of this piece, and Appendix IV for text. For purposes of proper text underlay, a C breve has been divided into two semibreves at measure 6 in the superius. The C at measure 10 in the superius reads D in the source. The last note in measure 13 in the bassus, an A, reads G in the source. These two alterations were necessary for harmonic reasons.

Folios 18v-19r, [Viva e morta voglio amarte] [Honophrius Antenoreus]



CONCORDANCES

Prints

RISM 1505³ 41v-42r <u>Viva e morta voglio amarte</u>, Honophrius Antenoreus

COMMENTS

This composition and another by Antenoreus on the next folio in Petrucci's second book of frottole (RISM 1505³) are found in the edition of January 1507 (National Bibl., Vienna), not in the Venetian issue of 1505, which is missing two pages. An examination of scribal idiosyncracies reveals that <u>Viva e morta</u> <u>voglio amarte</u> was very likely entered into Q 18 by a scribe who was responsible for copying only folios 18v-19r (see Chapter II, pp. 77ff).



Folios 19v-20r, Ave Maria [gratia plena] [Bartolomeo Tromboncino]

CONCORDANCES

Prints

RISM 1508³ 18v-19r <u>Ave Maria, gratia plena</u> RISM 1508³ 46v-47r <u>Ave Maria, gratia plena</u>, B.T.

MODERN EDITIONS

JèppML, no. 47, p. 80, LXIX

COMMENTS

This composition is printed in two different places in Petrucci's second book of laude (RISM 1508^3).

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COMMENTS

For a possible relationship to compositions by Isaac, see Chapter VI, pp. 183-198.

Folios 21v-22r, Ave regina celorum



COMMENTS

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Regarding the erroneous title of this piece, see Chapter VI, pp. 219-22.



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

GreifU 640-1 no. 5 <u>Bonus et rectus dominus</u>, Antonius Brummer (two voices only, superius and bassus)

<u>Prints</u>

RISM	1502 ²	28v-29r	<u>Noe, noe, noe</u> , Brumel
RISM	[c. 1535] ¹⁴	Vol. I, no. XXX	<u>Noe, noe, noe</u> , Anon., (superius only)

MODERN EDITIONS

BrumelC, no. 18, p. 84, xxxviii HewCB, no. 25, pp. 54-56, xi-xii

COMMENTS

In GreifU 640-1, <u>Bonus et rectus dominus</u> (corresponding in meaning, but not in exact wording, to Psalm 24, verses 8-11, of the Vulgate) substitutes for the lost carol text, the incipit of which appears in the other sources.



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 247-249, for a discussion of this piece.

Folios 24v-25r, In te domine sperabo



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 249-252, for a discussion of this piece. One editorial correction was necessary. At measure 51 in the altus, the

scribe wrote a D semiminim instead of a D minim.

Folios 25v-26r, Tanto e lafano [Caron]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

Ber1PS 40098	no. 201	Anon., a 3
FlorBN BR 229	99v-100r	La despour, Caron, a 3
ParisBNF 15123	139v-140r	Le despourveu infortune, Anon., a 3
RomeC 2856	67v-69r	Tanto lafano, Caron, a 3
SevC 5-I-43	no. 72	[L]e despourveu, Anon., a 3
VatG XIII.27	31v-32r	Tante laffano, Caron, a 3
VerBC 757	62 v-6 3r	Anon., a 3
WashLC L 25	72v-73r	Le despourveu infortune, Anon., a 3

Prints

RISM 1504 ³	120v-121r	Le despourveu infortune, Anon., a 4
·		(the added altus is not the same as the one that appears in Q 18)

Intabulations

- BROWN 1507¹ no. 3
- Le despourveu infortune

MODERN EDITIONS

BrownFlor, no. 97 DrozJ, no. 248 (text) Lopel, XLVI, no. 622 (text) RingGlog, IV, p. 5 ThomsonC, II, p. 179

COMMENTS

Because of its unique <u>si placet</u> part, <u>Tanto e lafano</u> is discussed in a separate commentary (see Chapter VI, pp. 200-201, and Vol. II for transcription). The second minim at measure 33 in the bassus was inserted by a later hand, as was the musical notation below the last few notes in the bassus.

Folios 26v-28r, La mi la sol [Isaac]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

CivMA 59	54v-56r	<u>Rogamus te piissima virgo maria</u> (pars I) and [0] <u>Maria O regina</u>
FlorC 2439	38v-40r	(pars II), Anon. La mi la sol, yzaac
LonBL 31922	7 v-9 r	La my, Anon.
SGallS 461	pp. 42-45	textless, h. ysaac

Prints

RISM	1504 ¹	+Dii'/+Diii'/+D/+D	Rogamus	te,	<u>piisima</u>) and <u>0 M</u>	<u>virgo</u>
			<u>maria (</u> p	oars I) and 0 M	aria O
			regina ((pars	II), Anon	•

MODERN EDITIONS

GiesSich, p. 46 StevensH, p. 5 WolfIsaac, pp. 87-89

COMMENTS ·

This composition became the <u>Credo (Patrem and Et unam</u> <u>sanctam</u>) of Missa <u>La mi la sol/0 praeclara</u>. Mention of the piece is made in a letter from Pietro Aron (see StaehM, I, p. 29), and also in some documents, one dated the end of August, 1502, Ferrara, and another, a letter from Gian to Ercole d'Este, dated September 2, also from Ferrara (see Chapter III, pp. 129-130). The bassus of part II is missing in 0 18. <u>La mi la sol</u> in ParisBNC 676, 59v-60r, and RISM 1509¹ are unrelated to the piece in 0 18. Folios 28v-29r, Fortuna disperata



COMMENTS

Busnois's melody is in the superius (see Chapter VI, pp. 205-207, for similarities between the piece on folios 28v-29r in Q 18 and a setting of Fortuna disperata by Josquin; also see JeppLaF, Vol. II, p. 191, fn.)



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 253-255, for a discussion of this piece.

Folios 30v-31r, Da pacem



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, p. 223, for a discussion of this piece.

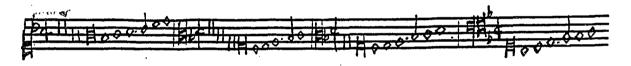
Folios 31v-32r, Deus fortitudo mea



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 229-231, for a discussion of this piece.

Folios 32v-33r, Gaude virgo [Isaac]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

FlorBN BR 229 133v-134r Je ne puis vivre, Henricus Ysac

Intabulations

ST. GALL 530 no. 159 .Wes gyre, Heinrich Isaac,

MODERN EDITIONS

BrownFlor, no. 129 WolfIsaac, pp. 30-31, Isaac, <u>Je ne puis vivre</u>

COMMENTS

The concordances for this piece are listed in BrownFlor (see Vol. II, p. 269, notes 2 and 3 for list of variants [mm 31-35] between FlorBN BR 229 and Q 18). Prior to the publication of BrownFlor I was informed of the identity of <u>Gaude virgo</u> by Professor Edward E. Lowinsky, to whom I express my gratitude.

Folios 33v-34r, Dapo ch[e] gionta e lora



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 231-32, for a discussion of this piece.

Folios 34v-35r, La guercia



MODERN EDITIONS

Thomas, no. 4.

COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 233-34, for a discussion of this piece.



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

AugsS Mus. 25 BerlPS 40098 BolC Q 16 DijBM 517 FlorBN BR 229 FlorBN Panc. 27 FlorR 2356 ParisBNC 676 ParisBNF 15123 PerBC 431 RomeC 2856 SegC s.s. SevC 5-I-43 TrentC 89 UppSU 76e VatG XIII. 27 VerBC 757 WashLC L 25 WashLC M6	81v-82r 222v-223r 35v-36r 45v-46r 71v-72r 12v-13r 33v-34r 69v-70r 44v-45r 114v-115r no. 49 416v-417r 13v-14r 64v-65r 19v-20r 12v-13r	Helas que, Caron, a 3 Helas que poura devenir, Caron, a 3 Helas, Caron, a 4 Hellas mon cuer, Caron, a 3 Helas, Caron, a 3 Helas que pora advenire, Anon., a 3 Helas, Anon., a 3 Helas, Anon., a 3 Helas, Caron, a 4 Helas que pourra devenir, Anon., a 3
Prints		
RISM 1501	15v-16r	<u>Helas que pourra devenir,</u> Caron, a 4

MODERN EDITIONS

Adler14-15, pp. 248-9 BrownFlor, no. 206 Engel, pp. 34-35 Hew0, pp. 246-8 Löpel, no. 344 and 456 (texts) RingGlog, pp. 92-93 ThomsonC II, p. 175 Torr, pp. 554-7

COMMENTS

The si placet altus in <u>Helasso</u> is found in three other sources besides Q 18: SegC s.s., FlorBN Panc. 27, and RISM 1501.

Folios 36v-37r, De tous bien plen [Busnois]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

Ber1PS 40098	no. 14	Laudem demus parvulo, Anon., a 3
FlorBN BR 229	55v-56r	Chi dit [on] benedicite, Antonius Busnoys,
•		a 3
ParisBNF 15123	86v-87r	Chi dit on benedicite, Busnoys, a 3
SevC 5-I-43	no. 89	Chi dit on benedicite, Anon., a 3
TrentC 89	420v-	textless, Anon., a 3
	421r	· ·

MODERN EDITIONS

Adler14-15, pp. 246-247 BrownFlor, no. 56 VäterleinGlog, no. 14

COMMENTS

The Q 18 setting contains a unique <u>si placet</u> altus; see Chapter VI, pp. 201-202, for commentary and Vol II for a transcription. The D at measure 23 is not present in the source, and although from a

linear standpoint one might expect a different note, the D works well harmonically; without this additional semibreve, a dissonance would occur on the first beat of measure 24. The change to an A in the bassus at measure 38 (written as a G by the scribe of this section of the manuscript) on folio 37r in Q 18 is corroborated by its presence in the other sources. The correction maintains the integrity of the authentic cadence. Although scribal errors that are found to the greatest extent in FlorBN BR 229, such as parallel fifths and other awkward dissonances, are not found in the Q 18 version, no effort has been made to change any of the other voices as a result of the added fourth voice. Some of the editorial <u>musica ficta</u> found in the transcriptions of some of the other sources, for example, FlorBN BR 229 and TrentC 89, cannot be applied to certain notes in Q 18 as they would result in dissonances with the altus. Thus, <u>Chi dit on benedicite a 4</u> in Q 18 is in some ways a less satisfactory version than the three-voice piece found in the sources listed above.



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CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

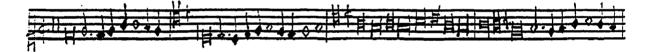
AugsS Mus. 25	no. 17	<u>Sancte speculum trinitatis</u> , a 3
Ber1PS 40098	no. 275	"Q," Anon., a 3
BolC Q 16	116v-117r	<u>Fortuna parti crudeley</u> , Anon. (added altus different from Q 18)
CapePL 3.b.12	121r	Nihil est opertum quod non reveletur
		et occultum guod non sciatur. Anon, (S and T only)
FlorBN BR 229	50v-51r	Fortune per ta crualte, Anon. Fortune per ta crualte, Anon. Fortune per ta crualte, Anon., a 3
NHavY 91	23v-24r	Fortuna par ta cruaulte, Vincenet, a 3
ParisBNF 15123	166v-167r	Fortune per ta crualte, Anon., a 3
ParisBNR 2973	34v-36r	Fortune per ta crualte, Anon., a 3,
		with supplementary text, 35v-36r
PerBC 431	94v-95r	Fortuna vincinecta, Anon., a 3
SegC s.s.	105r	Fortuna vincineta, Eloy (two-voice instrumental
C C T 42		arrangement based on S and T voices of Fortuna parte)
SevC 5-I-43	no. 81	Fortuna per te crudele, Anon., a 3
VatG XIII. 27	33v-34r	Fortuna par te cruelte, Vincenet, a 3
VerBC 757	66v - 67r	textless, Anon., a 3
Prints		
RISM 1501	65v-66r	<u>Fortuna per ta crudelte</u> , Vincinet, a 3
<u>Intabulations</u>		
BROWN 15071	no. 21	Fortuna per te crudele.
BOL 596		Fortuna vincinecta, Anon. (T and Ct in
		tablature with superius in mensural notation)
BUXHEIM	66 v	Anon. (organ tablature)
MODERN EDITIONS		
BrownFlor, no. 51 DavisVincen, no. DisertoriFr, pp. HewO, pp. 347-3 PerkinsMellon, no RingGlog, pp. 68-	8 180-181 348 5. 18	

COMMENTS

Because of its unique added altus, Fortune par te on folios 37v-38r in Q 18 is discussed in a separate commentary (see Chapter VI, pp. 202-203, and transcription, Vol. II). The text in CapePL 3.b.12 is from Matthew, 10:26. The beginning of the bassus in Q 16, the other version with a <u>si placet</u> altus, contains more notes than the corresponding place in the bassus of the Q 18 composition.

Measures 4-9 in the bassus of the version in Q 18 differ from those same measures in other manuscripts containing this composition. The Q 18 bassus is harmonically stronger so as to accommodate the rather active added altus. At measure 26 in the altus, it appears that the G should have been a dotted minim instead of a semibreve. On the other hand, it is possible that the scribe could have omitted a single pen stroke necessary to create two fusae, as in measures 5 and 48. The first solution is preferable. The ligature in measure 52 in the bassus in Q 18 begins on a Bb, while NHavY 91 has a C. This latter reading fits the harmonic context better.

Folios 38v-39r, Semper [G. F.]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

Ber1S 40021	164v-168r	[Benedicta] Se	emper sancta	sit Trinitas, Anon.
HradKM 7	126-137	[Benedicta] Se	emper sancta	sit Trinitas, Anon.
LeipU 49/50	no. 23			sit Trinitas, G. F.
LeipU 1494	103v-108r			sit Trinitas, Anon.
WarU 2016	77v-82r	[Benedicta] Se	emper sancta	sit Trinitas,
	and 156r		Anon,	

MODERN EDITIONS

GerberA, vol. II, pp. 131-40 KehreinS, no. 139 (text only) WackernagelK, vol. I, no. 174 (text only)

COMMENTS

The first polyphonic section of the motet appears in Q 18. See Laura Youens, "Music for the Lutheran Mass in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. Thomaskirche 49/50" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1978), p. 613. My thanks to Dr. Youens for pointing out this concordance. Folios 39v-40r, <u>Le ne demande</u> [Busnois]



CONCORDANCES

CambriT R.2.71	lr	<u>Je ne demande autre de gre</u> , Anon. (end of T and Ct)
ParisBNF 15123 RomeC 2856 SegC s.s.	153v-155r 151v-153r 112v-113r	Je ne demande (autre de gre), Anon. <u>Ie ne demande a me</u> , Busnoys <u>Ie ne demande</u> , Anon. <u>Je ne demande</u> , Anthonius Busnoys Je ne demande, Anon.

Prints

RISM 1501 47v-48r <u>Je ne demande aultre de gre</u>, Busnoys

Intabulations

BROWN 1507₂ 9r

Je ne demande, Anon.

MODERN EDITIONS

BrownFLor, no. 147 HewO, no. 42, pp. 311-12 SmijersO, p. 65 WolfO, <u>Missen I</u>, p. 1

COMMENTS

This composition was cited by Pietro Aaron in his <u>Tractato della</u> <u>natura e cognizione di tutti gli toni di canto figurato of 1525</u> (StrunkSR, p. 216n).

A three-voice composition in BolC Q 16, f. 45v-47r, with the same text incipit is a different piece. WashLC L 25, 121v, contains the same text incipit, but as the staves are blank, the composition was never entered in the manuscript, and therefore it is unclear whether the Q 18 or Q 16 setting of Je ne demande was intended.

Folios 40v-41r, Forsa chi schopra



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 256-57, for a discussion of this piece.

Folios 41v-42r, Spes mea



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 234-35, for a discussion of this piece. At measure 31 in the bassus, in order to avoid a six-four chord, an A replaces the G in the source.

Folios 42v-43r, Ma temo



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, p. 236, for a discussion of this piece. In measure 39, a G semibreve was added to the superius. This was done for two reasons: The F# leading tone in measure 38 and the need for an additional semibreve in that voice.

Folios 43v-44r, Probasti cor meum deus



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 257-59, for a discussion of this piece.

One editorial correction was necessary: In the bassus, at measure 76 of the transcription, the manuscript reports a C semibreve. This C fits the harmony on the first beat of the measure, but creates an unlikely dissonance on the second. Since the bassus voice in its entirety seems to be a semibreve too short, a G semibreve, which conforms to the harmonic context in both instances, has been supplied editorially.

Folios 44v-45r, <u>Adiuva me deus</u>



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 236-238, for a discussion of this piece.

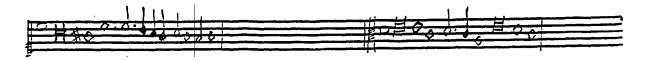
Folios 45v-46r, Sol fa mi re



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 239-241, for a discussion of this piece.

Folio 46v, Nunquam fuit pena maior



COMMENTS

The tenor is the same as the tenor of <u>Nuncha fu</u> on folio 89v (see Chapter VI, pp. 207-208).

Folio 48r [two voices only; no title]



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, p. 209, for a discussion of this piece.

Folios 48v-49r, La Spagna



MODERN EDITIONS

Thomas, no. 1

COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 210-211, for a discussion of this piece.

Folios 49v-50r, La Spagna



MODERN EDITIONS

Thomas, no. 2

COMMENTS .

See Chapter VI, pp. 210-211, for a discussion of this piece.

Folios 50v-51r, Nu[n]c scio vere



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, p. 259, for a discussion of this piece.

The scribe corrected his own error at measure 30 in the altus, changing the second note, a semibreve G, to an F. In the bassus at measure 33, the scribe wrote an E semibreve, which, for obvious harmonic reasons, needs to be an F.



COMMENTS

Hayne's melody is in the superius (see Chapter VI, pp. 203-204). The contrapuntal writing from measures 25 through 28 suggests that this passage may be an instance of multiple scribal errors.



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 259-261, for a discussion of this piece. The flats in the superius and tenor in measure 68, and in the bassus at measure 70, placed there by the scribe, have been eliminated. Retaining them leads into a quagmire of chromaticism that will result in a CL in measure 71; removing them, despite an apparent violation of the tritone rule, creates a sequential passage more in keeping with the sound of the late Quattrocento.



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 242-43, for a discussion of this piece. Facsimile in JepplaF, II, p. ix.

Folios 54v-55r, Bonus et miserator dominus



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 243-45, for a discussion of this piece. The scribe made two corrections: At measure 12, he cancelled the sharp before the first semibreve, and in measure 27 in the altus, he placed a slash through the stem of a minim, making it into a semibreve. In the latter case, the minim probably should have been left unchanged. The smudge in the bassus at measure 37 appears to have been written erroneously as two semibreve rests, but the scribe filled in the space between them to make them look, correctly, like one.

Folio 55v, Alma redemptoris [prima pars] [Josquin].



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

FlorBN II.I. 232 77v-79r Alma Redemptoris mater, Josquin, a 4

Prints

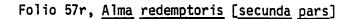
RISM 1519² no. 10 Alma Redemptoris Mater, Josquin, a 4

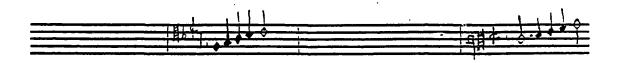
MODERN EDITIONS

SmijersJosq,Motetten, II, no. 38 (prima and secunda pars)

COMMENTS

The tenor of the prima pars on folio 55v in Q 18 has the words "Tenor in Soprano," indicating that this voice is in canon with the superius; the signum in the superius marks the point at which the tenor enters. The paraphrased plainsong, which appears in the four-voice Marian motet (see RISM 1519²) as a canon between the altus and tenor, occurs in the superius. Winfried Kirsch in "Josquin's Motets in the German Tradition," <u>Josquin des Prez: Proceedings . .</u>, p. 269, places the composition of <u>Alma redemptoris mater</u> (RISM 1519², FlorBN II.I. 232) in the period from 1490-1500. Q 18 may be one of the earliest sources of Josquin's piece (see Chapter VI, fn. 1).





COMMENTS

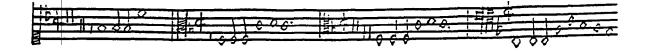
The <u>secunda pars</u> is lacking the superius and tenor voices (folio 56 is missing). The altus in Q 18 is the superius of the piece in RISM 1519² (<u>Motetti de la corona. Libro tertio</u>) and FLorBN II.I. 232.

Folios 57v-58r, Per votro amours



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, p. 262, for a discussion of this piece.



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

BolC Q 17 CopKB 1848	64v-65r p. 400	<u>Fille vous avez mal guarde</u> , Ysac, <u>Fille vous aves mal guarde</u> , Anon. (superius and tenor),
CopKB 1848 CorBC 95-6		(altus and bassus), Fille vous aves mal guarde, Anon. Fille vos have mal garde, Anon. (the bassus is missing)
FlorBN Magl. 121 FlorBN Magl. 178 FlorC 2442 ParisBNN 1817	70v-72r no. 44	<u>Fille vos ave mal gharde,</u> Anon. <u>Fille vos ave mal garde,</u> Enrique Ysac
SGallS 463	no. 137	<u>Ave sanctissima Maria</u> , Anon. (superius and altus only)
VatG XIII. 27 Vienna 18810	62v-64r no. 50	<u>Fille vous have mal guarde</u> , Ysach <u>File vos</u> , Henricus Ysaac
Intabulations		
BERLIN 40026 ST.GALL 530	10r no. 162	Philephos aves, H(ans) P(uchner) Filofosfz
MODEDN EDITIONS		

MODERN EDITIONS

WolfIsaac, pp. 27-28, 184.

COMMENTS

Isaac's <u>Figlie vos</u> contains some characteristics of a forwardlooking chanson, such as "rhythmic lightness, simple and finely etched melodic motives, clear-cut cadences, dialogue effects, tonal harmony, and syllabic declamation. . . " (AtlasCG, pp. 144-5). Atlas suggests that chansons of this kind may have led to the Parisian chanson of the sixteenth century as exemplified in the prints of Attaingnant. For more on the subject of the genre, see Lawrence F. Bernstein, "Notes on the Origin of the Parisian Chanson," in <u>Journal of Musicology</u>, I (1982), pp. 275-326; see also Chapter VI, commentaries for <u>La turturella</u>, p. 214, <u>Surge</u>, p. 253, <u>Borgo loco</u>, p. 263, and <u>Non ti smarir cor mio</u>, p. 266.

Folios 59v-60r, <u>Ie pris amor</u> [Isaac]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

RegB C 120 pp. 286-287 Je prins amours, Anon.

Prints

RISM 1504³ no. 25, 40v-41r Index: <u>Iay pris amours de izac</u>

MODERN EDITIONS

RiemannK, pp. 139-146 TaruskinJ, no. 19 WolfIsaac, pp. 77-78

COMMENTS

Richard Taruskin (TaruskinJ) has transcribed 28 settings of <u>J'ay pris</u> amours. Setting no. 19, the Q 18 piece, is transcribed according to RISM 1504³ (<u>Canti</u> <u>C</u>), but concordances are not given.

Folios 60v-61r, [0] Venus Bant



MODERN EDITIONS

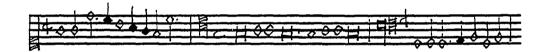
Taruskin0, no. 6

COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 211-13, for a discussion of this piece.

. .

Folios 61v-62r, [0] Venus Bant



MODERN EDITIONS

Taruskin0, no. 5

COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 211-13, for a discussion of this piece.

Folios 62v-63r, Lomo bani [Agricola]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

SGallS 461 pp. 84-85

52v-53r

Prints

RISM 1501

MODERN EDITIONS

Bernoul, Appendix no. 18 GiesSich, pp. 96-97 HewO, no. 47, pp. 321-322 LernerA, no. 61

COMMENTS

Agricola's composition appears with no further text in the above sources.

Thome banni, Alexander

Lhome banni, Agricola

Folios 63v-64r, "Absque verbis" [Benedictus from Missa Quant J'ay au cueur, Isaac]



CONCORDANCES

<u>Manuscripts</u>

Ber1S 40021	110v-111r	<u>Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini,</u> Anon.
FlorBN BR 229	9v-10r	textless, Henricus Ysac
FlorBN Magl. 107bis		Benedictus, Anon.
	17v-18r	Benedictus, Isachina (fourth voice same
	277 207	as other added voices)
HeilbS X/2	no. 9	Benedictus, Isaac (bassus only)
Jena 31	47 v-48r	Benedictus, Anon.
LonBL 31922	3v-4r	Index: Benedictus (the initial "B"
		appears at the head of each voice part), Anon.
MilD 2	150v-151r	
	77 v- 78r	"Absque verbis," Isach
RegB 940-41		Benedictus (in the altus book: Cum sua
		quam cantare soles vox desyderetur, Tempus id
		viterea lepidus consume bibendo), Anon.
SGa11S 462	7 v-8r	Plytzgan (Plitzgen at end of contratenor),
		H.I. (fourth voice same as other added voices)
SegC s.s.	52v-53r	Benedictus, Ysaac (fourth voice same as
		other added voices)
.TurBN I.27	35r	Benedictus, Isach
UlmS 237	22r, 20r-2	
-	21r-21v	Benedictus, Anon.
UppsU 76e	no. 3	Benedictus, Henrici Izac (superius only)
VatG XIII.27	50v-51r	Benedictus, Ysach
VatS 35	34v-35r	Benedictus, Ysaac
VerBC 757	29v-30r	textless, Anon. (fourth voice same as other
		added voices)
WarU 2016	55v-56r	Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini, Ysac
WashLC M6	88v-89r	Benedictus, Anon.
ZwiR 78/3	no. 9	textless, Isaac
Prints		•
RISM 1501	82 v- 83r	<u>Benedictus</u> , Izac
RISM 1506	no. 3	Benedictus, Henricus Izac
RISM 1510	43r	incipit of superius only, Anon.
RISM [1535] ¹⁴ , III	no. 46	Benedictus, Anon. (superius only)
RISM 15389	no. 30	textless, Anon. (in Jena copy: Benedictus
		<u>qui venit</u> , H. Isac)

Intabulations

BASEL F. IX. 22 BERLIN 40632 BROWN 15071	no. 17 19v no. 2	<u>Benedictus</u> , Heinrich Isaac (solo keyboard) <u>Benedictus</u> , Anon. Benedictus de Isach
BROWN 1536	no. 49	Benedictus, Anon.
BROWN 15565	pp. 46-49 pp. 39-42	Benedictus, Anon. (two lutes) (superius; tenor)
CRACOW S.SPIRITUS	p. 244	Benedictus, Anon. (solo keyboard)
MUNICH 718	136v-13/r	and 150v-151r Benedictus, Anon. (tenor and
		contratenor in viola da gamba tablature)
PARISBNC 27	21r, 55r,	<u>Benedictus</u> , Anon. (solo lute; tenor and contratenor only)
VIENNA 18688	86v-87r	Benedictus, Anon.
MODERN EDITIONS		

BrownFlor, no. 10 DisertoriFr, p. 229 FanoIsaac, pp. 66-67 GeeringHeer, pp. 18-20 HewO, pp. 379-80 MarxTabl, pp. 28-29 (intabulation only) PlamO, pp. 44-45 StevensH, p. 1 WolfIsaac, p. 112

COMMENTS

"Absque verbis," meaning "without words," is found in most sources with the title cr text incipit <u>Benedictus</u>. The composition was widely believed to be an independent instrumental fantasia, but it is actually the <u>Benedictus</u> section of the <u>Sanctus</u> of Isaac's <u>Missa Quant</u> <u>j'ay</u> <u>au</u> <u>cueur</u> (see StaehM I, pp. 32-33, and TaruskinQuis, p. 88). Q 18, FlorBN Panc. 27, SGallS 462, and VerBC 757 all contain a <u>si placet</u> altus. Folios 64v-65r, [D]es bien damors [Isaac/Martini]



CONCORDANCES

<u>Manuscripts</u>

BerlS 40021	58v-59r	<u>Ave</u> amator casti consilii, Anon.
BolC Q 16	9v-10r	Des biens, Anon.
CapePL 3.b.12	119v-120r	<u>Omnis habet finem labor, in me regula</u> fallit
FlorBN BR 229	18v-19r	Les Diens, Jannes Martini
FlorBN Magl. 121	29 v- 30r	textless, Anon.
FlorBN Magl. 178	44v-45r	La re, Jos. Martin
FlorBN Panc. 27	49v-50r	Les bien amore in superius,
		in margin: Omnis labor habet finem, Izach
PerBC 431	96v-97r	Des biens damoris, Anon.
RomeC 2856	4 v- 6r	De biens damours, Anon.
VatG XIII. 27	37 v-38r	Des biens, Anon.

Prints

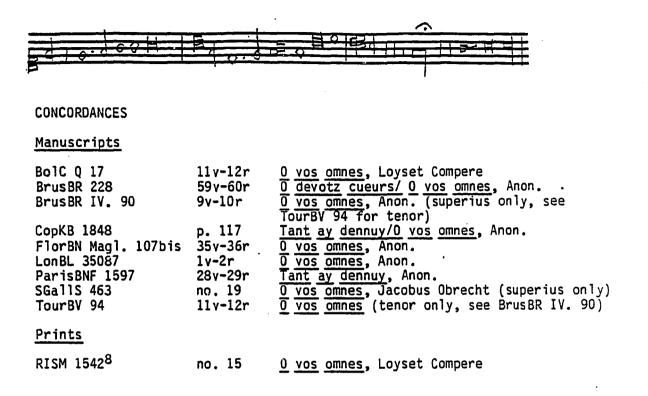
RISM 1538⁹ no. 77 textless, Anon.

MODERN EDITIONS AtlasCG, Vol. II, p. 25 BrownFlor, no. 19 Eitner, no. 20, EvansMart, pp. 13-15, a 4 (according to Q 18); pp. 11-12, <u>a 3</u> (according to RomeC 2856) FrancP, p. 117 (text) WolfIsaac, pp. 220, a 3

COMMENTS

The four-voice composition in Q 18 (the only four-voice version of [D]es bien damors) is the three-voice piece by Martini with an added altus. The setting in CapePL 3.b.12 and FlorBN Panc. 27 is probably a revision by Isaac of the piece by Martini (see Chapter III, p. 124).

Folios 65v-66r, Tant hai de mui [Compère/Obrecht]



MODERN EDITIONS

BesA, no. 2 BesM, p. 213 FinsCWorks, V, p. 136 FrancP, p. 162 (text) GeeringHeer, p. 230 HAM, pp. 80-81 Maldeghem, no. XXIII PickerMarg, no. 52 RoksT, no. 19 ScherG, p. 49, WolfO, IV, p. 173

COMMENTS

This is the first of the compositions in the section presumably copied by Spataro, and all pieces from here on have text incipits in all parts. The attribution to Obrecht in SGallS 463 is probably erroneous. The Latin text is from Lamentations, Chapter I, verse 12. Folios 66v-67r, Tristis es[t] anima mea



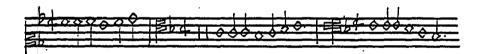
COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 224-25.

In order for the concluding cadence to end on the strong beat, it was necessary to insert one measure of triple meter into the present transcription. The least disruptive juncture seemed to be at measure 28 following the cadence in measure 26. At measure 32 in the superius, the scribe wrote E, but that note has been changed to a D for obvious harmonic reasons; at measure 37 in the bassus, the scribe wrote C, but that note has been changed to Bb because of an E with a written-in accidental that follows, and a D in the superius and a Bb in the tenor that both accompany it.

-47

Folios 67v-68r, D'un bel maitin



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

WashLC M6 93v-94r textless, Anon.

Prints

RISM 1506³ 55v-56r Dum <u>bel matin che fu sera de for</u>, Anon.

MODERN EDITIONS

DisertoriFr, no. 38, pp. 268-270

COMMENTS

At the bottom of folio 94r in WashLC M6 ("Wolffheim Chansonnier") is the following sentence, which appears to have been added by a later hand: "Je poi vedermi morto tu brami Bene rammenta." D'un bel maitin is copied into a section of this chansonnier that contains five three-voice textless pieces, such as Isaac's <u>Benedictus</u> and <u>Cela</u> sans plus by Colinet de Lannoy. All five compositions begin with imitation between the top two voices.

<u>D'un bel matin</u> by Joannes Zesso in RISM 1507³ (Petrucci, Book VII), folio 27v, a homorhythmic <u>villota</u>, and <u>E d'un bel matin</u> by Antonius Capriolus in RISM 1514² (Petrucci, Book XI), folio 35v, a polyphonic setting, are independent compositions and are, in fact, settings of different poems.

Folios 68v-69r, <u>Coment poult</u> [Isaac]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

MilD 3	92v-93r	Et incarnatus est, Enricus Isaach
MunBS 3154	187 v- 188r	Et in spiritum sanctum, Ysaac
MunBS 3154	460v-461r	Et in spiritum, Ysac
VatG XIII. 27	110v-111r	Coment poit avoir yoye, Ysach
ZürZ 906	4v-5v	Wolauff gut gsel von hinnen, Anon.

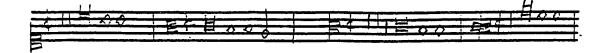
MODERN EDITIONS

FanoIsaac, pp. 127-128 TaruskinC, no. 1 WolfIsaac, p. 66

COMMENTS

<u>Coment poult</u> on folios 68v-69v in Q 18 also appears in other sources as the <u>Et</u> incarnatus of Isaac's <u>Missa Comment poit avoir joie</u> (also called <u>Missa Wohlauf gut G'sell von hinnen</u>) (see Chapter V, p. 157). <u>Comment peult</u> in RISM 1502² (<u>Canti B</u>), folios 22v-23r, by Josquin has a similar beginning, but proceeds differently. The <u>Canti B</u> melody appears in the contratenor of the Q 18 composition. The process of emulation (discussed by Brown in "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance," JAMS, XXXV [1982], p. 13), as observed in the next composition, <u>La turturella</u> on folios 69v-70r, may have also been at work in <u>Coment poult</u>. There is no relationship between these two compositions (the piece by Josquin and the anonymous <u>Coment poult</u> in Q 18) and a four-voice piece, <u>Comment peult</u>, on folios 23v-24r in RISM 1502² (<u>Canti B</u>).

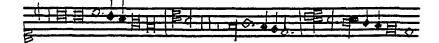
A hand, whose index finger points to the next folio, is drawn above the word "continua" at the end of the tenor on folio 68v. This symbol was common in Renaissance manuscripts and not unlike those found in a number of Florentine sources, for example, FlorBN Magl. 178, 24r.



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 214-217, for other sources of the melody of this piece and a discussion of the relationship between this work and Obrecht's La tortorella.

The flat in measure 16 in the bassus has been moved from its position prior to the C, where it was placed, presumably by Spataro, to directly in front of the next note, B. This creates less confusion in performance. The signed b-flat in the bassus, measure 38, seems inappropriate to the context and has been cancelled by means of a natural sign. Folios 70v-71r, Sy dedero [Agricola]



CONCORDANCES

<u>Manuscripts</u>

BarcBC 454	106v-107r	<u>Sy dedero</u> , Anon. <u>(si placet</u> voice different from ParisBNC 676)
BolC Q 16	120v-121rbis	<u>Si dedero sonnum</u> , Anon. <u>Si dedero</u> , A. Agricola
BolC Q 17	34v-35r	Si dedero, A. Agricola
BrusBR 11239	32v-33r	<u>Si dedero sompnum oculis meis</u> , Anon.
СорКВ 1848	pp. 100-101	Si dedero, Anon.
FlorBN BR 229	69v-70r	<u>Si dedero somnum oculis meis,</u>
		Alexander Agricola
FlorBN Magl. 107pis		index: folio 32, <u>Si</u> <u>dedero</u> , Anon.
-		(this folio is missing)
FlorBN Magl. 178	31v-32r	<u>Si dedero sompnum,</u> Alexander
FlorBN Panc. 27	57v-58r	Si dedero, Alex. Agrich.
FlorR 2356	82v-83r	Sidero somnum, Anon.
FlorR 2794	14v-15r	Si dedero sompnum oculis meis, Anon.
GreifU 640-641	no. 9	Si dedero, Anon. (superius and bassus only)
ParisBNC 676	30v-31r	<u>Si dedero</u> , Agricola (<u>si placet</u> voice
		different from BarcBC 454)
ParisBNF 1597	7v-8r	Si dedero sompnum oculis meis. Anon.
	170v-171r	Si dedero, Alexander Agricola
	99y-101r	Sy dedero, Agricola
SGa11S 462	35v-36r	Si dedero somnum oculis meis, Anon.
SGa11S 463	no. 16	Si dedero (Hypomixolydius in margin).
		<u>Si dedero (Hypomixolydius</u> in margin), Verbonet (superius only)
VatG XIII.27	18v-19r	<u>Si dedero sumpnum oculis meis, Agricola</u>
VerBC 757	24v-25r	textless, Anon. (Allexander has been added
		in pencil by a later hand)
Prints		
RISM 1501	61v-62r	<u>Si dedero</u> , Alexander
RISM 1538 ⁹	no. 13	textless, Anon. (in the Jena exemplar: <u>Si</u>
		dedero; in the Berlin exemplar, an
		attribution to Obrecht)
		· · ·
Tatab		
Intabulations		
BASEL F. IX. 22	no. 9	<u>Si dedero, Henr. Izack (solo keyboard)</u>
BROWN 15072	no. 23	Si dedero, Anon.
BROWN 15367	no. 46	<u>Si dedero</u> , Ja. Obrecht
CAPIROLA	no. 35	Si dedero, Anon.
	110. 33	<u>Ji dedero</u> , Anon.

MODERN EDITIONS

BrownFlor, no. 68 GeeringHeer, pp. 66-67 Gombosi, pp. 103-106 (intabulations only) HewO, pp. 339-340 LernerA, VI, pp. 50-51 Maldeghem, XIX, no. 6 MarxTabl, pp. 12-13 (intabulations only) PickerMarg, pp. 464-466 WolfIsaac, p. 163 (intabulation only) WolfO, IV, pp. 55, 58 (intabulation only)

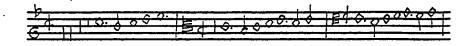
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COMMENTS

Although <u>Sy dedero</u> contains a paraphrase of a liturgical melody in its <u>cantus firmus</u> (See BrownFlor, p. 239, for information on the psalm verses and chant set to them and for a composition in FlorBN BR 229 based on the same chant), its presence in so many sources of secular music leads to the belief that it was not intended as a liturgical piece; <u>Sy dedero</u> seems suitable for instrumental performance.

The text incipit is spelled Sy dedero in superius and bassus; the tenor reads Si dedero.

Folios 71v-72r, <u>Je quide</u> [Congiet/Iappart]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

Ber1S 40021		index: Fa fa mi fa sol la, Anon.
CapePL 3.b.12	83v-84r	Primum querite regnum dej, Anon.
FlorBN BR 229	95v-96r	Je cuide se ce temps, P. Congiet
ParisBNC 676	49v-50r	Ja cuide, Anon.
RomeC 2856	127 v-1 29r	<u>le quido</u> , Jo. Jappart
VatG XIII. 27		Je cuyde, Anon.
Ver8C 757	22v-23r	textless, Anon.

Prints

RISM 1	501	4v-5r Je	cuide	se ce	tamps	me c	iure,
		An	on. (added	fourth	Voice	<u></u>

Intabulations

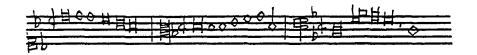
BROWN 1507₂ 3r Je ne cuide, Anon.

MODERN EDITION

BrownFlor, no. 93 Hew0, pp. 222-223

COMMENTS

For more on the subject of conflicting attributions, see AtlasCG, pp. 140-141. Je quide on folios 71v-72r is most probably by Japart, a composer active at Ferrara until 1480. A composition related to this one appears in RISM 1502² (see HewCB, p. 64). Spataro uses a G clef in the superious on folio 71v, this being the only use of that clef in Q 18.



CONCORDANCES

<u>Manuscripts</u>

FlorBN Magl. 107bis FlorBN Magl. 178 FlorBN Panc. 27	p. 412 11v-12r 56v-57r 29v-30r 33v-34r no. 14 85v-86r 245v-246r 40v-41r 64v-65r	La morra, Anon. textless, Henricus Ysac La mora, Izac La mora, Enrigus Yzac La mora, Anon. La morra, Isaac (bassus only) initials above music: H.Y. <u>Reple tuorum corda fidelium</u> , Anon. <u>La morra: Dona gentile</u> , Isach <u>O regina (in different ink, La mora)</u> , Isaac (fourth voice same as altus in SGalls 463)
SGa11S 463	no. 176	La morra, Henricus Isaac (superius and altus
SegC s.s. VatG XIII. 27 VerBC 757 ZwiR 78/3	175v-176r 83v-84r 39v-40r no. 25	only; altus same as fourth voice in SGallS 462) <u>Elaes</u> , Ysaac <u>Dona gentil</u> , Ysach textless, Anon. textless, Isaac
<u>Prints</u>		
RISM 1501, RISM [1535] ¹⁴ , III RISM 1538 ⁹	49v-50r no. 34 no. 29	<u>La morra</u> , Ysac <u>La morra</u> , Anon. (superius only) textless, Anon.
Intabulations		
BASEL F. IX. 22 BROWN 15071 BROWN 15366 BROWN 15366 PARISBNC 27 ST. GALL 530 WERT	no. 18 no. 13 no. 21 no. 48 14v no. 117 p. 11	La morra, Isacius author (solo keyboard) La mora, Anon. La mora, Isaac La mora, Isaac Mora, Anon. La morra, Heinrich Isaac (solo keyboard) Muteta, Ysaac

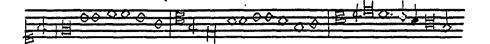
MODERN EDITIONS

BrownFlor, no. 12 BrugerD, no. 20 (intabulation) GeeringHeer, pp. 131-132 GerbA, p. 113 HewO, pp. 315-316 MarxTabl, pp. 30-31 (intabulation) RiemannK, pp. 125-132 RiemannM, no. 18 WolfIsaac, pp. 90-91, and three different intabulations: pp. 151-2, 152-3, 154-5.

COMMENTS

See Chapter V, p. 165. The title of this composition has stimulated much speculation, ranging from its being the name of some individual to its being the title of a game still played in Italy (BrownFlor, pp. 95-98). No text has ever been found for Isaac's <u>La</u> morra; it is probably an instrumental piece.

La mora on folios 72v-73r and Malur me bat on folios 73v-73r are copied on consecutive folios in FlorBN BR 229 (La mora on folios 11v-12r and Malur me bat on folios 10v-11r). Although FLorBN BR 229 is a Florentine manuscript dating from an earlier period than Q 18, there are many shared concordances between them (16, more than with any other single manuscript or print), and the discovery of a pair of pieces copied on consecutive folios in these two manuscripts suggests that both may have relied on a common source. See Chapter III, p. 103, for a discussion of another pair of compositions copied on consecutive folios in Q 18 and in TurBN I. 27 (a manuscript that contains very few concordances with Q 18). Perhaps because there are so many concordances between Q 18 and FlorBN BR 229, finding two pieces copied on consecutive folios in both manuscripts may be only coincidental. On the other hand, in all of Q 18, there are only these two sets of paired compositions, that is, pieces copied on consecutive folios in two different manuscripts. Folios 73v-74r, Malur me bat [Martini (or Malcort or Ockeghem)]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

RomeC 2856 SGallS 461	22v-23r 10v-11r 56v-58r pp. 52-53 65v-66r	Malheure me bat, Malcort		
Prints				
RISM 1501 RISM [1535] ¹⁴ , III RISM 1538 ⁹	68v-69r no. 58 no. 91	<u>Malor me bat</u> , Ockenghen <u>Malheur me bat</u> , Anon. (superius only) textless, Anon. (in the Jena exemplar: <u>Malheure me bat</u>)		
<u>Intabulations</u>				
BROWN 15072	no. 13	<u>Malor me bat</u> , Anon.		
MODERN EDITIONS				
AnglésMME, pp. 52-53 (intabulation) BrownFlor, no. 11 GiesSich, pp. 60-61 HewO, pp. 353-354 SmijersJos, II, pp. 66-67 SmijersO, pp. 226-7 WolfO, I, pp. 189-90, 191-192				

COMMENTS

See COMMENTS for La mora, folios 72v-73r. The question of the conflicting attributions remains unresolved. Brown believes that <u>Malur</u> <u>me bat</u> was composed by either Martini or Malcort (BrownFlor, p. 211; see also AtlasCG, pp. 149-55). Brown lists compositions related to the one in Q 18 appearing in RISM 1538⁹ and BROWN 1557₂, no. 43 [Tiento]...sobre <u>Malheur me bat</u> (a keyboard fantasia on themes from the chanson). The chanson melody formed the basis of Masses by Agricola, Josquin, Obrecht, and others. It seems unlikely that a text will ever be found.

Folios 74v-75r, Une musca [Josquin]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

		Une musque de <u>buscay</u> , Josquin
CorBC 95-96	no. 34	Une, Anon. (no bassus) (with Paris BN 1817,
		33v-34, tenor only)
FlorBN BR 229	149v-150r	<u>Une mois que de biscaie</u> , Josquin
		(fourth voice indicated by canon)
FlorBN Magl.178	16v-17r	Une mosche de bischaye, Josquin
-		(fourth voice indicated by canon)
RomeC 2856	85r-87r	Uno mosque de buscayo, Josquin de pres
		(fourth voice indicated by canon)
SevC 5-I-43	no. 138	three voices without text, Anon. (fourth
		voice indicated by canon)
VatG XIII.27	27 v-28r	Una mosque de bisqualla, Josquin (fourth
		voice indicated by canon)

Prints

RISM	1504 ³	129v	Una musque de		de	buscgaya,	Josquin		
			(fou	irth	voi	ce	indicated	bу	canon)

MODERN EDITIONS

AntonJosq, IV, pp. 5–6 BordesT, no. 1 BrownFlor, no. 145 La Fage, II, p. 28 ParisGev, no. 7 (text and probable monophonic model) SmijersJosq, X, p. 119

COMMENTS

Paris BNF 12744, 5v, <u>Une mousse de Biscaye</u>, may be the monophonic source of Josquin's chanson. For the possibility that this monophonic tune as well as some others--e.g., the melody of <u>La turturella</u> on folios 69v-70r--were dance pieces, see LesureDanses, p. 176ff., MeyerRôle, p. 156ff., PescerelliEbreo, pp. 52-53, and CattinCanti, p. 200. Lesure lists a Tant ay d'enuy, two En attendant pieces, and a composition with the title Robinet as belonging to the category of dance music. It is doubtful that the text incipits in Lesure's list refer to Tant hai de mui, folios 65v-66r, En atendant, folios 91v-92r, or Rubinet, folios 80v-81r, as these three compositions are settings of rondeaux, but it is always possible that the melodies of these pieces in \overline{Q} 18 were at one time the basis of dance compositions.

In Q 18, the second canonic voice is written out; the only other source that writes out this voice is CorBC 95-96 (see above), but as its bassus part book is missing, Q 18 remains the only source of <u>Una</u> <u>musca</u> to present all four voices written out without reference to a <u>canon</u>. The canon (according to FlorBN BR 229) reads: <u>Quiescit qui super</u> <u>me volat/Post me venit qui in punctu clamat</u>. Q 18 stands apart from all the other sources in the manner in which it presents two analogous measures (the last note in measure 19 and 32). Aside from VatG XIII. 27, which transmits an obvious error in measure 19, all the other sources, except for Q 18, contain the same last note in measure 19 as in measure 32. In measure 19, there is an A in Q 18 and in measure 32, an F. This example may serve to illustrate the somewhat peripheral nature of Q 18 with respect to both the Florentine and northern Italian chansonniers represented in the concordances for Una musca.

Folios 75v-76r, Mater patris [Brume1]

CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

FlorBN Panc. 27	101 v-1 02r	Mater patris, Brumel
MunU 322-5	no. 18	Mater patris et filia, Anon.
SegC, s.s.	156 v-1 57r	Mater Patris, Anthonius brumel
SevC 5-5-20	19 v- 20r	Mater patris, Anon.

Prints

RISM	1501	67 v-68 r	Mater patris, Brumel
RISM	1538 ⁹	no. 55	textless, Anon., ("Henricus
			Brumel," and <u>Pater matris</u>
			in tenor part-book of Berlin,
			Freie Universität copy, in a
			later hand; in the Jena exemplar,
			"Ant Brumel" and <u>Mater patris</u> have
			been added to the tenor part).

Intabulations

BROWN 15072	33v-34r	<u>Mater patris et filia</u> , Anon.
BROWN 15367	no. 5	Mater patris, A. Brumel

MODERN EDITIONS

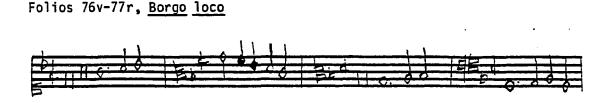
BrumelC, no. 15 DisertoriC, pp. 106-111 DisertoriFr, III, p. 232 Dreves, no. 152 (text) Greenberg, no. 11, p. 94f HewO, no. 62, p. 351 SmijersJosq, p. 29 SmijersVanO, p. 138

COMMENTS

The tenor of the composition in Q 18 appears as the superius of <u>Mater patris</u> as it occurs in all of the above concordances, and the superius of Q 18 is the same as the tenor in the other sources. In terms of range of voices, the arrangement in Q 18 makes less sense, since the tenor extends above the superius there. On the other hand, the

ranges are quite close, and Spataro may have wished the voices to enter in sequence, from lowest to highest, a consideration that would have overridden one regarding range.

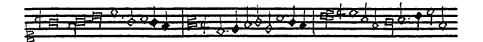
<u>Mater patris, Speciosa</u>, and <u>Alma redemptoris mater</u>, all of which are set polyphonically in Q 18, are three antiphon texts for Second Vespers (see BrumelC, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv). Perhaps, as one of their many activities, a group such as the <u>Concerto palatino</u> was called upon to perform such pieces as instrumental preludes or postludes in connection with activities before or after religious services in Bologna.



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 264-66, for a discussion of this piece. In order to have the cadences fall on the initial beats of subsequent measures, a single measure in three-two meter was inserted after measure 16.

Folios 77v-78r, Biblis



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

CapePL 3.b.12

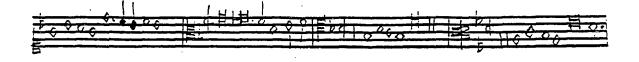
112v-113r Nam edunt de micis et catellj

MODERN EDITIONS

CattinItl, no. 5

COMMENTS

The text incipit in CapePL 3.b.12 is taken from Matthew, Chapter 15, verse 27; Nam e catellj edunt de micis que cadunt de mensa dominorum suorum ("Yet, the dogs eat crumbs which fall from their master's table"). The expression "Biblis" in Q 18 may have been Spataro's own shorthand for labeling a composition that, in some other source, relied on textual material taken from the Bible. This composition has many of the characteristics of an instrumental piece (see CattinNF, pp. 187 and 215). The reading in CapePL 3.b.12 is very close to the one in Q 18. I have not been able to decipher the strange writing at the bottom of folio 77v; as far as I can tell, it bears no relation to the biblical sentence. The tenor voice continues onto the next folio (78r) without benefit of hand or finger symbol (see folios 68v-69r, p. 353 above).



CONCORDANCES

<u>Manuscripts</u>

RomeC 2856 SGallS 462 SGallS 463 VatG XIII.27	164v-165r 9v-10r 48v-49r 65v-66r no. 14 no. 83 p 304	Adiu mes amors, Josquin Adiu mens amors, Josquin Adiu mes amors, Josquin Adiu mes amours, Josquin (transposed up a fifth) Adieu mes amours (monophonic source) Adieu mes amours, Josquin Adieu mes amours, Josquin Adieu mes amours, Anon. Adieu mes amours (Dorius in margin), Josquinis Pratensis (superius and altus only) Adieu mes amors, Iosquin
<u>Prints</u>		
RISM 1501 RISM [1535] ¹⁴ , I	16v-17r no. 4	<u>Adiu mes amors</u> , Josquin <u>Adieu mes amours</u> , Anon. (superius only)
Intabulations		:
BASEL F. IX. 22	no. 21	<u>Adieu mes amours</u> , H. Isaac (solo keyboard)
BROWN 1507 ₁ BROWN 1533 ₁ BROWN 1536 ₆ BROWN 1536 ₇ BROWN 1556 ₂ ST. GALL 530 WERT	no. 18 no. 31 no. 50 no. 31 no. 9 no. 112 p. 9	<u>Adiu mes amours</u> , Anon. <u>Adieu mes amours</u> , Anon. <u>Adiu mes amours</u> , Anon. <u>Adiu mes amours</u> , Joss Quin
M – IX I		

MODERN EDITIONS

AmbrosG, V, p. 131 AntonJosq, IV, pp. 1-3 Bernoul, p. 14 BrownFlor, no. 158 GeeringHeer, pp. 77-78 HewO, pp. 249-251 LaFage,II, p. 29 MarxTabl,II, pp. 36-37 (intab. only) SmijersVanO, V, pp. 156-157 Torr, pp. 540-543 WolfO, IV Anhang, p. 36 WolfIsaac, p. 135 (intab. only)

COMMENTS

The scribe of folio 33v had initially entered the superius of <u>Adie</u> <u>mes</u> amours now on folio 78v, but then erased it and entered the superius of <u>Dapo ch[e]</u> gionta e lora (see Chapter II, p. 49, for implications regarding the order of composition in Q 18).

On the subject of performance of <u>Adie mes amours</u> with either or both of the texts associated with it (<u>Adieu mes amours</u>, on <u>m'atent</u>, a <u>rondeau cinquain</u>, and <u>Adieu mes amours</u>, <u>adieu vous command</u>, a monophonic melody in the form of a <u>bergerette</u>, used as a <u>cantus firmus</u> in tenor and bassus) see BrownFlor, pp. 273-4.



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

Ber1S 40021	69-72v	<u>Ad te clamamus</u> (index: <u>Salve regina</u>) Heyn, Isack
DresSL 1/D/505	436-445	Ad te clamamus, H. Isack
FlorBN BR 229	272v-273r	textless, Henricus Ysac
FlorBN Panc. 27		Alleluya, Anon.
FarisBNC 676	50v-51r	<u>Gratis</u> <u>accepistis et gratis</u> <u>date</u> , Anon.
SegC s.s.	67v-71r	Ad te clamamus, Isaac
StuttI. 39	149v-184r	Salve rex misericordiae, Anon.
WarU 2016	74v-77r	Ad te clamamus, Anon.

MODERN EDITIONS

BrownFlor, no. 252 DischnerHort, no. 6, <u>Instrumentalsatz</u> ohne <u>Titel</u> HAM, no. 88, <u>instrumental canzona</u> WolfIsaac, p. 119

COMMENTS

BerlS 40021, DresSL 1/D/505, SegC s.s., Stutt I 39, and WarU 2016 contain the piece on folios 79v-80r as part of the complete motet <u>Salve</u> regina. Q 18, FlorBN Panc. 27, FlorBN BR 229, and ParisBNC 676 contain only the single movement.

<u>Tisis</u> in FLorR 2356, folios 18v-19r, and in FlorBN Magl. 176, folios 134v-136r, is a different piece. See Chapter III, p. 113 for a discussion of the possible meaning of <u>Thysis</u> in Q 18. It is spelled <u>Thisys</u> in the superius and <u>Thysis</u> in the three other voices.

The text of the motet <u>Gratis</u> accepistis (the title of the Q 18 piece as it appears in ParisBNC 676), may allude to Savonarola's warnings to the clerics who corrupt the sacraments (see Bridg676, pp. 187 and 218-9).



CONCORDANCES

BolC Q 17 FlorBN BR 229 FlorBN Magl. 121 FlorBN Magl. 178 VatG XIII. 27 WashLC M6	33v-34r	A tratier amors, Anon. Ha traytor amors, Stochem Hay trayt amorus, Stochen
Prints		
RISM 1501 RISM [1535] ¹⁴ , III	92v-93r no. 31	<u>Harraytre amours</u> , Jo. Stoken <u>Compere</u> , Anon. (superius only)
<u>Intabulations</u>		
BROWN 1507 ₂ BROWN 1536 ₇	no. 10 no. 4	<u>Haray tre amours</u> , Anon. <u>Harraytre amours</u> , Anon.
MODERN EDITIONS		
BrownFlor, no. 23 HewO, p. 399 ReeseMQ, p. 76		

COMMENTS

If "Rubinet" is an attribution, it, and possibly the initials "S.M.C" on folio 1r, are the only ones in Q 18 (see Chapter II, p. 45, and Chapter III, p. 107). The piece on folios 80v-81r is almost certainly by Stochem. It may be that the superius of RISM [1535]¹⁴ (EgenoIff) was part of a composition containing two or three lower voices not having any relationship to the piece on folios 80v-81r. Staehelin theorizes that Compère took Stochem's superius and used it as the basis for a new composition (StaehEgen, p. 103).



COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 266-269, for a discussion of this piece and other pieces that use this text incipit.

3 Folios 82v-83r, La bernardina [Josquin] CONCORDANCES Manuscripts MunBS 1516 no. 23 La bernardina, Josquin Prints RISM 1504³ 157v-158r La bernardina, Josquin RISM 1538⁹ no. 16 La bernardina, Joskin Intabulations BROWN 15071 La bernardina de Josquin (two lutes) La bernardina de Josquin 19r BROWN 15071 27 v BROWN 15367 no. 12 La Bernardina, Josquin MODERN EDITIONS AntonJosq WW II, no. 42 Chiles, no. 20 KieseS, app. 13 KieseT, app. 64 ScherG, no. 62b, (lute intab., no. 63)

COMMENTS

This composition is most certainly an instrumental one (see Chapter IV, p. 149, fn. 30). Josquin may have dedicated it to a certain person named Bernard. It is often grouped, in discussions of instrumental compositions of this period, with La alfonsina and La stangetta, two other textless pieces with apparently eulogistic titles. Wolff sees resemblances between La bernardina and La alfonsina, such as initial head motives, same succession of voices and time interval of entries (WolffC, p. 366).

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COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 225-28, for a discussion of this piece. A dot, lacking in the manuscript, has been added to the altus following the <u>longa</u> in measure 42. Without it, parallel fifths would occur between the superius and altus, and the altus would be a measure too short. folios 84v-85r, Parce domine [Obrecht]

•



CONCORDANCES

<u>Manuscripts</u>			
AmiensBM 162 BolC Q 17	18r 2r	Parce domine, Anon. Parce Domine populo tuo, Anon. (altus and bassus only)	
Bo1C R142	16v	Parce domine, Anon. (altus only, actually T)	
BrusBR IV. 90	no. 6	Parce domine (superius only)	
CambriP 1760 CopKB 1848 LonBL 35087	46v-47r 99r 4r	Parce domine, Obrek Parce domine, Anon. Parce domine populo tuo, Anon. (altus and bassus missing because next folio has been torn out)	
MunU 322-5 SGallS 463	14r-14v p. 128	Parce Domine, Obrechthus Auctor Parce Domine, Jacobus Obrecht (superius and altus, Aeolius tonus)	
TourBV 94 <u>Prints</u>	no. 6	Parce domine (tenor only)	
RISM 1503 ¹ RISM 1547 ¹ ,	33v-34r pp. 260-1	<u>Parce domine,</u> Obrecht, a 4 <u>Triados in Aeolio</u> <u>exemplum Jacobi Hobrechthi</u> , a 3	
<u>Intabulations</u>			
BROWN 15317 ST. GALL 530	117v no. 15	<u>Parce domine</u> , Obrecht (organ) <u>Parce domine (secunda pars</u>) (solo keyboard)	
MODERN EDITIONS			
BesC, no. 3 BohnD, p. 207 ForkelGesch II, p. 524 MillerD, pp. 327-8 ParrishMM, pp. 56-57, a 3. RoksethT, pp. 24-27 WolfO, II, pp. 95-96 and III, 79-80 (keyboard tablature) WooldOHM, II, p. 61			

Glareanus in his <u>Dodecachordon</u> (RISM 1547¹) uses <u>Parce</u> <u>domine</u>, <u>a 3</u> (lacking the Q 18 altus), as an illustration of Aeolian mode (see ParrishMM, pp. 55-57, and Loach, p. 312). The Q 18 tenor is the altus of the reading in RISM 1503¹ (<u>Motetti</u> <u>B</u>) and <u>vice</u> <u>versa</u>. (This <u>si placet</u> altus may not be by Obrecht; see Drake, p. 99.)



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

VerBC 757 21v-22r

22**r** tex

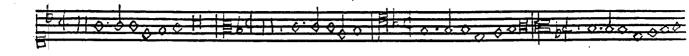
textless, Anon.

COMMENTS

This piece may possibly be the final movement of an unidentified Mass ordinary setting.

The altus of Q 18 appears as the bassus in VerBC 757 and the Q 18 bassus is the VerBC altus. The Q 18 altus has the range of a 13th and follows several compositions that appear to have been grouped together in pairs on the basis of the ranges of voices. La bernardina on folios 82v-83r and <u>Speciosa</u> on folios 83v-84r have bassus voices that span the range of a 14th. <u>Parce domine</u> on folios 84v-85r and <u>Agnus dei</u> on folios 85v-86r have altus ranges of a 12th and a 13th respectively, and their bassus voices span the interval of an 8th in <u>Parce domine</u> and a 9th in <u>Agnus dei</u>. In general, the altus parts in Q 18 have the widest ranges of any of the voice parts, followed by the bassus parts (see Chapter V, pp. 156-158, and Appendix V). Spataro may have had some sort of master plan in copying the voices of certain pieces in this section of Q 18 (see <u>Mater patris</u> on folios 75v-76r) in the specific order in which they appear, perhaps to suit the capabilities of various instrumentalists assigned to learning a specific voice part, but it is also possible that he copied them indiscriminately.

The bottom of folio 86r in Q 18 has been torn out; however, no music from either <u>Agnus dei</u> or <u>E chi le dira</u> on folio 86v has been lost.



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

BrusBR 11239	17 v-1 8r	Et qui la dira, H. Ysac
FlorBN Magl. 107bis		<u>E qui ladira,</u> Anon.
ParisBNF 9346	no. 86	Et qui la dira dira, monophonic source
RegB C 120	pp. 218-19	Ey que la dire, Isaac
SGallS 461	pp. 70-71	<u>E qui la dira,</u> H. Isacz
VatV 11953	6r-6v	<u>Et que la dira</u> , Hen. Ysac
		(bassus part book)

Prints

RISM 1501

13v-14r E qui le dira, Anon.

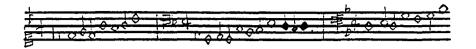
MODERN EDITIONS

GiesSich, pp. 82-83 FrancP, no. 89 (text) HewO, pp. 242-243 PickMarg, no. 11 WolfIsaac, "E. no. 12" and Supplement, "A. no. 13."

COMMENTS

See HewO, p. 133, and PickMarg, p. 154, for a list of other pieces that use the tenor of <u>E chi le dira</u> on folios 86v-87r in Q 18 and for other modern editions of the text.

Folios 87v-88r, Me doibt [Compère]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

DijBM 517	186v-188r	<u>Ne doibt on prendre,</u> Loyset Compere
FlorBN Panc. 27	38v-39r	Me doibt, Compere
ZwiR 78/3	no. 14	textless, Anon.

Prints

RISM 1501	50v-51r	<u>Me doibt</u> , Compere
RISM [1535] ¹⁴ , III	no. 52	<u>Me doibt</u> , Anon. (superius only)
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MODERN EDITIONS

FinsCWorks, Vol. V, pp. 35-36 Hew0, pp. 317-318

COMMENTS

The word "Bourbon" appears in the top left margin of folio 186v in DijBM 517. According to HewO, p. 175, this very likely refers to the poet Jean de Bourbon.

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Folios 88v-89r, Mjn morghen gaf



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

VatV 11953

17r-17v textless, Anon. (bassus only)

Prints

RISM 1502 ²	21 v- 22r	<u>Myn morghen ghaf</u>
RISM [1535] ¹⁴ , I	no. 26	(<u>Min morghen</u> in index), Anon. <u>Myn morgen gaf</u> , Anon. (superius only)

Modern Editions

HewCB, pp. 143-145 LenaertsN, p. 57, and supplement, pp. 5-6 WexlerM (in press)

COMMENTS

Myn morken gaf my in LonBL 35087, 5v-6r, a 3, is listed in BridgEgen, pp. 112-113 (and HewCB, p. 45), as a related composition. HewCB gives the incorrect number for RISM [1535]¹⁴ (no. 28, instead of 26). SmijersVij, p. 170, incorrectly attributes the piece in Q 18 to Obrecht (as he does the anonymous La turturella).

In Q 18, the superius and bassus read my, the tenor myn and the altus mjn; the superius and altus read gaf, while the tenor and bassus incipits read ghaf.

Folios 89v-90r, <u>Nuncha fu pena maior</u> [Enrique/Urrede]



CONCORDANCES

<u>Manuscripts</u>

BolC Q 16 BolC Q 17 FlorBN Magl. 176 FlorBN Magl. 178 FlorR 2356 MadP 1335 OxfBA 831 ParisBNF 15123 PerBC 3065 SegC, s.s. SevC 7-I-28 SGallS 463 VatG XIII. 27 VerBC 757	118v-120r 11r 91v-92r 37v-38r 30v-31r 1r 261v-262r 99v-100r 87v-88r 109r 16v-17r no. 161 21v-22r 57v-58r	Nunquam fo pena major, Anon., a 4 Nunquam fui pena maior, Anon. (superius and tenor only) Nunquam, Anon., a 3 Nunquam fuit pena mayor, Anon., a 3 (N) unquam fue pena maior, Anon., a 3 Nunca fue pena major, Jo. Urrede, a 3 Nunca fuit pena maior, Anon., a 3 (superius and end of bassus only) Nunquam fue pena maior, Anon., a 3 Nunca fue pena major, Jo. Urede, a 3 Nunca fue pena major, Jo. Urede, a 3 Nunca fue pena major, Anon., a 3 Nunca fue pena major, Jo. Urede, a 3 Nunca fue pena major, Jo. Urede, a 3 Nunca fue pena major, Anon. (superius and altus only, Aeolius) Nunca fue pena mayor, Enrique, a 3 textless, Anon., a 4	
<u>Prints</u> RISM 1501	6v-7r	Nunqua fue pena maior, Anon., a 4	
Intabulations			
BROWN 1507 ₁ CAPIROLA	no. 19 51v	<u>Nunquam fuit pena maior,</u> Anon. <u>Nunca fue pena major</u> , Anon.	
MODERN EDITIONS		<u>-</u>	
AnglésMME, V, pp. 1-2 Barb, pp. 239-240 GombosiC, pp. 89-92 (intabulation) Haberk, pp. 135-136 HewO, pp. 226-227 StevensonS, pp. 228-229 Vanderstra, VIII, p. 454			

COMMENTS

This composition is found with an added fourth voice in BolC Q 16, VerBC 757, and RISM 1501 (<u>Odhecaton</u>). This is one of the few instances where a piece is <u>a 3</u> in Q 18 but has an added voice in other sources. See also <u>Si dedero</u> on folios 70v-71r, <u>Ie quide</u> on folios 71v-72r, and <u>La</u> <u>mora</u> on folios 72v-73r, all <u>a 3</u> in Q 18 but <u>a 4</u> in various other sources, including RISM 1501 and ParisBNC 676 (1502), both thought to have been compiled before Q 18 (see Chapter III, pp. 117ff).

AtlasCG, pp. 82-84, groups the sources of this piece on the basis of the variants, suggesting two traditions, each divided into two subgroups. He places Q 18 in the second subgroup of the first tradition among BolC Q 16, RISM 1501 (<u>Odhecaton</u>), OxfBA 831, SGallS 463, and VerBC 757. Concerning the conflicting attribution, Atlas believes Urrede is the composer of <u>Nuncha fu pena maior</u>, since the two central sources for the piece (MadP 1335 and SevC 7-I-28) both ascribe it to him.

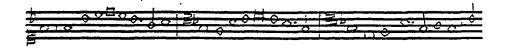
HewO, pp. 130-131, lists related compositions. In the MS FlorBN Magl. 107bis, the index lists a <u>Nunquam fuit pena</u> on folio 41 (Anon.), but this folio is missing.

The composition on folio 46r, <u>Nunquam fuit pena maior</u>, uses the same tenor (in augmentation) as the piece on folio 89v. Because folio 47 is missing, one cannot be certain whether this piece was a 3 or <u>a 4</u>.

The first two notes in the two lower voices are reversed in rhythmic value in RISM 1501; Q 18 (also in the tenor on folio 46r) has a breve followed by a semibreve (see Chapter III, p. 95, fn. 1).

The superius reads <u>nuncha</u>, the two other voices <u>nunca</u>. The voice on folio 90r drops the <u>maior</u> from the incipit.

Folios 90v-91r, Garisses moi [Compère]



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

SGa115 461	pp. 48-49	<u>Garises moy</u> , Compere
SegC s.s.		Garises moy, Loyset Compere
TurBN I. 27	13v-14r	<u>Guerisses moy</u> , Anon.

Prints

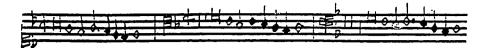
RISM 1501	63 v-6 4r	<u>Garisses</u> moy, Compere
RISM 1538 ⁹	no. 53	Garisses moy, Anon.

MODERN EDITIONS

FinsCWorks, V, pp. 27-28 GiesSich, pp. 54-55 HewO, pp. 343-344

COMMENTS

This piece and the next one on folios 91v-92r, also by Compère, are located on adjacent folios in TurBN I. 27 (see Chapter III, p. 103, and comments for La mora on folio 72v-73r and Malur me bat on folio 73v-74r in Q 18).



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

СорКВ 1848	pp. 356-357 p. 449	<u>En attendant</u> , Anon.
FlorBN BR 229 FlorBN Magl 178 SegC s.s. TurBN I.27 UppsU 76a	225v-226r 18v-19r 185v-186r 13v 1v	En attendant, Loyset Compere En attendant, Anon. En attendant, Anon. En attendant, Anon. En attendant, Anon. En attendant, Anon.

MODERN EDITIONS

BrownFlor, no. 208 FinsCWorks, V, pp. 20-21 Villan@sA, supplement

COMMENTS

See comments for <u>Garisses moi</u> on folios 90v-91r. FinsCLife, pp. 46-52, incorrectly lists WashLC L 25, folios 111v-112r, as a concordance for the Q 18 composition. The piece in "Laborde" is by Agricola. For a text source, see BrownFlor, p. 292.

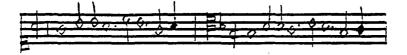


COMMENTS

See Chapter VI, pp. 269-70, for a discussion of this piece.

The scribe, presumably Spataro, placed a flat next to the semibreve E in the bassus in measure 32. If he had omitted the accidental, there would have been a strong temptation to sharp the C in the tenor. By placing a flat in the manuscript, he warned the performer against doing so.

A correction sign was placed on the A in the superius at measure 31, but this note was correct as written and the sign was unnecessary. In order for the cadences following measure 16 to arrive on strong beats, a three-two measure has been inserted editorially at measure 15. Folio 93v, <u>A qui direlle sa pense</u>



CONCORDANCES

Manuscripts

ParisBNF 127449rA qui direlle sa pencée (monophonic source)RegB C 120pp. 22-23A qui direlle sa pencée, Anon.

Prints

RISM 1502 ² 18v-19r RISM [1535] ¹⁴ , I no. 24	<u>A qui dir'elle sa pencée</u> , Anon. <u>A qui direlle sa pense</u> , Anon. (superius only)
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MODERN EDITIONS

HewCB, pp. 134-137 ParisGev, no. 11 (monophonic source)

COMMENTS

Q 18 ends with the superius and tenor of this composition. The tenor incipit read <u>A Qui direle</u>. HewCB, pp. 41-42, lists related compositions.

Texts of Four Unique Frottole and Laude

Folios 4v-5r, Oime che sempre spero

Oime, che sempre spero Chiamando a te, signora, Aiuto che io non mora Disperato.

L'omo ch'è n'amorato, D'affanno e dolor pieno, A lui non vien meno Al suo foco.

Oyme, che apoco apoco El miser cor se struge, Poi da me se fuge La mia dea.

Oyme, non mi credea Che un si vago aspecto Havesse per dilecto Darme morte.

Oyme, che star si forte? Io moro e tu no'l chrede. Oyme dove, è la fede Che tu avevi?

Oyme, che le catene, Sento venir a mancho Che morte agiunse al fiancho Con tormento.

Oyme, che gran siagura, Io agio in questo passo Si che amor ti lasso. Più non posso.

Alas, I always hope, calling to you, lady, for help that I not die in desperation.

To the man who is in love, full of worry and grief, she does not succumb on account of his fire.

Alas, little by little my miserable heart is destroyed, since my goddess flees from me.

Alas, I would not have believed that such a charming face could delight in causing my death.

Alas, why be so hard? I die and you don't believe it. Alas, where is the faith that you had?

Alas, the chains, I feel myself dying when death arrives beside me with torment.

Alas, what great misfortune, I take this step so that I leave you love. More I cannot do.

N.B. The strophes are arranged above in an order that most closely corresponds to the rhyme scheme (see Chapter VI, p. 176), but they are not in the exact order as written in Q 18.

Folios 5v-6r, Con gual fronte a te, Maria

Con qual fronte a te, Maria, Potren mai chieder mercede? Tua pietà, c'ogn' altra escede Pur sperando a te m'invia. Con qual [fronte a te, Maria, Potren mai chieder mercede?]

Dal tuo regno sian banditi, Madre oyme per nostro errore, No(n) sapian se tu ci aiuti Che di bando usciren fuore. Il nimico a tutte l'ore Sta parato, o Madre sancta, E fa stratio de tua pianta Per condurci alla sua via.

With what countenance, Mary, May we ever ask mercy from you? Hoping for your pity, which exceeds all others, I recommend myself to you. With what countenance, Mary, May we ever ask mercy from you?

From your kingdom we are banished, Mother, alas, because of our mistake, Not knowing whether you will help us Who have been sent out in exile. The enemy at all times Is prepared, o sacred Mother, And he opposes your plan In order to lead us into his path.

Folios 13v-14r, <u>Sel mi dole esser gabato</u> (for remainder of text, not in Q 18, see Ces/Mont, no. XXII)

> Se'l mi dole esser gabato Lo dimostro nell aspecto Che'l dolor ch'ò dentro al pecto M'à di fuor [tutto mutato].

If I lament for being deceived I show it in my face For the pain I have in my chest Has outwardly altered me completely.

Folios 17v-18r, Sensa te sacra regina

Sensa te,sacra regina, Non si può in ciel salire; L'alma sua non può perire Chi a te serve e a te s'inchlina.

Tu sei quella verginella Che portasti il salvatore; Tu sei quella chiara stella Che per tutto dà sp[l]endore: Prega il tuo divin signore Verso noi a pietà s'inchina.

Tu sei, Madre, in ciel salita Con il corpo el [<u>sic</u>]l'alma sancta, E d'un manto sei vestita Di pietade tutta quanta: Per ti il cor' dell' [<u>sic</u>] angeli canta, "Ave stella matutina."

Tuo devoti Madre, pia Non volere abandonare; El nimico tuttavia Cercha farci trabochare Per poterci alfin menare Nel inferno, a gran ruina.

Without you, Holy Queen, One cannot go to heaven; His soul cannot perish Who serves you and bows before you.

You are that little Virgin Who bore the Saviour; You are that bright star Who gives splendor to all: Pray to your divine Lord That He may let His mercy descend upon us.

You, Mother, have risen to heaven With body and holy soul, And you are clothed in a mantle Of boundless pity: For you the choir of the angels sings, "Hail, morning star!"

Holy Mother, do not Abandon your devoted ones; The enemy always Tries to trap us In order to bring us To hell, to our great ruin. APPENDIX V

<u>Chart of Ranges of Voice Parts in Q 18*</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>B</u>
1v <u>Lontan pur mî convien</u>	Ppð	f11	f7	Bpð
2v <u>De per dio non mi far torto</u>	d'8	g8	g9	в ^b 10
3v <u>Se benor non schopro il foco</u>	d'7	f9	f6	Bpð
4v <u>Oime che sempre spero</u>	d'7	c13	g7	A7
5v <u>Con qual fronte a te Maria</u>	d'5	f9	g8	C9
6v <u>Al la fe si al la fe bona</u>	e'7	g9	g9	c9
7v <u>Helasso donna hormai</u>	c'7	f9	f8	F12
8v <u>Va va iniqua e disleale</u>	a8	f9	f9	G9
9v <u>Poi chel ciel contrario</u>	c'11		b10	•
11r <u>Non po lomo che vol dire</u>		e9		G9
11v <u>Dimi un pocho che vol dir</u>	g10	f11	d6	F9
12v <u>In te domine speravi</u>	d'7	f8	f8	F12
13v <u>Sel mi dole esser gabato</u>	b7	e10	f10	G9
14v <u>De si de no de si</u>	c'9	g9	g8	c7
15v <u>Come el pio[m]bin</u>	b7	c8	d8	F8
16v <u>Poi che lalma per fe molta</u>	b7	g11	e9	c9
17v <u>Sensa te sacra regina</u>	c'5	d8	d9	G9
18v <u>Viva e morta voglio amarte</u>	b 9	c10	e10	69
19v <u>Ave maria</u>	a9	c12	c10	F8
20v <u>Salva nos</u>	e9	c11	d13	E7

* The letters refer to the lowest note, and the numbers represent the intervals between the lowest and highest note in each voice. The tessiture of certain voice parts is narrower than the numbers might indicate, particularly in the case of some of the frottole. One note at the cadence may be responsible for a number indicating an apparently wide range. Also noteworthy are the arrangement of some of the pieces in pairs or groups based on similarities in ranges of voice parts.

d'9	f11	g11	F9
d'8	d11	d11	G9
d'8	e9	f11	G12
c'9	g11	e10	c10
d'11	f12	d11	c9
d'7	d11	b4	G9
d'8	e10	a5	
c'9	e8	d11	c9
c'9	d12	d11	G13
a11	e11	f9	G12
b ^b 11	c12	b ^b 7	G13
d'8	c12	d11	G13
c'10	f11	f10	B ^b 11
b10	A14	c13	G12
b9	f9	e10	B ^b 12
b9 g10			
	f9	e10	B ^b 12
g10	f9 d11	e10 d9	B ^b 12 G9
g10 c'11	f9 d11 f13	e10 d9 g8	B ^b 12 G9 B ^b 10
g10 c'11 b ^b 12	f9 d11 f13 d11	e10 d9 g8 e6 .	B ^b 12 G9 B ^b 10 c6
g10 c'11 b ^b 12 f12	f9 d11 f13 d11 F13 c13	e10 d9 g8 e6 . c11 c13	B ^b 12 G9 B ^b 10 c6 E13
g10 c'11 b ^b 12 f12 g12 g12	f9 d11 f13 d11 F13 c13	e10 d9 g8 e6 . c11 c13 g6	B ^b 12 G9 B ^b 10 c6 E13 G13 G13
g10 c'11 b ^b 12 f12 g12 g12 b ^b 10	f9 d11 f13 d11 F13 c13 c13	e10 d9 g8 e6 . c11 c13 g6 f10	B ^b 12 G9 B ^b 10 c6 E13 G13 G13
g10 c'11 b ^b 12 f12 g12 g12 b ^b 10 g12	f9 d11 f13 d11 F13 c13 c13 d12	e10 d9 g8 e6 c11 c13 g6 f10 f9	B ^b 12 G9 B ^b 10 c6 E13 G13 G13 G12
g10 c'11 b ^b 12 f12 g12 g12 b ^b 10 g12	f9 d11 f13 d11 F13 c13 c13 d12 d12 f10	e10 d9 g8 e6 c11 c13 g6 f10 f9 d12	B ^b 12 G9 B ^b 10 c6 E13 G13 G13 G12 B ^b 11
g10 c'11 b ^b 12 f12 g12 g12 b ^b 10 g12 a12	f9 d11 f13 d11 F13 c13 c13 d12 d12 f10	e10 d9 g8 e6 c11 c13 g6 f10 f9 d12	B ^b 12 G9 B ^b 10 c6 E13 G13 G13 G12 B ^b 11 c9
g10 c'11 b ^b 12 f12 g12 g12 b ^b 10 g12 a12 a12	f9 d11 f13 d11 F13 c13 c13 d12 d12 f10	e10 d9 g8 e6 . c11 c13 g6 f10 f9 d12 d9 e10	B ^b 12 G9 B ^b 10 c6 E13 G13 G13 G12 B ^b 11 c9
	d'8 d'9 d'11 d'7 d'8 c'9 c'9 a11 b ^b 11 d'8 c'10	d'8d11d'8e9c'9g11d'11f12d'7d11d'8e10c'9e8c'9d12a11e11bb11c12d'8c12c'10f11	d'8d11d11d'8e9f11c'9g11e10d'11f12d11d'7d11b4d'8e10a5c'9e8d11c'9d12d11a11e11f9b ^b 11c12b ^b 7d'8c12d11c'10f11f10

49v <u>La Spagna</u>	b10	e12	F10	d8
50v <u>Nu[n]c scio vere</u>	c'1 0	f10	e10	A10
51v <u>De tous bien plen</u>	a9	c14	d12	G11
52v <u>Neoptolemus</u>	c'11	d13	g10	c9
53v <u>De ramo in ramo</u>	g11	c12	c9	G12
54v <u>Bonus et miserator</u> <u>dominus</u>	a11	d12/A1	3 a8	A10
55v <u>Alma</u> redemptoris	c11		c[11]	נ
57r <u>Secunda pars</u> of 55v		f9		B ^b 10
57v <u>Per votro amours</u>	g12	c13	d12	G11
58v Figlie vos have mal grande	e'7	е9	f9	F10
59v <u>le pris amor</u>	c'6	e11	e9	F10
60v [0] Venus bant	g'6	g9	g11	с9
61v [0] Venus bant	all		g6	F10
62v <u>Lomo bani</u>	f13		f9	F13
63v <u>Absque verbis</u>	g10	d11	f9	G10
64v [D]es bien <u>d'amors</u>	a11	c12	c11	A9
65v <u>Tant hai de mui</u>	c'8		e9	G8
66v <u>Tristis es[t] anima mea</u>	f11		f4	F10
67v <u>D'un</u> <u>bel maitin</u>	g11		c11	F9
69v Coment poult	f12		B ^b 11	E8
69v <u>La turturella</u>	c'10	e11	f9	B ^b 10
70v <u>Sy</u> dedero	g11		c11	F12
71v <u>Ie quide</u>	d'11		g9	8 ^b 12
72v <u>La mora</u>	ь ^b 11		f9	g10
73v <u>Malur me bat</u>	b11		e9	c10
74v <u>Una musca</u>	e'7	b ^b 7	f8	Bpð
75v <u>Mater patris</u>	f8		f10	с9
76v Borgo loco	c'9	d11	d12	F10

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77v <u>Biblis</u>	a12		c12	F12
78v <u>Adie mes amours</u>	d'8	f11	f6	B ^b 7
79v <u>Thisys</u>	d'8	g9	d10	F11
80v <u>Rubinet</u>	c'9		c10	c10
81v <u>Non ti smarir cor mio</u>	b10	d11	e12	c10
82v <u>La bernardina</u>	c'11		c12	A14
83v <u>Speciosa</u>	b11	c13	c12	F14
84v <u>Parce</u> <u>domine</u>	a11	g12	c8	68
85v <u>Agnus</u> <u>dei</u>	gʻ6	c13	c12	F9
86v <u>E chi la dira</u>	c'8	e10	f7	F10
87v <u>Me</u> <u>doibt</u>	c'9		d10	G10
88v <u>Mjn morghen</u> gaf	d'9	d12	c10	G10
89v <u>Nuncha fu pena maior</u>	d'10		e10	c12
90v <u>Garisses moi</u>	c'9		d10	c1 1
91v <u>En</u> <u>attendant</u>	g11		d11	G1 0
92v <u>0 virgo</u>	g12		f11	d12
93v <u>A qui direlle sa pense</u>	d'8		d8	

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THE MANUSCRIPT BOLOGNA, CIVICO MUSEO BIBLIOGRAFICO MUSICALE, CODEX Q 18 (OLIM 143): A BOLOGNESE INSTRUMENTAL COLLECTION OF THE EARLY CINQUECENTO

Volume II

AN EDITION OF UNICA IN Q 18

by

Susan Forscher Weiss

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Maryland in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy 1985

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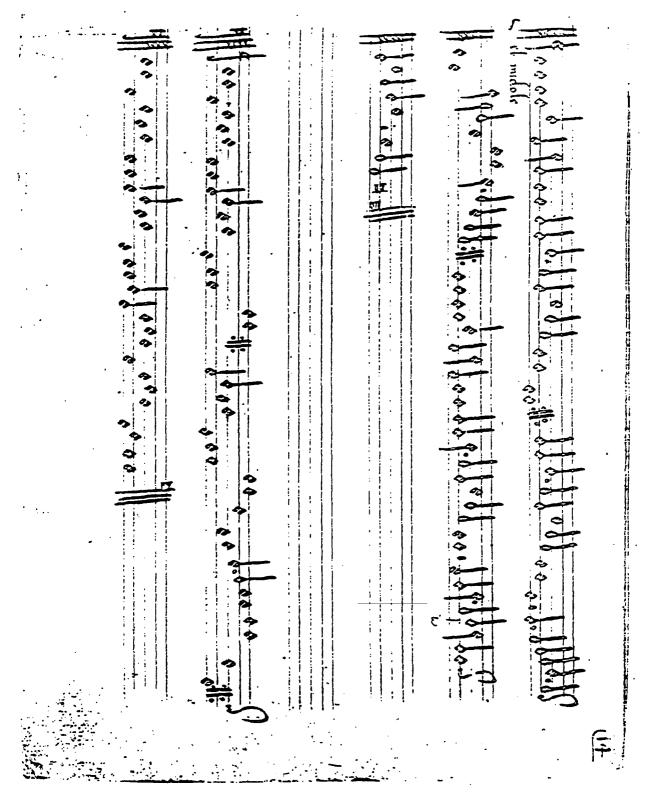
VOLUME II: AN EDITION OF UNICA IN Q 18

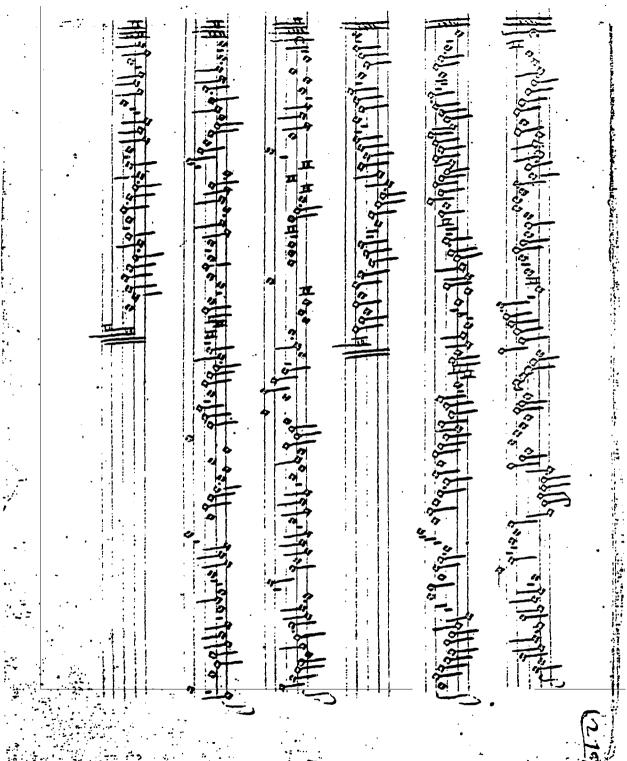
FACSIMILES. PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION UNICA.	419 425 429
1r Lute tablature, S.M.C.	
4v <u>Oime che sempre spero</u>	
5v <u>Con qual fronte a te Maria</u> 13v Sel mi dole esser gabato	
13v <u>Sel mi dole esser gabato</u> 17v Sensa ta sacra regina	
17v <u>Sensa te sacra regina</u> 20v <u>Salva nos</u>	
21v Ave regina celorum	
23v Venimus princeps	
24v In te domine sperabo	
25v Tanto e lafano [Caron], unique fourth voice	
24v <u>In te domine sperabo</u> 25v <u>Tanto e lafano [Caron],</u> unique fourth voice 28v <u>Fortuna disperata</u>	
29v Surge	
30v Da pacem	
31v Deus fortitudo mea	
31v <u>Deus fortitudo mea</u> 33v <u>Dapo ch[e] gionta e lora</u>	
36V <u>De tous pien pien [Uni dit on benedicite</u> , Busnois], un	ique
Tourth voice	
37v Fortuna par te [Vincenet], unique fourth voice	
40v Forsa chi schopra	
41v Spes mea	
42v <u>Ma temo</u>	
43v Probasti cor meum deus	
44v Adiuva me deus	
45v <u>Sol fa mi re</u>	
46v <u>Nunquam fuit pena maior</u> (two voices) 48r [two voices only; no title]	
50v <u>Nu[n]c scio vere</u> 51v <u>De tous bien plen</u>	
51v <u>De tous bien plen</u> 52v <u>Neoptolemus</u>	
53v De ramo in ramo	
54v Bonus et miserator dominus	
57v Per votro amours	
66v <u>Tristis es[t] anima mea</u>	
69v La turturella	
76y Borgo loco	
81v Non ti smarir cor mio	
83v Speciosa	
92v <u>O virgo</u>	

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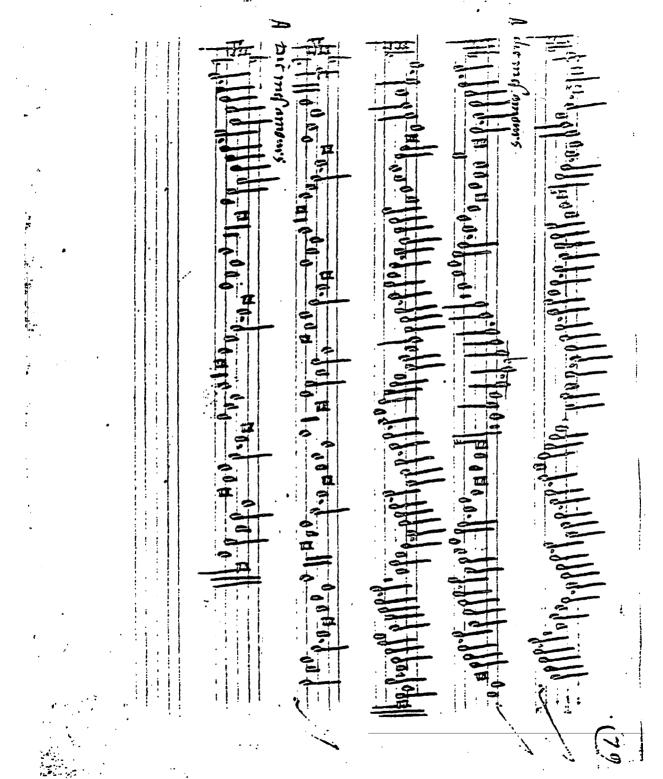
Q 18, folio 14r





Q 18, folio 27r

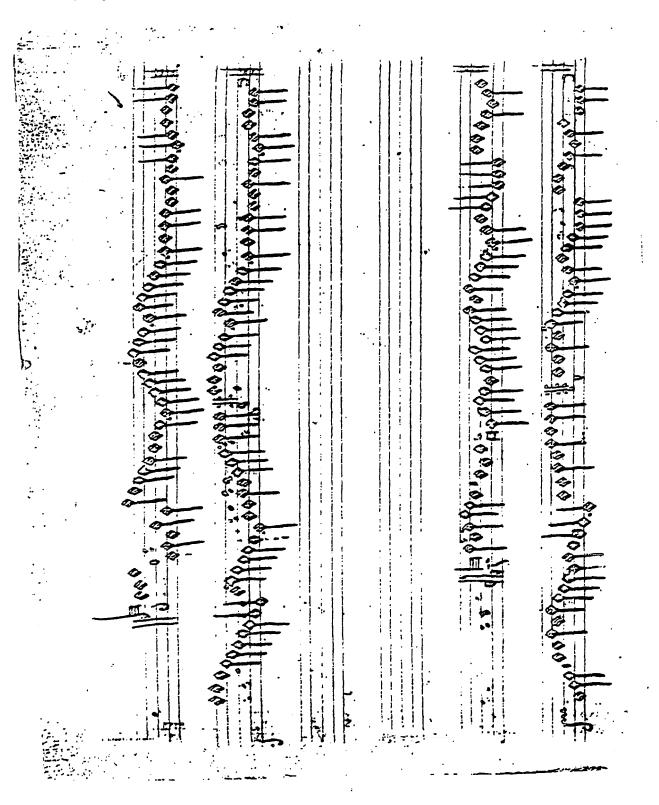
Q 18, folio 79r



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Q 18, folio 18v



BolSP 45, folio 17v



poputures : et tapica inhet indire : 1 ise ste hand convention revel b retiers · G: ch m. D. unite highabilla si. co. olifier equalization in tale polition confidences or no plynche: Hu dous wras correcti prorestendo dure: che + lun ugni dubucta da li dubutati : er etararposte jo no tabia mano force este et le fatertie : et etin & maplacer mis sets: comtete i em Edar in hel lore dou haust priver 7r1: Alaquale rofa responde, che lime hausti romfilerno : la quale unismettation in wealco, antiprover effort factor for an me replaces : MA sola p segme la mora serve set y honore de un excett l'aquale, no les pe quale carifa 1070 when del reto rich pontero 10 mora u erita : Quella oncorn me rear ca dour : et in quale loro de la mana de suido, cada la plab. ut: et la syllaba . a · ele la nutria utro une m. G. acuto Rignata ut bie . the potria effere : che a tale une questos , que de da mer aura corretto Jaro resport aquelle un de di 23 May no fu dato alora respeta : petralhora del portavore, ja era multo l'aboutato poto pito duran untersi partive ala balo, sna: ma mogluse touchi che na mais Mara me poroi che qua i minitia babiasi cl'hona: ct'utre marfroich regnefeiture ile quella she tanto litano ailatier, condu: Cosciel min dectallime frate petre ann: el quale m quello fue ulto, mo : of loran tractato, che bai fore de la mustur de l' fui nomi officiali In ciatorna de le manumle popular de la mano de guido: lus ve vere dire che la syllaba. fa · equalemete amfiderata in Ala mire asupe, naform dal. lo qua tro farente sugaro mi G. zruto : fitanto l'equitar , ispe sel fuer an callen par In final : roi el mi de le fai fime siguete: etiel fue la l'adera, 11 Americano mazire pui als de . C. andos er più depretto p tenvisimo minore de Di neur Et: plate modo, gradiati deletadenio : troumeno che 1 el suy ist ordera pare un fino inte la my grant : Cirra la Cartella da, uni corrett gime mailien averagenetty rendo gratic fine fors: la quale, comatio almes propra; ma malte a me fore fato, a presere, of quella me hauste dato adunto del pro: pet la ura america albera, le matine, et e durabele quado in tra li ameri no conne incomodo et danos et se pure, a ura, exercit prare, de da me fia arreptato i done corento somo, co parto: Equello, sta, me alopri in terre como no pitere, e formita. es soi bi,

Each composition presented in this edition is unique to Q18, either in its entirety or in at least one of its voice parts. The unique laude on folios 5v-6r and 17v-18r have both been transcribed in an article by Giulio Cattin,¹ but neither of them appears in a music edition, so they are included here. On the other hand, the <u>unica La guercia</u>, both <u>La Spagna and [0] Venus</u> <u>bant</u> compositions, and the unique <u>si placet</u> voice of <u>[D]es bien</u> <u>d'amors</u> are transcribed in accessible performance editions and are therefore not included here. Transcriptions of <u>Tanto e</u> <u>lafano</u>, <u>De tous bien plen</u> (folios 36v-37r), and <u>Fortuna par te</u> are included, because their <u>si placet</u> voices have not been published elsewhere.²

Original C clefs, key signatures, mensuration signs, and initial notes for each voice part are shown at the beginning of each piece. The C clefs have been replaced with treble, transposing treble, and bass clefs. Original key signatures remain. Most pieces in Q 18 are notated in <u>tempus imperfectum</u> <u>diminutum cum prolatione minore</u>. For the edition, note values are reduced by half, a semibreve being here transcribed as a half-note, as it is in the few compositions notated in <u>tempus</u> <u>perfectum (Venimus princeps</u> on folios 23v-24r, <u>Sol fa mi re</u> on

- 1. Giulio Cattin, "Contributi alla storia della laude spirituale," <u>Quadrivium</u>, II (1958), pp. 45-75.
- Although <u>Come el pio[m]</u> <u>bin</u> on folios 15v-16r contains a contratenor unique to Q 18, Jeppesen included a transcription of it in his critical notes to Vol. III of <u>La</u> <u>Frottola</u> (Copenhagen, 1970), pp. 167-8. Therefore, <u>Come el pio[m]</u> <u>bin</u> has not been included in this edition.

folios 45v-46r, <u>Nunquam</u> <u>fuit</u> on folio 46v [with augmentation tenor], and <u>Bonus et miserator dominus</u> on folios 54v-55r). Notes originally written as ligatures are indicated by square brackets placed above them, and those originally written in coloration are surmounted by half or broken brackets. Conventional modern bar lines are provided. The piece on folio 1r is transcribed according to principles of Italian lute tablature. The open strings of the lute are as follows: G, c, f, a, d', and g'; the lowest staff line represents the highest string and <u>vice versa</u>.³ Scribal omissions are designated by square brackets around the added note or notes. Errors in the manuscript are indicated by an asterisk placed above the note or notes involved and are discussed in Volume I, Appendix III, the Inventory of Q 18.

Texts have been included for the four frottole and laude only, and the principles of text underlay as established by Gioseffe Zarlino, Gaspar Stocker, and Giovanni Maria Lanfranco have been adhered to as closely as possible.⁴ Lanfranco's treatise <u>Scintille di musica</u>, published in 1533, presents several important rules, among which are:

1. Only one syllable of text is set to a ligature.

- 3. Rhythmic values are interpreted according to principles set forth in the preface to Petrucci's <u>Intabulatura</u> <u>de lauto</u>, <u>libro</u> <u>tertio</u>. See Willi Apel, <u>The Notation of</u> <u>Polyphonic</u> <u>Music:</u> <u>900-1600</u>, (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 61-62.
- 4. Edward Lowinsky, "A Treatise on Text Underlay by a German Disciple of Francisco de Salinas," <u>Festschrift Heinrich</u> <u>Besseler zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag</u> (Leipzig, 1961), pp. 216-237; Don Harran, "New Light on the Question of Text Underlay Prior to Zarlino," <u>Acta Musicologica</u>, XLV (1973), pp. 24-56; Gioseffe Zarlino, "From the 'Istituzioni armoniche,'" In <u>Source Readings in Music History</u>, ed. Oliver Strunk (New York, 1950), pp. 255-261.

- 2. All notes larger than a semiminim carry their own syllables. A semiminim does not usually carry its own syllable, except in rare cases when it follows a dotted minim, or when it is the first of the series of semiminims.
- 3. A dot does not carry a syllable.
- 4. Musical phrases coincide with text phrases, but if musical phrases are longer than the text, words may be repeated to complete a phrase. Extra notes are usually assigned to the penultimate syllable.

An additional rule, not in Lanfranco (or Zarlino), but presented by Stocker in his "Five Obligatory Rules and Five Optional Rules for the Older Composers," is:

5. If several notes appear on the same pitch, each one of them receives its own syllable. $_5$

One further aspect of text underlay calls for comment. Occasionally, Q 18 transmits a breve where because of the number of syllables, two semibreves are needed. In the edition, an asterisk is placed over the second of these notes, for example, in measure 9 of the superius of Con gual fronte, folios 5v-6r.

Accidentals included in the source are written in front of the intended note. Accidentals introduced by the editor are written above the intended note and apply only to those notes, except when those notes are tied or immediately repeated. Editorial accidentals are added according to principles derived from certain theoretical treatises of the period.⁶ Musica ficta

5. Lowinsky, op. cit., p. 236.

6. Some the treatises include Ugolino of Orvieto's of Declaratio musicae disciplinae, Prosdocimus de Beldemandis's Tractatus de contrapuncto, Ramos de Pareja's and Johannes Tinctoris's <u>Liber</u> de Musica practica, arte contrapuncti. For a complete bibliography on the subject of Musica ficta see Andrew Hughes, Manuscript Accidentals: Focus, 1350-1450 Ficta in (American Institute of has been applied largely for the following reasons, many of these classed, from earliest references, as presented by Andrew Hughes,

as <u>causa</u> <u>necessitatis</u> :

- 1. To avoid "mi contra fa": tritones, diminished fifths, augmented or diminished octaves. Also, if possible, avoid melodic tritones and augmented seconds.
- To sharpen lower and flatten upper neighboring tones in accordance with, "Una nota supra la, semper est canendum fa."7
- 3. To choose <u>musica recta</u> (accidentals within the available hexachord) over <u>musica ficta</u> (accidentals outside of the available hexachord), if possible.
- 4. To raise the third in major structural and final cadences.
- 5. To raise melodic leading tones at cadences.
- 6. To maintain the integrity of the <u>cantus prius factus</u>, particularly if it is a liturgical melody.
- 7. To approach fifths and octaves by major thirds and sixths, particularly when the upper voice rises by step.

Some accidentals have been applied in this edition, in the absence of clear-cut need according to one or another of the above rules, <u>causa pulchritudinis</u>.

<u>Musicology</u>, 1972). See also Margaret Bent, "Musica Recta and Musica Ficta," <u>Musica Disciplina</u>, XXVI (1972), pp. 73-100, and Arthur Mendel's summary quoted in Donald Grout, <u>A</u> <u>History of Western Music</u> (New York, 1973), pp. 177-78.

- 7. Donald Grout, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 178.
- N.B. The music has been printed using the Interactive Music System on Cerl Plato at the University of Illinois (see Acknowledgements). All incipits, measure numbers, ligatures and <u>musica ficta</u> have been supplied by hand.

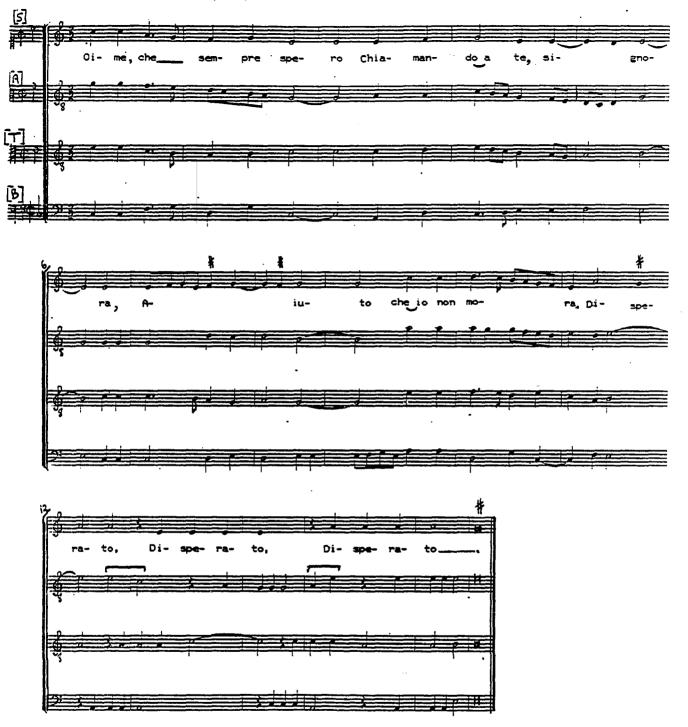
iblio ir. [Lute tablature] "S.M.C."



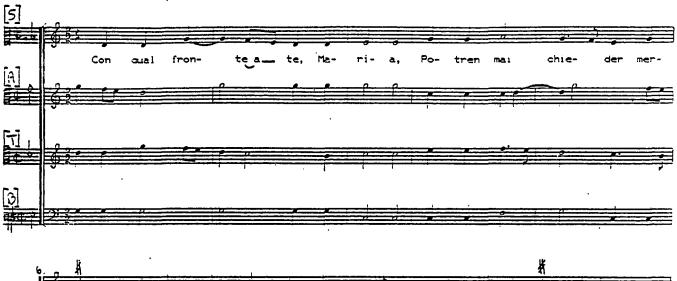


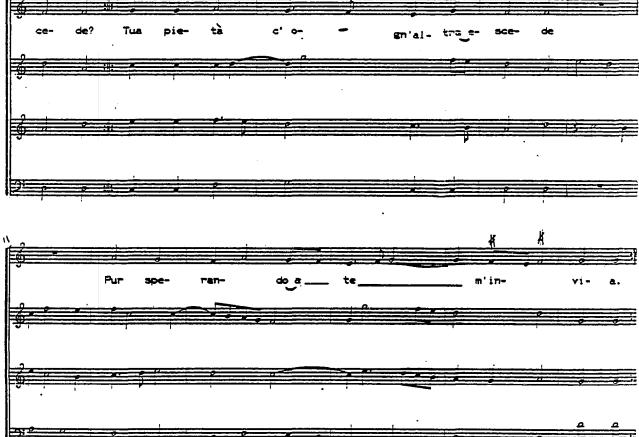
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N.B. See Chapter VI, pp. 173-175, and Appendix III, p. 298, for a discussion of this piece.

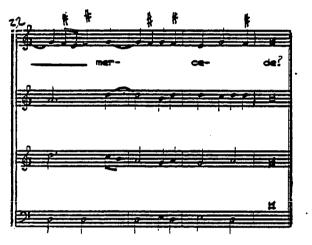


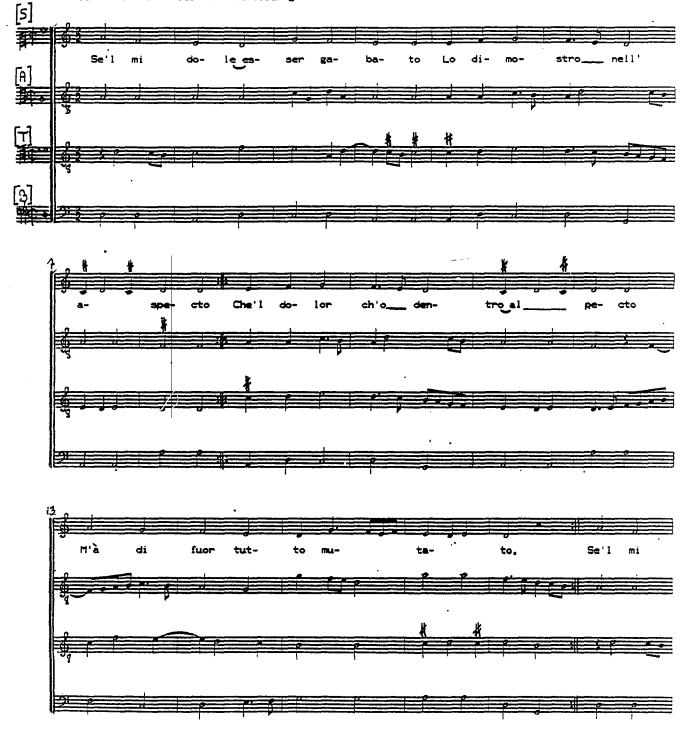
N.B. See Appendix IV for additional strophes.

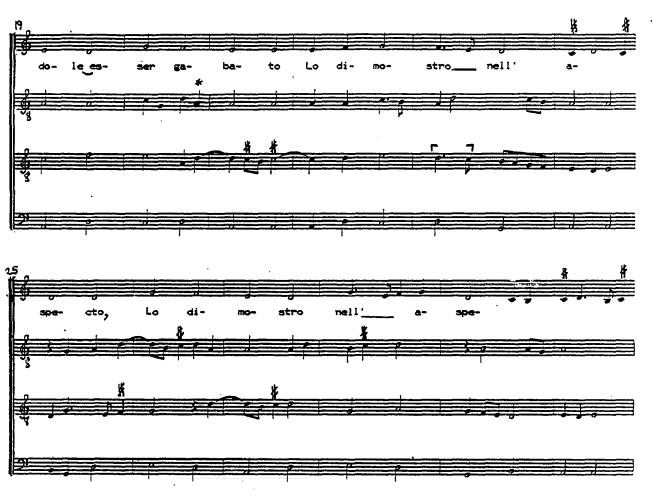






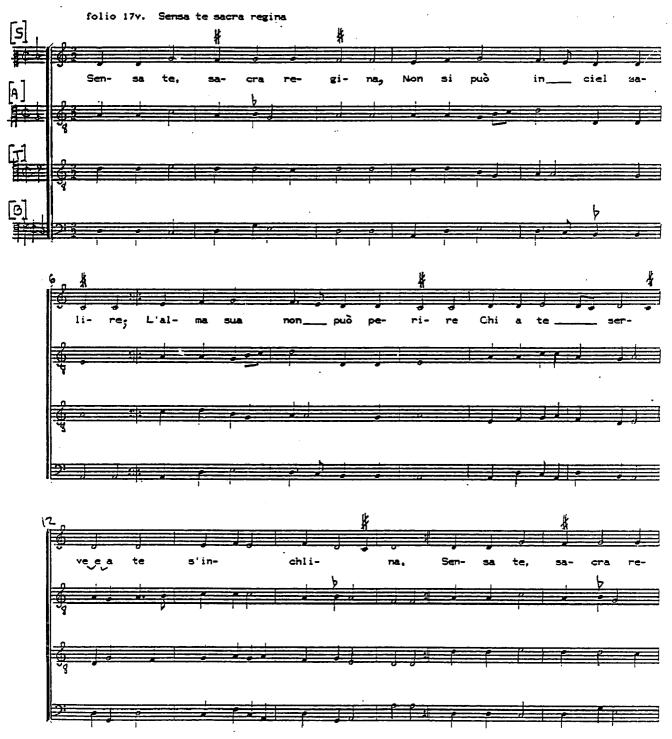




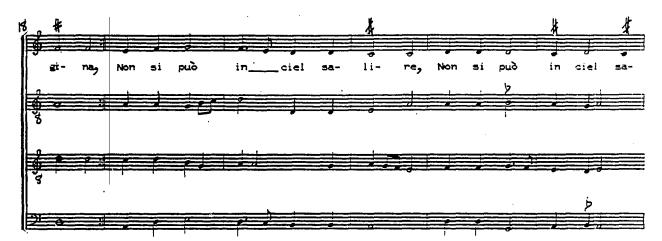


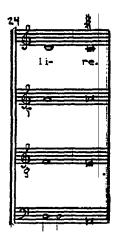
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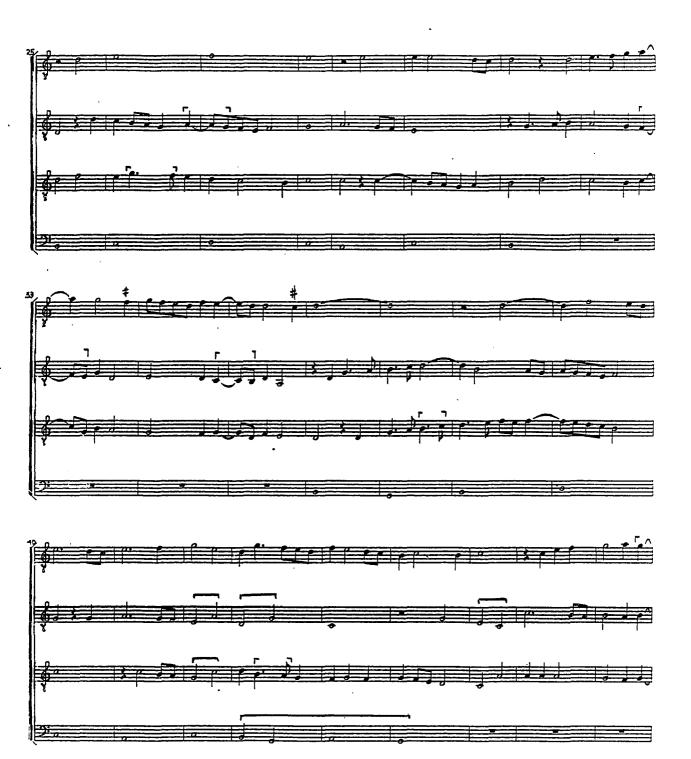


N.B. See Appendix IV for additional strophes.













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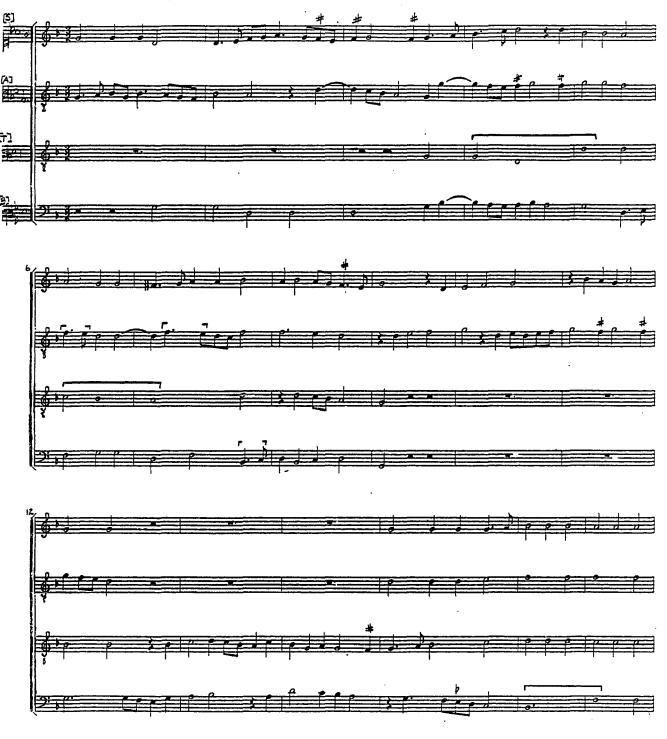
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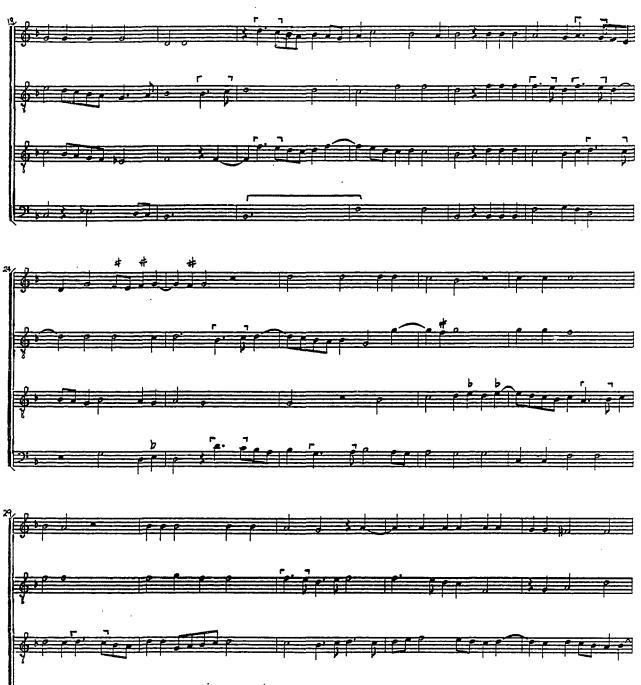


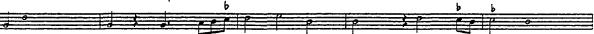
folio 21v. Ave regina celorum

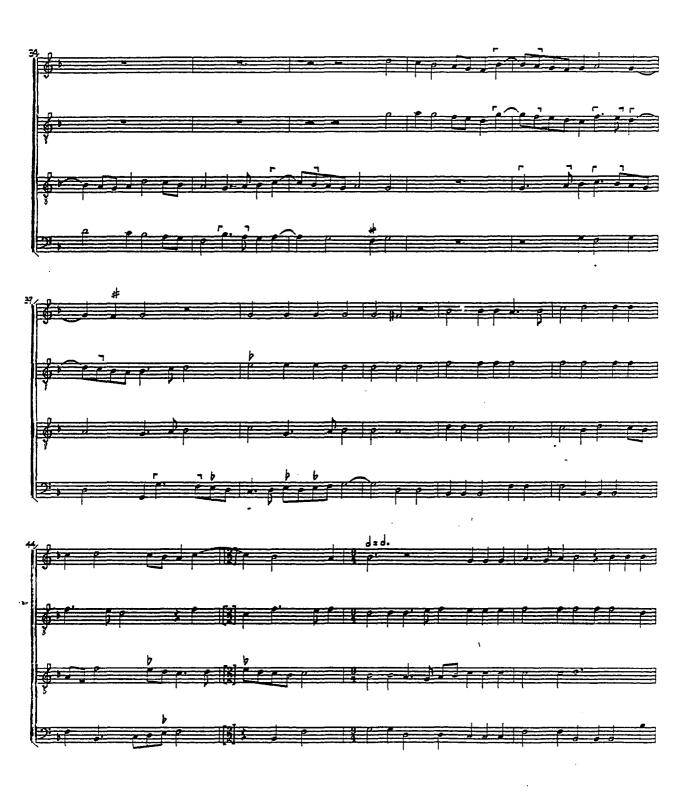








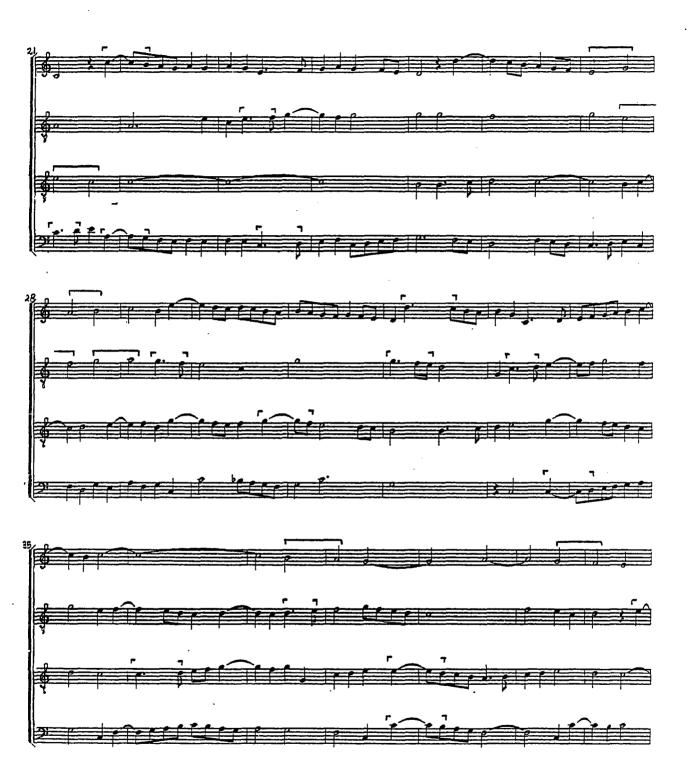


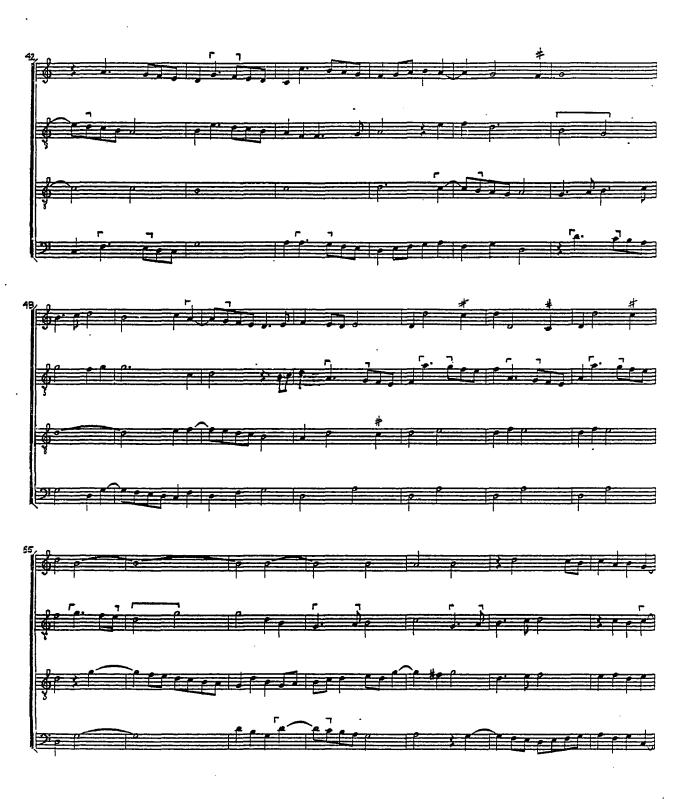


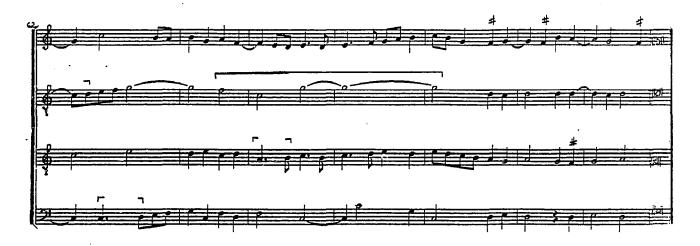


folios 24v-25r. In te domine sperabo









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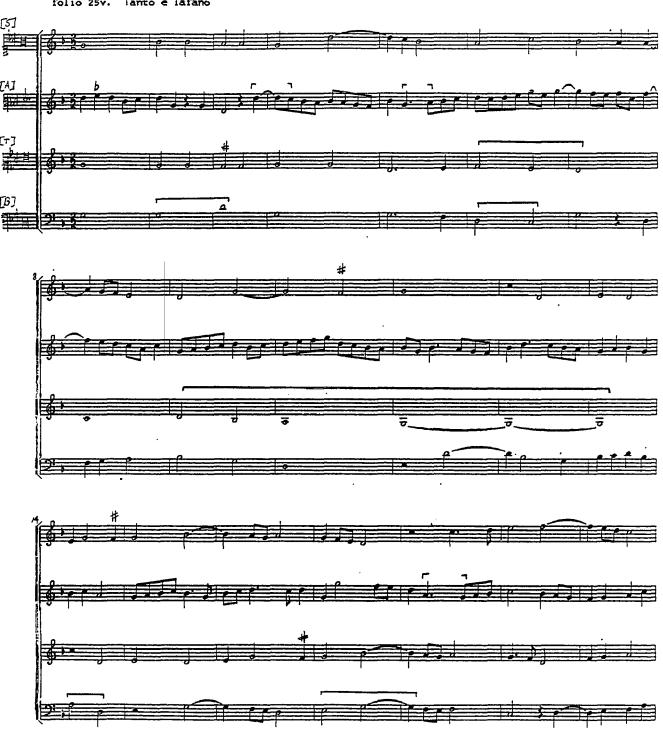
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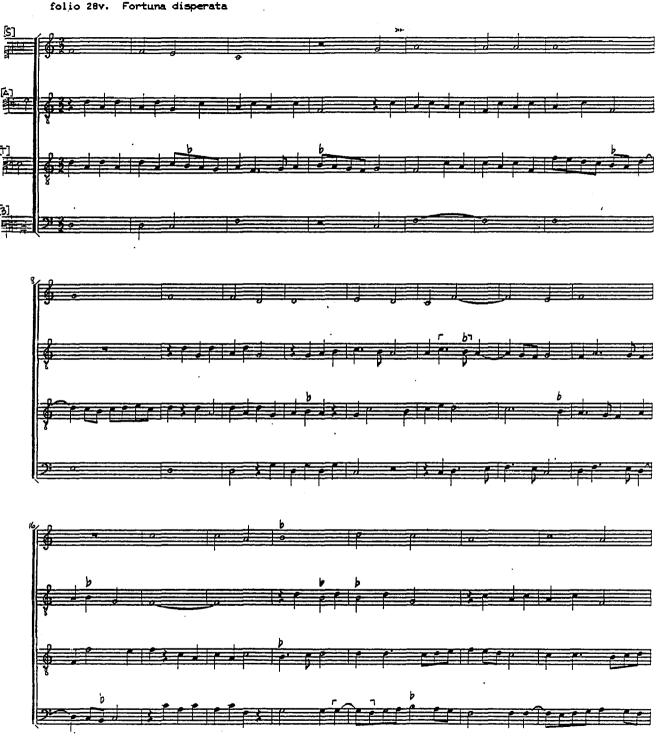


folio 25v. Tanto e lafano

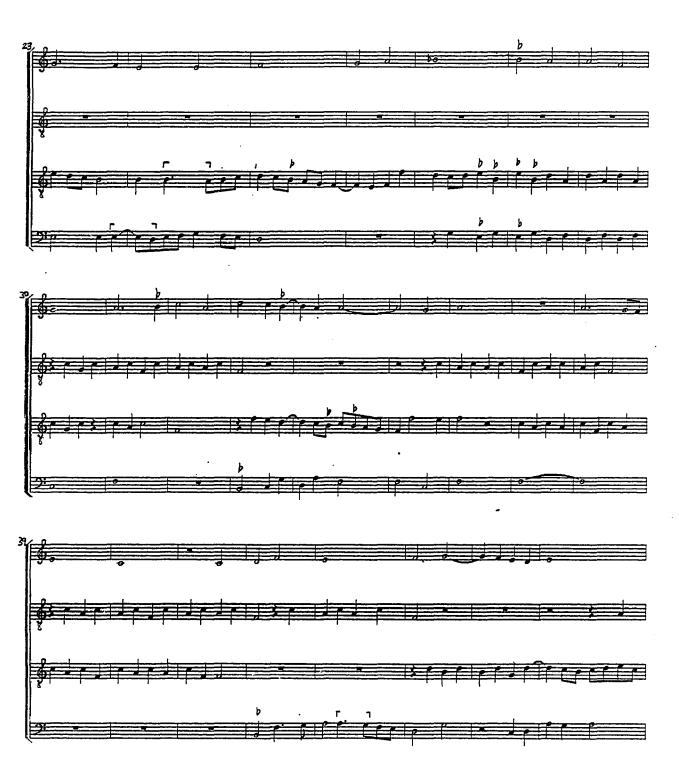








folio 28v. Fortuna disperata





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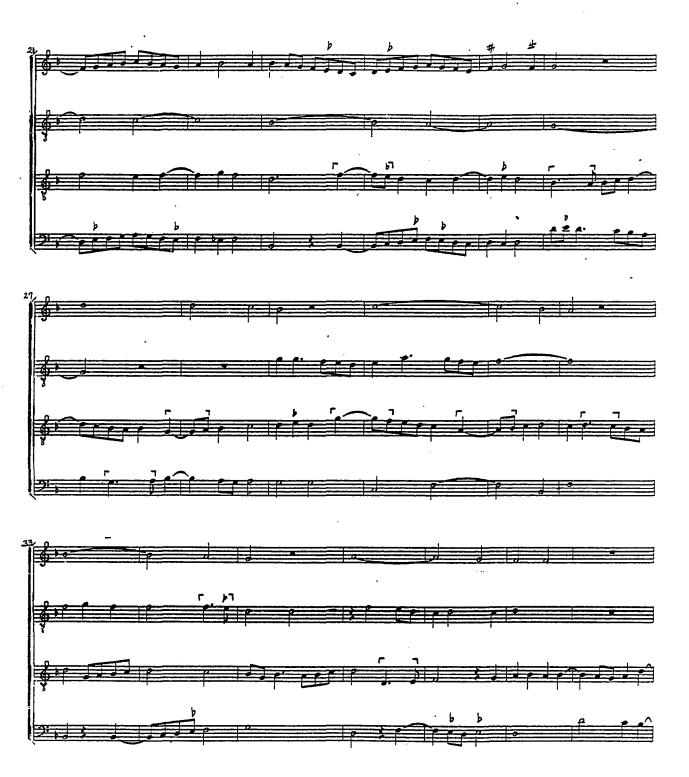
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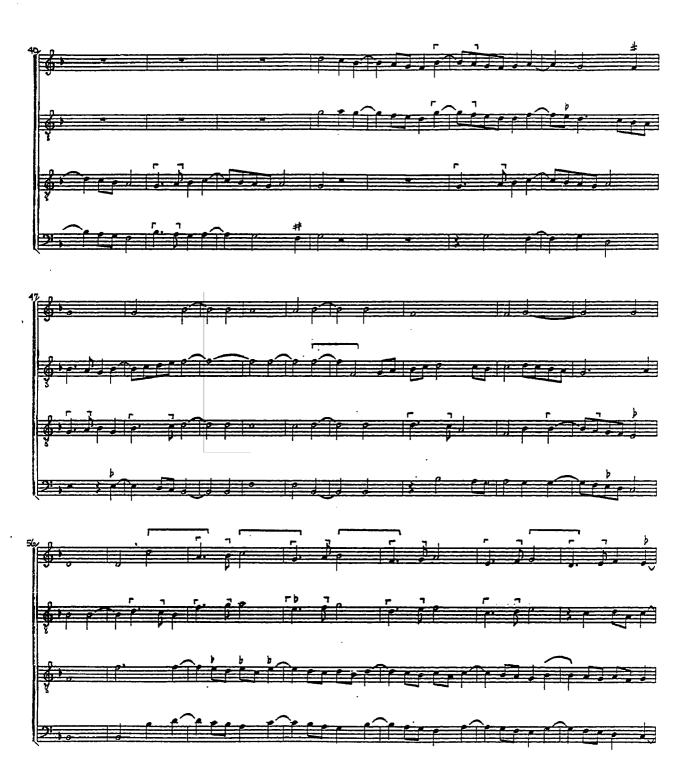


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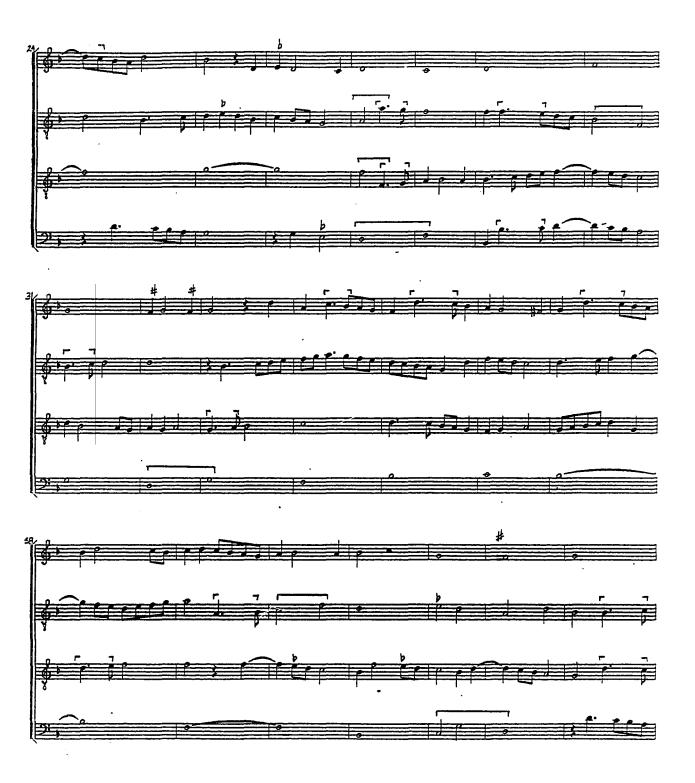




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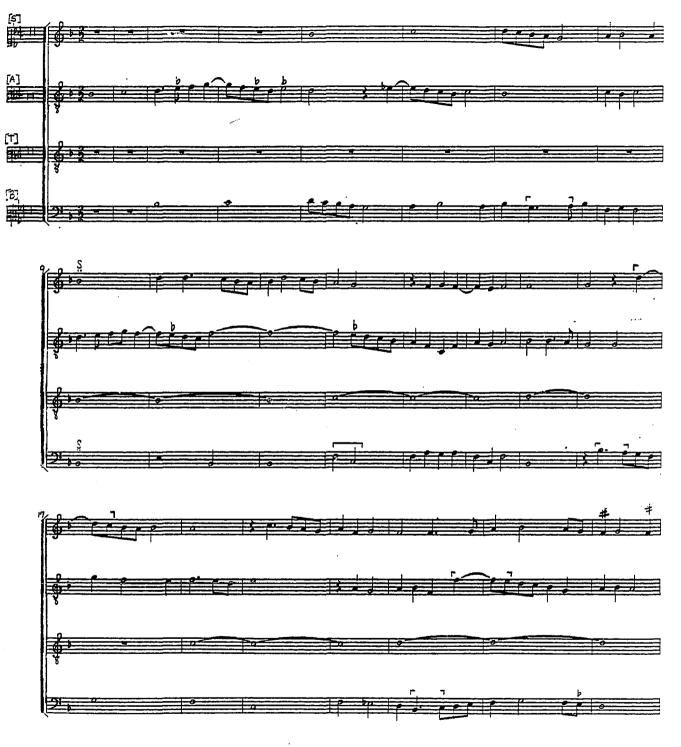


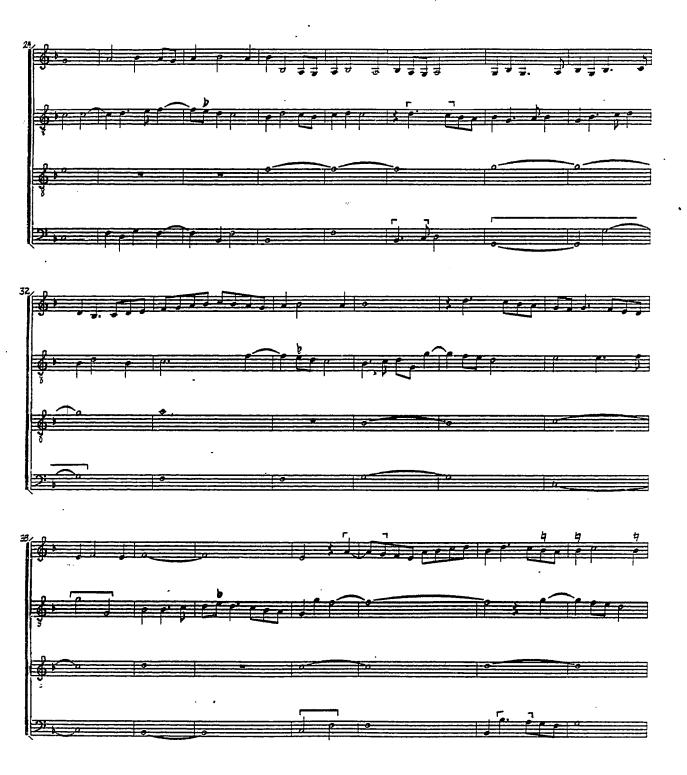
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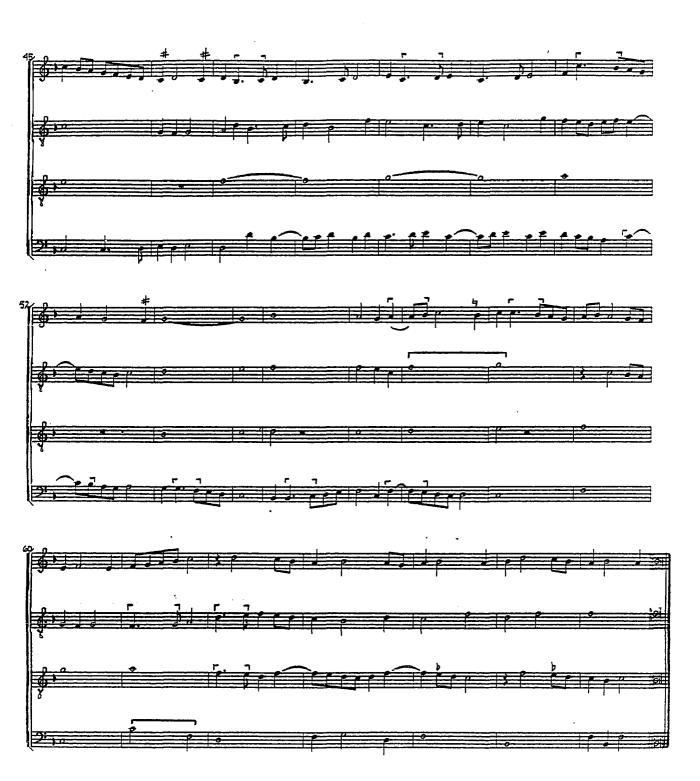


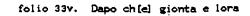


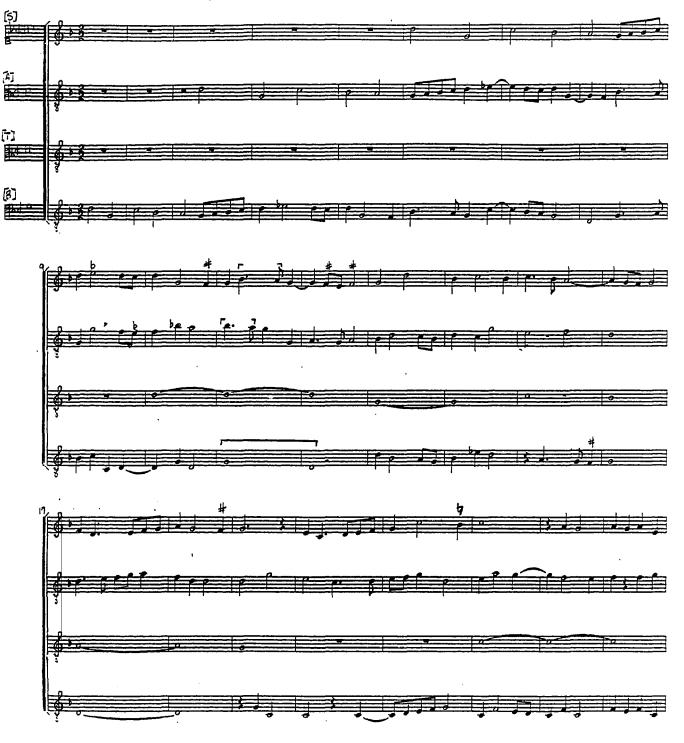


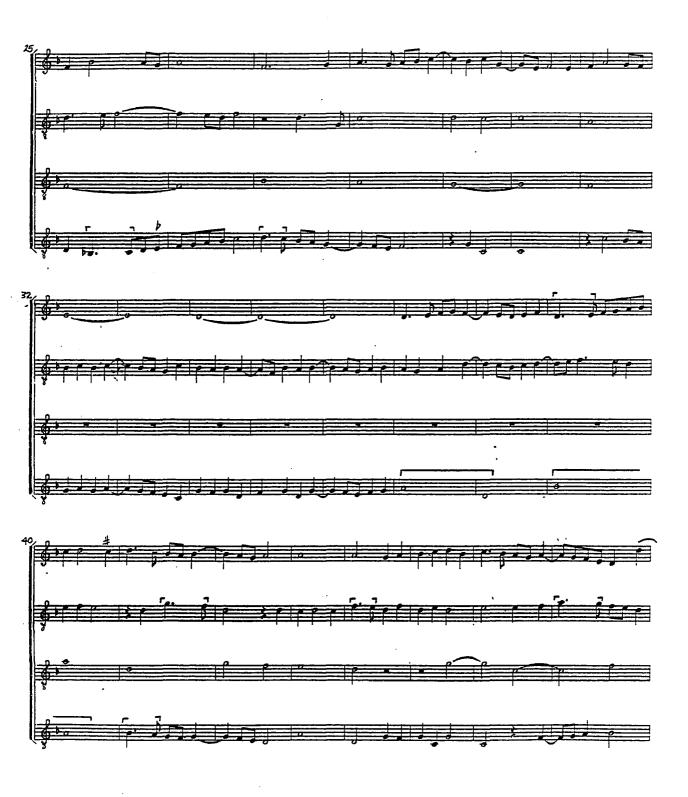








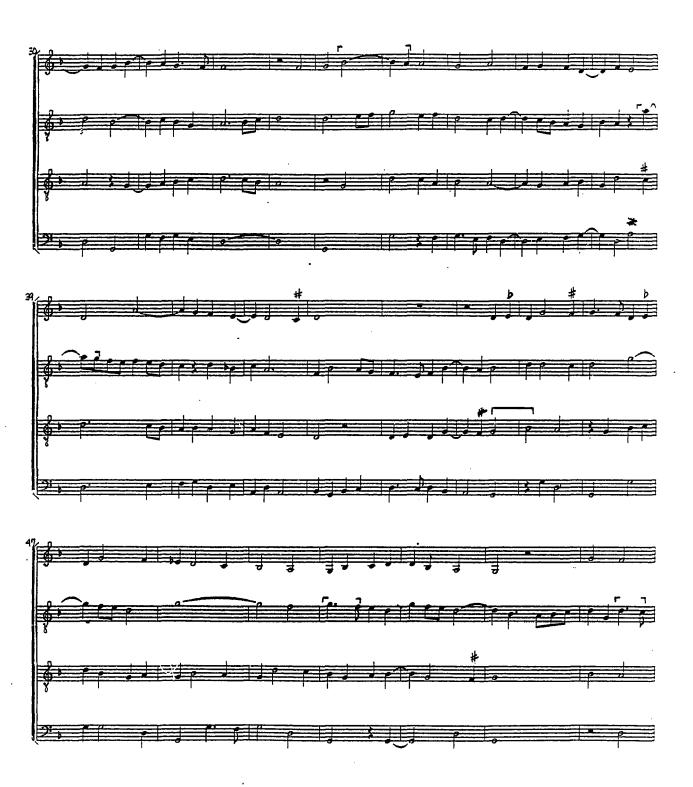














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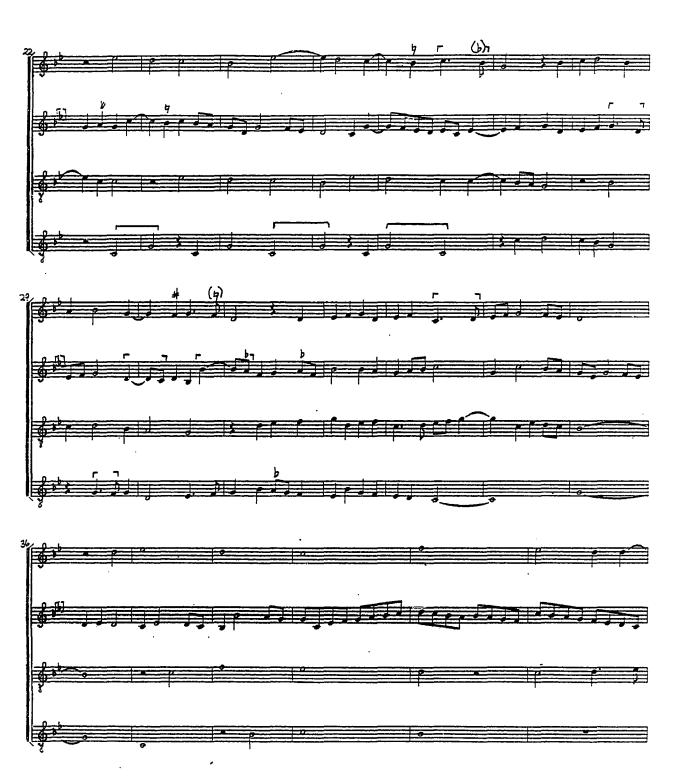
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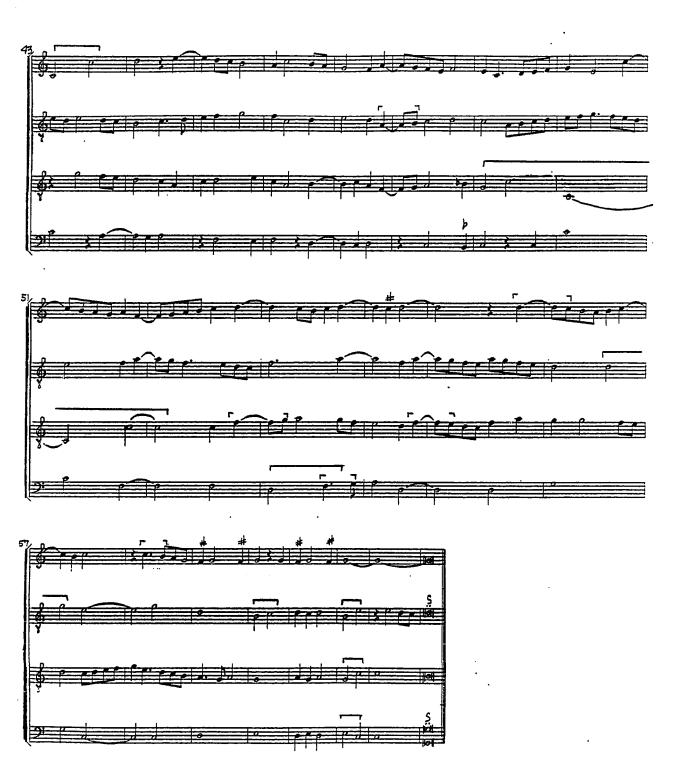


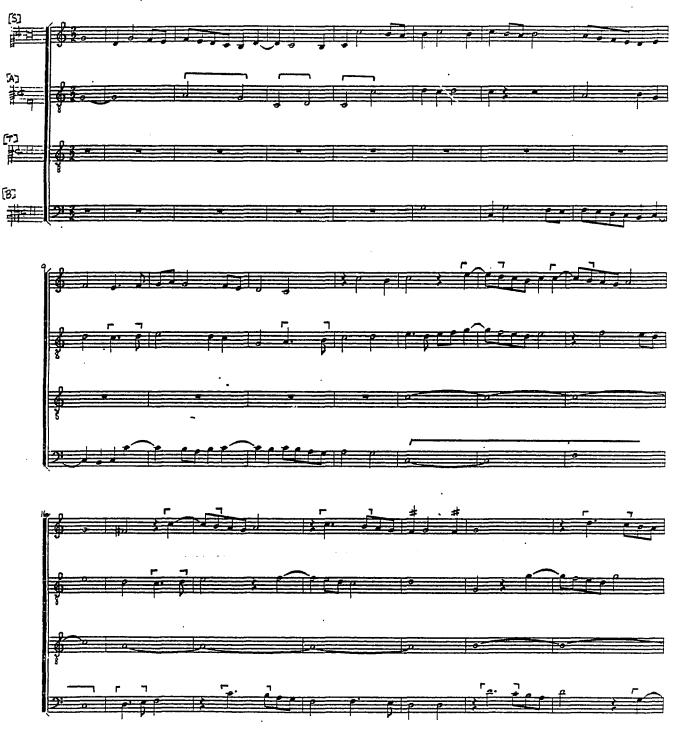


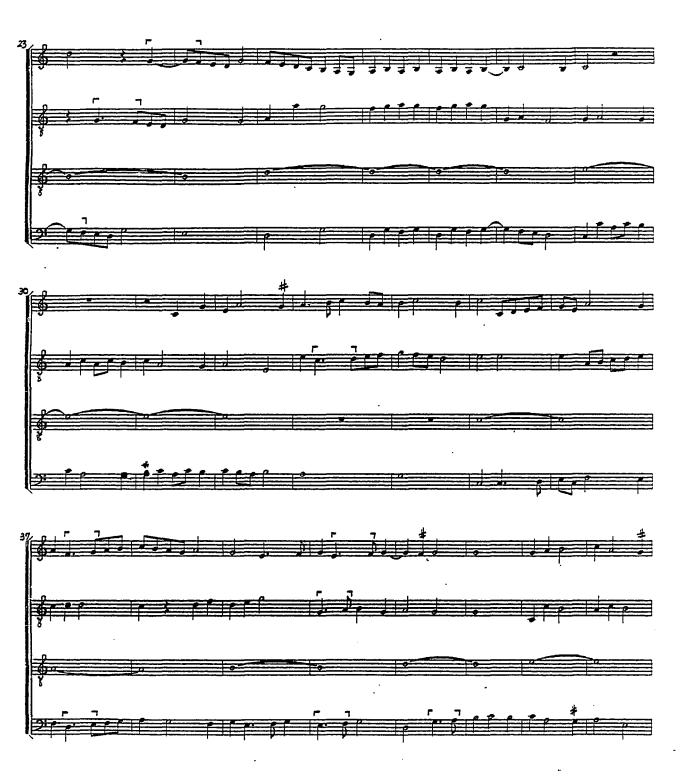






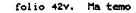


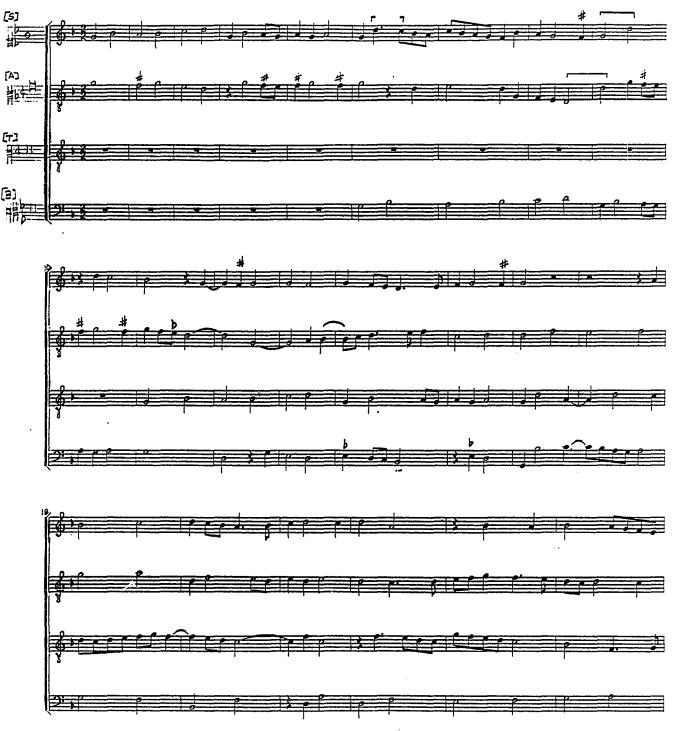










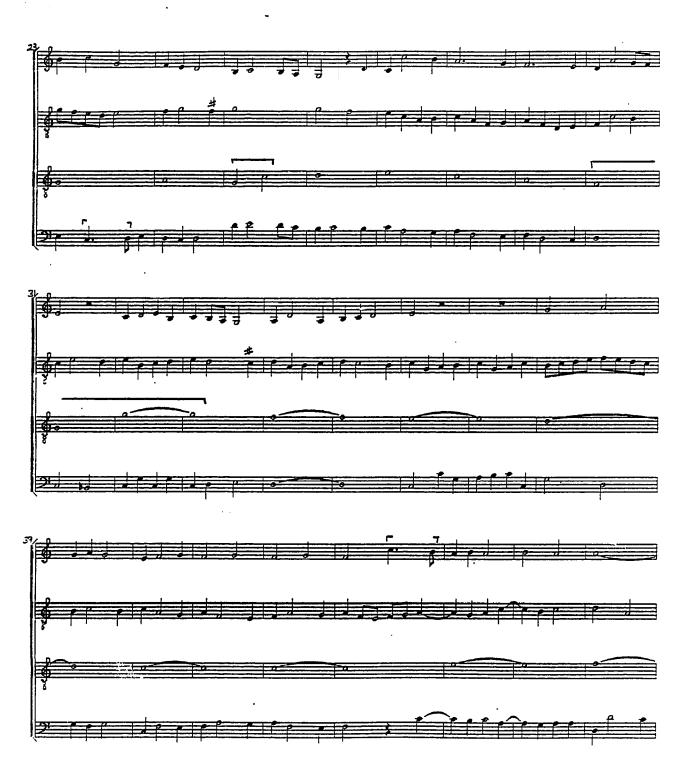






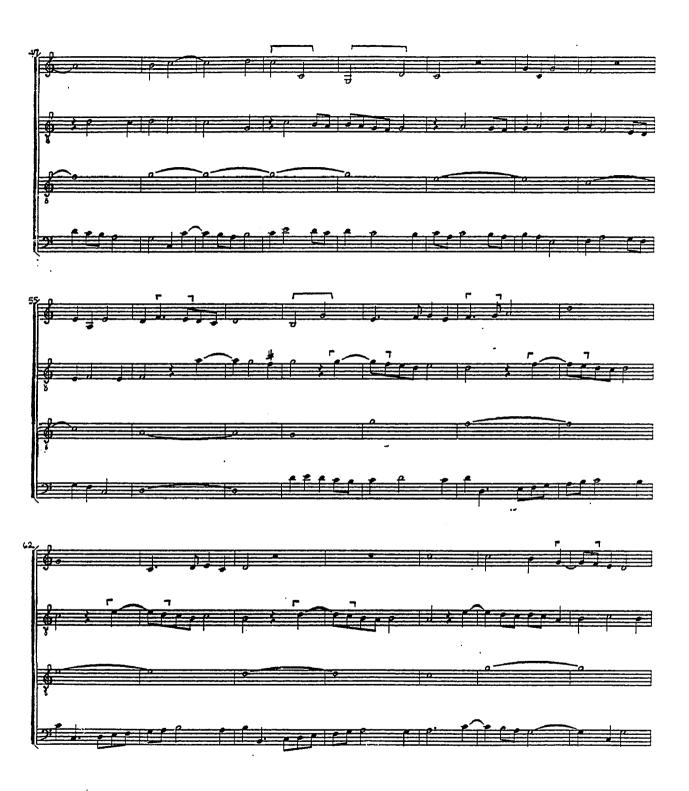






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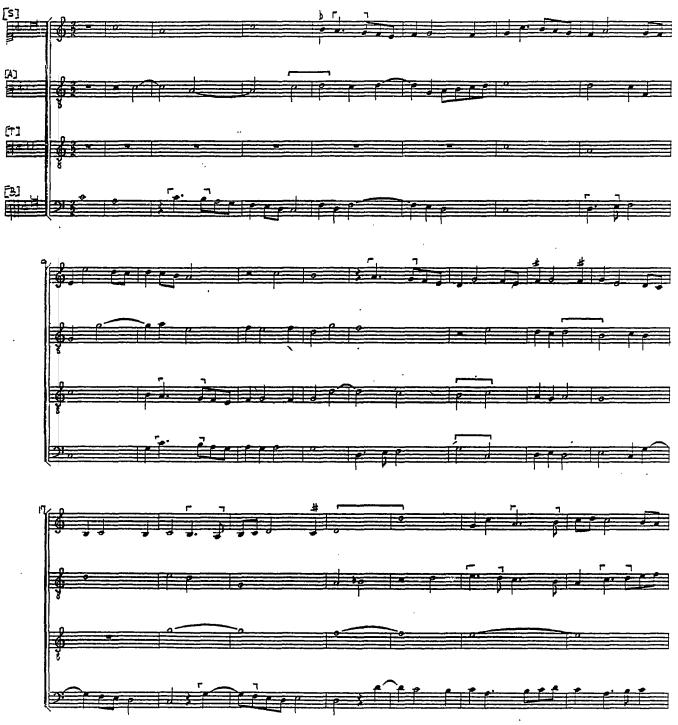


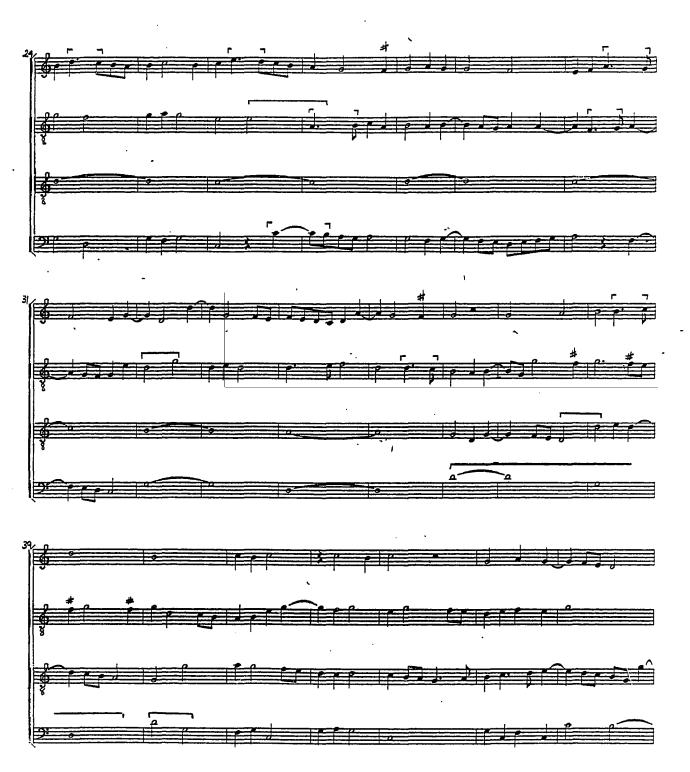


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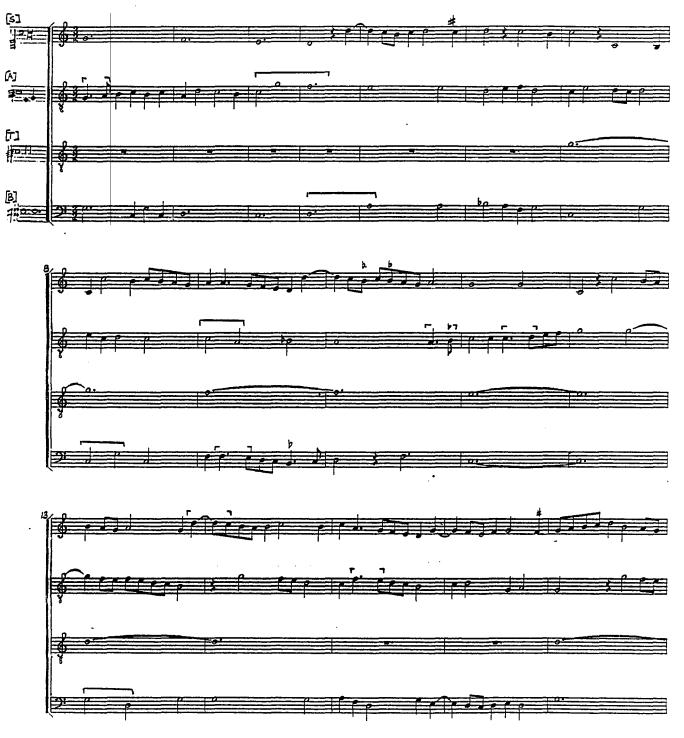
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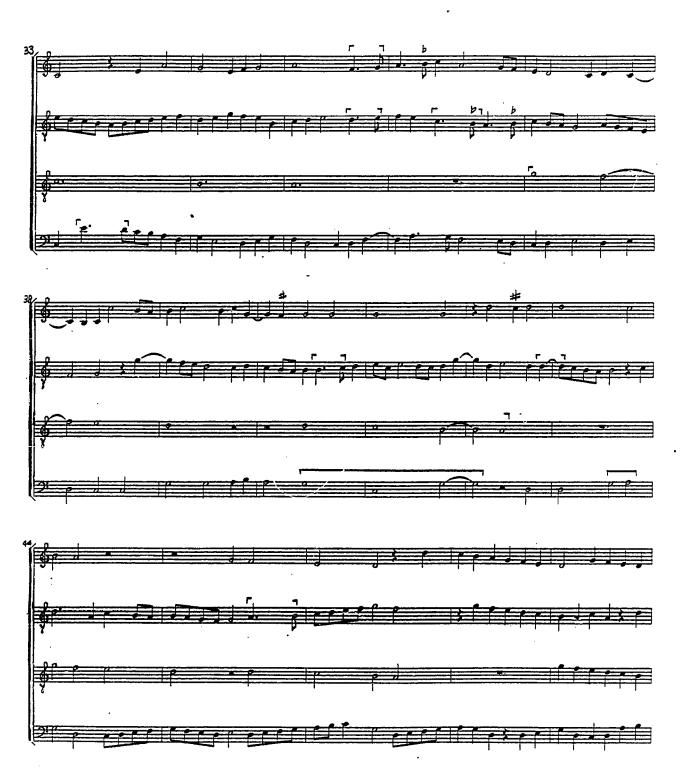




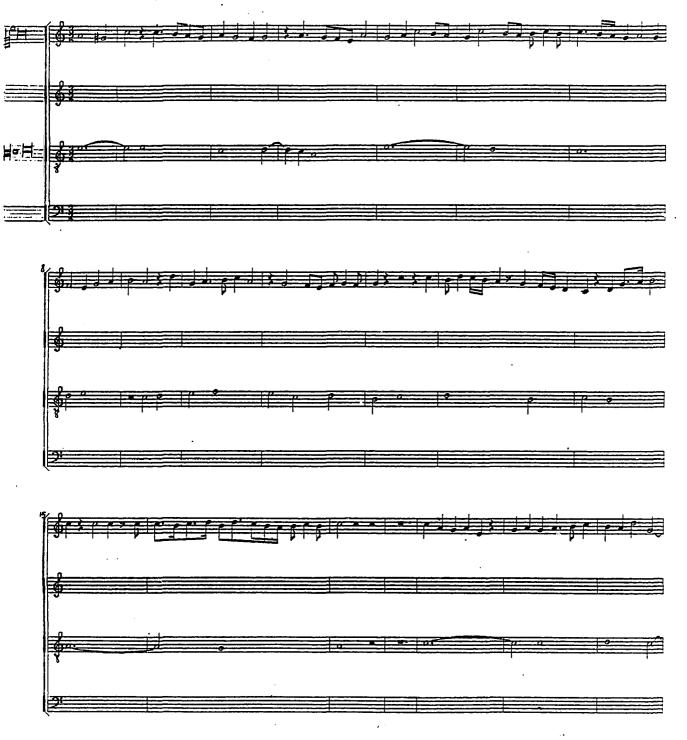






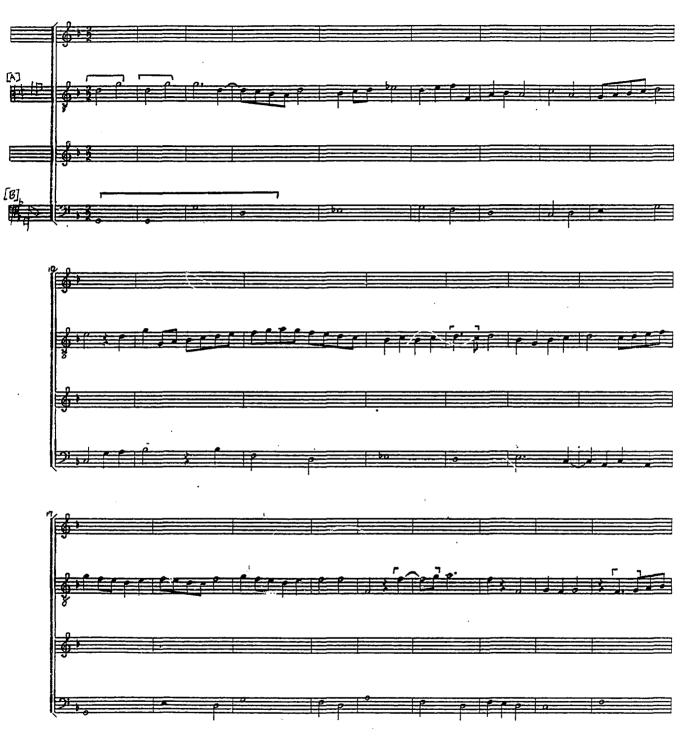


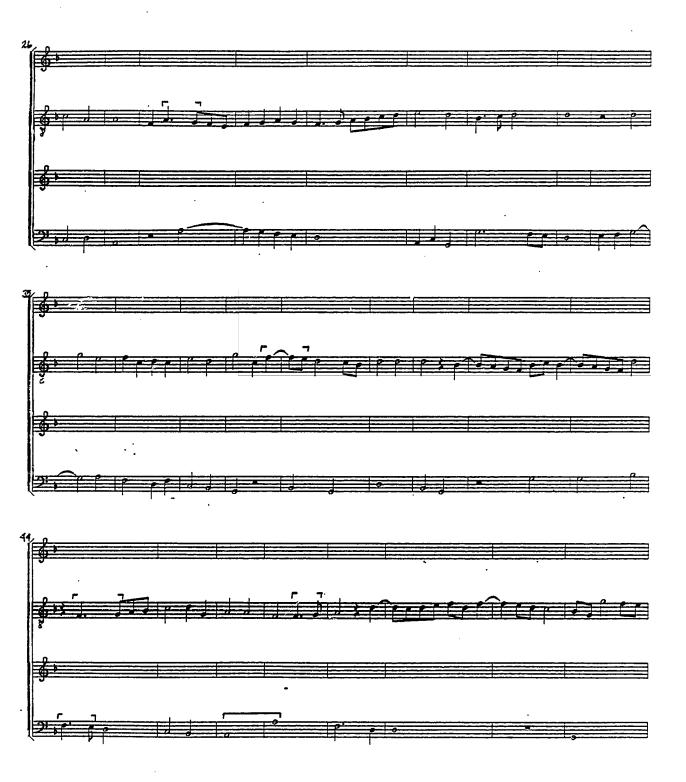


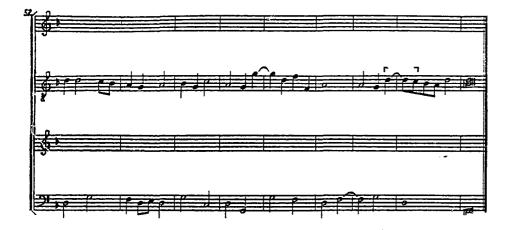






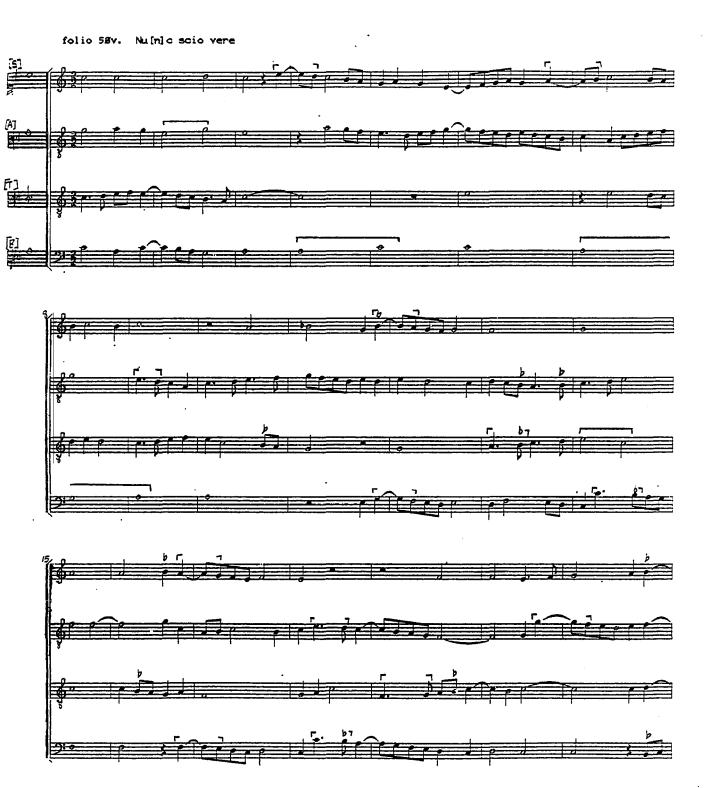






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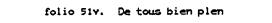


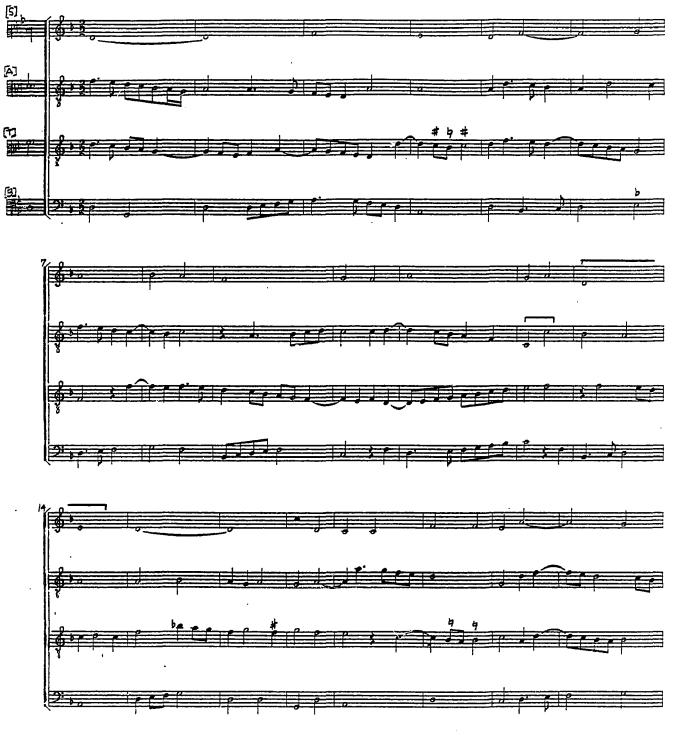






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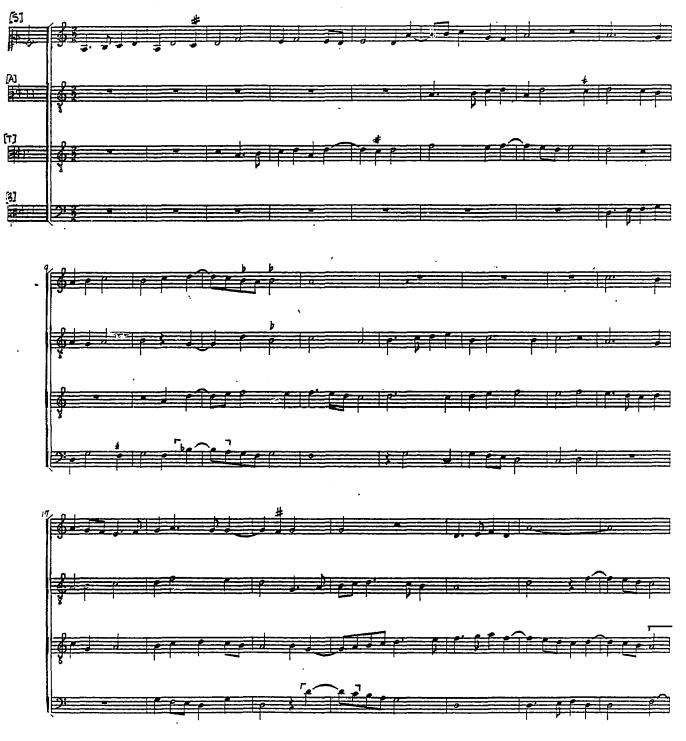


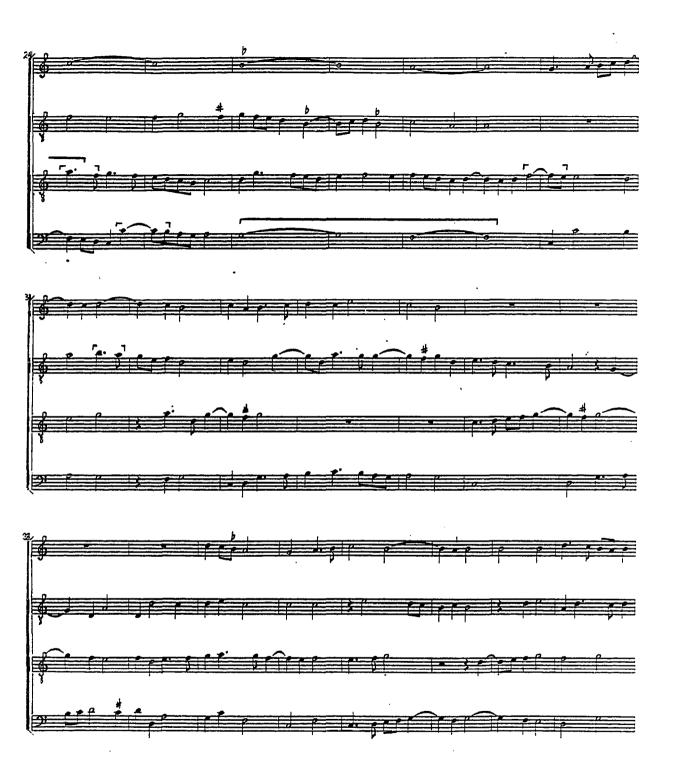


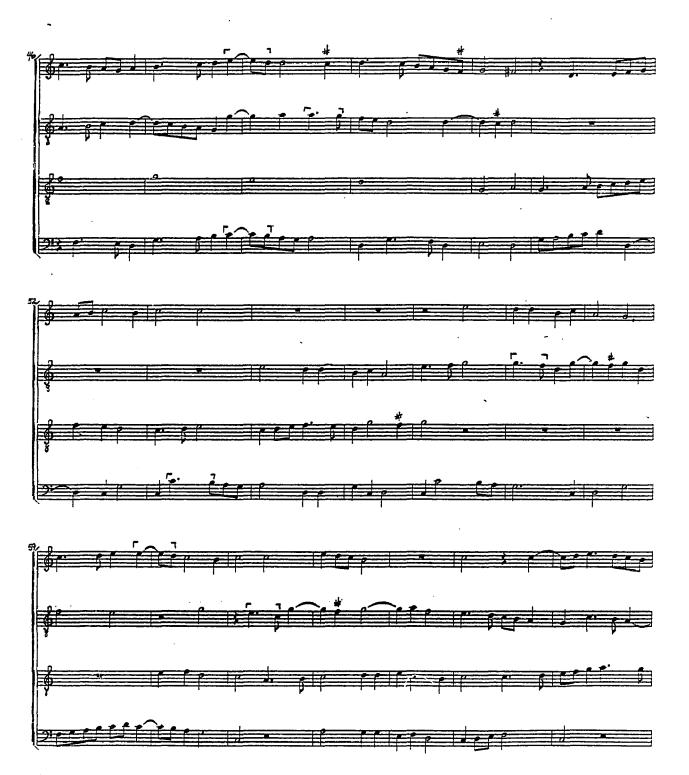




















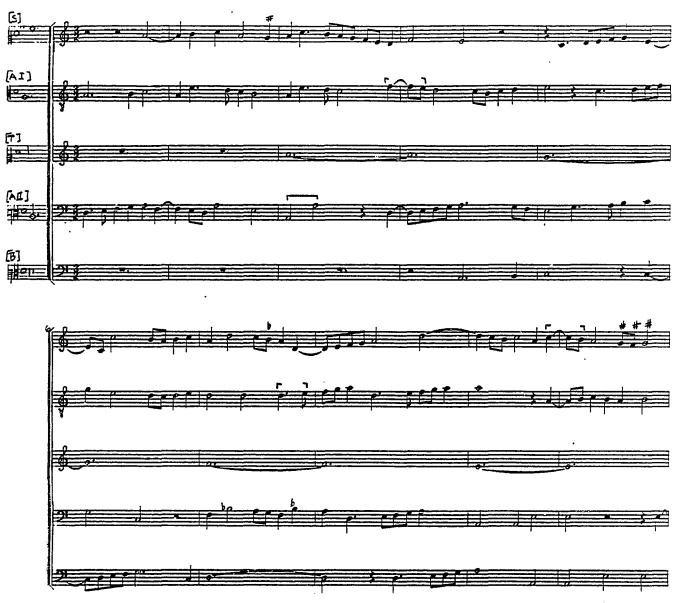


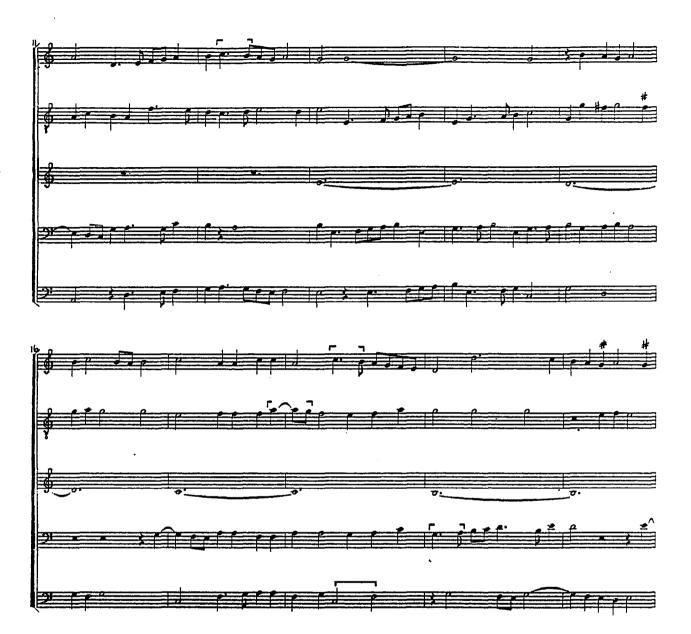




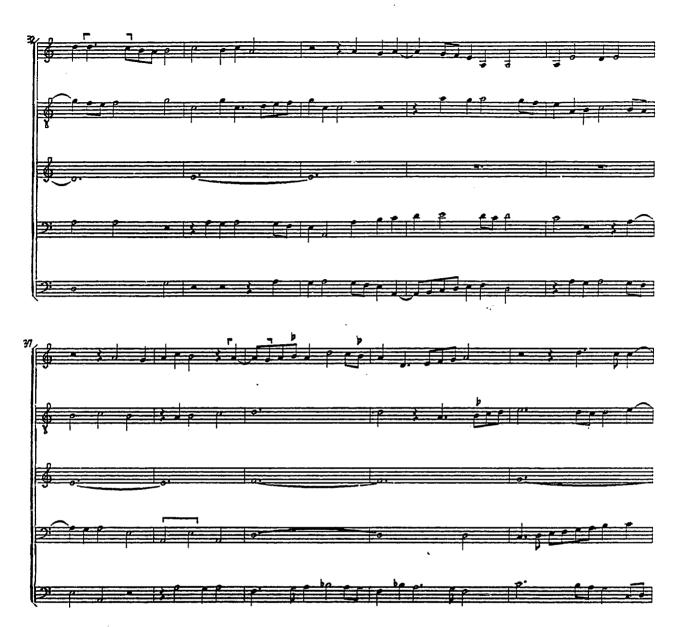
















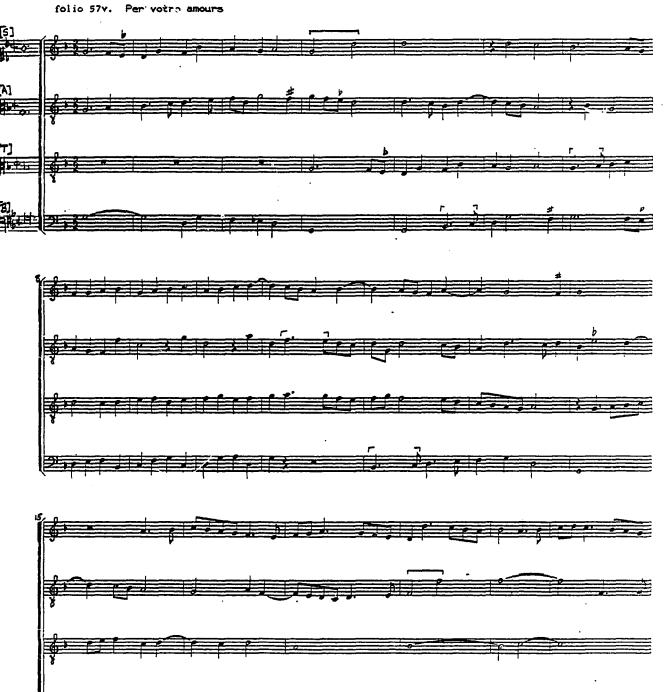
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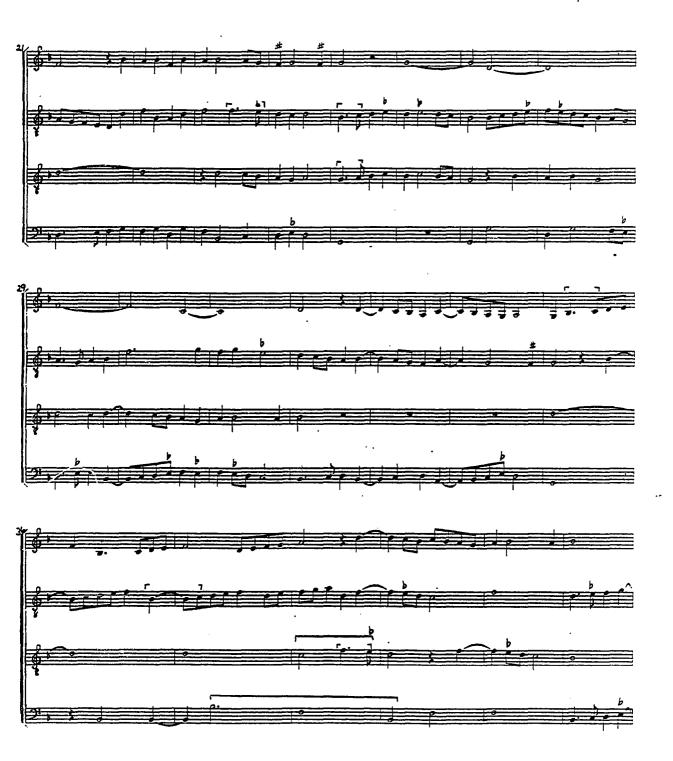
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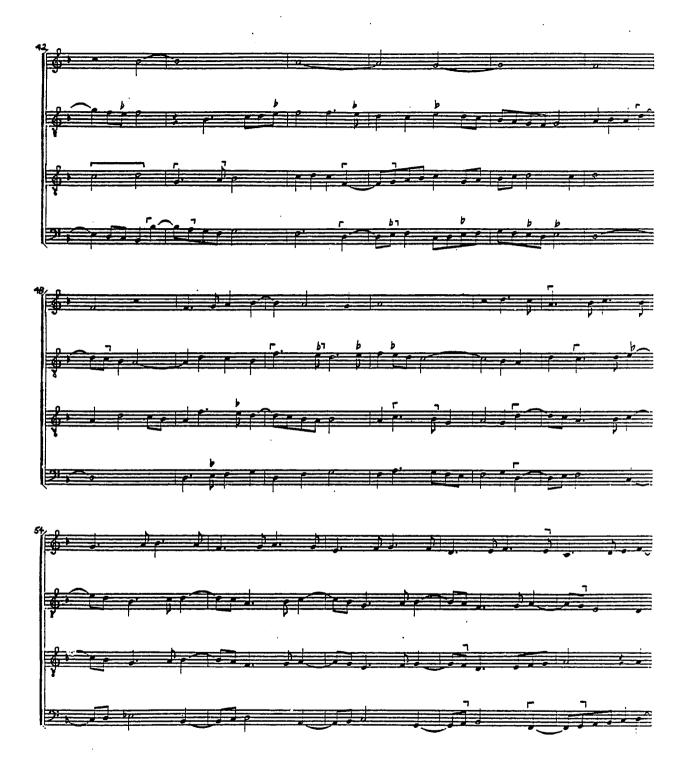
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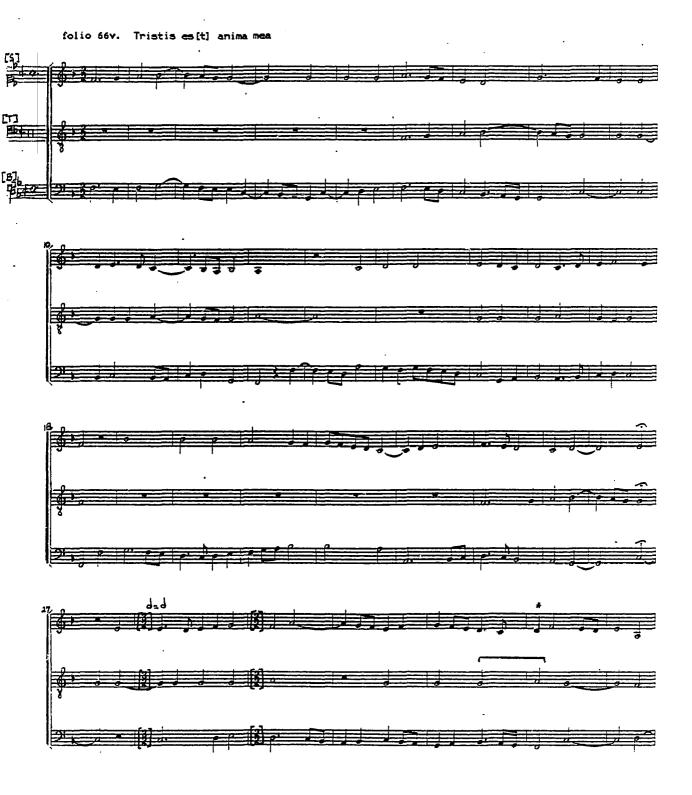
















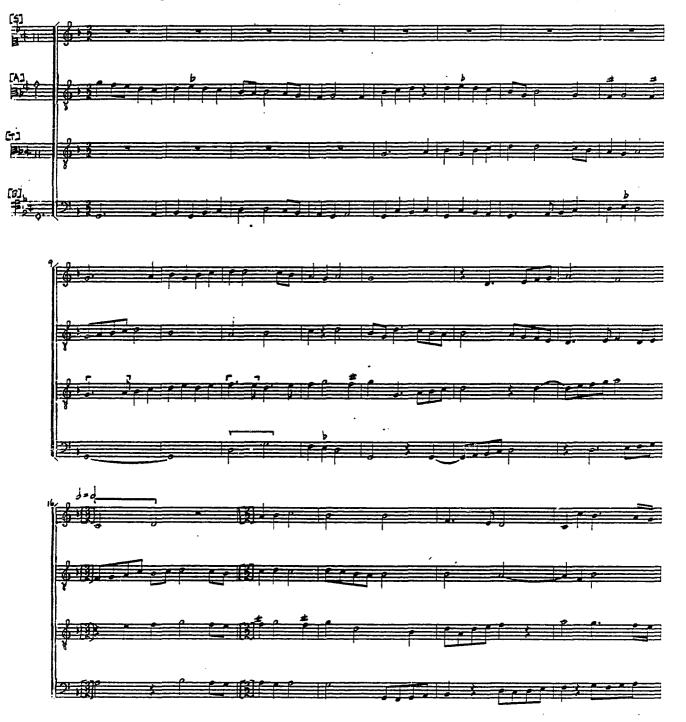


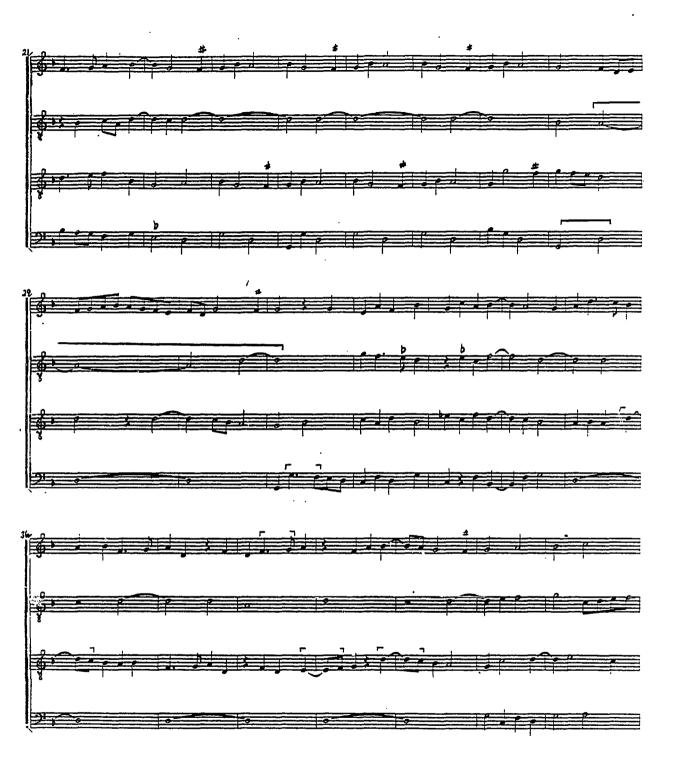




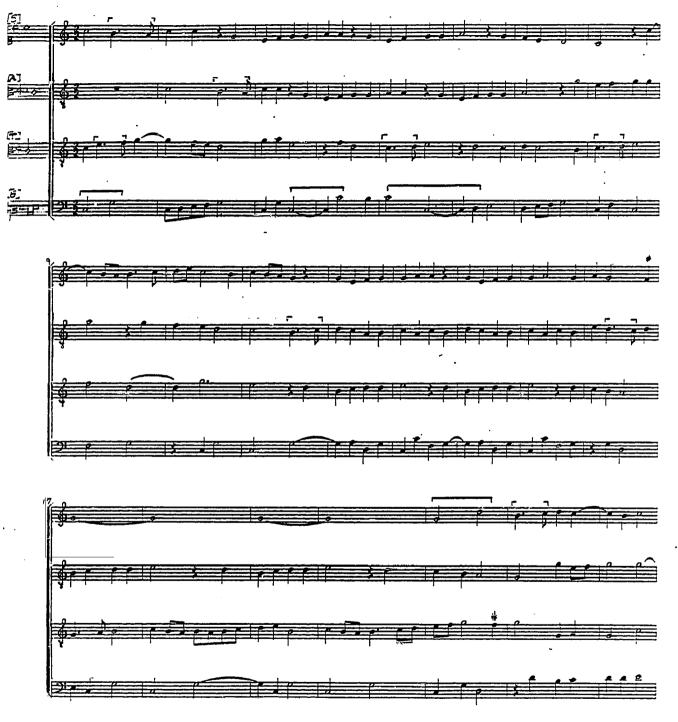


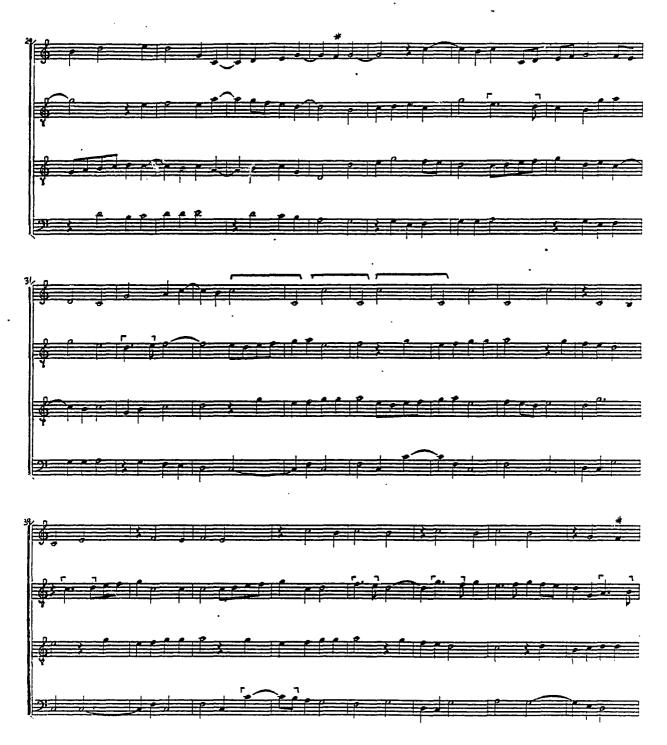
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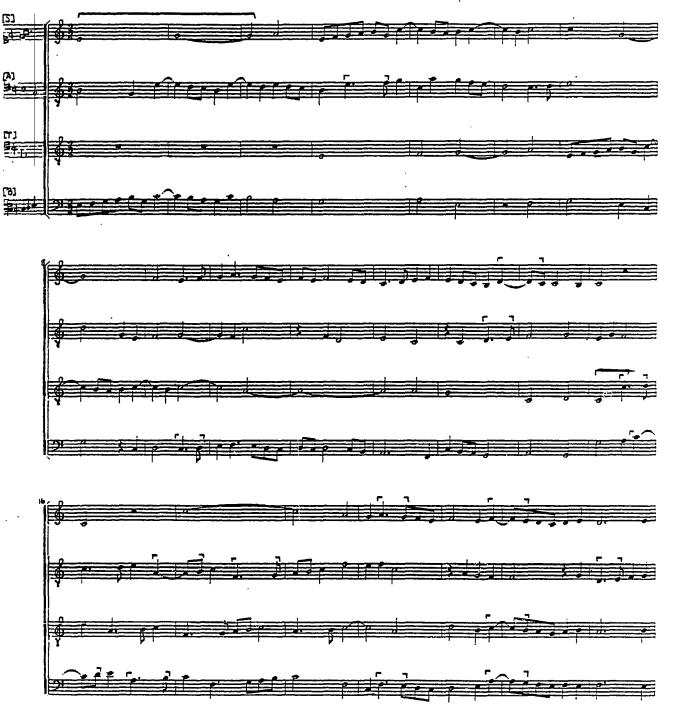




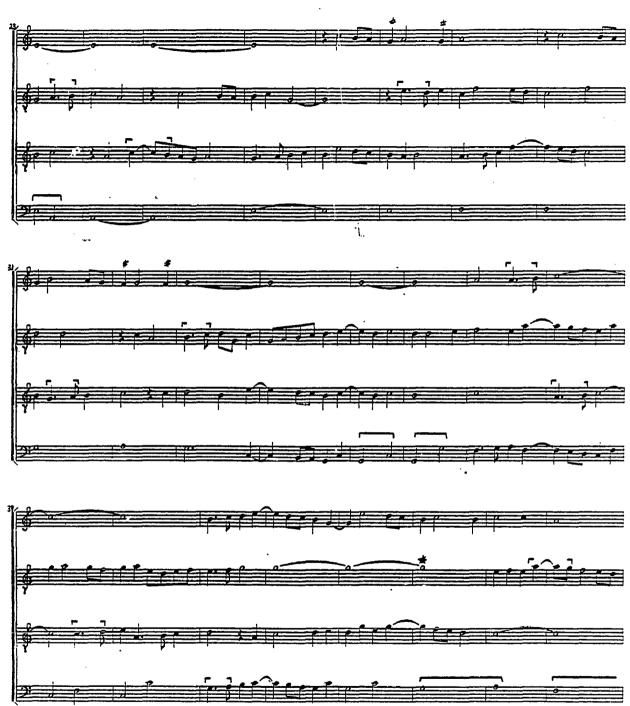


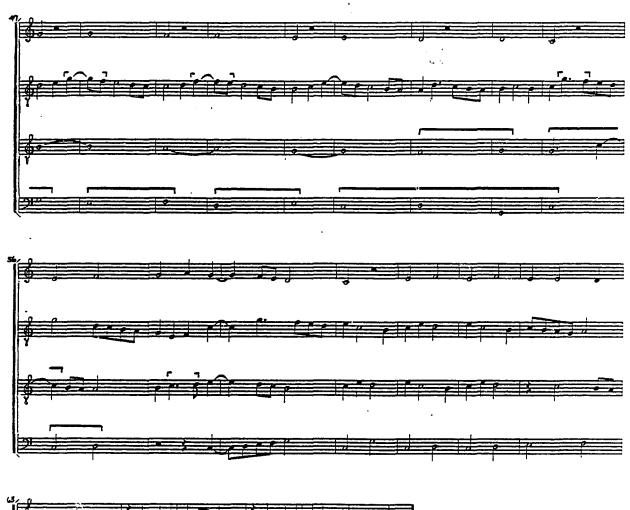
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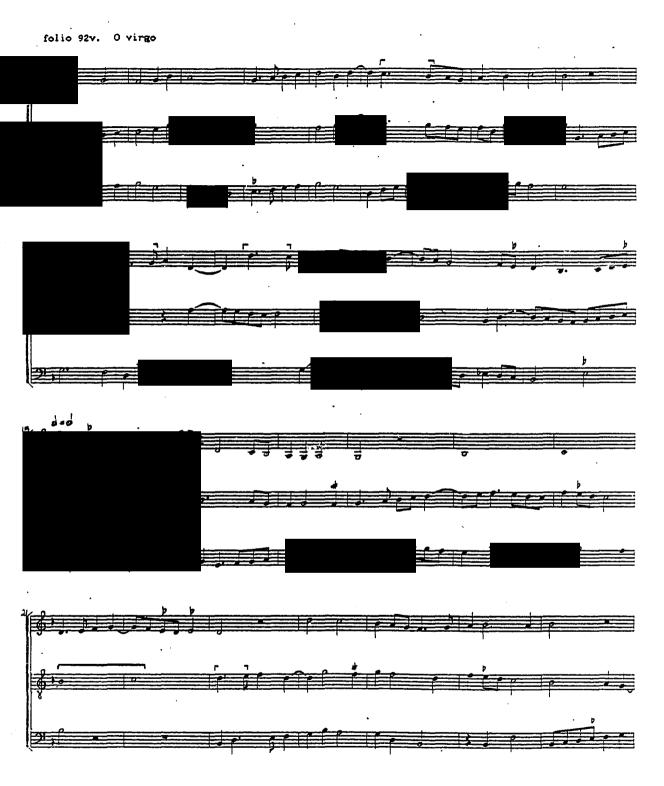
















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CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Susan Forscher Weiss.

Permanent Address: 8302 Tally Ho Road, Lutherville, Maryland, 21093.

Degree and date to be conferred: Ph. D., 1985.

Date of birth: July 22, 1944.

Place of birth: New York, New York.

Secondary education: Long Beach High School, Long Beach, New York, 1961.

Collegiate institutions attended	Dates	Degree	Date of Degree
Goucher College	1961-65	B.A.	1965
Smith College	1965-67	M.A.	1967
University of Maryland	1976 - 84	Ph.D.	1985

Major: Music.

Professional Publications:

"The Solo-Choral Style in Polyphonic <u>Ordinarium Missae</u> Movements of Johannes Ciconia et <u>al.</u>, 1390-1430" (unpublished paper read at Capital Chapter Meeting, American Musicological Society, May 22, 1971, University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia).

"Comparative European Music," <u>The European Experience</u>, a textbook of the Foreign Study League, Pleasantville, New York, 1976, pp. 171-186.

"A Score Still Left Unsettled: The 'Salva nos'/'Quis dabit' Controversy Re-Examined in the Light of a 'New' Composition" (unpublished paper read at Capital Chapter Meeting, American Musicological Society, April 16, 1983, University of Maryland, Baltimore County).

Professional positions held:

Chairman, Music Department, Garrison Forest School, Garrison, Maryland, 21055.